Saskatchewan HISTORY

★ ON THE OLD
SASKATCHEWAN
TRAIL
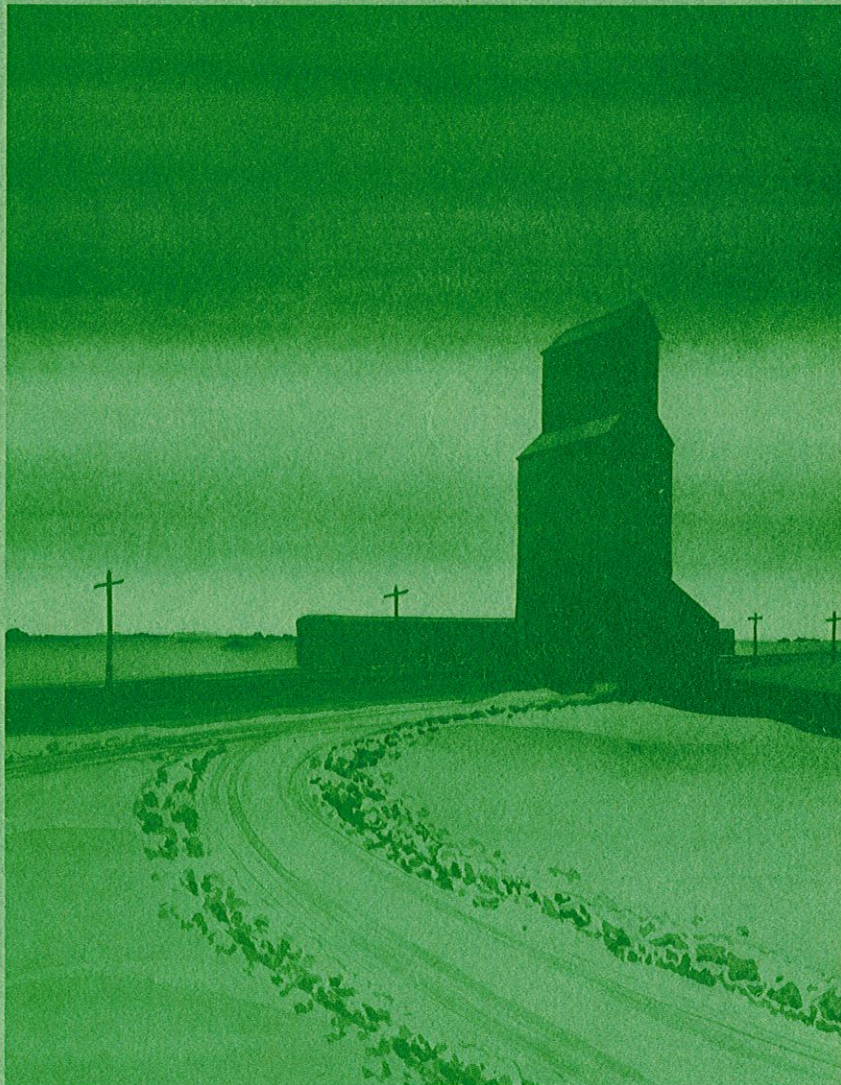
BY

BRUCE PEEL

★ PLACE NAMES

BY

ALEX R. CAMERON

Saskatchewan History

Contents

On the Old Saskatchewan Trail

O F ALL the trails fanning out from the Red River settlements in the days before the railroad reached the prairie, none was more travelled than the famous Saskatchewan Trail. Its parallel grooves, cut deep by Red River cart and settler's wagon, wound nine hundred miles from Fort Garry to Edmonton. Apparently a party of emigrants bound for Oregon territory made the first wheel tracks in 1841. Along this trail travelled hunter, trader, freighter, and pioneer until the steel of the C.P.R. outflanked it forty years later. Then homesteaders' ploughs turned its deep grooves under; perhaps though, here and there in unbroken pastures, traces may still be seen.

Shall we re-travel the old trail? To see it in its active days we'll go back through the years to 1880. Winnipeg must be the starting point and in this shack-and-tent city we purchase our equipage. We pay half-breeds $10 apiece for Red River carts, which are preferable to wagons or democrats; a breakdown with the latter when miles from a blacksmith would be a calamity, but wooden carts we can mend ourselves with shaganappi.[1] We shall buy native ponies instead of the slower oxen. Sometimes feed oats are carried for fast travel, but we will do as the freighters do—graze our horses along the way. Why are we taking so many carts? Remember that we carry camping equipment with us, and our provisions—six weeks' supply of flour, salted bacon, and tea. Formerly pemmican was the staple diet of the western traveller, but there is a scarcity now that the buffalo come no nearer than Wood Mountain. We will of course do a bit of shooting along the way, mostly of ducks and prairie chicken. We can get along without the usual half-breed guide; I know the trail well.

We are off! We follow the Portage trail (which townfolk are beginning to call an avenue) out of Winnipeg.[2] The Assiniboine River is in sight for the first half-day's journey. As far as Sturgeon Creek, seven miles out, the road is more or less enclosed by fences, mostly rail, although we do see some of that new fangled barb wire. This is the Silver Heights neighborhood. That handsome residence is the home of Donald A. Smith. Yes, those buffalo are domesticated animals which the Hon. James McKay has tried crossing with cattle.[3] Now, as we enter the half-breed parishes, the fences almost disappear, for little land is under cultivation.

Let us camp by this slough. It is usual for cart trains to halt early the first day on the trail, as loads and harness often need adjusting. Hobble the horses. You may erect those store tents, though in fine weather we usually curl up under the carts. Gather dry wood from the bluff for the camp fire. We'll cook bannocks and wash them down with strong tea. Slough water? Just skim those bugs and polliwogs out. You'll have to put up with the mosquitoes; there are myriads at every slough along the way.

Beginning tomorrow we shall break camp shortly after daybreak, march until seven, when we stop for breakfast and to graze our ponies, then until

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[1] A Cree word, meaning strips of rawhide.
[2] Mary Hislop, *The Streets of Winnipeg* (Winnipeg, 1912), pp. 22-23.
[3] James Trow, *Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Ottawa, 1878), p. 27.

OLD SASKATCHEWAN TRAIL

Red River

Winnipeg

Portage

Assiniboine River

Shoal Lake

Fort Ellice

Qu'Appelle River

Fort Qu'Appelle

Touchwood Hills

Big Quill Lakes

Salt Plains

Humboldt

Batoche

Gabriel's

Fort Carlton

Prince Albert

Saskatchewan River

South Saskatchewan River

Battleford

Fort Pitt

Victoria

Edmonton

Missouri River

Milk River

Fort McLeod
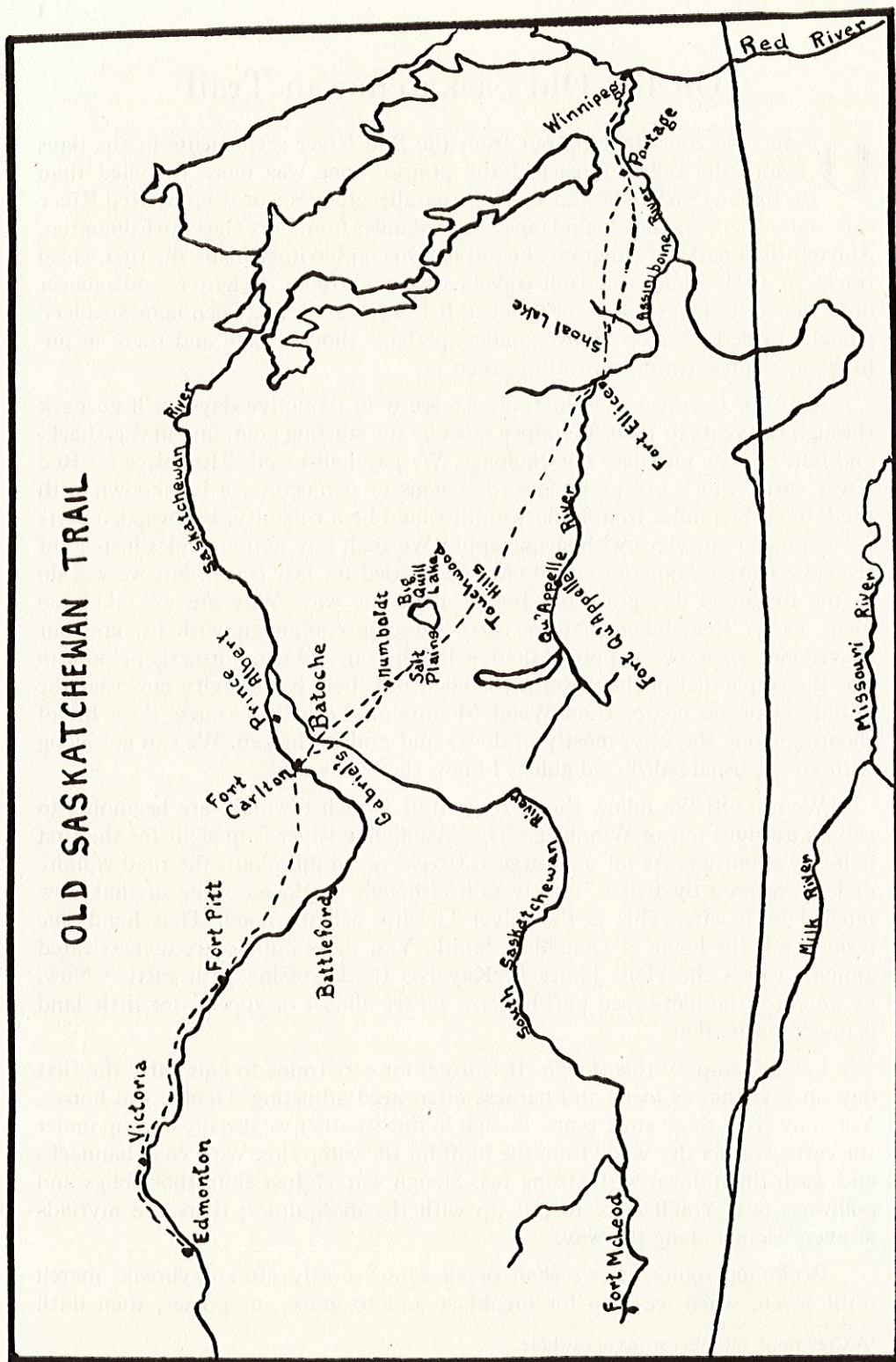
noon when we have another grazing halt, and finally camp about six o'clock for the night. We'll travel ten hours a day. The Overlanders in 1862 were forty-nine days on the trail. Last year the Rev. D. M. Gordon covered it in thirty-three days. Governor Simpson's record of twenty-two days has probably never been broken, but he had all the facilities of a great company at his disposal. Our Red River freighters with loaded carts take two months. The Hudson's Bay Company forts of Ellice, Carlton, and Pitt are important stations along our route. Fast liveries, with relays of horses and good roads, skim over the sixty miles to Portage la Prairie in seven hours, but it will take us over two days.[4] Fortunately for us, it is midsummer; earlier in the year the friendly adhesiveness of Manitoba mud makes wheeled traffic almost impossible. Last year W. J. Carter's party was ten days reaching Portage.[5]

The level, open country we are crossing is St. Francis Xavier parish, once called White Horse Plains after an Indian legend. At the western edge of the parish Lane's Post was the regular stopping place until it was closed a few years back by the Hudson's Bay Company.[6] A shrewd American, Mr. House, combines innkeeping with farming, about twenty-six miles out from Winnipeg.[7] North-west of House's "hotel" is Long Lake, a body of water several miles in length, with a lowland called Baie de St. Paul lying between it and the Assiniboine. If the river were at highwater, the Baie would be a drowned prairie and we would have to take the long trail north of the lake. As the trail straight across the Baie is still too wet for travel, we follow the one winding close to the brushwood of the river bank. We had better pay the farmer the twenty-five cent toll he is asking for the privilege of crossing his narrow strip of land because the regular trail is impassable, and if we went to the other side of the lake we would only meet another tollman who owns a bridge.[8]

From Poplar Point to Rat Creek, the country is well settled, mostly by Ontario people who have to come the North-West since it became a part of Canada. John McDougall, the missionary, said that the first time he came down the Saskatchewan Trail, in 1864, there were only two white men in Portage la Prairie; now it is a thriving town of 1,200.[9] The wide street built along the trail has been named Saskatchewan Avenue.[10] Near here we may meet a band of Sioux Indians, who fled from Minnesota in 1862 after massacring white settlers. Although travellers who know the tale feel a little nervous, the Indians are really quite law-abiding.[11] At Rat Creek, some ten miles west, the trail forks. The north branch angles northwest through Gladstone and other new settlements, and the other branch, which we follow, continues due west. Spec-

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[4]Peter Mitchell, *The West and North-West* (Montreal, 1880), p. 31.

[5]W. J. Carter, *Forty Years in the North-West*, MS. in Manuscripts Collection, University of Saskatchewan Library, p. 2.

[6]G. M. Grant, *Ocean to Ocean* (Toronto, 1873), p. 77.

[7]Trow, p. 28. Also David Currie, *Letters of Rusticus* (Montreal, 1880), pp. 14-15.

[8]*Ibid.*

[9]John McDougall, *Saddle, Sled and Snowshoe* (Toronto, 1896), p. 143.

[10]The business section was originally on Main Street, but after the wave of incendiarism in 1886-88 many of the business establishments re-built on Saskatchewan Avenue. See A. C. Garrioch, *First Furrows* (Winnipeg, 1923), p. 324.

[11]John McDougall, *In the days of the Red River Rebellion* (Toronto, 1903), pp. 268-9. See also Grant, p. 79 and p. 87.

ulation is rife about the final location of the railway, at present expected to run through settlements on the north trail; Portage is apprehensive about its future. It is at Rat Creek that we see the farm of Kenneth McKenzie, one of the show places of the province. This industrious Scotch family came from Guelph in 1869 after hearing George McDougall lecture on the great agricultural future of the North-West. McKenzie now owns several farms totalling 5,000 acres, of which he farms 800 and rents the remainder. Farmers' delegates from the Old Country and government officials are always shown his farm as an example of the agricultural capabilities of the province. He has named the post office Burnside. Nearby lives Grant, who eight years ago was the last settler before entering the "great lone land."[12]

There are few settlers along our trail now because much of the land is government reserve. Last year there were only four or five settlers in a distance of thirty-five miles. We are entering the "bad woods," a stretch which is invariably bad and consequently much dreaded by freighters. In the next twenty-five or thirty miles you will see more broken axles and wheels than in the remainder of the trip.[13] The trail winds around many of the sloughs, but some we wade through. One newspaper man said Bunyan's description of the Slough of Despond was the best word picture ever written of a Manitoba slough; had Christian, he added, been confronted by as many as the Manitoba traveller he would have returned in despair to the City of Destruction.[14] Tuck up the tails of your coat— this is one we wade through. Ride? Man, the horse will have trouble enough dragging the cart! Besides, you may have to push.

Along this stretch of the trail we cross several creeks, the largest of which is Pine Creek. We cross Miry or Bog Creek—well named—on a rough bridge built by McKinnon, a settler, who charges twenty-five cents toll for a double team and fifteen cents for a single. They say he collects about $2,000 annually in tolls.[15] Past McKinnon's we leave the mud behind, and the trail follows sand hills which run northwesterly and appear to have been the shores of a prehistoric lake. Five miles from the deep valley of the rapid-flowing Little Saskatchewan[16] we come to a fork in the road, one branch leading to the ford in the river, the other to Tanner's Crossing. Tanner operates a toll bridge, too, and a post office with mail service once in three weeks. As his family is illiterate, if the postmaster is away the inquirer is shown the community mail and invited to pick out his own. Those few houses you see nearby are Prairie City. We climb out of the valley and twenty-five miles further pass Salt Lake. Chief Factor Rowand used to tell of camping beside it on his way down from the Saskatchewan country in '41. The party had the water boiling for tea before they discovered its alkaline properties.[17] Shoal Lake, ten miles west, is a delightful camping place. It is a post of the Mounted Police who examine our carts for liquor. We are now in the North-West Territories where prohibition is in force. Twenty-one miles on

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[12]Mitchell, pp. 32-33; Trow, p. 33; Grant, p. 82.
[13]Trow, p. 34; Currie, p. 44.
[14]W. F. Rae, *Newfoundland to Manitoba* (London, 1881), p. 251.
[15]Currie, pp. 43-44.
[16]Now Minnedosa River.
[17]George Simpson, *Narrative of a Jounrey around the World* (London, 1847), p. 64.

we reach Bird Tail Creek and its new settlement called Birtle, a contraction of Bird Tail. The next stop is Fort Ellice, 215 miles from Winnipeg.

Near Fort Ellice the precipitous banks of the Assiniboine are over two hundred feet high with a valley two miles wide at the bottom. The deep valley of the Qu'Appelle can be seen three miles north where that stream enters the Assiniboine. Across the valley is the pallisaded fort, once an important supply depot on the trail. Hunters brought in pemmican from Moose Mountain and beyond. When Milton and Cheadle were there in 1862, Sioux chased the half-breed hunters to the fort, killing four of their party.[18] The days of its glory are over; even now the freighters by-pass it by crossing the Assiniboine at a treacherous ford above the Qu'Appelle in order to avoid the deep valley of the latter. But on this original route we cross both valleys. Down we go on the Assiniboine slope. Whoa, there! Whoa! Dang that shaganappi harness! In this wet weather it stretches like elastic, which is awkward at any time, and may be quite dangerous on a steep grade like this.

Beyond the Qu'Appelle the trail winds through a pretty, rolling country with many bluffs, whose beauty has been marred by frequent prairie fires. Last fall, when travelling this portion of the trail, Gordon saw distant fires for several nights in succession. The worst of burnt prairie is that travellers find little grazing for the horses. That prominent hill on our left is a well-known landmark. Originally it was called Wolverine Hill, or Butte à Carcajar, by Indians and half-breeds. According to a legend, Assiniboine Indians massacred a small band of Crees in the vicinity. One, the Wolverine by name, escaped, though wounded, and crawled to the top of the hill. Among the victors was his former squaw who had been stolen by an Assiniboine. It was she who trailed the bleeding brave, found him asleep, and killed him. Recently the hill has been renamed Spy Hill.[19] That is only one example of the changes government surveyors, ignorant of Indian and half-breed names, are making in the nomenclature of the North-West. We camp at Big Cut Arm Creek, which the Indians and half-breeds know as Broken Arm Creek because here an Indian broke his arm in a fall from a pony.[20]

Between the creek and the Touchwood Hills[21] the trail crosses two extensive plains, each about twenty miles in length; the second is called the Big Pheasant Plain. In the prairie country an open space is called a "traverse" because it has to be crossed before a good camping place can be found. Fill your water keg and throw some wood in your cart as we may not reach the other side before nightfall. In the old days when buffalo roamed this area, a camper caught on the open plains might burn buffalo chips, or "bois des vaches," as our half-breeds call them. Now we have to carry wood.

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[18]W. B. Cheadle, *Cheadle's Journal* (Ottawa, 1931), p. 54.

[19]Simpson, pp. 68-69. H. Y. Hind in *Narrative . . . Red River . . . Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Expedition . . .* (London, 1860), Vol. 1, p. 424, said Spy Hill was also called *Ka-pa-kam-a-ou*, meaning "some one knocked."

[20]W. H. Williams, *Manitoba and the North-West* (Toronto, 1882), p. 232. Mr. Dickinson, a member of Hind's expedition, gave the Indian name for this as *Kichekiskapettonano Sepesis*. See Hind, Vol. 1, p. 377.

[21]Called Montagnes de Tondre by the half-breeds. See John Palliser, *Exploration . . . Journals . . .* (London, 1863), p. 59.

Two days' journey takes us through the rolling, bluffy country called the Touchwood Hills. At the southeastern edge is a stopping place called Nolin's Station. We cross one of the reservations the government has recently set aside for the Indians and meet Mr. McConnell, the farm instructor, who arrived this summer to teach the Indians agriculture.[22] No, we have seen few Indians for most of the Plains tribes are in the Cypress Hills country chasing the buffalo. The Hudson's Bay post is about fifteen miles off the main trail, but there was an earlier post here beside the trail, which the Overlanders described as an unfenced, round, abandoned building on the top of a hill.[23] Game is plentiful in the hills; even bears could be hunted here a few years ago. Notice how numerous the buffalo runs are. Travellers have always commented on the evidence that this region was a favourite feeding ground. Sanford Fleming picked up three buffalo skulls along the trail to send as specimens to Ottawa, much to the amazement of an Indian lad, Souzie, who by word and gesture urged him to throw away the worthless things.[24]

Here comes the Edmonton mail, an ordinary Red River cart, rattling up behind us. Since the service was established in July of '76, it has gone through with remarkable regularity every three weeks, though last winter—the winter of the big snow—Prince Albert was without mail for nine weeks, and then only letters came through. By spring there were several cartloads of papers for Prince Albert alone. During the first two winters the mail was carried by dog team. It is probably the longest mail route with the fewest post offices in the world. When it was inaugurated there were only three offices west of Shoal Lake. Last year offices were opened at Fort Ellice, Touchwood Hills, Duck Lake, and Prince Albert. The Hon. J. McKay, better known as "Big Jim," has the contract, which is worth $10,000 a year, but then he has to keep three or four vehicles on the trail.[25]

This vast alkaline flat we are approaching is Salt Plains. We will camp now in order to get an early start, for it is a good day's journey across, and only by careful planning can we reach the few water-holes at grazing time. The plain is dreaded by travellers, particularly in the winter, because it is treeless and the water in the numerous sloughs is undrinkable for man or beast. About the middle is a clump of stunted bushes called the Stoneberry Bushes, which is the noon camp for winter travellers as it offers the only protection on the flat. Our objective for the night camp is a fresh water lake between two hills near the western edge. A few years ago a government official, missing the water-holes, travelled all night in search of water. Sometimes at dusk on these plains the anxious traveller sees the shimmer of a body of water and hastens forward to find he has been deceived

[22]Williams, pp. 223-224.

[23]M. S. Wade, *The Overlanders of '62* (Victoria, 1931), p. 61.

[24]Grant, p. 122.

[25]*Canada, Reports of the Postmaster General,* 1877-1881. Also, Carter, p. 55. Late in 1880 the contract was taken over by "Flatboat McLean." On July 17, 1886, the Prince Albert mail was held up on the trail near Humboldt. The highwayman robbed the mail of six registered letters containing $1165.40. The mailman later recognized the thief on the streets of Prince Albert, and the latter was sentenced to fourteen years in the penitentiary. This was, I believe, the only "stagecoach" hold-up in Western Canada. See *Report of the Postmaster General* in *Canada, Sessional Papers,* 1888, No. 13, Part III, p. 26. Also, John Hawkes, *Story of Saskatchewan and its People* (Regina-Chicago, 1924), pp. 893-4.

by an alkali bed. Grant described the road as the worst his party had travelled since leaving Red River. A settler up at Prince Albert says it took him ten days to pass over the flat because he had to unload his wagon time and again and even take off the wheels to free it from the alkali.[26] Another settler tells of working all day and only advancing a thousand yards.[27]

A day's travel beyond the plains brings us to Humboldt, the telegraph station on the line which follows the original railway survey from Winnipeg to Edmonton. We have a choice of trails here. A new one goes west to Clark's Crossing and Battleford. The two older trails both lead to Carlton, but one crosses the South Saskatchewan at Gabriel's Crossing, the other at Batoche. We'll take the latter, which is the earlier trail. That is the Hill of the Cross you see at the other side of Twelve Mile Plain. Two years ago a half-breed family camped there on the way down to the Red River. The nineteen-year old daughter, who was to be married against her wishes to a man of her parents' choice, poisoned herself during the night. Over her grave on the hill-top the family erected that huge cross.[28]

Hear the screeching of another cart train. It may be half an hour or more before we meet it, though we will probably see it from the top of the next knoll. Now I wouldn't be surprised if that were John Grant, the famous freighter. I remember meeting his train shortly after sunrise one morning in '78 on his way to Battleford with Lieutenant-Governor Laird's family. He was charging the eleven members of the household $70 apiece.[29] Freight rates are high here, about a dollar a hundredweight for every hundred miles by trail. Freighting is big business among the half-breeds and some of them are wealthy, operating from thirty to as many as a hundred carts. What will they do a few years from now, when the new railway takes away their trade? We cross the river at Batoche, a half-breed settlement. After the rebellion at Red River, half-breeds began to settle on the Saskatchewan, although they had frequented the area much earlier as hunters and free traders.[30] In the fall of 1872 Xavier Letendre, better known as Batoche, opened a large store at the crossing.[31] Batoche used to operate the ferry, but now Alex Fisher is ferryman. Up the river five miles is Gabriel Dumont's ferry, and down the river is Gariepy's.[32]

In the old days before the establishment of the ferry, the major problem confronting the traveller on the trail was crossing the river here. Carts had to be dismantled, loaded on the bateau kept here, or made into rafts and floated across. As often as not, the bateau was on the wrong side of the river or had

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[26]Senator Davis' narrative, quoted in Hawkes, p. 1001.

[27]J. F. Betts' narrative, quoted in Hawkes, p. 1029.

[28]This story is found in the narratives referred to in the two preceding footnotes. This may be the hill Grant calls Round Hill, and the surveyors called Keespitanow Hill. The latter described it as 8.6 miles from the telegraph station.

[29]Trow, p. 72.

[30]Palliser, p. 65. Dr. Hector met parties of free-traders in the Thickwood Hills in the winter of 1857-58.

[31]A. G. Morice, *Dictionnaire historique des Canadiens et des métis francais de l'Ouest* (Quebec, 1908), p. 9. In 1884 the first cable was strung across the river to operate the ferry. During the battle of Batoche in 1885, the river steamer *Northcote* ran into the cable and had her smoke stacks torn off.

[32]Fisher and Dumont were among the half-breed leaders in the 1885 rebellion.

drifted down stream, and a delay of two or more days was not uncommon. In spring and fall, when the ice could not be trusted or when ice cakes were drifting down the river, the crossing was dangerous. Captain Butler tells a sad story of his faithful pony, Blackie, who went through the ice, and swam round and round until he shot him.[33]

We push on to Fort Carlton passing Stobart and Eden's store at Duck Lake.[34] Fort Carlton is the usual stockaded Hudson's Bay post with buildings arranged in a hollow square.[35] The company's people are most co-operative in ferrying travellers over the North Saskatchewan. From here on the country is more wooded. After camping at the Bears' Paddling Pond[36] twenty-two miles west of the river, we cross the southern flank of the Thickwood Hills. We follow the highlands where the creeks flowing south into the Saskatchewan take their rise, and so avoid many awkward crossings. We skirt Jack Fish Lake and go on to Turtle River. Beyond is Horse Hill, named from one of the innumerable skirmishes between the Crees and Blackfeet. In the battle forty horses were killed, an unusually large number because horses were the prize of war.[37] Until recently the traveller had to be on the alert at night lest his horses be run off and he be left afoot hundreds of miles from a settlement. Horse stealing was an art among the Indians, something one boasted about. McDougall tells of camping in the Touchwood Hills one night when the barking dogs awakened him. Seeing a figure stealthily creeping toward the horses he fired, and wounded an Indian in the shoulder.[38] Tension sometimes led to false alarms. One night Milton and Cheadle were aroused by a commotion and the cry of "Indians!" A figure was seen among the carts, but it turned out to be a sleepwalking member of the party.

Near Fort Pitt we pass Frenchman's Butte, named for a Frenchman who lost his life here long ago.[39] It was near here that Simpson in 1841 caught up with the original trail makers, Red River emigrants Oregon-bound. Each family in the party of one hundred and twenty-three persons had two or three carts. With the carts and the troops of horses and cattle, the cavalcade was strung out for a mile.[40] On this same stretch of trail, about half way between Carlton and Pitt, McDougall and his eastern bride were caught in a blizzard in October of '72; they were seventeen days travelling the hundred and sixty miles.[41] At Fort Pitt we will trade our jaded cayuses at the horse "guard." Travellers in the North-West trade horses at the stations along the way; grass-fed horses do not stand up to the strain of continuous travel.

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[33]W. F. Butler, *The Great Lone Land* (London, 1872), p. 224.

[34]The battle of Duck Lake, March 26, 1885, was fought along this trail when Mounted Police and Prince Albert Volunteers were en route to Stobart's to secure supplies.

[35]Abandoned and burned, March 27, 1885.

[36]Now Paddling Lake.

[37]Grant, p. 145.

[38]McDougall, *Saddle, Sled, and Snowshoe*, pp. 164-166.

[39]The battle of Frenchman's Butte occurred here between Big Bear and General Strange's column on May 28, 1885.

[40]Simpson, pp. 88-90.

[41]McDougall, *In the Days of the Red River Rebellion*, p. 291. This did not include the two Sundays when they remained in camp.

Now that we have fresh ponies we will rattle over the remaining two hundred miles of the north trail at a rapid pace. From Fort Pitt there are two trails to Edmonton, one following the north river bank, the other cutting across country south of the river. The Overlanders found the south trail a faint track which at length became too indistinct to follow. Until the Mounted Police arrived in the country, travellers were advised to travel north of the river to avoid Blackfeet war parties. Milton and Cheadle followed the north trail, but had to cross over because it degenerated into a mere bridle-path through the forest. However, with the establishment of St. Paul de Métis and Victoria by the missionaries in the 'sixties, a well-beaten trail was made. Father Lacombe sent carts down to Fort Garry for supplies in 1862. Five years later the Hudson's Bay Company began to transport goods from Winnipeg to Edmonton by trail. The first two cart brigades, consisting of eighty-two and thirty-two carts respectively, passed through St. Paul de Métis in August, 1867.[42] The following year the first democrat was brought over the trail. As the trail runs parallel to the river we cross a number of creeks flowing into the Saskatchewan. They bear descriptive names given by the Indians—Frog, Moose, Dog-Rump, Snake, Sucker, Vermilion. We pass Victoria, the most northerly point on the river, and turn southwest. We are nearing our journey's end. There it is! Our destination—Edmonton. On high ground over-looking the river is the fort, and nearby a small cluster of houses, maybe the nucleus of a future city.

Now return to the present and look back at the old trail. By 1881 the rail-way, having reached Portage, was beginning to take over. Not only the starting point, but the whole route was shifted westward, first to Qu'Appelle, then to Swift Current (going north by Battleford), and finally to Calgary. Sections of the first trail remained in use, of course, notably the part from Qu'Appelle to Prince Albert, followed until the completion of the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway in 1890. It was along this original trail that in 1885 the half-breed way of life, the life of the hunter and the freighter, made its last stand, and lost.

BRUCE PEEL.

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[42]K. Hughes, *Father Lacombe* (Toronto, 1911), pp. 137-38.

ARCHIVAL STUDIES

The Annual Reports of the Lieutenant-Governor Of the North-West Territories

THE political and constitutional history of Saskatchewan as part of the Dominion of Canada does not begin in 1905 when with formal ceremonial the province was ushered into existence, but in an earlier period when this province, along with Alberta and all northern Canada, was part of the North-West Territories. The North-West Territories were constituted in 1870, when Rupert's Land (the drainage basin of Hudson Bay, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company) and the remaining British territory east of British Columbia and Alaska became part of the Dominion of Canada. This vast area came under the direct control of the Dominion Government, and the position of the Territories has often been compared to that of a colony, supervised by the Minister of the Interior in much the same way as the colonial secretary supervised a British crown colony. The lieutenant-governor of this "colony" of the Dominion was not, as in a province, a "constitutional monarch", but was a busy administrator, directing the activities of the Territorial Government and performing various functions as a representative of the Dominion Government. This position the governor retained until 1897, when the adoption of the principle of responsible government transformed his office into the one with which we are familiar today.

Among the sources of information concerning the government of the Territories are the annual reports of the lieutenant-governor to the Minister of the Interior.[1] These reports cover the years 1883 to 1897 inclusive, and are printed in the annual reports of the Department of the Interior. The lieutenant-governor who began the practice of submitting annual reports was Edgar Dewdney, who held the office from 1881 to 1888.[2] Selections from his first report are reprinted below.

The reports usually include a survey of agricultural conditions during the year and a summary of significant administrative developments as seen by the lieutenant-governor. Regular features include lists of territorial ordinances passed during the year, appointments, and letters patent of incorporation. Reports for the years 1886-1890 inclusive also contain the annual report of the Board of Education. An interesting feature of the report for 1886 is a list of registered advocates and medical practitioners living in the Territories at that time.

<div align="right">LEWIS H. THOMAS.</div>

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[1]Other official sources include Dominion statutes and orders in council relating to the Territories, territorial ordinances, journals of the Council and Assembly of the North-West Territories, orders of the lieutenant-governor, correspondence of the lieutenant-governor with the Department of the Interior and with other departments at Ottawa. There are also some surviving files of correspondence of departments of the public service of the Territories.

[2]Edgar Dewdney (1835-1916). Born in Devonshire, England. Came to British Columbia 1859. A civil engineer. Member of Parliament for Yale, B.C., 1872-79. Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the North-West Territories, 1879-88. Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, 1881-88. Member of Parliament for Assiniboia East and Minister of the Interior, 1888-92. Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, 1892-97. Died in Victoria, B.C.

GOVERNMENT OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES[3]

[Report of the Lieutenant-Governor for the year 1883]

Government House, Regina, N.W.T., January, 1884.

Sir,—I have the honor to enclose you herewith, pursuant to Section 90, Subsection 2, of the "North-West Territories Act, 1880," a return of the number of special permissions granted by me during the year 1883, for the importation of intoxicating liquors into the North-West Territories, showing the quantity and nature of the intoxicants in each case.[4]

. . . .

Although it is not customary for the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories to make an annual report of his administration, I believe such a course will not be considered unimportant, as the duties are becoming somewhat onerous, and may be of interest to both the Government and the public. I therefore submit the following as a first step in this direction:

REMOVAL OF SEAT OF GOVERNMENT TO REGINA

Since I am in office, the Government have deemed it necessary, for most important and obvious reasons, to remove the Territorial seat of Government from Battleford to a point on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway.[5]

Regina was selected, as occupying a central position within the Provisional District of Assiniboia, and also on account of its being the natural centre of a vast and rich agricultural country.

This selection has met with some bitter criticism by a portion of the Canadian press: but it must have been gratifying to the Government to learn, through the medium of the same press, that the wisdom of the choice had received a unanimous endorsation at the hands of the members of the North-West Council at their last Session in August. It will also afford pleasure to notice that a considerable town has, during the short period of one year, sprung into existence at Regina, and that a large number of settlers, attracted by the great agricultural wealth of the district, have taken up land around it. The record in the Land Office will be sufficient evidence of this. One strong objection raised against the selection of Regina was the supposed scarcity of water. In answer to this I may here state that over half a dozen wells have already been sunk, and an abundant supply of pure water found. I am informed that when water was struck at one of these wells, the man working at the bottom had considerable difficulty saving

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[3]Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1883, Part IV, in *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1884, Paper No. 12.

[4]In 1873 the Parliament of Canada prohibited the manufacture of liquor in the Territories and importation was banned except by special permission of the Lieutenant Governor (36 Vict. Chap. 39). This was the origin of the "permit system" which continued until 1892, when the sale of liquor under a license system was introduced.

[5]The Territorial capital was located successively at Winnipeg, 1870-76; Livingstone (Swan River Barracks), 1876-77; and Battleford, 1877-83. A Dominion order in council of March 27, 1883, established Regina as the seat of government on and after that date.

himself, the water rushing up with such force. Within a few hours it rose to 40 feet and now stands at 50 feet. Mr. Scarth[6], according to his promise as trustee of the town site, has caused considerable work to be done in grading some of the principal streets and by the construction of a dam across the Wascana River, one mile south of the town. This dam has been calculated to secure a reservoir covering an area of 160 acres, with an average depth of 5 feet of water, which, of itself, will more than suffice for all ordinary purposes of the people resident in the town and vicinity for many years to come.[7]

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AT REGINA

In connection with this place the Department of Public Works and of the Interior have displayed great energy in the construction of Public Buildings authorized at the last Session of Parliament. Additions have been made to Government House, which have rendered it habitable, and the Council Chamber, with two offices attached, has been erected; as, also, good and substantial offices for headquarters of Indian Department in the Territories.[8]

Under the supervision of the Comptroller of North-West Mounted Police, ample and comfortable accommodations have been provided for this Force as their headquarters in the Territories.[9] Wells have been sunk at the barracks and Council Chamber (the latter being also for the use of Indian Offices) and a good supply of water in both places obtained, at an average depth of 70 feet. Government House is also supplied with good water by means of an artesian well at a depth of 100 feet.

. . . .

The Government House and Council Chamber at Battleford are used by the Indian Department for the purpose of an Industrial School for Indian children.

ERECTION OF ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

Pending the completion of the Council Chamber, and impressed with a desire of giving as full a popular representation in the then approaching session of Council as the circumstances of the country would justify, no time was lost in

[6]William B. Scarth of Toronto, one of the promoters of the Canada Northwest Land Company. Among its various real estate ventures, this company had made an agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway for the management of all the Railway's land (odd numbered sections) in townsites on the main line between Brandon and the eastern boundary of British Columbia. For this purpose the land was transferred to a body of four "townsite trustees," named by the Railway and the Land Company, viz., Scarth, E. B. Osler, R. B. Angus and Donald A. Smith. The Dominion government also placed its land in the Regina townsite under the administration of the trustees. See James B. Hedges, *Building the Canadian West*, (New York, 1939), pp. 73ff.

[7]Wells within the town, rather than water from Wascana Creek, provided the water supply in the early days. The present supply is obtained from springs, artesian wells and pumped wells in the vicinity of the city. See N. S. Hill *et al.*, *Reports on Regina Water Supply*, (Regina, 1930).

[8]These buildings were erected on Dewdney Avenue. Sir John A. Macdonald, speaking in the House of Commons on March 19, 1883, stated, apropos of public buildings in Regina, "I believe the Government have bought two or three ready-made wooden houses, and have sent them there where they have been erected, some of these houses having been constructed in Montreal, and others here [Ottawa]. Lieut. Governor Dewdney went to the enormous expense of adding two together, and that, I believe, is the Lieut. Governor's palace." *House of Commons Debates*, 1883, vol. 1, p. 277.

[9]The headquarters of the North-West Mounted Police was transferred from Fort Walsh to Regina on December 6, 1882.

procuring the necessary evidence, showing what portion of the Territories, under the Act, were entitled to representation.[10] As a result, five districts, of 1,000 square miles each, were found to contain the requisite number of population and set apart into as many electoral districts, under the names respectively of Edmonton, Broadview, Qu'Appelle, Regina and Moose Jaw. These, with the electoral district of Lorne, comprising the settlements of Prince Albert, Duck Lake, St. Laurent and Carlton, erected by my predecessor on the 13th November, 1880, make altogether six electoral districts in the Territories.

As a residence of twelve months preceding the issue of a writ is necessary for the qualification of the electors, the elections on the line of railway were postponed to a late date, in order to allow as great a number of persons to become qualified as possible, every day's delay adding a few more, as the bulk of the settlers within these districts had settled late in the summer of 1882.

SESSION OF COUNCIL

The Council convened for the 20th August, did not finally open until the 22nd, on which day were present Lieut.-Col. Richardson, Lieut.-Col. McLeod, Stipendiary Magistrates, ex-officio members of Council, Pascal Breland, Esq., appointed member, and the following new members were sworn in and took their seats, namely: Lieut.-Col. A. G. Irvine and Hayter Reed, Esq., both nominated members; Captain D. H. Macdowall, of Prince Albert; Francis Oliver, Esq., of Edmonton; Claude C. Hamilton, Esq., of Broadview; Thomas W. Jackson, Esq., of Fort Qu'Appelle; William White, Esq., of Regina; and James H. Ross, Esq., of Moose Jaw, all elected members. The Council was therefore composed of the Lieutenant-Governor, two Stipendiary Magistrates, three nominated members and six elected members.[11]

. . . .

SCHOOLS

Under the authority of the Order in Council in that behalf, I am now paying out of the appropriation for the North-West Government, half the teachers' salaries for ten Protestant and nine Roman Catholic schools, and am continually receiving applications for others.[12]

The country is settling up so fast that I anticipate having calls made on me in another year far beyond the amount I have had heretofore at my disposal. I am in hopes, however, that another year will see the passing of a School Ordinance that will be acceptable both to the Government and the people.

. . . .

[10] *The North-West Territories Act*, 1875 (38 Vict. Chap. 49), provided that whenever any portion of the Territories not exceeding an area of one thousand square miles contained not less than one thousand adults exclusive of aliens and unenfranchised Indians, an electoral district should be established.

[11] This was the first session of the Council at Regina.

[12] The schools in the Territories at this time were organized by voluntary action of the settlers or by the missions. Beginning in 1880 such schools, having a minimum daily attendance of fifteen pupils, were paid one half of the teacher's salary from the sum voted by the Parliament of Canada for the expenses of government in the North-West Territories. (See *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1880-81, Paper No. 3, pp. v-vi). The first Territorial school law was enacted in 1884 (Ordinance No. 5), which provided for the organization of school districts and general supervision of schools by the Board of Education.

ROADS AND BRIDGES

I received from the elected Members of Council a memorandum showing the requirements of their respective districts, for the improvements of Roads and construction of Bridges. Although the sums asked for were in excess of the amount at my disposal for such purposes, I was enabled to grant each district six hundred dollars out of the North-West Government appropriation and two hundred and fifty dollars out of "The General Revenue Fund of the North-West Territories," making a total sum of eight hundred and fifty dollars to be expended in each district, wherever it may be most needed and likely to benefit the public at large.[13] In no case, however, has any grant been asked for by the Members on behalf of their constituents, without an assurance being made that an equal amount in money or labor would be raised by the settlers immediately benefited. To insure a proper expenditure on this head, work will be done in each case by a committee of three competent persons, under the supervision of the Member of the district, and the Government grant will only be paid on the receipt of a certificate of such committee, countersigned by the Member, that the work is complete and substantial.

. . . .

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

The work in this office has, of late, been steadily on the increase, and in order to keep up with it, I have found it necessary to engage the services of an Assistant Clerk,[14] who is paid partly out of North-West Government appropriation and partly out of our local funds. My present staff for North-West Government work consists of the Clerk of the Council[15] and the Assistant just mentioned. Although both efficient and willing officers, I fear that a third clerk will have to be added before long.

The marvellous rapidity which has marked the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, has caused the Territories to make wonderful progress during the year just closed. The addition to the population has been large, and mostly of settlers eager to develop the agricultural resources of the country. The bulk of the settlement has been naturally near the railway, and numerous towns have sprung up all along the line, from the eastern boundaries of the Territories to the Rocky Mountains. As being the most important among these, I may mention Broadview, Indian Head, Regina, Moose Jaw, Medicine Hat and Calgary. Much of the available land along the line has been settled, but large tracts still remain open.

Though not possessed of statistics respecting the country's crop, I may state, from information I have received, they were, on the whole, very successful, although the country experienced an unusually dry summer and early frost. A portion of the crop suffered on account of late sowing, and so long as new settlers

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[13]The financial resources of the Territorial government consisted of local revenues (proceeds from licenses, liquor permits, and fines), and the appropriation for the expenses of government in the Territories, voted by the Parliament of Canada. For 1883-84 the former amounted to $4,666.15 and the latter to $27,000.00.

[14]Louis Octave Bourget.

[15]Amédée Emmanuel Forget.

will be coming in, the country must expect to hear reports of frozen grain going about, for in their eagerness to have a large crop the first year, they will risk late sowing.

The experience, however, gained this year on the Bell farm, at Indian Head, is evidence of the capabilities of the soil when properly worked, and seed put in at the proper time.[16]

The older settlements of Prince Albert, St. Laurent, Battleford, Edmonton, and St. Albert, all on the Saskatchewan River, and over 200 miles north of this point, have harvested a much greater proportion of their grain this year than in any preceding one, although a severe frost was felt all over the country at the end of August. The success of these settlements, therefore, can only be accounted for by improved cultivation and early sowing. This cannot be too much impressed on the minds of new arrivals, in order to save them from disappointment.

In conclusion, I may state that there is a general contentment throughout the Territories, and great confidence in the future. My experience of five years in the Territories, convinces me that there can be no better country for settlers, with even a slight knowledge of farming and a small capital, or where a comfortable home can be secured at so small a cost, and in so short a time.

<div align="center">

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

E. DEWDNEY,

Lieutenant-Governor, North-West Territories.
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To the Hon. the Minister of the Interior.

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[16]The Bell Farm at Indian Head was part of the large properties of the Qu'Appelle Valley Farming Company, organized in 1882 with Major W. R. Bell of Winnipeg as manager. The area cropped at Indian Head during the first year (1883) included 1,200 acres of wheat and 1,000 acres of oats, from which 23,020 bushels of wheat and 18,000 bushels of oats were harvested. The cost of production of the wheat was estimated at 42 cents per bushel. See *Canada, Sessional Papers,* 1884, Paper No. 12, Part I, pp. 11-12.

TEACHERS' SECTION

Railways and Settlement (1881-1891)[1]

THE building of railways affected settlement in the North-West Territories in three important ways. It enabled pioneers to reach the largely unsettled prairies more easily; it opened up markets for their produce; and, finally, it changed the pattern of settlement, for where the railway went, there too went the settlers. In the area south of what is now the main line of the C.P.R. there was only one settlement (Willowbunch) before the railway was built. Except for groups at Fort Qu'Appelle and the Touchwood Hills, all other settlements were in the north, at Cumberland, Prince Albert, Carlton, Duck Lake, and Battleford. By 1891 the only new settlement in the District of Saskatchewan was at Saskatoon. All other new settlements were in the District of Assiniboia, the northern boundary of which ran a dozen miles south of Saskatoon.

The connection of the railway with settlement was immediate and direct. Part of the subsidy of the new company chartered in 1881 was 25,000,000 acres of land consisting of alternate sections, extending twenty-four miles deep on each side of the railway from Winnipeg to Jasper House. This land grant made the C.P.R. a powerful immigration agency, but its privileges and its policies frequently made it a hindrance rather than a help to settlement. For one thing, south of the main line it had a monopoly on railway building for nearly twenty years, a monopoly which Manitoba struggled to break. Facing no competition, the C.P.R. tried to make its rates heavy enough to pay for the long, unproductive line north of the Great Lakes. In addition, all railway property was exempt from taxation. This threw the burden of local development on the settler at a time when he most needed assistance.

Meanwhile the transcontinental railway was being completed, reaching Moosomin in the spring of 1882, and Calgary in August, 1883. In place of running north-westerly through Battleford as originally planned, it had kept far to the south. One reason for this change was that the southern plain, formerly thought to be almost waste land, was discovered to be a fine wheat-growing country. Another reason for the change was to cut out competition from United States railways. By the end of the decade the north was being served by the Regina-Saskatoon-Prince Albert line and by the Calgary-Edmonton line. In addition, Manitoba was served by a number of branch lines, both north and south, along which settlements appeared.

The building of the transcontinental cut into the business of the half-breeds engaged in freighting by Red River carts. It also contributed in various ways to the disappearance of the buffalo. The change to the southern route created bitter disappointment and discontent among the white settlers in the northern region. These factors in large measure account for the outbreak of the Rebellion of 1885.

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[1]The following is the second article on pioneer settlements in the West, prepared for the use of teachers of the Grade I X Social Studies course. The sources are an article by Edmund H. Oliver, "The Settlement of Saskatchewan to 1914" from *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1926, and A. S. Morton and C. Martin: *History of Prairie Settlement and Dominion Lands Policy*, Toronto, 1938.

And, as previously indicated, immigrants, following the railway, settled more or less in the vicinity of the line instead of in the northern region where the earlier settlements existed.

In order to encourage immigration, and at the same time to pay for costs of the survey and the building of the transcontinental railway, the Government arranged for the sale of lands to companies who would bring out settlers and establish them on farms. Many companies brought in no settlers, and only seven brought in more than fifty.[2] In the main these company areas were in eastern Saskatchewan, one exception being that of the Temperance Colonization Company which founded Saskatoon in 1883. Because there was no railway to this point until 1890-91, many of the settlers here turned to ranching. More successful were the settlements at Saltcoats and Yorkton by the York Farmers' Colonization Company.

The wide stretches of rich prairie land tempted some companies to establish large farms which, in the main, failed. It was such an experiment, undertaken by the Qu'Appelle Farming Company, which first settled the Qu'Appelle-Indian Head area. An area of about 100 square miles was divided into farms of 213 acres each. The farms were equipped with essential dwellings and equipment—cottage, stable, and granary, with three horses, a plough, a wagon, and a binder. The aim was to sell the improved farms to incoming immigrants; and by 1885 several farms were sold. Although the project was not so successful as had been hoped, part of the fault lay with the drought and early frosts experienced during these years.

Another type of settlement, charitable in purpose, was made possible by an act passed in 1881. This act enabled organizations or institutions to advance up to $500 to prospective immigrants, the land being security for the loan. Lady Cathcart, to relieve the congestion and discontent among the crofters on her estate in Scotland, helped several families to establish themselves on farms at Benbecula, about ten miles south of Wapella. These crofters had much to learn about farming on the prairies; but, influenced by experience at home, they turned to cattle-raising as well as wheat-growing. This venture in mixed farming saved them from the complete failures met by those farmers who grew only wheat. In 1884, a settlement of workers from London was begun a few miles south of Moosomin through the generosity of a group of wealthy persons headed by Baroness Burdett-Coutts. These workers, being city-dwellers, had even more to learn than the crofters. Some of them drifted to the towns and became successful tradesmen, but others persevered and became successful farmers.

By no means all those who sought new homes on the prairies during these years were without means or education. Persons with ready cash were buying improved farms in Manitoba, or going farther west to set up as shop-keepers in the growing towns. One of the most interesting colonies, with more than its quota of "wealthy" immigrants, was Cannington Manor, forty miles southwest of

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[2]An exception to the general indifference of colonization companies was the aggressive policy of the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company under the direction of Col. A. D. Davidson. For a brief account of the activities of this company, see the article, *Community Founders: Col. A. D. Davidson*, by Marion W. Hagerman in the February 1948 issue of *The Saskatchewan Bulletin*.

Moosomin. In 1882, the first colonists arrived here from Ontario, England, and Scotland. Among the Englishmen of means was a William Pierce who planned to build here an English community. It requires imagination to picture the "drones" or sporting element, with their horse-racing, fox-hunting, and steeple-chase; their tennis, cricket, boating and shooting. Perhaps no less imagination is required to visualize the more praiseworthy achievements of the "workers", who built a beautiful church and a community hall. In addition there were two cheese factories, a pork factory, a store, and a flour-mill. It is easy enough to appreciate the disappointment in the community when the C.P.R., which had promised a branch line through the settlement, built farther to the south, making Manor, ten miles away, the nearest station.

In the early eighteen-eighties immigration into the West seems to have come mainly from Ontario, the United Kingdom, and the United States, with a relatively small number from Europe. The stream of settlement was by no means constant. In 1884, it very nearly dried up owing to drought, a general world depression which brought a drop in wheat prices at Winnipeg from eighty cents to fifty cents a bushel, misleading propaganda by United States railway companies, and the bursting of the Manitoba land boom. Not until 1889 did Ontario immigration begin to flow again in any appreciable numbers.

Meanwhile, however, from non-Anglo-Saxon lands came, in increasing numbers, our first new Canadians. A Jewish colony was established in 1884 between Pipestone Creek and Moose Mountain. Coming from Poland, Hungary, Austria, Germany and Russia, these twenty-nine families "found a new and happy home in Canada and a freedom from all persecution and injustice."[3] In the following year the Hungarian Count d'Esterhazy established a number of his countrymen about twenty miles northeast of Minnedosa, and another group at Esterhazy, north of Whitewood. They turned to mixed farming and prospered. Near here a colony called New Sweden was begun. Although they suffered many hardships during the first two years due to a prairie fire, these Scandinavians eventually did well. Germans settled north and south of Balgonie; Rumanians north of Balgonie and south of the present Strasbourg. In 1886, German colonists at Hohenloe were able to establish themselves quickly with the wages they made during construction work on the railway to Langenburg. Icelanders in the same year founded Thingvalla, and in the next a new colony near Tantallon.

These New Canadians settled in colonies, but the colonies themselves were scattered. Further, while they came in in considerable numbers, the net increase in population was small. The total increase in the Qu'Appelle-Regina-Moose Jaw area from 1886 to 1891 was 2,625. The increase in foreign population was 2,474, leaving a net increase of 151 English-speaking settlers. Similar conditions prevailed in the Broadview area. Apparently the English-speaking speculators and homesteaders had left the country in large numbers, and New Canadians had done little more than take their place.

Why had so many left? The trials of Mr. Alexander Kindred, a pioneer of Moffat, south of Wolseley, will explain much:[4]

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[3]Quoted by Edmund H. Oliver, p. 68.
[4]Quoted by A. S. Morton, p. 86.

(In 1885) we had only 10 bushels (per acre) of very badly frosted wheat. I took some of it to Indian Head and traded it for flour, shorts, and bran. I had no money to pay expenses . . . In 1886 we had 80 acres under crop. Not a drop of rain fell from the time it went in until it was harvested. I sowed 124 bushels and threshed 54. In 1888 we began to think we could not grow wheat in this country. I had now 120 to 125 acres under cultivation. We put in 25 acres of wheat, 10 to 15 acres of oats, and let the rest go back into prairie. That year we got 35 bushels (of wheat) to the acre! So we went to work and ploughed up again. The next year wheat headed out two inches high. Not a drop of rain fell that whole season until fall. We summerfallowed that year (1889) for the first time, and, to show the optimism, we put in in 1890 every acre we could. We had wheat standing to the chin but on the 8th July a hailstorm destroyed absolutely everything. My hair turned grey that night.

Apparently the decade 1871-1881 had given the settlers little cause to fear either frost or drought, but from 1881 to 1891 these natural enemies of the wheat grower struck again and again with devastating effect. At Brandon, in 1883, seed near the surface, lacking moisture, did not germinate until the June showers came; grain more deeply sown flourished; and this uneven crop suffered frost on September 7. Farmers at Qu'Appelle had a similar experience the following year. In 1885, a severe and general frost came on August 23. Drought was general in 1886. Nature was kinder the next season, with crops ranging from very heavy at Brandon to fairly good in the Qu'Appelle area. Crops were very bountiful at Qu'Appelle in 1888, averaging thirty bushels to the acre; but Brandon was caught by frost. In 1889 there was drought; in 1890, frost.

These were indeed disappointing and costly years for the farmers, but experience was gained which has paid dividends to the West ever since. Varieties of wheat were developed which ripened earlier and avoided frosts; better methods of cultivation and sowing were developed; and the practice of summerfallowing became more general. By the eighteen-eighties, the old Red River Settlement variety of wheat, which matured in 125 to 145 days, was replaced largely by Red Fife which matured in 115 to 125 days. In 1888 the Dominion Government established experimental farms at Brandon and Indian Head, and under the direction of William Saunders experiments were begun with several varieties of wheat. From these experiments twenty years later came Marquis wheat which ripened eight days earlier and yielded several more bushels to the acre than Red Fife.

During the decade 1881-1891 the main line of the C.P.R. and some branch lines were built. New settlements, including those of New Canadians, were established in the regions served by railways. The net growth in population was not great, and our pioneers met most of the problems and the trials and tribulations which are still part of life on the prairies. But if they paid a heavy price in privation, suffering, and disappointment, they did learn how to solve some of the problems, and pointed the way for the solution of others. They laid the foundations of communities which were to experience the amazing and prosperous expansion of the next two decades.

J. R. A. POLLARD.

RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES

Looking Backward[1]

As THE production of wheat moved up the scale in the West during the '90's before the introduction of Marquis, large quantities of frosted wheat became a problem on the market. The winter grain feeding of cattle and the pro- duction of hogs in greater numbers appeared to offer a solution, the export market for grain-fed beef and the home market for bacon products being favorable at that time. As a result a grain-feeding movement of considerable proportions took place over the country where conditions favored such a move. As to shelter, some built bank barns, some sheds, others fed in the open in sheltered places where water was handy.

In an endeavor to adjust our activities of farm and livestock fittingly together, one had to consider continuity of effort, resources, markets, labor, etc. Winter being the slack period of the year, grain feeding appeared to fill in the blank season and fit our movements during the year to some purpose. In our autumn livestock clean-up the residue were usually feeders. These were, as a rule, finished during the winter, on roughage and grain from the farm. Shedding and water at the corner of South Railway and Albert Street in Regina gave accommodation for about 200 head each winter.

In our efforts to find a man to supervise the farm in the summer season and our livestock operations in the winter—one who could handle men—we finally secured a Scotsman, Mr. Wm. Milne by name. Coming to us in '95 he remained with us for thirty-five years, and never enquired what his salary was to be. Being single, he retired in 1930 when we leased our farm, to make his home with a married brother George, living in the city.

. . . .

In our study of the pure-bred industry and its relation to animal husbandry in the West, possibly the first requisite was improvement in quality followed by hardihood and quick growth, easy fleshing and fine texture in the meat breeds in order to meet competition in the markets of the world. We also felt that our strategic position in the midwest where a market might be developed from the home base, was a great advantage; and, lastly, we felt its fascination as a business, and the opportunity to leave an imprint on the industry while it was yet plastic.

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[1]The following extracts were selected from the reminiscences of Mr. Robert Sinton of Regina, which were privately printed in 1935 in a booklet entitled *Looking Backward from the Eightieth Milestone, 1935 to 1854.* Mr. Sinton was born on a farm in Beauharnois County, Quebec, on May 17, 1854. He came west in 1878 and took a homestead north of Brandon, Manitoba. In July, 1882, he moved to the vicinity of Pile of Bones Creek in the North-West Territories and settled on a homestead three miles south of the police encampment at Pile of Bones, later renamed Regina. As farmer, contractor, and leader in civic affairs, Mr. Sinton has, to use his own words, "shared in both town and country development" in Regina. He still resides at Regina, where he will celebrate his 94th birthday next month. Of his many contributions to the West, perhaps the most outstanding is his contribution to the raising of purebred cattle and horses on the prairies. Not only did he personally import and raise Herefords and Clydesdales of the finest quality, but he gave invaluable leadership and encouragement to other breeders in his capacity as first president of the Provincial Livestock Association and president of the Saskatchewan Winter Fair and Livestock Boards.

During the last year or two of our connection with Gordon and Ironsides,[2] the British import regulations, always subject to change, were tightened up. For a time, Canadian exports in light flesh had been permitted to finish on grass, the restriction being all Canadian cattle to be slaughtered in ten days, foot and mouth desease being named as the reason although never proven. The order reflected heavily on the Canadian grass cattle export trade, and may have indirectly benefited the grain-feeding division of the industry. In any case the argument was used that the British order was intended not only for home protection but also to give Canada an object lesson in qualifying the industry properly for the British market.

In the meantime we had been experimenting with a number of pure-bred Herefords, in our judgment at that time, the most suitable to range and semi-agricultural conditions, hardy and easy fleshers as they proved to be. As business grew and prospects improved, we gradually discontinued dealing in the market classes and increased the number of pure-breds to about a hundred breeding females. These increased rapidly until, including our sale animals, we carried up to 200 head. Our first animals were secured from William and John Sharman of Souris, Manitoba. Afterwards we secured many from some of the best herds in the State of Illinois and as far south as Kansas.

In '99 we purchased about 500 acres of land immediately south of the reservoir, situated on Sections 18-7-17-19 where the Parliament Buildings are now located. We bought this land in four parcels, the price paid averaging about $9.00 per acre. Around this land we built a substantial fence and here we ran our herd at pasture during the summer months.

. . . .

In 1906 during a session of the New Provincial Legislature the rivalry from other points, particularly Saskatoon, for the location of the Capital was so keen that Hon. Walter Scott, then premier, was obliged to stake his political life in favor of Regina remaining the Capital of the new Province. Fortunately when a vote of the house was taken on the question a majority stood by the Premier in favor of Regina, and the question was settled.

In the meantime we had sold our property south of the reservoir, approximately 500 acres, to McCallum, Hill and Company, at $225.00 per acre, and they in turn sold to the Government about 100 acres at a reported price of $1000.00 per acre, as a site for the new Capital buildings, the construction of which was started in 1908 at a cost of something like two million dollars when completed.

The sale of the above-mentioned land which had been used as summer range pasture for our Herefords, necessitated the disposal of our herd, 100 of which we sold to a Dr. Graham of the City at $100.00 each, taking in payment three lots directly south of the present site of the Canada Life building at a valuation of ten thousand dollars. A few months later we sold this property at a valuation of $35,000.00 practically cash.

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[2]Mr. Sinton was for ten years (1893-1902) connected with the firm of Gordon and Ironsides, Winnipeg, in the purchase, sale, and shipment of cattle in the West.

I mention these things in passing in order to show those who follow, the trend of values during what has since been known as the Regina Boom period.

Reverting to 1903, our personal movements at that time included the erection of a modern house on Lots 13-14, Bock 312. This house, a brick veneer, replaced what was then known as "the white house," a frame structure of good material, built by a Mrs. Doig in '83, the first dwelling house west of Albert Street and abandoned ten years later, having stood empty for several years. About the year '95 we bought the property at about $6.00 per foot frontage. In '03 we had the old house carefully dissected and the material used in the construction of our new home.

In addition to the above-named property and that on which our stables were situated, we purchased from time to time up to '28, lots in Block 312, corner of Albert Street and South Railway Street. We also continued to purchase and sell as time passed along, odd pieces of property in different parts of the city as opportunity offered. In 1903 we sold our homestead and a quarter-section adjoining, which we had previously bought, selling to David M. Hackney of Regina, at a rate of $20.00 per acre. We accepted a carload of farm horses in part payment.

We then moved the farm equipment, which was not very extensive, to the home base, and from here we had Mr. Milne continue with one outfit, to farm on the reservoir land, breaking about ninety acres where the Parliament Buildings are now sitting. Here we experimented successfully with brome grass, and in 1905 threshed 80 acres of oats, which averaged very close to 100 bushels to the acre.

In the early summer of 1904 we were in Calgary with a car lot of sale Herefords. While there we wrote Wm. Milne to come forward with our show herd to the Calgary Summer Fair. A few days later we received a telegram from Milne advising that the car had caught fire while on the way near Caron, and the eight head along with the car, were burned. This disaster proved to be a keen disappointment as the lot included not only some of our choice females but also our herd sire, an outstanding animal. We took the matter up with the Railway Company in regard to compensation but without success. We then entered suit on the advice of our solicitor, T. C. Johnston. The day before the hearing Mr. Johnston advised me that the C.P.R. Claims Agent wished to see me. On doing so he proposed a settlement. Our claim was $3200.00; we were offered $2,500 as settlement in full with the proviso that a statement be inserted in the press, that a satisfactory settlement had been reached. On the advice of our solicitor we accepted this settlement and closed the matter out.

In 1905 during the Spring Fair held under canvas near the J. I. Case Building at that time on South Railway Street adjacent to the C.P.R. track, a meeting of livestock men in attendance was held in the Case Building, at which the Provincial Livestock Breeders' Association, the first in the Province, was formed. The new association included the four main breeds—horses, cattle, sheep and swine under one head.

Place Names

PLACE names are like a mirror held up to history. In Saskatchewan, we can trace the influence on place names of the fur traders, the early settlers and the surveyors. The rapid expansion of the railways and other institutions accompanying the surge of settlement into the plains is clearly discernible in the names on our maps. Other names recall the Indians and their customs. Settlers from distant lands might bring in a cherished name as the one familiar thing in a strange new world. These are only a few of the many influences which helped to shape the place names of Saskatchewan.

We are fortunate that some work has been done to discover the origin of provincial place names. A few years ago, the Legislative Library under the direction of Mr. S. J. Latta in co-operation with Mrs. A. M. Bothwell, present librarian, began to compile a list of place name origins. Correspondence was undertaken with interested persons in many communities of the Province and a file of the origin of several hundred names was built up. The material in this article is drawn from this file.[1]

When the white man first came into the land, the Indians had already given names to many features of the country that played a part in their lives. The river from which our Province takes its name had been christened by the natives "Saskatchewan" or "rapid flowing." Occasionally the white man accepted the Indian name as it stood or as he believed the Indian sound would be spelled in Roman characters. At other times he applied the English translation of the Indian name. Many times, of course, he ignored the indigenous name and applied one of his own selection.

Battle River and Battleford are examples of Indian names translated into English. The forks of the Battle and Saskatchewan Rivers was a meeting place for Cree, Salteaux, Assiniboine from the plains. The flat land at the river junction, the ample supplies of wood, water and grass found there made this a popular camping ground. On the other side of the river the Blackfeet were dominant. The ground to the northwest of the river became known as "the debatable land," apparently a kind of no-man's land of Indian warfare where the Crees and Blackfeet fought many battles. In time, the story goes, the Indians came to look upon any tribe crossing the river as bent on war. The Indians named the place Nootin-too-si-pi which means "fighting water." It is an easy transfer from the Indian name to "Battle" River. The application of Battleford or "battle crossing" follows logically.

After the Indians, the fur traders were the next to influence Saskatchewan nomenclature. In the north where the fur trade was concentrated, there are many examples of names transplanted from other lands by the traders, and of names generally accepted because the place was associated with an individual trader. Peter Pond Lake, named after the colorful early adventurer who came overland

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[1]Everyone will be aware of the difficulty of verifying place name origins. Frequently, in the absence of other information, the explanation of residents of the community which is usually based on memory or on hearsay, and not supported by written records, must be accepted. The correspondence on which this file is based is not available. We shall be glad to hear from any readers who have additional information to offer.

from Montreal, is one of many examples. Not many of the Hudson's Bay Company men lent their own names to trade posts. This was a corporate enterprise and its forts were most commonly named for their location, though at times the company officers honored patrons in the old land by applying their names to features of the new.

The early settlers brought with them names from their old homes. Aylesbury draws its name from a town of the same name in Buckinghamshire. Bangor was settled by people from Wales who brought the name with them. Sherwood, a rural municipality near Regina, was named for the village of Sherwood in Ontario from whence came some of the pioneers of the Regina district. It is interesting to speculate upon the possibility of tracing this name back to Sherwood Forest of the Robin Hood tales. But before we begin to draw too many conclusions, we may learn a lesson from the name Saltcoats. This is also the name of a place in Scotland and one might conclude that the early settlers were from that part of the old land. But the fact is that the earliest settlers called their settlement Stirling. The name was changed to Saltcoats, when the Manitoba and Northwestern Railway Company built a line into the district in 1888, to commemorate the birthplace in Scotland of Andrew Allan, president of the railway company.

The railways exercised a dominant influence in selecting place names during one stage of Saskatchewan's development. Often there was no local name when the railway went through and for operating purposes the line needed names immediately for its sidings and stations. They therefore honored their directors, or the statesmen on whom the company officials relied, or sometimes they named them, it seems now, from caprice. It may have been a revolution in railroading practice to name the stations of the main line of the Grand Trunk Pacific in alphabetical order—Undora, Venn, Watrous, Xena, Young, Zelma, Allan, Bradwell, Clavet, Duro and so on through the alphabet three times—but it left Saskatchewan with a strange collection of names on its map, the origins of which are sometimes hard to discover. Another example of forcing place names to conform to a pattern is found on the line from Swift Current to Empress and stretching into Alberta. Names of many of the communities along this line pertain to royalty or to church dignitaries—Sceptre, Prelate, Empress, (Duchess and Countess in Alberta). Whoever selected these names must have had a "grand plan" before him because in Prelate the streets are: Cardinal, Dean, Bishop, Abbot, and Prior and the avenues are: Cathedral, Minster and Abbey. Of such stuff are some of our Saskatchewan place names cut. And then there are the compound names—Alsask, Altawan, Mantario, and other synthetics like Adanac, which is Canada in reverse.

Occasionally one runs across such stories as these in looking at the origin of place names. Ardill is said to be drived from an expression used by a new-comer who had been born within the sound of Bow Bells. He had climbed the hill adjacent to the town and with his last breath, as he reached the top commented: "a damned 'ard 'ill." Or the story of the settler of European origin, who when offered a price for his land on which the townsite of Hafford is located, said that he "couldn't h'afford to take it." These are good stories; and, at least, they make a starting point for serious research.

ALEX R. CAMERON

The Moulding of the Middle West[1]

NOTHING good ever came out of the East." This is a popular dogma, not an historical judgment; but some historians, absorbed in a new and different way of life, seem to have forgotten how many Westerners came out of the East, bringing with them such trifles as the Christian religion, representative government, and the English language. The West, like the East, was molded not by local conditions only, but by three other forces—the forces of inheritance, the melting pot, and continued contacts with older societies.

One of the most important movements in American history was the transplanting of eastern civilizations to the West. Virginia and Maryland, impoverished by soil exhaustion and soil erosion, sent thousands of their young men in a great fan-shaped movement to cover the country from Ohio to Texas, and even out to California and Idaho. The New Englanders spread into the Old North-West. Quakers came from the banks of the Delaware, while Carolina and Georgia pushed out the frontier of the cotton kingdom to the south. These men came from everywhere, from all social classes, and they brought with them their traditions, good and bad. American democracy did not have its inception on the frontier. Born in Westminster Hall, it had been re-born on the Atlantic seaboard and, fortified by adversity, was taken west by men who knew how to value it.

But these men did find a strange new life in this strange new country. "[The settler] might cling to his religion, to his ideals, to old customs, he might try to build houses on the model of the one in which he was born and reared, but slowly, inevitably, the West would turn him into a Westerner." Isolation, hardship and danger helped to produce a new attitude. Immediate economic adjustments must be made by the fisherman, the shipbuilder, the trader, and the farmer. The plantation owner found that slavery disappeared before the hostile laws of nature as well as of man; and the Congregationalist found Presbyterianism better suited to a country where there was no state aid for churches.

A third great force in shaping Western life was the melting pot. Beyond the Alleghenies no distinct boundary separated the New Englander from the Virginian or Pennsylvanian—or any of these from the Jerseyman, the Georgian or the Carolinian. Moreover this American melting pot was further diversified by an unending stream of European immigrants—Germans, Irish, English, Welsh, Scots. In Knox County, Ohio, the first settler, Andy Craig, was joined successively by a Jerseyman, a Virginian, a Pennsylvanian, another Virginian, until finally "a stray Yankee" with "a speculative eye"—and a pocket compass—arrived, and proceeded to lay out a town. The first Ohio legislature (1822) contained, along with substantial groups from Virginia and Maryland, Pennsylvania and

[1]This is an abstract of Professor Thomas J. Wertenbaker's presidential address to the American Historical Association in December, 1947, printed in the *American Historical Review*, January, 1948, pp. 223-234. It is reproduced here because, apart from its intrinsic interest, it suggests parallels and contrasts with the growth of society in the Canadian West.

New England, representatives from New Jersey, New York, Kentucky, the Carolinas, and Ireland. "And so, in the forests of Ohio and Indiana, was renewed the age-old battle of civilizations. Warm indeed must have been the disputes in the crude cabins as the Virginian defended the institution of slavery, or the Quaker dwelt on the sin of war, or the New Englander insisted that God himself had designed the Congregationalist way." The European groups, too, brought their distinctive contributions, moral and material, in the shape of German agriculture, music, and respect for authority; Irish gaiety and wit; and Dutch asceticism—relieved by tulips.

Before the days of railways, these new and diverse communities had plenty of opportunity to build up their own distinct civilizations. The distances were great in themselves and the isolation was increased by difficulties of the Appalachian barrier. The West had to produce not only its necessities but its luxuries. Western manufacturers had an early growth, as did western colleges, newspapers, and literature.

Nevertheless eastern ways aroused the keenest interest and exercised a very strong influence. When the frame building, whether it were house or church, replaced the log cabin, it was built on an eastern model. Religion and education received their inspiration from the East. Presbyterians from Princeton, Congregationalists from Yale, Episcopalians and Quakers, went over the mountains teaching and preaching, founding churches and colleges. Programmes of study and even text books came from the East. Eastern literature, of course, crossed the mountains. Emerson, Poe, Lowell, Cooper and Irving were read and appreciated in the West as soon, and sometimes sooner, than in the East.

Visitors to the United States have long recognized and commented on the distinctive American civilization, and the American qualities of optimism, love of democracy, energy and self-reliance. With American literature is growing even an American language. But what strikes the visitor as a new and interesting fact is the enormous diversity in the midst of uniformity. Sectionalism has played a major role in American history, and plays a major role in American life today.

Unfortunately, by and large, historians have neglected this phase of American life. "We are woefully lacking in books on the transit of civilization from one section to another, on the continued influence of the older sections on the new, on the effects of local conditions." The story of the growth and founding of the Middle West, "the pouring of hundreds of thousands . . . over the mountains into the vast bowl of the Mississippi Valley," the struggles and achievements leading to power and prosperity, is one that may surpass in interest the tales from Egypt, Athens, and Rome. "May we not hope that in the coming years this story will be better told, so that we may understand more fully the forces which created our great Middle West, which has had so profound an influence upon all phases of American civilization."

H. N.

Book Reviews

CANADIAN AGRICULTURAL POLICY: THE HISTORICAL PATTERN, By *Vernon C. Fowke*. Toronto. University of Toronto Press-Saunders, 1947. Pp. xii, 304. $3.50.

EVERYONE interested in Canadian agriculture (and who on the prairies is not?) will want to read this book. It is an example of historical scholarship at its best, a clearly written and carefully documented study of official agricultural policies from the end of the sixteenth century to 1930. It is not, nor does it pretend to be, a comprehensive history of Canadian agriculture. However, Mr. Fowke has added materially to our understanding of the role which agriculture has played in the Canadian economy and of the treatment it has received at the hands of the government.

He believes that the oft-repeated statement that agriculture is "Canada's basic industry" has "through prolonged repetition become a *cliché*, devoid of content" and that its "continued ritualistic use" does nothing to clarify the position occupied by agriculture in this country. His thesis is that governmental agricultural policy has been determined, not by concern for agricultural progress as an end in itself, but with regard to the ways in which agriculture could subserve other dominant interests. "The clearest and most significant uniformity regarding Canadian agriculture . . . has been its deliberate and consistent use as a basis for economic and political empire." "Government assistance has been typically extended to agriculture because of what agriculture was expected to do for other dominant economic interests in return for assistance, rather than for what assistance might do for agriculture." Mr. Fowke has very convincingly demonstrated the truth of these statements. Far from having been looked upon officially as "Canada's basic industry," agriculture has been traditionally treated as one of secondary importance.

In New France the fur trade was, of course, the major economic activity and the French attempted, never very successfully, to encourage agricultural settlement in order to provide a reservoir of soldier-settlers to defend the fur trade routes and a supply of provisions, without which their commercial and territorial empire could not be maintained. The same needs of territorial and commercial empire underlay agricultural policy in the Maritime colonies before Confederation. Defence against the French was, until 1763, the basic motive of British policy in that area where "Agriculture did not develop naturally or easily . . ." As the economy of the Maritimes matured, with its emphasis on the fisheries, timber, ship-building, and trade with the West Indies, agriculture was expected to assume the duty of provisioning these commercial activities. They "could be profitable in competitive world markets only if costs were low, and in each case the cost of provisions constituted a leading element . . . Local agriculture, it was taken for granted, should expand to keep pace with commercial requirements."

Although the familiar agricultural tasks of defence and provisioning were reflected in official policies in Canada for some time after the Conquest, by 1850

agriculture had attained a new status and was fulfilling a new purpose, especially in Upper Canada. As immigration into the Upper St. Lawrence and Great Lakes region increased the farming population of that area, agriculture ceased to be merely the step-child of imperial and commercial necessity and became a field for investment in its own right. The agricultural frontier, in other words, had appeared in Canadian history. The frontier is defined as "whatever place and whatever economic activity gives rise to investment opportunities on a substantial scale." Wheat now gradually became Canada's leading export commodity. Industrial, commercial and financial groups now found in the growing agricultural population a community which required their goods and services; thus the expansion of the agricultural frontier became a matter of vital concern to them, and it was to them that governments habitually listened in formulating policy.

When the St. Lawrence route failed to attract the commerce of the American middle western states and when agricultural growth in Canada West was halted by the Pre-Cambrian Shield, the vast preserves of the Hudson's Bay Company seemed to offer the one remaining field for exploitation by Canadian business and finance. Thus, "in a very real sense Confederation was the constitutional instrument designed to permit Canada, the province, to re-establish an agricultural frontier to which it would have exclusive entrée." The retention of control over prairie lands by the federal government after 1870 was intended to allow the operation of national policies which would build an integrated east-west economy. A Pacific railway, land settlement, tariff protection—these staples of Dominion policy were to create an imperial hinterland for the metropolitan centres of Ontario and Quebec. The purpose of prairie agriculture was to provide a field for the investment capital, a demand for the services, and a market for the goods supplied by the central provinces. Agricultural policy was inspired after Confederation, as before, not by the wishes of the farmers themselves, but by those of the unholy trinity—industry, commerce, and finance.

All of this is an interesting commentary on the workings of democracy. As Professor Fowke notes, there has been "an unbroken numerical predominance of farmer electors throughout Canadian history." And yet, he concludes, Canadian farmers have enjoyed less political influence than is sometimes supposed. They "have been a factor of any significance in directing government policy only when their interests have clearly coincided with those of some other group in the community, whether merchant, carrier, or manufacturer."

Professor Fowke's thesis, while undoubtedly true, is possibly somewhat obvious. In any other than a subsistence economy agriculture must surely play the part it has played in Canada as a subsidiary yet indispensable base for other economic activities. In one sense, perhaps, agriculture may after all properly be termed "Canada's basic industry." It served quite necessary purposes for the staple trades in earlier days; more recently it has provided an area for exploitation without which Canadian commerce, industry, and finance could not have survived. However, this book well deserves an attentive reading by every thoughtful Canadian for the light it sheds on agriculture's historical position in this country.

W. R. GRAHAM

MUSIC AT THE CLOSE. By *E. A. McCourt*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947. Pp. 228. $2.75.

THE early part of this western story can best be appreciated by the true "westerner"—the one who has qualified by living year in, year out, on the open plain in a home-made shack furnished with a heater, a coal oil lamp, a water pail in the corner, and regular weather reports borne in on the blast through the front and only door. Such a one will find himself quite at home in the district of Pine Creek, situated thirty miles from a railroad, with rolling grass-covered hills studded in summer with brilliant prairie flowers, and broken by dark patches of bluff which lead back to the great Saskatchewan, grim and inscrutable. This Pine Creek country and the people, their homes and their ways are described with a bracing and optimistic realism that only one of the initiated could have achieved.

Outsiders, of course, might think Aunt Em's kitchen with its smoke-blackened saucepans and fly-spotted mirror a trifle squalid, but Mr. McCourt manages to convey that, while flies will be flies, and stoves will smoke, the aging Aunt Em is sound on essentials like custard pie and cream puffs. The school concert and dance, to a hostile observer, might seem to proceed from vulgarity through alcohol to a scene of sordid violence, but the author, with a little help from the admirable Mrs. Roebuck, leaves us assured of the essential decency of nearly all concerned. There is not too much glamour about the threshing scene; it is strenuous and noisy and the "golden grain" has been frozen. But it is full of life and vigour; things happen that way.

The district "characters" nearly all ring true: gentle Uncle Matt who "stopped work only as a concession to the weakness of horseflesh;" Old Man Hunter, over eighty, but "it had not yet occurred to him that he was mortal;" Mrs. Roebuck and her short way with inquisitive mounties; Jim Lowery who sucked in new ideas like a sponge, and who knew all the answers—for a while; and many others. The two remittance men, the district beauty, and the school teacher are less convincing.

The story covers the twenty odd years, from the close of one great war to the climax of the next. Western isolationism and preoccupation with economic affairs run through the tale from 1918, when Old Man Hunter hopes to retire in affluence if only the Huns will hold out two years longer, to 1939 when Neil Fraser solves both personal and economic problems in a recruiting office. Life in Pine Creek is never quite stable. In the 20's everyone hopes to make his pile and move out in style to the Coast; in the 30's they are moving out, but not to the Coast, and not in style.

The chief character is Neil Fraser, amiable, sensitive, and clever who spends his life dreaming dreams that do not come true, and going down before the crises of life through bungling, bad luck and something else. "You're a sucker, Neil. You always were," says his friend Gil Reardon, but Neil himself knows better. He is likeable, he means well, and he is no fool; the trouble is, he never achieves a real faith in anything. He envies reckless Gil who at last finds an ideal and dies for it. Neil drifts on. He thinks he is defeated by the bitter years of the thirties.

He was really defeated long before, and is finally rescued from futility by a cour-
ageous death on a Normandy beach.

Some criticisms might be made. The story attempts, perhaps, to cover too
much ground. With the picture of Pine Creek, the sketch of twenty hard years
in the West, and the frustrations of Neil Fraser, it almost gives the feeling of three
novels in one short book. Each theme suffers from overcrowding. The plot is
loosely sketched, the main characters loosely drawn; both, at times, seem vague
and unpredictable. In the midst of the closing scene the author approaches a
profound philosophic problem, and settles it apparently, in a mood of black
pessimism. Neil's death, it seems, is the only justification for his having lived
at all, and there are millions like him, leading lives meaningless apart from the
war which swept them away. This conclusion is, perhaps, not surprising in a
cynical and despairing age. What is startling is the rapidity with which the
author's romantic instincts enable him to pass us on to "a holy rest" and "music
at the close."

Yet, these romantic instincts, always waging a successful war with brutal
realism, are responsible for much of the charm of the book. They are happily
combined with an easy, flexible style and a keen sense of humour. The dialogue is
natural and engaging. The descriptions are admirable; some, like the one of the
mining town riot, are amazingly vivid and forceful. This is a hard book to lay down.
It is a rare pleasure in this age of dreary "compiling" to find an author who
apparently cannot be dull.

HILDA NEATBY

HISTORIC SASKATOON. Compiled by *John H. Archer* in collaboration with
J. C. Bates, Saskatoon: Junior Chamber of Commerce, [1948.] Pp. 62.   50c.

HISTORIC SASKATOON is a chronicle of the little happenings, the day-to-
day excitements, the community achievements which have resulted in the
present prosperous and happy city. The site of Saskatoon was selected
by John N. Lake in 1882 as a suitable place for a temperance colony. Since then
it has become the market of a large farming district and an important educational
centre. Mr. Archer traces this growth, which began with the rise of a thriving
cattle-raising industry in the Pike Lake and Moon Lake districts during the
drought of the eighties. In 1889 Saskatoon was chosen as the site of the bridge
on the railway line built to connect Regina and Prince Albert. In 1903 Saskatoon
received much publicity and considerable business as the jumping off place for
the Barr colonists on their way to their land in the present Lloydminster area.
Through the efforts of her energetic citizens the Grand Trunk and Canadian
Northern were persuaded to route their lines through the town. In 1906 Saskatoon
was incorporated as a city and in 1909 the provincial university was located there,
not without debate.

The book carries the story on through war and peace, through good years
and bad, recalling names and events familiar to Saskatonians and many others.
The pictures are excellent, the proof-reading negligent.

MILDRED MAIR

Notes and Correspondence

THE editors and sponsors of SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY have been greatly encouraged by the response to the first issue of the magazine. The number of subscriptions far exceeded our expectations, and we regret that there were not enough copies of the first number to fill subscriptions received after March 1. The interest shown by your letters has been equally gratifying. We were particularly glad to hear from early settlers, who have experiences of their own to relate. The criticisms and suggestions made by a few will be helpful in planning future issues. To these readers and to the many who were so generous in their praise of the introductory number of this magazine, we are very grateful.

In the belief that many of the letters will be of interest to our readers, the editors have set aside this section for letters and also for notes on the activities of local historians and historical groups. Contributions to these pages will be much appreciated.

CORRESPONDENCE

The following comment has been received from Professor Paul F. Sharp with respect to the abstract of his article, "The American Farmer and the 'Last Best West'," which appeared in the first issue of SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY. We regret that the abstract misinterpreted Mr. Sharp's views in certain instances, and we hope that the printing of the appropriate parts of his letter will offset the incorrect impressions left by the abstract. Our readers will be interested to know that the University of Minnesota Press will shortly publish a book by Professor Sharp, entitled *Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada: A Survey Showing American Parallels*. We hope to review this book in a future issue of SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY.

To the Editor:

. . . . I am quite satisfied with the condensation except for the final paragraph which gives the unfortunate impression that I support the thesis that Americans were "largely responsible for western radicalism and third party movement." My judgment is actually a far more modest one. American settlers "gave strong support" to an agitation that "set the stage" for Progressivism.

I am curious to know why the Ku Klux Klan and prohibition, the most questionable of the innovations, are emphasized while the very significant Society of Equity, Nonpartisan league, direct legislation, and Henry George's single tax were omitted from the summary paragraph. The effect is misleading and most unfortunate for these were the positive contributions—not the Klan or prohibition.

Iowa State College
Ames, Iowa
PAUL F. SHARP

To the Editor:

In reading the pioneer story "Glasgow to Battleford" by James Clinkskill in SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY, I am much surprised that in no place is Mr. Clinkskill's partner named. I think this is a mistake as it is quite evident that the partner helped a great deal in Mr. Clinkskill's success. I do know that at a later

date Mr. T. E. Mahaffy was Mr. Clinkskill's partner, and I believe Mr. Mahaffy married a sister of Mr. Clinkskill.

I would like to know if the partner mentioned in this history was Mr. Mahaffy. I may say that I knew Mr. Mahaffy from 1905 or -6 when he opened a store here until his death, and I have no doubt that Mr. Mahaffy contributed as much to the development of the West as did Mr. Clinkskill, though in a quieter way.

Paynton, Sask.   J. H. BLACK

[Mr. Clinkskill did not mention the name of his partner throughout the narrative from which the incident referred to above was taken. He mentioned in a later section of the narrative that the partnership was dissolved when Mr. Clinkskill decided to move to Saskatoon, his partner preferring to remain at Battleford—A.R.C.]

To the Editor:

I read with interest the announcement of the first issue of your magazine, which is only natural for I had much to do with the development of Saskatchewan during the first half of the present century, having been General Manager of the Luse Land Co., which settled over three million acres in Saskatchewan and Alberta with American farmers and later, General Manager of Transcontinental Townsite Co., which owned and developed the townsites along the Grand Trunk Pacific when it was built, and more recently was the one who interested my friends in the formation of the Norcanols Oil Co., which spent over two million dollars in an effort to find oil in the southern part of Saskatchewan.

We have recently come to California from Wilcox, Saskatchewan, where we founded the town in 1902 and made it our home ever since.

Whittier, Calif.   S. T. ST. JOHN

NOTES

The Melfort Journal is publishing a series of interesting biographical sketches by Mr. Roy Lobb of Beatty. In endeavouring to preserve the stories of Saskatchewan pioneers, Mr. Lobb and the editor of *The Melfort Journal* are setting an example which others, we hope, will follow.

We have received with much pleasure a copy of *Pioneer Homestead Stories*, written and published in 1942 by Mr. Oscar Landstrom of Govan. Mr. and Mrs. Landstrom recently celebrated their golden wedding at Govan. Mr. Landstrom tells in a clear and vivid style his pioneering experiences in Minnesota, Saskatchewan, and the Peace River District. Copies of *Pioneer Homestead Stories* may be secured by writing to Mr. Landstrom, Box 181, Govan, Sask., and enclosing twenty-five cents.

The Saskatoon Old Timers' Association held its annual banquet on Friday, February 13. This association is active in collecting records of pioneers and in marking and preserving buildings of historic interest in Saskatoon.

Contributors

BRUCE B. PEEL is librarian of the Shortt Library at the University of Saskatchewan. This special library, built around a nucleus of books from the private collection of the noted historian, Adam Shortt, consists of some 5,000 historical, travel, and political works dealing with Canada. In the course of preparing a catalogue of the library, a project which is approaching completion, Mr. Peel has acquired a wide knowledge of historical publications pertaining to Western Canada.

LEWIS H. THOMAS, as executive assistant to the Provincial Archivist, has spent several years exploring the primary sources of Saskatchewan history. He has done special work in the territorial period.

J. R. A. POLLARD is Vice-Principal of Scott Collegiate, Regina, and head of the history department there. He holds a master's degree in Canadian history from the University of Saskatchewan.

ALEX R. CAMERON, editorial writer for the *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, has been in newspaper work since 1933. He taught school in Saskatchewan for eight years before entering newspaper work.

W. R. GRAHAM, instructor in history in the University of Saskatchewan, has done special studies in the history of Canadian politics since Confederation.

MILDRED MAIR is an honours graduate of the University of Saskatchewan, with a special interest in history.

Editorial Note:

The editorial committee will welcome comments on this issue and suggestions for the future. Articles and illustrations suitable for publication are desired, but contributors should consult the Editor before submitting material.

Saskatchewan.