

## Heritage: The Manitoba Experience

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**ABSTRACT.** While heritage activities in Manitoba have had various motivations, a central theme has been the efforts of various ethnic groups to create a useable past. At one time a self-appointed Anglo-Canadian elite attempted to preserve the province's past in ways that promoted a British imperial theology. More recent multiculturalism has dethroned imperialism as the dominant heritage theology.

**SOMMAIRE.** Bien qu'au Manitoba les activités ayant trait au patrimoine se soient appuyées sur des motivations diverses, ce sont les efforts de différents groupes ethniques pour créer un passé utilisable qui dominent. A une époque, une élite anglo-canadienne a pris sur elle de tenter de préserver le passé de la province par des moyens qui encourageaient une théologie britannique impérialiste. Récemment, le multiculturalisme a détrôné l'impérialisme en tant que théologie dominante dans le domaine du patrimoine.

Manitoba was created by an act of Parliament in 1870. Ever since, the people of this "new province" have tried to create an ideal of "Manitobans." The task of inventing the symbols and creating the loyalties of a modern state has proven as arduous for this province as it has generally for nation-states formed in the mid-nineteenth century. In Manitoba the task has been complicated by the three waves of settlers that dramatically altered the composition of the population: the Ontario settlers of the late nineteenth century; the eastern Europeans arriving both before and after World War I; and the post-World War II migration of central Europeans and, increasingly, southeast Asians.

The methods of "mass producing traditions" applied in Manitoba largely copied those in use in the British Empire and in the new states of Europe and America.<sup>1</sup> The creation of a universal public school system was, in the nineteenth century, one of the most powerful means of producing a consciously loyal and united citizenry. The schools of Manitoba, unfortunately, far from being the cradles of a universal identity were, for several decades the battleground of a divided province.

The building of monuments, the writing of history, the invention of new public ceremonies were all, especially in the pretelevision era, significant and effective ways throughout the westernized world of producing a loyal citizenry and a stable society. Less subject to direct government intervention than were schools, they nevertheless had important implications for public life and ideology. In recent decades the role of the state in creating and "celebrating" an authorized version of the past has probably increased in most parts of the world as it has in Manitoba, these varied activities provide clues to the way "heritage" has been used to create a sense of "Manitoba."

A general perspective on heritage ideology in the province suggests that five major themes have been dominant: the cult of a bucolic Red River society; the adoration of the British monarchy with Manitoba being perceived in an imperial context; the worship of the sturdy pioneer by various British and "ethnic" groups; the gospel of commerce particularly evident in Winnipeg; and, in more recent years, the legitimization of those outside the dominant English-speaking

commercial society of Manitoba. Linking most of these approaches has been an implied Whiggish faith in material progress typical of many North American immigrant societies. One marked exception is found in the Franco-Manitoban community, for whom maintenance and survival have been the underlying concerns in its approach to the past.

In the nineteenth century the public celebration, preservation and interpretation of history that we now call "heritage" was neither so diverse in purpose nor so broadly based in the community as it is today. It was primarily the concern of a self-appointed, educated elite of men and women. Most were Winnipeg residents who saw the promotion of an "authorized version" of the past as both a means of inculcating patriotic Canadian virtue into the new peoples of the western province and as a tool of "civilization" in the creation of this new Eden of the British Empire.

The most important and most long-lived of heritage organizations is the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society (MHSS) founded in 1879 by a number of the province's leading citizens. As befits a society which combined "history" and "science," its founders saw themselves as "partners in the international pursuit of truth," and as the west's equivalent of the Royal Society, the *Institut Canadien* and the Smithsonian Institution. These were self-important men at the margins of Empire, without a history to command much interest at the centre of power. Science, so supremely Victorian, was for them the means to the international recognition they sought. Yet it is their historical labours which have survived. The writings of the Reverend George Bryce and R.G. MacBeth are significant both in establishing a western view of British North America and in popularizing the study of local history.<sup>2</sup>

The ideology of Manitoba's past proposed by the MHSS emphasized a separate British origin for the province, much as British Columbians of the same era looked back on the halcyon days of colonial self-government. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), Lord Selkirk and the sturdy Scots pioneers were the local heroes. The Roman Catholic church was the "outsider"—the manipulator of Riel and the poor, ill-educated but kindly Métis of Red River. In 1891, the unveiling of the MHSS's monument to the battle at Seven Oaks completed and gave permanent form to the myth of a treacherous North West Company, an easily led Métis, and an "honourable" HBC.

In the early twentieth century, as Winnipeg in particular expanded, the city provided many other opportunities for the ambitious middle class to shape the myths of its new province. Chief among these were the new Canadian Clubs founded in 1892 in Ontario. One of their innovations, perhaps the key to their success, was the business lunch which formed the focus of their meetings. Women's Canadian Clubs (WCC) with their lunches and teas were similarly organized, the first being formed in Winnipeg in 1907. The WCC numbered amongst its six hundred members many of the wives of the new business leaders

of Winnipeg, daughters of the old Red River elite such as Mary Kennedy and Bella Norquay, and the new professional women. Their aim was to "foster patriotism, to encourage the study of the institutions, history, arts, literature and resources of Canada and to unite Canadians in such work for the welfare and progress of the Dominion."<sup>3</sup>

Like others before and since, the WCC of Manitoba sought to interpret Manitobans as the inheritors of a Britannic and Red River tradition. Their first two honorary members were Mrs. John Norquay, the mixed-blood wife of the Honourable John Norquay, and Mrs. William Kennedy, the English wife of mixed-blood Captain Kennedy of St. Andrews parish. In 1910 the WCC and the Men's Canadian Clubs joined to install a commemorative brass plaque in St. Andrew's Church, River Road, to the memory of Captain Kennedy, missionary, Arctic explorer and temperance reformer. In a simple, well-attended ceremony, the Antarctic explorer Ernest Shackleton unveiled the plaque. The association of these two heroes—Kennedy, a truly native son, and Shackleton, the epitome of a "modern" imperial man—was much to the taste of the men and women of the new Manitoba.<sup>4</sup>

The WCC was also to produce in the 1920s a book of reminiscences and portraits of the women of Red River as a tribute to "their fine achievements in the making of home in a new and distant country." The image of the colonial society they desired was one where there was a "constant spirit of good will and mutual helpfulness among the people."<sup>5</sup> This bucolic ideal was one shared by the various "old-timers associations" of the prewar era. Groups like the Lord Selkirk Association sought in part, to reinforce even in the nineteenth century a nostalgia for the "good old days" but were more conscious of their role as benevolent societies than as cultural standard bearers and myth creators. At their "annual trysts at the Royal Alexandra Hotel" they noted the passing of their generation and ensured they had "respectable" funerals. Unlike the new men of the Canadian Clubs they were not interested in the quick moral uplift of the business man's lunch. The old-timers existed

to draw together again the scattered members of the old population . . . . The meetings are to be more for sociability's sake than for the purpose of . . . long speeches. [Our aim] is not only to keep green the memory of our intrepid ancestors but to keep their descendants in touch one with the other.<sup>6</sup>

Ancestor worship has been and still is a common theme of many heritage movements. Here it served to maintain a sense of the people of Red River as a "separate race" and "genuine descendants of Norsemen," and hence to provide fuel for those who sought to use the image of Red River for other purposes.

One of the most remarkable examples of this public use of the iconography of Red River was the old-timers' banquet held in 1920 in Winnipeg. In a combined pageant and commemoration ceremony, the huge convention hall was recast as a "pioneer" cabin. Logs were stacked horizontally at the platform

end. Walls were decorated with snowshoes and hunting equipment and a dramatic theatrical set consisting of a series of painted wooden screens placed down both sides of the hall represented woodlands or bush. Wild animals peered out between the sets, while at the far end of the room real tipis had been pitched and staffed, according to the newspaper, by Indian "squaws." Bizarre as this may seem to modern eyes, it is close in form to a Bonanza restaurant, the Factor's Table restaurant at the Fort Garry hotel, or even closer perhaps to the medieval banquets used as tourist enticements in Britain. The function here was different, for the old-timers who attended were not visitors from another planet in the way of modern tourists, but were for the most part participants or descendants of the old order of Red River, a society rapidly being eclipsed by immigration and urban growth. The benevolent societies, however, left few lasting monuments, ceremonials or preserved temples. Winnipeg was growing too fast; its ethos of progress trampled on the old river lots and tore down the stone cottages and log cabins of the older society.

The Men's Canadian Club, conscious of the commercial role of the HBC, was instrumental in erecting a commemorative plaque at the Fort Garry gate and, unusual in this period, in pressing for preservation of some parts of the building.<sup>7</sup> But for such organizations, local heritage was only the means to a larger end. National memorials were equally important in their view, as a means of tying together the "far-flung" dominion and celebrating the new national myths they were creating. Money was sent from Winnipeg to Toronto for a national memorial to Pauline Johnson. Contributions were made to a monument to the Qu'Appelle Treaty, and \$500 was sent to Earl Grey for the Québec Battlefield memorial. In 1910, for example, the WCC supported the idea of a memorial in central Canada to the War of 1812.

Imperial concerns equally drew the attention of the Canadian Clubs. Like Dr. George Bryce, most members would have argued that "the Canadian sentiment of western Canada has been from the first of a decidedly British flavour." The HBC, the British explorers, British capital and the monarchy itself all had helped to account for the fact that "Winnipeg has today [1910] more real British sentiment than the saintly city of Toronto."<sup>8</sup> Bryce and others did all in their power to make this so. Mrs. Bryce, a vice-president of the WCC, moved that her organization encourage the celebration of Empire Day and suggested that \$50 be made available to ensure that the settlement houses and other institutions in the North End of Winnipeg had enough flags to hoist. A rousing imperial speech from University of Toronto President Falconer further inspired the Winnipeg women to give "aid to the dead of empire" and to put in order the soldiers' graves in St. John's cemetery; those "long dead Canadian ancestors through whom have been transmitted those worthy attributes and ideas without which no nation can be great."<sup>9</sup>

Apart from the presence of Mme. Cauchon (wife of the lieutenant governor) and Mme. Dubuc, such organizations had few Franco-Manitobans who, in these

pre-World War I years, represented a considerable proportion of the population. Entrance to patriotic organizations was by nomination and election. "Foreigners" (immigrants) were not admitted at all in the WCC in spite of the persistence of some of the more radical members.<sup>10</sup> The dominance which Anglo-Canadians had assumed in this arena of public life reflected the realities of the separation and shift in power that had occurred within the province since 1870.

French heritage activities in these years offer evidence of a quite different kind of Manitoba. Not for them the self-confidence of an imperial link, nor a sharing in "national" victories on the Plains of Abraham or the War of 1812. Their leadership came from the Church, not commerce. Their theology was defensive, tentative, not expansive and aggressive. Their ideology was not one of idealizing a Red River inheritance but of defending a faith and demonstrating their loyalty to a suspicious and distrustful community.

The Société Historique de St. Boniface was organized in 1902 by Bishop Adélard Langevin to encourage the teaching of history but also to make known "la place que nous occupons dans ce pays." The society in the early twentieth century saw itself in much the same vein as the journal *Les Cloches de St. Boniface* as "La voix de l'Eglise, la voix de l'Ecole, la voix de la colonie et de la Paroisse." St. Boniface was a small community increasingly overshadowed by Winnipeg, but it imagined itself to be the cornerstone of a tenuous French empire in the west. In keeping with this sense of a larger western French world, the saints of the Société were not those of the MHSS for the Franco-Manitoban world was more than the small community at the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine. It was in the life and work of La Vérendrye, his sons, and missionary colleagues such as Father Aulneau that these Manitobans were to find the historical and moral justifications for their homeland in the west.<sup>11</sup>

The cult of La Vérendrye and Aulneau has served Franco-Manitobans until the present day, indicating perhaps that their precarious position in the western province has remained unchanged. The earliest years of the Société were occupied by a search for the relics—the bones—and burial spots of the earliest French missionaries. The interwar years were marked by the campaign for the magnificent monument to La Vérendrye, unveiled in St. Boniface in 1938 before a crowd of twenty-five thousand. The tragic fire which destroyed the cathedral at St. Boniface in 1968 also necessitated a new interment for the relics. A new monument to La Vérendrye-Aulneau was raised in 1977 in the cathedral grounds. Perhaps La Vérendrye has remained so important to the Franco-Manitobans because he arouses no strong emotions amongst the English or Natives. He is historically "neutralized" to such an extent that when the Queen visited Manitoba in 1984, the New Democratic Party (NDP) government, though sensitive to the virulence of the anti-French sentiment in the province, saw it as politically useful to have the royal visit commemorate the 250th anniversary of the voyage of La Vérendrye and the French presence in the west.

There is in these devotions a marked contrast to the attention Franco-Manitobans have given their other obvious hero—Louis Riel. This “Father of Manitoba” was, and still is, the most controversial figure in Manitoba’s history, whose memory can still arouse the passions of English, French and Métis. In 1966, however, the Société Historique did unveil a plaque to “the memory of Louis Riel . . . head of the provisional government of 1869-70. Champion of the rights of Western Canada.” The inscription in both English and French clearly pointed to the “earlier, brighter figure, standing up for his rights against the Canadians, rather than that later, darker, more clouded person who returned to spread dissension in 1885,” as Professor A.R.M. Lower of United College remarked at the ceremony. The Société’s celebration of the Riel centennial in 1985 took the form of a colloquium in honour of Marcel Giraud, the French anthropologist and 1930s observer of Métis life, whose work is no longer held in high regard by most Native people.

More direct association with the full “meaning” of Riel was left first to the Union de Métisse and in recent years to the more politically active Manitoba Metis Federation. As early as 1906 the Union de Métisse had erected a cross at La Barrière, where in 1869 Ambroise Lepine and others “had turned back the Canadian Governor.” The speeches on that cold October day in 1906 trod the fine lines of the political oratory of those who are not masters in their own house. To the toast of “the King,” Simon St. Germaine remembered how the Métis had “affirmed with energy and courage their unshakable attachment to the principles of British liberty.”<sup>12</sup> Protestations of loyalty and a longing for racial harmony in the future were the hallmarks of Métis heritage activities until well into the twentieth century. Only the birth of a modern and radical Native political movement in the 1970s could begin to transform Riel from a tragic to an heroic mould.

Thus in the period before 1918 the divisions within Manitoba—racial and linguistic—were clearly evident as each group sought a past to give meaning to its present condition. There were, however, other achievements in these years which were to provide a foundation for a later, broader heritage movement. Under the leadership of R.P. Robertson, a provincial library and public archives was begun. A grant of only \$200 a year (in 1890) meant that these were discouraging times. Robertson noted in his annual reports on several occasions that British Columbia’s facilities were outstripping those of the prairie province and that Manitoba was also falling behind Ontario which, by 1906, had already created a separate archives and appointed an archivist:

His Excellency the Governor-General, in his late visit, and Sir Gilbert Parker noted the absence of a taste for literature and art in this Province and warned the people in their brilliant addresses to cultivate more this desideratum in our public life.

In the opinion of the civil servant,

the responsibility for a stimulus . . . falls largely upon the Legislature and the people will look to its members to act vigorously.<sup>13</sup>

The principle of public responsibility for libraries, museums, galleries and archives was thus recongized in this pre-World War I era, but it would be an exaggeration to argue that any firm institutional foundations had been laid. A small, largely Anglo-Canadian, and frequently female elite in Winnipeg was eager for institutions of art, literature and culture, but for the most part Sir Gilbert Parker's words had the sting of truth.

The interwar years were characterized by the realization that Winnipeg was not to be a new Chicago. Class strife, the Depression and the problems of absorbing a large, central European immigrant population outweighed, in the minds of many Manitobans, the growing strength of the wheat economy and the opening of a subarctic mining frontier. The energies of those concerned with public heritage were taken up for a decade in mourning the loss of a generation of young men. Some towns like Carman, or tiny Pipestone, built memorial halls whilst most others built columns or statues. Some parks were created, like Vimy Ridge Park in Winnipeg, while in 1925 the WCC was successful in renaming Pine Street in "a humble middle class neighbourhood" of Winnipeg as Valour Road in memory of three Victoria Cross winners who had lived there as boys, a few doors apart. A special street lamp and brass plaque still mark the spot. To be Manitoban in those years was to be British, patriotic and absorbed by the sacrifices of World War I. Such imperial sentiments further divided the French and the central European Roman Catholics, for whom the bishop of St. Boniface now spoke, from the English majority.<sup>14</sup>

The Icelanders, wrote the Reverend R.G. Bryce in 1910 with an unwitting irony, were worthy of the description "honourary Anglo-Saxons." A small community of farmers and fishermen on the inhospitable shores of Lake Winnipeg, even before World War I they had produced Rhodes Scholars, doctors and scientists. They were admitted relatively easily into the dominant English society of Manitoba, took public pride in what they depicted as their long history of literacy, Protestantism and democracy, and enlisted in considerable numbers in World War I. Their loyalty, their "Britishness," was unquestioned, as was their offer in the 1920s of a statue for the legislative grounds. Among the first of a number of disparate commemorations in this location, the Icelanders' choice was *not* one of their own pioneers, but the Icelandic patriot, Jon Sigurdsson, who was simultaneously commemorated in Reykjavik.

In 1919, the Icelandic national organizations began their public campaign and subscription list for the establishment of a chair of Icelandic Studies at the University of Manitoba. Although not instituted until 1951, it represents the earliest attempt by an "ethnic" group to incorporate its particular heritage into the institutions of the province. Interestingly, many of these Icelandic

initiatives—the patriotic statue, the ethnic festival and the initiation of university studies—have been imitated by others in the post-World War II period.<sup>15</sup> The celebration of an Icelandic homeland clearly was acceptable to the British majority. The prospect of a similar movement amongst any other Manitoban ethnic group would have been unimaginable in these early years.

The Native peoples of Manitoba, many of whom fought in World War I, were regarded as “apart” from the general society. Although their loyalty was not questioned and they usually played a prominent part in royal visit ceremonials, they were, as a result of Dominion Indian policy, in the process of a forced loss of their languages and cultures. In the eyes of most Manitobans they were not yet “Christianized and civilized,” and thus the only “heritage” they could be permitted was that which furthered such ultimate political and social goals. Peguis, the Saulteaux chief at Red River, was commemorated by a large statue, erected by the Lord Selkirk Association in 1924. His alliance with Selkirk and the food and protection his people had offered to early settlers had been a crucial factor in enabling the Kildonan people to survive at Red River. Moreover, he had been in the mid-nineteenth century one of the earliest converts to both Christianity and agriculture. Peguis had his own political purposes for such actions, yet it was not the astute Indian leader who was commemorated at Kildonan Park but rather, as the inscription read, the “whiteman’s special assistant in grateful recognition of his good offices to the early settlers.” The value of Natives in the new Manitoba lay in the extent to which they successfully fulfilled the new roles assigned to them by church, government, and the HBC.

The “Honourable Company” deserves a particular mention in any discussion of heritage in the province, for it has played a dominant role in the invention of Manitoba’s ideology of heritage. One of the largest and earliest demonstrations of the HBC’s use of history as a corporate tool can be found in the lavish pageants staged for the anniversary celebrations in 1920 when, as *The Beaver* reported:

with Indian fur brigades and York boats loaded with peltries on the Red River, council fires burning at Lower Fort Garry and the smoke of the peace pipe scenting the air, the romance of wilderness days . . . [lived] again.

Historical and patriotic pageants like these were ceremonies shared by city and village, by rulers and ruled; part of a nineteenth century drama of imperialism across the Empire. In all the raw cities of western Canada, the HBC put on a magnificent show in 1920, glorying not just in the commercial success so evident in the new department store monuments, but in its own imperial past as the true inheritor of the voyageur, and as the one-time governor of the west. A new magazine, *The Beaver* became a steady witness to the HBC’s “historic past” and in its own advertising the HBC “selected” the themes of royalty, civilization, the trust of the Indians and its own holding of the western empire for the benefit of the dominion. A museum of the fur trade was formed whose first displays were in the HBC’s flagship store on Portage Avenue. The



collection, an important one, with material from Native societies all across the northwest and British Columbia, was later to be loaned to the nation to form part of the present collection of Lower Fort Garry. In the 1930s the HBC also agreed to the formation of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, directed by the distinguished historian E.E. Rich. With the monarch as patron and a list of members which included field marshals and Winnipeg lawyers, this was an effective tool in the HBC's search for a useable past. By the 1950s, if not earlier, no royal visit to Manitoba was complete without the presentation of two beaver to the Crown as specified in the seventeenth-century charter of the "Honourable Company"—so successful was this multinational corporation in identifying itself with the imperial past of Manitoba. Equally in the province's invention of tradition, there has been a readiness on the part of the English majority to accept the HBC's version of a royal, imperial past and a vigorous commercial present.

World War II left in its wake less patriotic fervour than did World War I. The problems of reconstruction of both urban and rural societies were paramount. There were also significant difficulties associated with the resettlement in Manitoba of many diverse Europeans. The completion of electrification, the expansion of radio service and the introduction of television were also to have dramatic effects on all Canadians in their access to and demand for a wider and more popular definition of their own culture and history.<sup>16</sup>

There have been three broadly defined areas of heritage activity since World War II. From the 1940s to the 1960s there was an impressive extension of interest at all levels of Manitoba society, in which an important leadership role was played by Professor W.L. Morton and the Manitoba Historical Society. Second, by the mid-1960s there was a discernible interest by more ethnic groups in commemorating their past. Third, the period since 1970 has been characterized by the enthusiasm derived from numerous centennials and by the willingness of all levels of government to provide public funds for heritage. Most importantly, the ideology of heritage has been transformed in this modern period from the celebration of a Britannic, loyalist past to a definition of Manitoba as an assemblage of folk cultures supported by an ostensibly open commercial class. The Manitoba Historical Society was for much of this period the leading spirit of the heritage movement. Its composition remained constant, representing the educated, professional and largely British elite of Winnipeg. Its ideology of the celebration of the colonial period and bourgeois commerce evident in its care of Ross House and Sir Hugh John Macdonald's house, Dalnavert, changed little, though W.L. Morton's choice of six ethnic histories as society publications pointed in quite a different direction and was indeed farsighted.<sup>17</sup>

The mid-twentieth century saw Manitoba, and Canada, attempt to come to terms intellectually with an evidently multicultural society. The strongest support for this thrust came from the federal government, which attempted to create a more hospitable emotional climate for the acceptance of bilingualism

and biculturalism by defining a place for those of neither French nor British origin. Amongst Manitoba's numerically important groups—Mennonite and Ukrainian—there were simultaneous movements to create a place for themselves in this new cultural and intellectual climate. One common means to this end was the heritage celebration of the “hardy pioneer,” a common theme, acceptable to all ethnic groups and the dominant society. The best example of such sentiment is the 1974 Mennonite memorial in the Legislative Building: a simply decorated bronze plaque with the forthright inscription, “We came. We toiled. God blessed.” Others, such as the large, elaborate cairn erected near Gretna in 1952, also commemorate the arrival, survival and worldly success of these Low German-speaking pacifists.

Although both memorials were modest in form, if not in message, they marked a radical departure for the Manitoba Mennonites. In earlier times the preservation of culture and heritage had been a communal activity and had never aimed to speak to the larger Canadian audience. For Mennonites, separation from the material world, modesty, the dedication to agricultural life and the retention of the German language were the cornerstones of their sense of identity. Some Mennonite churches indeed have little regard for the importance or usefulness of historical interpretation in a scholarly sense. They define themselves as Christians, concerned only with God's work here and now, and have few concerns about how they are viewed by their non-Mennonite neighbours. If they are misunderstood it is seen as part of their suffering on earth, to be borne in a Christian manner. Other Mennonites, however, saw the writing of history and the preservation of heritage as one way of retaining a sense of separate identity, as material wealth, urbanization and broader educational opportunities began to dilute the consciousness of shared community. One of the most remarkable of such men was J.J. Siemens, of Altona, a widely read Mennonite of liberal spirit whose life was largely devoted to the cooperative movement. Siemens founded the Rhineland Agricultural Society (RAS) in the 1930s, and shaped it as an educational institution of considerable influence. Besides sponsoring courses in Mennonite History, the RAS subsidized the publication of three important historical booklets, *Woher?*, *Wohin?* and *Mennoniten!*<sup>18</sup> For most Mennonites, however, such developments were overshadowed by the emigrations to Mexico, the difficulties of accommodating new Russian Mennonites, the cultural pressures of the English language and, overwhelmingly, by the approaching war with Germany.

For those who saw their heritage in terms of a *Volk* combination of religion, language and nonresistance, the second war with Germany was perhaps more difficult and more divisive than the first. To some of the community, H.H. Ewert in particular in Manitoba, it brought home strongly the need to “take society very seriously, not to withdraw from it, but to be involved on the basis of, and separated from it in terms of an alternative ethic and value system.” The steps in this process were to accept “Canadianism”; to visibly express loyalty to the

governing authority; to distance themselves politically from Germany; and to make themselves better known to their non-Mennonite neighbours. The expressions of Mennonite loyalty to the royal visitors in Manitoba in 1939 were widely noted. For a people who had lived for centuries apart from the state, the town of Winkler's message to George VI, offering the deepest devotion and unwavering loyalty to the king of a country where the Mennonites had found their haven of "rest, freedom and security," seemed to herald a new phase in the sense of Mennonite heritage. But although this appeared at the time to be a radical departure in Mennonite-state relations it was, in fact, merely a "rearranging of the past" and an intriguing defensive use of heritage.

In 1939 these Mennonites emphasized their Dutch rather than Prussian or Russian origins. They chose to see the British monarch not as head of the Church of England or representative of the worldly state but as the descendant of William, the Prince of Orange, the defender of dissenters and religious freedom. The royal portraits which became common in Mennonite homes and schools perhaps should be viewed as icons of an old Mennonite faith under the protection of empresses and monarchs. And to a large extent the past they rearranged was still based on their European experience. It paid tribute to the British monarch and was necessitated by the exigencies of European politics.

Since the 1950s the process of becoming part of a broader Manitoban community has intensified. Urbanization and the availability of radio and television have been severe challenges to "the separate people." The Mennonites, like other successful immigrant groups are now more widely dispersed, more diverse in occupation and more clearly differentiated by class, education and language than before the war. The necessity of maintaining group cohesion in these circumstances has led to the growth of a Mennonite educational system, newspapers, literary journals, music and drama festivals, and provincial, national and international organizations. There has also been a significant growth in historical and heritage activities. The greater interest appears to be in the use of the "pioneer ideology," the bland, populist, neutral version of the past which surfaces at summer festivals and at the Steinbach Village Museum. To the non-Mennonite Manitoban, the emphasis on agriculture, food preparation, cooperation and religious faith would all form part of an acceptable past. To the Mennonite visitor of Old Colony stock, from the United States or Ontario, this "public" version of a deeply Christian, persecuted people may indeed seem immodest, worldly and undesirable for a godly people. The overt expressions of loyalty to the Crown so obviously required in Manitoba in 1939 have gone, but the necessity of presenting an acceptable face to the world seems to remain. As for so many nineteenth-century immigrant groups the heritage of agricultural toil and prosperity serves both the understandable pride of the immigrant group and the dominant, "progressive" Canadian ideology. "Pioneerism" speaks too in the simplistic language of the developing multi-cultural society.

A second, more recent approach to Mennonite heritage has been the definition of "self" by the reference to European experience. For the Mennonites, this self-conscious public use of their European history is new and reflects in part the greater toleration evident in the wider community. But it comes too from a feeling within parts of the Mennonite community that the experience of the more recent Russian migrants must be incorporated into the heritage of the Canadian Mennonite world. Pioneerism celebrated the *Kanadier*: the place of *Russlaenders*, both those who came in the 1920s and in the more recent postwar migration, had to be acknowledged and integrated. The controversial monument at Steinbach to the Mennonite victims of revolutionary and Stalinist Russia, the publication of several biographies of the same period, and a feature "docu-drama" filmed in Russia are all part of this new presentation of the Mennonite as European martyr.

The Ukrainian community of Manitoba has much in common with the Mennonites, besides a common suffering at the hands of the Russians. They were regarded with equal distaste by many English-speaking Manitobans and were the target of some hostility and much suspicion during both world wars. Despite apparent similarities, however, there are substantial differences which are clearly reflected in the Ukrainian celebration of their heritage. The Ukrainians, unlike Mennonites, Icelanders or French, were for many decades the focus of Canadian Protestant social agencies, both lay and religious, which attempted to "civilize" and "Canadianize" these new, largely peasant immigrants by divesting them of their language, religion and culture. Ukrainians in Manitoba are amongst those for whom "heritage" came to mean for a time "that which was given up or lost." Coupled with this is the sense in which the Ukrainians in Canada see themselves as "survivors" of Russian tyranny, upon whom is laid the burden of remembrance and the necessity of constantly kindling the ideal of an independent Ukraine. From World War I the vast organizing energies of the Ukrainians have been devoted to this end.<sup>19</sup>

Since World War II there has been a consolidation of the Ukrainian position in both Canada and Manitoba. New institutions such as *Oseredok*, the Ukrainian Museum, Archives and Educational Institution in Winnipeg, the Ukrainian National Festival established at Dauphin in the late 1960s, and the numerous large choirs and semiprofessional dance companies such as *Rusalka* have given the appearance of a vibrant, vigorous and self-confident ethnic culture. This is the inheritance of the *narodni domy* (the educational cultural institutions founded throughout the province before 1914), not the fruits of the Anglo-Canadian "civilizing" missionaries.

Ukrainians have been the single most important group in promoting and fostering the idea of Canada, and particularly Manitoba, as a multicultural society. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, perhaps aware of the internal strife and divisions which its own existence masked, took care in the national deliberations of the 1960s and 1970s to always present itself as speaking for the

"third force." Its success in the redefinition of a national and provincial identity would probably have dismayed Lord Tweedsmuir, who had told Ukrainians in 1936 that by becoming better Ukrainians they would be better Canadians. Their celebration of their heritage—language, arts, literature and Ukrainian nationalism—has very little to do with becoming Canadian in the sense that the governor general or indeed the Ontario farmer of southern Manitoba would have defined that process. In effect, what Ukrainians and the multicultural policies of the 1960s have accomplished is the redefinition of Manitoba to accommodate their own presence.

Ukrainians have also made a marked impact on the built environment of Manitoba. But, like the Mennonites, there seems to be little community interest in preserving the remnants of this part of their heritage.<sup>20</sup> It is ironic, as Robert Klymasz points out,

that the very Ukrainian-Canadian press that so quickly condemns the destruction of religious and historical structures in Soviet Ukraine is not as concerned to protect and preserve equally important structures closer to home.<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps like many of their western Canadian neighbours, Ukrainians accept the widespread North American ideology that "progress" means "larger and newer." Building preservation, of course, is both too expensive and technically difficult for many small rural communities to consider. But there is certainly a desire by some immigrant groups to be seen as visibly modern. Perhaps it is here that those "civilizing" Canadian missionaries left their mark. Ethnic heritage can be defended in the schools, churches and national halls, but those buildings themselves must show both a "progressive" face, prosperity and intimations of conformity.

There are comparatively few monuments and memorials in Ukrainian heritage work. In 1941 there were some commemorations to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. Interestingly the Ukrainians place less emphasis on the prosperity the Mennonites give thanks for, than on the suffering and hardships of the emigrant.<sup>22</sup> On the whole, the tendency has been to build useful halls, residences, archives or retirement homes and to name these buildings after saints, or Ukrainian literary figures, giving further evidence of the Ukrainian nationalism that has defined the community's heritage activities. The two most striking examples of Ukrainian national public monuments are the Shevchenko statue, which dominates the west side of Manitoba's legislative grounds, and the new memorial to the victims of the Ukrainian famine of the 1930s in the Soviet Union which stands, equally symbolically, in front of Winnipeg City Hall on Main Street.

Taras Shevchenko, a mid-nineteenth-century Ukrainian poet who inspired important popular cultural movements, dominates the Ukrainian pantheon of heroes. Like Sigurdsson for the Icelanders, he represents the awakening

patriotism of the homeland at the time of emigration. In addition, for Ukrainians who are frequently divided by politics and religion, Shevchenko represents the part of their heritage that can unite them. Similar statues have been erected across Canada and elsewhere in the Ukrainian diaspora. The Winnipeg version, however, shows not a romantic young poet but the old man, solemn and statesmanlike, perhaps reflecting both the location and the image the community wished—in 1961—to project. Unveiled amidst great emotion at a ceremony attended by more than fifty thousand people, the Shevchenko statue is used throughout the year as a point of pilgrimage, vigil and remembrance.

The memorial to the famine, dedicated in 1985, is a more aggressive use of history, a consciously political monument. Shevchenko took his place alongside other statuary: Cartier, Queen Victoria, Robbie Burns and the victorious soldier of World War I. He represented, in that sense, the position that Ukrainians had claimed in Manitoba society. The famine monument, a dramatic slab with stark and apparently different inscriptions in Ukrainian and English, commemorates neither pioneer hardships nor victories, nor the presence of Ukrainians in Manitoba. It aims primarily to keep alive the history of Russian oppression of Ukrainians in a way that was closed to those who remain in the Soviet Union. The Ukrainians have chosen their own roots in Manitoba. They have not defined their heritage as British, monarchist or solely agricultural. They have not adopted "Canadian" heroes or significantly created Ukrainian-Canadian heroes. They have rather retained the sense of a separate identity which still has a part to play in European affairs. They have made most Manitobans aware of a new provincial multicultural identity which has developed since the 1960s. Shevchenko may not yet be a household name, but the Ukrainian churches, the folk culture and the performing arts are now readily identifiable as both Ukrainian and Manitoban.

In the 1960s other non-British groups began to develop their heritage activities. One among many of these, the Jewish Historical Society (JHS) of western Canada, was formed in 1968 with an executive director based in Winnipeg. Jewish immigration dates from the 1880s and has been primarily, though not entirely, urban and Winnipeg-based. Support for Jewish schools, celebrations of the Balfour Declaration, the creation of theatres and libraries were all forms of heritage activities in earlier years. More recently, the archives, photograph collection, lectures, publications and oral history work of the JHS provided the foundation for two highly successful exhibits—"Journeys into Our Heritage"—in the 1970s. Like Ukrainians and Mennonites, the sense of origins remains important. The burden of European history rests inevitably and tragically on every modern Jewish community.

The Société Historique de Saint Boniface underwent a pronounced revival in the 1970s. Though still concerned with the inheritance of La Vérendrye it has, through the efforts of a very small but dedicated group of young Franco-Manitobans, diversified both ideology and activities to include an expanded and

organized archives, publications, conferences, heritage workshops in communities outside Winnipeg, and to take on the management of Louis Riel House in St. Vital.<sup>23</sup> The Société's enthusiastic expansion is in part a reflection of the apparently more secure position of the French in Manitoba. Governments (both federal and provincial) and the courts have, in the 1970s and 1980s, recognized the historic place of their language and community. It is now legal again to be taught in French in Manitoba. The *Centre Culturel* in St. Boniface constructed with federal Liberal support is the visible monument to their increased viability, as is the expanded and popular *Festival du Voyageur*—a French rather than Métis celebration.

The darker side of these changes was the virulent, racist and poisonous campaign of 1983-84 waged against French language rights by an uncomfortably large portion of the province's population. The combination of the legacy of the old Orange Order Ontario settlers who had expected to recreate a new Ontario here, and the views of some later European migrants who felt that a French minority should not enjoy rights denied to them, was a powerful and unpleasant force. From the perspective of heritage, however, it indicates how superficial have been the efforts to create the sense of a shared past in Manitoba. For the Canadians who opposed the restoration of French language rights, Manitoba was considered an English province like others in western Canada. To the European migrants, settling in Manitoba has clearly the same "meaning" as settling in Alberta. But Manitoba has had a unique past. Red River society was unusual: English, French, Cree and Ojibway were all part of an immense trading, farming and hunting empire which had its centre at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine. The sense of that experience obviously has not taken deep roots either in the schools or in the ideological framework of heritage activities. The modern shared image of Manitoba as a multicultural, tolerant society is one which is based on the implicit dismissal of the role of British, French and Native heritage.

Centennial activities began with the provincial celebrations of 1970 but continued, in rural municipalities, school districts and amongst ethnic groups, for at least a decade. Most resulted in pioneer commemorations, often in the form of local histories, frequently dictated by the style and format of the enterprising printers, D.W. Friesen of Altona. From a provincial perspective the three most significant visible achievements of this decade were the creation of a modern and highly successful Museum of Man and Nature in Winnipeg—a joint community and government venture—the acquisition of the HBC archives by the Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), and the growth in activity of the Historic Sites Advisory Board of Manitoba.

The Museum of Man and Nature is based on the unique (in the museum world) philosophical basis of the interpretation of the relationship between mankind and the land. It has become a most successful tourist attraction, being granted three stars by the most recent *Guide Michelin*. It has been particularly

successful in its community relations with ethnic groups in the province, and has provided a stimulus and a source of professional advice to the growing number of community museums. It was also well situated to take advantage of the expansion of federal museum programs in these years of utopian cultural policies of "decentralization and democratization."

The PAM had been for some decades obviously lagging behind developments elsewhere in Canada. The acquisition by the Schreyer Government of the three centuries of HBC archives made the PAM suddenly second in importance only to the Public Archives of Canada. By the 1980s the creation of an infrastructure of buildings and conservation facilities, the availability of more professional archivists, and the initiation of a sound government records management program has enabled the PAM to fulfill the expectations and promise of the 1970s. As at the museum, the PAM's staff has acted as a stimulus to archival development and professional growth elsewhere in the province. For both institutions this has been a consciously developed part of their responsibility.

Less obvious was the development of a provincial Historic Resources Branch, now part of the Department of Culture, Heritage and Recreation. An Historic Sites Advisory Board was created as long ago as 1946, and has provided advice to various government ministries until the present day. It has been largely an "English" board, with some French representation, but made little attempt to represent the broad Manitoba community until it was reconstituted under the Pawley government. It had been primarily a board of "professional" historians, archaeologists and historical writers. By the 1950s the board had begun to meet regularly, had insisted that a government department be made responsible for heritage, and had begun a program of erecting historical plaques commemorating events and people of "provincial significance." The ideology of this board paralleled W.L. Morton's work of the time. Red River society and the fur trade were of greatest significance; Mennonite and Icelandic settlement was marked; plaques were written in both French and English; and the emphasis remained on commemoration rather than preservation.

The major change in board activities came in 1972 with the appointment of J.E. Rea as chairman. Although the board itself remained largely unrepresentative of the Manitoba community and became increasingly technical (and archaeological) in its concerns,<sup>24</sup> it was able to pursue a much more active role in preserving and creating a "heritage" for the province. Federal and provincial temporary employment programs of the mid-1970s enabled a large summer student research program to be developed. Rea himself had just initiated the first course in Manitoba history at the University of Manitoba and many of these students were employed in providing, for the first time, research on both individual and thematic aspects of provincial history. A relatively recent Heritage Resources Act (1967) also gave more specific powers to the government and regularized the role of the board. Finally, the appointment of J.D. McFarland as head of a civil service directly and solely responsible for heritage,



and who also served as secretary to the board, enabled, for the first time, its recommendations to be systematically carried out.

It was this board which developed the careful designation, by Order in Council, of sites of provincial significance, thus giving them a more secure protection. The interests and expertise of Deputy Minister Mary Elizabeth Bayer were also important to the board's legacy, leading to the federal-provincial agreement for the development of the River Road Heritage Parkway. Towards the end of the decade there was an evident interest in the architectural heritage of the province. An architectural historian was added to the civil service and systematic inventory of the province's buildings begun on the basis of the provincial planning districts. The plaque program expanded in the 1970s but its ideology became more diverse, and included the commemoration of several English professional women, one Ukrainian site, and provision for several plaques to architectural styles. Unveiling ceremonies became more elaborate, with local communities more closely involved and a well-researched, illustrated pamphlet produced for each topic. Theme studies on building types such as churches and railway stations were published and helped the province establish its leadership role in heritage education.

Through the Historic Sites Board the state was reaching more directly to create and initiate a provincial "heritage." The professional staff employed—archaeologists, historians and architectural historians—not only responded to the suggestions of the board and the general public but produced surveys, wrote history, administered grant programs to local communities and developed professional networks with other provincial historical agencies such as museums, archives and universities, and increasingly with the personnel of the new Parks Canada regional offices in Winnipeg. A major long-term effect of the work of the 1970s has been the creation of a professional, heritage public service across the province. Its impact has, collectively, been remarkable and, being largely concentrated in Winnipeg, more effective perhaps than in other western provinces where urban resources are divided.

Under the NDP government of the 1980s a new Heritage Resources Act was proclaimed (12 May 1986), which has the dual purpose of providing greatly increased protection for sites and objects, and enlarging municipal heritage responsibilities and opportunities. In addition, a new Heritage Federation, an "umbrella group" representing most of the provincial historical, genealogical, museum, archival and archaeological societies, has been made responsible for the distribution of substantial lottery funds for heritage purposes.

Much of the state's activity was too late in conservation terms, for the destruction of the old Winnipeg was underway. Most of the great mansions of Broadway were replaced by the smooth concrete exterior of the insurance offices during the 1950s. Fort Rouge, an attractive and architecturally diverse area, was rapidly torn apart by boutique and high-rise development in the 1970s.

The destruction in the 1960s of Winnipeg City Hall and marketplace was a major symbolic blow, although few voices were raised in opposition at the time. City planners have since spent large sums and much effort recreating the historic warehouse district so recently destroyed. Only the economic recession in the latter part of the decade preserved other residential areas of the city.

Partly because of new public attitudes and new enabling legislation, a consciousness of heritage is now evident in the rebuilding of downtown Winnipeg. The Core Area Initiative Heritage Program has placed particular emphasis on the recycling of warehouse space and the preservation of parts of the built environment. This is a notable victory. Although the city, and Winnipeg in particular, is evidence of a kind of bourgeois triumph, few businessmen are interested in its preservation. The frontier of commercial adventure usually lies elsewhere. It would be tempting to argue that the major shift required in public thinking to the belief that "preservation is progressive" has in fact begun. Such thinking is still, however, largely upper-middle class and urban in origin. Its success derives more from the commercial argument that "heritage pays," and the desire to provide a more aesthetically stimulating *modern* environment, than to any widespread understanding of, or devotion to, a shared past.

## Conclusion

The invention of "Manitoba" or the ideology of heritage has reflected dramatic alterations in the composition of its people. The uniqueness of that mixed Red River society was co-opted into a broader British and imperial theology which remained paramount until the middle of the twentieth century.

Multiculturalism has now become the dominant heritage theology of contemporary Manitoba. It is clear that this interpretation of Manitoba simply as a community of "new peoples" much like any other prairie province is acceptable and perhaps necessary for the present generation. For the divisions within Manitoba society run deep. Each provincial or Winnipeg civic election demonstrates the inheritance of the General Strike and the class consciousness on which it was based. The French language issue still divides families and communities. The erection of a plaque, a statue or even a postage stamp dedicated to Riel can evoke bitter memories. Manitoba was born in violence. Race, class, language and politics have always divided Manitobans.<sup>25</sup> In spite of this, or perhaps because of it, Manitobans prefer a public ideology of consensus, unity and equality which they have termed multiculturalism.

In form, "heritage" has also changed: from the simple graveyards of the Red River parishes or the Indian mounds of southern Manitoba, to the more elaborate commemoration of ancestors and loyalism at the Seven Oaks monuments in the 1890s, to the contemporary massive state presentations of heritage in museums, archives and heritage parks. The move to viewing "heritage" as building preservation, prevalent particularly in the city of Winnipeg, is significant. The

emphasis upon architectural heritage has an inherent bias for the preservation of monuments to wealth and power. It is also unfortunately dependent on market conditions and usually on government intervention for support.

The purpose of heritage has altered dramatically. Until the 1920s it was used by the Ontario and English newcomers to inculcate imperial patriotism and to add the moral weight of history to their own claims to local supremacy. By the 1930s the ethnic communities' search for a usable past was also taking visible shape. Ironically it was their demonstration of loyalty in World War II which enabled them to find a wider acceptance for their redefinition of Manitoba. No longer the domain of the Anglo-Canadian, "heritage" became, for central Europeans at least, one of the expressions of legitimacy. Manitoba, of course, is still in the making. It is hardly the friendly Manitoba proclaimed on its licence plates. Yet the readiness of the old order to accept the new multiculturalism indicates that we have moved beyond the "superficial friendliness" which, in W.L. Morton's view, characterized the modern province. It may still be possible for a future society to fully incorporate the French, Métis and Indian experience into its definition of the Manitoba community.<sup>26</sup>

In piloting the Manitoba Act through the dominion Parliament in 1870, Sir George-Etienne Cartier envisioned for us a destiny as yet unfulfilled:

May the new province of Manitoba always speak to the North West the Language of reason, truth and justice.

#### NOTES

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1. See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
2. G.A. Friesen, "The Manitoba Historical Society: A Centennial History," *Manitoba History* 4 (1982).
3. Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Women's Canadian Club of Winnipeg, Minute Book, 1907.
4. A persistent and ultimately unsuccessful enthusiasm of the ladies of the WCC was for the preservation of the buffalo wallows of western Canada. Mrs. McAllister, daughter of John Norquay, the Métis premier of Manitoba, pointed out that "the rails are fast being obliterated to make way for the modern monarch of our plains, GOLDEN WHEAT . . . A live nation preserves its records, gathers reminiscences, decorates the tombs of its dead, and fosters national pride and love of country by perpetual references to the sacrifices of the pioneers of the past." W.J. Healey, *Women of Red River* (Winnipeg: n.p., 1922).
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Winnipeg Free Press*, 23 October 1906.

7. As early as 1888, the Manitoba Historical Society had indicated a concern for the preservation of the gate of Upper Fort Garry. See notice in *Manitoba Sun*, 13 April 1888. I am grateful to Neil Einarson for drawing this to my attention. It is believed to be the earliest recorded instance of a public effort to preserve Manitoba's built environment.
8. The Reverend G. Bryce, "The Canadianization of Western Canada," address before the Royal Society of Canada, reported in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, 15 October 1910.
9. PAM, Women's Canadian Club, Minute Book, 11 May 1911.
10. *Ibid.*, 13 November 1909.
11. As the historian Donatien Frémont noted, "Le français fut avec l'expédition de La Vérendrye, la première langue européenne parlée à l'ouest des Grands Lacs et il garda la prépondérance jusqu'à l'entrée du Manitoba dans la Confédération." *Winnipeg Free Press*, 13 November 1944.
12. *Winnipeg Free Press*, 23 October 1906. During the centennial celebrations of the 1970s in Winnipeg and Manitoba, there was much discussion of the role of Riel as a founding father of the province. The commemorative postage stamp that featured Riel created some distress for some of the English community. A statue of Riel built behind the legislature also created controversy in the province, in part for its artistic qualities, but also for the homage it offered to one who was not universally revered.
13. *Annual Report*, Legislative Library of Manitoba, 1906.
14. By 1916 these people had also lost their language rights in schools, and were further tainted in English eyes "by the Quebecois attitude to conscription." They did not share (Poles excepted) the definition of the community which came with Armistice. Similarly the fear of the enemy and indeed of all German-speaking people fell hard upon Mennonites, many of whom had lived in Manitoba since the 1870s. Their pacifism made them doubly suspect and to demonstrate loyalty many Mennonite communities made substantial contributions to the Red Cross or Belgian relief. From a heritage perspective the broader Manitoba community had defined Mennonites as the "enemy within." The Belgians, several thousand strong by the 1920s, were, in spite of their obvious status as loyal allies, in an ambivalent position as they were readily identified as part of the Franco-Manitoban community. Heritage activity enabled them to emphasize their distinctiveness in a way not appropriate in politics or religion. Their most evident monument is the magnificent and unusual statue outside the Belgian Club which depicts the agonies of World War I. It was not by chance, nor just as a memorial to "gallant little Belgium," that they sought to represent their heritage by "loyalty."
15. The annual *Islendingadagurin* began in Winnipeg in 1890, later moved to Gimli, and was for many years the festival of both Canadian and American Icelanders. Like similar festivals in Iceland itself the ceremonies begin as a tribute in speech and verse to Iceland. An unusual Manitoba feature has been the annual selection (since 1924) of the "Maid of the Mountain," who in white dress and veil, her green train trimmed with ermine, represents the spirit of Iceland.
16. As the Massey Commission set out across Canada in 1949, it was aware of many dissatisfactions with the state of national artistic, musical and scholarly endeavour. It was hardly prepared for the widespread concern about the state of libraries, archives, museums and historic sites. Manitoba's postwar concerns were very much those of the nation. The Women's Institutes, the HBC Museum, the Symphony and others presented briefs to the

Massey Commission. At the commissioners' request, Professor W.L. Morton prepared a special report on the role of local historical societies and museums.

17. In this post-1945 period, the historical and intellectual world of Manitoba owed much to the life and public spirit of Professor Morton. Born in Gladstone, Manitoba, the son of a provincial politician, he became the preeminent historian on prairie Canada and offered a lasting perspective on national history. Conservative politically, he maintained an active role in public and voluntary institutions. His 1957 volume, *Manitoba, A History*, was recognized as Canada's finest provincial history, but was only one part of his contribution. With Margaret McWilliams, an amateur historian and the wife of the lieutenant governor, and Leslie Johnstone, provincial librarian, he reformed the Manitoba Historical Society. Scholarly activities pursued by the society in this period were the revival of *Transactions*, an annual volume of papers read before the society; the provision of aid to a newly formed Manitoba Record Society; and the sponsorship of an historical atlas. Public education was also seen as part of the mandate of the society, as it had been in earlier decades. Essay competitions were sponsored, the popular magazine *Pageant* was published regularly, and assistance to small museums and local historical societies was made available.
18. Arnold Dyck in the same period produced a monthly magazine, *Mennonitische Volkswarte*, written in both High and Low German, which reprinted historical documents, promoted and preserved Mennonite literature and culture. The Conference on Mennonites in Canada (Saskatchewan and Manitoba) appointed its first archivist in 1933 and a Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society emerged in the 1940s. See Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1920-1940* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1982).
19. The creation of National Homes (*narodni domy*) throughout the province—nonsectarian bases for education and literary activity—was perhaps the most important of early heritage activities. Here, the new Canadians were able to define themselves not as the "men in sheepskin coats" whom the English saw, but as free Ukrainians united by language, literature and Ukrainian nationalism.
20. See Stella Hryniuk, "Interview with Emil Michaels," *Manitoba History* 4 (1982): 21-25.
21. R.B. Klymasz, "The Fine Arts" in Manoly Lupol, ed., *A Heritage in Transition* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982).
22. The stone monument near Olha, for example, tells the tragic story of the scarlet fever epidemic of 1899 which killed the forty-two children of newly arrived settlers. As in the Ukraine, Crosses of Freedom were erected in Manitoba in the 1890s. Some have been given more permanent form and one, near Dauphin, was commemorated in 1985 as a provincial historic site. See also St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Gardenton, *75th Anniversary Booklet*, for illustrations of World War I memorials and church commemorations. I am grateful to Professor O. Gerus for drawing my attention to this.
23. Franco-Manitobans suffered a tragic loss in the accidental death of the young Professor Robert Painchaud whose name is now commemorated in the *Prix Painchaud*, awarded for the best historical writing of French Canadians in the west.
24. Leo Pettipas, the chief of archaeology, Historical Resources Branch, Province of Manitoba, has noted, correctly, that there is only passing reference to the archaeological heritage of Manitoba in this article. He has drawn my attention to the work of amateur archaeologists from the "scientists" of the Historical Society with their speculations about mound builders to the present amateur archaeologists. Professional archaeology begins in 1961 with a salvage project for the Grand Rapids hydroelectric development; other significant salvage work was carried out for the Winnipeg Floodway Development in the mid-1960s

and for the Churchill River Diversion project in the 1970s. The first comprehensive volume on Manitoba precontact cultural history, *Ten Thousand Years: Archaeology in Manitoba*, was published in 1970 and a professional association of Historic Resources Branch archaeologists discovered conclusive evidence of precontact agriculture at Lockport, the only discovery of its kind in western Canada. I am most grateful to Mr. Pettipas for his guidance.

25. During the winter of 1989 there was much discussion about the desirability of building a German cultural centre at the new development at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine. Many ethnic groups united to oppose the precedence given to the German Canadian Congress. The timing of the proposal coincided with the destruction of the Berlin Wall which a local German businessman talked of rebuilding as part of the "heritage" at the Forks. British Manitobans, perhaps uneasy at the prospect of the new Germany, also opposed the new centre. Recent immigrants, strong adherents of multicultural ideology, resented the apparent political influence of the German community and campaigned vigorously against its proposed centre. Yet the visible expression of the "multicultural Manitoba heritage" reflects little of these divisions. Its function is as a palliative—the sugar coating for a core of bitterness.
26. One of the more surprising elements of the public debate over heritage priorities at the Forks was the general acceptance of the preeminence of the claims of Native people to the *first place* in heritage presentation at the forks site. The popular support evident in the summer of 1990 for the position of Elijah Harper, the Native member of the Legislative Assembly who successfully ended the Meech Lake issue, was less surprising. Many Manitobans who opposed the constitutional changes for non-Native reasons were relieved that Natives had closed the debate on an issue which could not be perceived (outside the central Canadian media!) as an anti-Québec position. Both events, however, seem to indicate a new popular acceptance of the significance of the Native heritage of Manitoba.