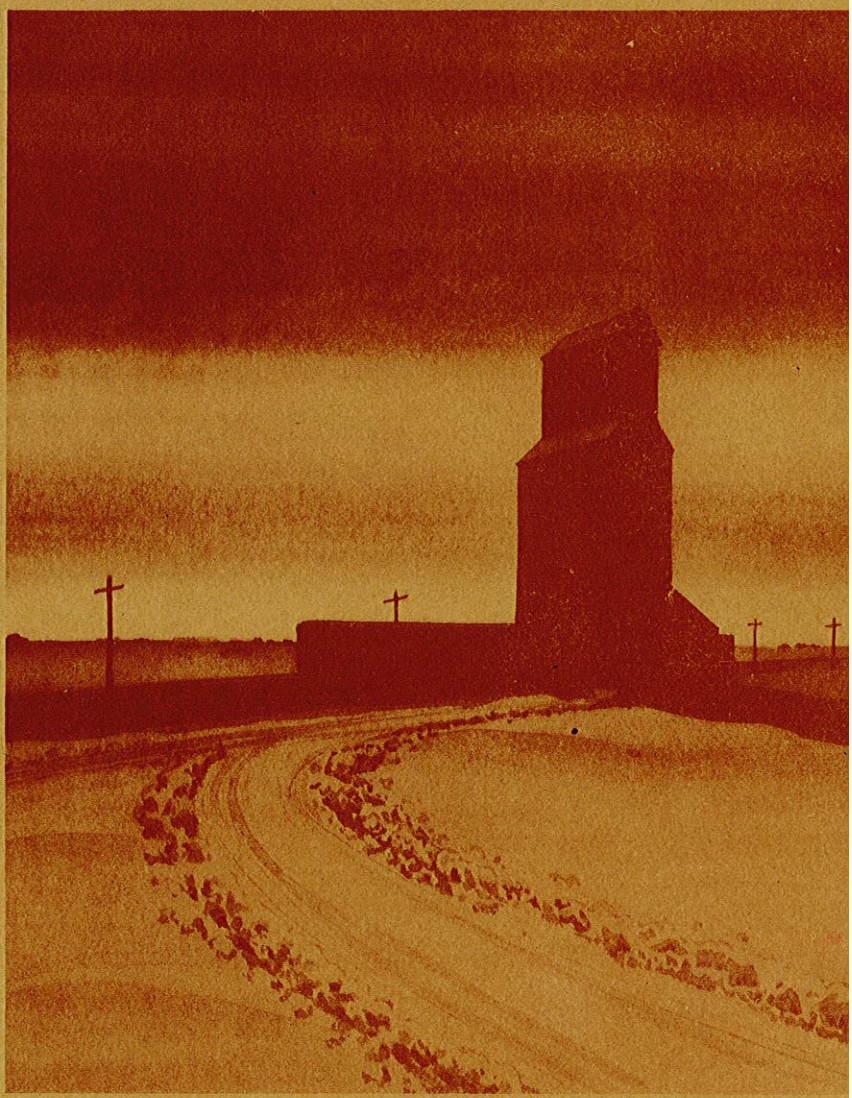
Saskatchewan HISTORY



★ BUFFALO POUNDS

BY

MARY WEEKES

★ SASKATCHEWAN IN FICTION

BY

SHIRLEY PAUSTIAN

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Saskatchewan History

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How Saskatchewan Women Got the Vote

THAT women should go to the polls on terms of equality with men is now taken so much for granted it is difficult to realize that the privilege of voting was denied to them until a comparatively few years ago and that years of struggle were necessary before women won political equality. Although the agitation for women's suffrage in Canada had a shorter history than elsewhere, Canadian women did not win the franchise without effort.

Although agitation for the franchise started in Ontario, interest in the question was not confined to eastern Canada for long. By 1896, there was already a vigorous suffrage society in Winnipeg.[1] As in Ontario, the movement in Manitoba not only began in the capital city, but in the years which followed found its headquarters there, although much invaluable support came from outside Winnipeg, particularly from members of the Provincial Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Grain Growers' Association, and women from the large Icelandic settlements, who very early became enthusiastic suffrage workers.

In Saskatchewan, unlike Manitoba, the women's suffrage movement was first and foremost a movement of farm and small town women. At their annual convention held in Regina in February, 1912, a resolution requesting the Canadian government to grant women the franchise, was passed by the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, which thus became the first Saskatchewan organization to declare itself publicly an advocate of women's suffrage. Thereafter, until women had won the franchise, the suffrage question occupied an important place on the convention programs, and the resolution of 1912 was reaffirmed every year. Yet, long before 1912, farming communities all over the province had had their attention drawn to the matter by that ubiquitous organ of the Grain Growers' Association, the *Grain Growers' Guide*. As early as September 1909, there appeared in the *Guide* an editorial by E. A. Partridge, then president of the Grain Growers' Grain Company, in which he argued very forcibly the case for women's suffrage. From 1910, the *Guide* urged votes for women by an almost constant stream of articles and editorials, and printed numerous readers' letters on both sides of the question.

However, not all western farmers nor their wives were ardent supporters of women's suffrage. A few were so strongly opposed that they wrote to the *Guide* stating in no uncertain terms their antipathy to the movement. Their reasons for disapproval of the suffrage principle were mostly the stock anti-suffrage arguments of the day, which now seem pretty amusing. One has difficulty in understanding how people could ever have taken seriously such arguments as these, to quote a few prize examples: happy homes would be broken up by political squabbles between husband and wife, and homes would be neglected; women lacked the ability to vote intelligently; and, in going to the polls, women could not escape contamination. One writer to the *Guide* went so far as to say that "the only proper time for women to mix with men at the polls is after the age of fifty."[2]

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[1] *Farmers' Advocate and Home Journal*, February 9, 1916, p. 207.
[2] *Grain Growers' Guide*, August 21, 1909, p. 23.

While a few prairie dwellers were definitely opposed, many more were simply indifferent to women's suffrage. During the few years immediately preceding the granting of the franchise, complaints were made of the apathy displayed by the women in the cities and larger towns of Saskatchewan, and workers for the cause were to be discouraged by indifference more than by active opposition.[3] Apparently, however, that attitude was not confined to the cities. Early in 1912, the women readers of the *Guide* were given an opportunity to register their opinions regarding votes for women. The editor of the women's page, by whom the poll was conducted, complained when the votes were in that "out of all the thousands of women readers only one hundred had the energy to sign the voting paper."[4]

Some stimulus to the movement was given by the visit of Miss Barbara Wylie, prominent member of a militant suffragist organization in Great Britain. On December 11, 1912, she lectured in the City Hall of Regina, urging Canadian women to action. The meeting was poorly attended; the Legislature, then sitting, was suspected of deliberate opposition.[5] Yet, after a languid beginning, a favourable resolution was passed. Miss Wylie's visit provided the impetus for a chain of events which, four years later, led to the granting of the vote to the women of Saskatchewan. On December 16, J. A. Bradshaw, opposition member from Prince Albert, introduced in the Legislative Assembly a resolution in favour of women's suffrage.[6] Only one hardy soul expressed himself as opposed, and the motion was supported by members from both sides of the House. However, the Legislature on the whole agreed with the Hon. W. R. Motherwell when he said that "in Saskatchewan . . . the women are sufficiently satisfied to set aside for the present any serious or unanimous desire for the vote" and that "when the time arrives at which any considerable number of women approach this government urging the extension of the franchise to women, their case will receive very favorable and just consideration at the hands of the government."[7]

The *Grain Growers' Guide*, and especially the editor of its women's department, Miss Marion Beynon, immediately took up the challenge. The *Guide* ran an editorial suggesting to the women of Saskatchewan that they show their desire for the vote through organization, circulation of petitions, and by writing to the Premier.[8] Miss Beynon was more emphatic. She wrote, "Bombard Mr. Scott with letters by shoals and by thousands. Make your correspondence such a burden to those who care for the Premier's mail that they will know beyond the shadow of a doubt that you want the vote."[9] Similiar advice was given to Saskatchewan women by "Lillian Laurie" (Mrs. A. V. Thomas) of the *Manitoba*

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[3] It is significant that when Mrs. Pankhurst, the famous English militant suffragette, toured Canada in December 1911, the only western cities in which she lectured were Fort William, Port Arthur, Winnipeg, and Victoria. The Regina *Leader* at the time commented on the fact that none of the women's organizations in Regina were sufficently interested in the movement to invite Mrs. Pankhurst to stop there.

[4] *Grain Growers' Guide*, February 7, 1912, p. 23.

[5] Regina *Daily Province*, December 12, 1912, p. 7.

[6] *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Saskatchewan*, December 16, 1912, p.99. This resolution was not brought to a vote as the government considered that to take a division on it would be premature.

[7] Regina *Morning Leader*, December 17, 1912, p.3.

[8] *Grain Growers' Guide*, January 1, 1913, p. 6.

[9] *Ibid*,. January 8, 1913, p. 10.

Free Press who wrote an article urging them to write to Scott and to Bradshaw. Saskatchewan papers were a little slower in taking up the issue, but they were by no means opposed, and before long the movement had the active support of many, including the Regina *Daily Province* and *Morning Leader.*

Unfortunately, instead of thousands of letters, Scott received a mere three hundred.[10] From these letters, as from many of the articles dealing with the subject which appeared in the papers at the time, it is evident that for most women, as for women's suffrage workers everywhere, the franchise was not an end in itself. It was considered a prerequisite to the achievement of other reforms, those most stressed in Saskatchewan being prohibition, homestead rights for women, and the passage of a dower law. A few of the writers of the letters were not too sure what getting the vote would mean; as for instance, the woman who wrote, "Having read in the papers, that all the women of Saskatchewan have not asked for votes, we send in our application for two." More than one woman wondered why, when almost all of their representatives were unanimous as to the right of women to exercise the franchise, they should need to "make a demonstration" before that right was granted.

Once again the S.G.G.A. stepped into the picture. During the year following the presentation of the first women's suffrage resolution in the Legislature, the Association prepared and distributed printed petition forms addressed to Premier Scott, praying for "an act providing for the general extension of the franchise to the women of Saskatchewan on equal terms with men." The petitions were forwarded to the Premier in December, 1913 by F. W. Green, Secretary-Treasurer of the Association, with an accompanying letter stating that no organized attempt had been made to secure signatures, and that they had been sent out only upon request of the women themselves.[11] Some twenty-five hundred signatures had been obtained. Although in one or two cases, a local W.C.T.U. organization was instrumental in gathering signatures, the work was done almost entirely by farm women and the majority of names were those of farm women.

Meanwhile, Bradshaw, that faithful champion of women's rights, on December 9, 1913, presented to the Legislature a second resolution, expressing the opinion that the question of the extension of the franchise to women should receive the consideration of the Assembly. This resolution passed unanimously, but Scott reiterated the belief expressed in all his answers to the letter-writers: although his personal view was that women should be admitted as voters, the women of Saskatchewan had not shown sufficient interest in either the equal suffrage question or in public problems in general to demonstrate that a majority of them wished to possess the privilege of the franchise; about twenty-five hundred women had signified their desire for the vote by petition or letter, but this number could not be considered as representative of the opinions of Saskatchewan women as a whole.[12] That the Premier's argument had a certain foundation is indicated by the fact that, as reported in the Regina *Leader*, "practically empty galleries

[10] "Correspondence *re* Women's Suffrage," 1913-14, Files of Executive Council Office, Archives Division, Legislative Library, Regina.

[11] *Ibid.*, F. W. Green to Walter Scott, December 1, 1913.

[12] *Ibid.*, and *Morning Leader*, December 10, 1913, p. 4.

testified to the indifference of the public to the issue" and of the few visitors, all were male. A day or two before, half a dozen ladies had come to the House to make their desire for the passage of the resolution known, but even they did not bother to return to see the outcome.[13]

During the spring of 1914, evidences of increasing interest in the question were seen. The general organization of the W.C.T.U. in the United States and in Canada had been advocating equal franchise since very early in its history. The Saskatchewan W.C.T.U. had at first taken no action, but through the "Banish the Bar" agitation it became definitely associated with the suffrage movement. In March, at a district meeting in Regina, when the matter of petitioning the government for a partial franchise in connection with the "Banish the Bar" vote was discussed, the question was raised, "Why not ask for the full measure of suffrage?" A month or two later there appeared in the Regina papers a report to the effect that the Provincial W.C.T.U. had planned to undertake an aggressive suffrage campaign, including petitions to the Legislature.

The inauguration of this campaign marks the beginning of active participation in the equal franchise movement by the W.C.T.U., the nature and scope of its suffrage activities being very similar to those of the Women Grain Growers. The Women's Grain Growers' Association had its organizational meeting at the time of the S.G.G.A. convention in Moose Jaw in February, 1914. Its first president, Mrs. Violet McNaughton of Piche, was to be one of the foremost leaders of the women's franchise movement in Saskatchewan. In her first address to the new organization, Mrs. McNaughton impressed upon the members that she considered political equality for women fundamental to the betterment of home and community, and since it was necessary for the improvement of the social fabric of the country, women's suffrage was to be the principal plank in the platform of the Association.[14] Thus, from the inception of the W.G.G.A., women's suffrage became a topic for discussion and debate at almost every meeting of the local branches, as it was for meetings of local and district W.C.T.U.'s. The purposes behind the advocacy of political equality on the part of these two organizations were very similar. To the W.C.T.U., of course, the franchise was first and foremost a weapon in the fight against the liquor traffic, but in addition they, like franchise workers everywhere, believed that the women's vote would mean the abolition of the white slave traffic and of political corruption, improvement in labor conditions, and better laws for women and children. The W.G.G.A. may perhaps have put less emphasis on the temperance issue, but their reasons for pushing women's suffrage and their belief in the reforming influence of the women's vote were substantially the same.

A further important indication of deepening interest in women's suffrage was the formation of a number of equal suffrage leagues in the province. The Moosomin Political Equality League met for the first time in February, 1914.[15] During the following spring, Equal Franchise Leagues were started in Prince Albert and Battleford. The latter organization sent to the Methodist Provincial Con-

[13] *Morning Leader*, December 10, 1913, p. 4.
[14] *Ibid.*, February 12, 1914, p. 8; *Farmers' Advocate and Home Journal*, February 25, 1914, p. 271.
[15] *Grain Growers' Guide*, March 25, 1914, p. 9.

ference, held at Yorkton in June, a delegate who secured the pledge of about two hundred ministers to speak in favor of the cause. Mrs. Nellie McClung, who addressed meetings all over the province, did much to promote further franchise leagues. However, the feeling began to grow among suffrage workers that all their organizations should be consolidated. Mrs. McNaughton took action. On June 25, 1914, at an executive meeting of the W.G.G.A. held in Delisle, she brought forward the following resolution: "That a Women's Suffrage Federation be formed, composed of representatives from the W.C.T.U., Political Equality Leagues, W.G.G.A., and any other women's organizations in favor of women's

—Grain Growers' Guide, Sept. 21, 1910

THE DOOR STEADILY OPENS

suffrage, and that the said board be empowered to deal with all plans in the campaign for the franchise of women."[16] The result was the establishment by February, 1915 of the Provincial Equal Franchise Board of Saskatchewan, which stimulated the organization of a number of new Equal Franchise Leagues, including those at Yorkton, Moose Jaw, Regina, and Saskatoon. Officers appointed to head the new organization were: President, Mrs. F. A. Lawton, Yorkton Equal Franchise League; first Vice-President, Mrs. S. V. Haight, Keeler W.G.G.A.; second Vice-President, Mrs. G. E. Ellis, Prince Albert Equal Franchise League; third Vice-President, Mrs. Robert Sinton, Regina W.C.T.U.; Corresponding

[16] *Ibid.*, July 22, 1914, p. 16.

Secretary, Miss S. A. Van Alstyne, Moosomin Political Equality League; Recording Secretary, Mrs. H. K. Meiseneimer, Strongfield W.C.T.U.; and Treasurer, Mrs. C. O. Davidson, Prince Albert Equal Franchise League.

In considering the plan of work of the new Board, it was decided that initially the main function of the Board should be an educational one; that it should be "a sort of clearing house for speakers, arrangements for holding meetings, distribution of literature, etc."[17] A motion was passed to the effect that during the war no active campaign should be undertaken. One wonders just what the women thought should be included in an "active campaign," because almost in the same breath they signified their intention of carrying on the petition work begun the previous spring by the W.C.T.U.

When the petition was presented to the Legislature in May 1915, there was abundant evidence of a real increase of enthusiasm, especially among the women, since J. A. Bradshaw's resolution of December 1913. Almost one hundred women accompanied the delegation, which consisted of Mrs. F. A. Lawton, Mrs. W. W. Andrews, President of the Provincial W.C.T.U., Mrs. Robert Sinton, Mrs. S. V. Haight, Mr. W. R. Cocks, representing the Dominion Congress of Working Men, and Mr. J. B. Musselman, Secretary of the S.G.G.A. The presence of such an impressive number of women and the "pointed and effective argument" of the official deputation, for whose "standard of effectiveness and eloquence in debate," Premier Scott had words of high praise, elicited, however, little more than compliments and the assurance from the Premier that he and his colleagues would consider the question. He thought it "only proper that he should consult his colleagues before attempting to give a positive answer to the question whether the support of the Trades and Labor body and the Grain Growers' organizations, together with the support on the part of the women of the Province generally as shown by the ten thousand and odd signatures on the petition, sufficiently indicated that the time was fully ripe for action."[18]

Eleven thousand women had signed the petition of 1915 as an expression of their desire for the vote, but the Scott Government considered that number insufficient. Accordingly, with the approach of the winter session, plans were made to secure an additional ten thousand signatures. Despite the kind of weather that usually prevails in Saskatchewan during the months of January and February, the women were successful in their task. On February 14, 1916, a large and determined delegation once again descended upon the Legislature. For the second time, as President of the Provincial Equal Franchise Board, Mrs. F. A. Lawton headed the deputation. Other speakers were Mrs. W. W. Andrews, Mrs. Charles Robson of the Regina Local Council of Women, Mrs. S. V. Haight, again representing the W.G.G.A., Mrs. C. O. Davidson, President of the Regina Equal Franchise League, and finally, Alderman Perry of Saskatoon, representing the labor men of Saskatchewan. The Premier for years had expressed himself as having no doubts as to women's right to vote. But his speech on this occasion showed that he, like so many men, remained pleasantly convinced of the essential frivolity of

[17] Minutes of the Provincial Equal Franchise Board, February, 13, 1915, Archives Division, Legislative Library.

[18] *Morning Leader*, May 28, 1915, p. 12.

the opposite sex. He announced that the government had decided to grant the vote to the women of Saskatchewan, but he took great pains to impress upon the women of the delegation the greatness of the responsibility entrusted to them. He said, "It is not a simple matter, or a thing to be lightly undertaken, the thing to which I commit the legislature in this province this morning. Government is a serious business . . . I have no doubt in the world that today or tomorrow there will be many women who will throw up their hands and think the fight is won. The time for sacrifice in this fight is now come. If you keep in mind the supreme importance of the step you ask and the responsibility you are now undertaking, I am inclined to think instead of any lightheartedness you will feel it is the time for serious consideration of these responsibilities."[19]

Although this decision on the part of the government must have been a foregone conclusion, in replying to the Premier, Mrs. Lawton entered into the spirit of the game and expressed surprise with "Mr. Premier, this is so sudden!" At her signal, the ladies of the delegation rose and fluttered their handkerchiefs, although in a subdued manner in keeping with the weight of the awful responsibility now vested in them. Mrs. Lawton and Mrs. Haight then expressed gratitude on behalf of Saskatchewan women; the members of the Legislature and of the delegation in turn sang, "For They Are Jolly Good Fellows"; and the women departed with the assurance of the right to vote in provincial elections.[20]

While, as we have already seen, the women's suffrage movement started in Ontario, it was in the West that it first attained success. In granting the franchise to women, the legislatures of the three prairie provinces acted almost simultaneously, the dates upon which women in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta officially became eligible to vote following one another closely (Manitoba, January 28, 1916; Saskatchewan, March 14, 1916; Alberta, April 19, 1916).[21] In all three western provinces, the agitation had received much support from farmer organizations, the Grain Growers' Associations in Manitoba and Saskatchewan and the United Farmers in Alberta, and from labor organizations, such as the Trades and Labor Councils and the Western Federation of Miners. One might ask why the women of Saskatchewan should have received the vote with so little struggle, after only four years of rather intermittent activity, in view of the difficulties encountered by women suffrage workers in some parts of the world and also in view of the fact that, at the time, full manhood suffrage was by no means universal. A number of reasons may be suggested. Saskatchewan contained many people recently come from areas, such as Scandinavia[22] and the western states, which had recently adopted or were generally favourable to

[19] *Morning Leader*, February 15, 1916, p. 2.
[20] *The War-time Election Act of* 1917, giving the federal vote to women who were close relatives of men overseas, marked the first step in the extension of the federal franchise. It was followed in 1918 by the *Act to confer the Electoral Franchise upon Women*, which completed the enfranchisement of Canadian women so far as Dominion elections were concerned.
[21] Women's suffrage came into effect in the other Canadian provinces as follows: British Columbia, 1917; Ontario and Nova Scotia, 1918; New Brunswick, 1919; Prince Edward Island, 1922; Quebec, 1940. The history of the women's suffrage movement in the United States provides an interesting parallel. There, also, the movement began in the East, but the western states granted the franchise long before any of the eastern states. For the western states, the following dates may be noted: Wyoming, 1869; Colorado, 1893; Idaho and Utah, 1896; Washington, 1910; California, 1911; Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon, 1912; Nevada, and Montana, 1914.
[22] Finland and Norway granted the franchise to women in 1907, Iceland in 1913, Denmark in 1915.

women's suffrage. Moreover, in that new strange country, where all life was experimental, there was little violent prejudice against social and political novelties. In the last few years, however, it seems likely that the decisive factor was the prohibition movement. Few prohibitionists doubted that the women would vote with them, and thus the suffragists secured powerful allies among many men who might otherwise have been opposed or indifferent.

CHRISTINE MACDONALD

ARCHIVAL STUDIES

The Lieutenant Governor's Proclamations And Minutes

THE Proclamations and Minutes of the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories, 1876-1897, comprise a group of nine volumes of original records of executive acts bearing the Lieutenant Governor's signature.[1] These records are a monument to the unique position of this officer in the executive or administrative branch of the Territorial Government between 1876 and 1897. Throughout this period, and particularly before 1892, the Lieutenant Governor was, in the words of one who held the office, "practically a Political Commissioner under whose direct supervision and authority the affairs of the Territories were conducted and administered."[2]

The extensive powers of the Lieutenant Governor as expressed in his Proclamations and Minutes were derived from Dominion and Territorial legislation. These powers gave him an entirely different status from the other lieutenant governors in Canada, who possessed only limited provincial prerogative powers. Under the authority of *The North-West Territories Act*, the Lieutenant Governor appointed justices of the peace and coroners, erected electoral districts and appointed returning officers for Council elections, issued necessary local orders to the North-West Mounted Police, and regulated the use of liquor.[3] Though the North-West Council, in addition to its legislative functions, was "to aid the Lieutenant Governor in the administration of the Territories," its infrequent meetings made it impossible for the Lieutenant Governor to consult it regularly on executive matters and, although he might find it helpful to secure its advice, he was constitutionally responsible only to the Dominion Government.

Early in the period the Council conferred even more powers upon him. As there was no provision for councillors to be permanently resident at the capital until 1892, it became very usual for ordinances to give powers to the Lieutenant Governor rather than to the Lieutenant Governor in Council. Thus, we find the Lieutenant Governor in his Proclamations and Minutes establishing health districts and herd districts, appointing boards of health, notaries public, poundkeepers, veterinary surgeons, issuers of marriage licenses and fire guardians, authorizing school districts to borrow money, licensing ferry operators, to mention but a few of his responsibilities under the ordinances.[4]

When the Dominion Parliament replaced the North-West Council with the Legislative Assembly of the Territories in 1888, it did not provide the usual

[1] The term "minute" was applied to what were essentially "orders"; i.e., executive acts done under the authority of Dominion statutes and Territorial ordinances.

[2] Lieutenant Governor Joseph Royal, speech on proroguing the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, September 16, 1893, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1893, p. 109.

[3] The record of his exercise of the latter two powers is not in the Proclamations and Minutes, but in correspondence files and license registers.

[4] The Lieutenant Governor's Proclamations and Minutes, whether issued under Dominion or Territorial legislation, appear together in chronological arrangement. There is a gap between June 30, 1893 and May 7, 1895, though most if not all of the missing records can be found in printed form in the *North-West Territories Gazette*.

executive council or cabinet. Instead it created an Advisory Council "in matters of finance," composed of four members of the Assembly chosen and presided over by the Lieutenant Governor, to function chiefly during sessions of the Assembly. The Assembly at its first session constituted this Council as the Lieutenant Governor's advisers wherever action by "the Lieuenant Governor in Council" was required.[5] But since this Council, like the old North-West Council, could only meet infrequently, it was impossible to impose any extensive administrative duties upon it.

The Assembly's dissatisfaction with the practice of vesting extensive administrative powers in the Lieutenant Governor led to the abandonment of the Advisory Council in 1891 and the appearance of a new body, the Executive Committee, from which the Lieutenant Governor was excluded. The Committee, chosen by resolution of the Assembly, consisted of four members, two of whom were paid a salary and remained at the seat of government.[6] This Committee, or frequently one of its members, functioned as "the Council" wherever required by the ordinances. Associated with this change was the substitution of the words "Lieutenant Governor in Council" for the words "Lieutenant Governor" in many of the ordinances dealing with matters of Territorial administration.[7] In effect, the Assembly had reduced the extraordinary powers of the Lieutenant Governor, in so far as it was able to do so, by creating an embryo cabinet.

As a result of these developments, the Lieutenant Governor's Proclamations and Minutes after 1892 deal with a much more limited class of subjects, and those under the authority of Territorial legislation were issued on the recommendation of the Committee.[8] With the introduction of cabinet government, the series of Proclamations and Minutes ended, the last being issued on September 30, 1897.

LEWIS H. THOMAS.

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[5] *Revised Ordinances of the North-West Territories*, 1888, chap, 1, sec. 8(6). This involved an extension of the powers of the Advisory Council beyond matters of finance only, and thus was *ultra vires*, but the Dominion Government chose to ignore the situation.

[6] It is unnecessary for the purposes of this article to discuss the constitutional difficulties encountered in the creation of the Executive Committee. At first it was appointed by the Lieutenant Governor (under Ordinance No. 1 of 1891-2). When this ordinance was found to be *ultra vires*, the Committee was chosen by resolution of the Legislative Assembly (Ordinance No. 1 of 1892). Like the Advisory Council its power of advising on matters other than financial was of doubtful constitutionality; see *Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1896, p. 69.

[7] Ordinance No. 35 of 1892.

[8] See Minutes of the Executive Committee, Archives of Saskatchewan.

No. 12

Minute by the Lieutenant Governor

Government House,
Battleford, N.W. Territories,
24th October 1878.

Whereas by section three of Ordinance No. 9 of 1878, intituled "An Ordinance respecting marriages," it is in effect enacted that the Lieutenant Governor may from time to time appoint persons to issue Marriage Licenses;

And whereas it is expedient that persons should be authorized, in certain localities, to issue such Licenses, I have thought fit to appoint, and do hereby appoint the following gentlemen to be Issuers of Marriage Licenses in and for the North-West Territories:

Amédée Emmanuel Forget, Esq., Battleford
Lawrence Clarke, Esq., Carlton
Charles Mair, Esq., Prince Albert
Joseph Finlayson, Esq., Prince Albert
Archibald McDonald, Esq., Fort Ellice
Alexander Matheson, Esq., The Pas
Rev. Joseph Reader, Touchwood Hills
William J. McLean, Esq., Qu'Appelle
Rev. John Flett, Riding Mountain
Adam McBeath, Esq., Fort Pelly
Barry W. Garratt, Esq., Little Saskatchewan
Isaac Cowie, Esq., Manitoba House
Capt. William Winder, Fort Macleod
George Harpur, Esq., Cypress Hills
Rev. John McDougall, Morleyville
Rev. William Newton, Ph.D., Edmonton
Richard Hardisty, Esq., Edmonton
Rev. Henry Steinhauer, White Fish Lake
William R. Brereton, Esq., Victoria
Right Rev. W. C. Bompas, Bishop of Athabaska
Roderic McFarlane Esq., Athabaska
William Lucas Hardisty, Esq., McKenzie River
Henry J. Moberly, Esq., Fort McMurray
John McDougall, Esq., Dunvegan

DAVID LAIRD
Lieutenant Governor

No. 24

Minute by the Lieutenant Governor

Government House,
Battleford, N.W.T.,
10th October 1879.

Whereas by the fifty-seventh section of "The North-West Territories Act, 1875," it is provided that the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories may appoint Justices of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories;

Therefore under the authority so vested in me, I do appoint Charles Mair, Esquire, of Prince Albert,[9] a Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories, and do authorize that the necessary instrument be prepared to certify the said appointment to all persons concerned.

DAVID LAIRD
Lieutenant Governor

No. 207

PROCLAMATION

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, etc., etc.

E. DEWDNEY
[Seal] Lieutenant Governor

To all to whom these presents shall come or whom the same may concern,

GREETING:

Whereas by section two of "The Marking of Stock Ordinance 1884," it is in effect enacted that the Lieutenant Governor may, whenever he thinks it desirable that the provisions of this Ordinance should apply to any part of the North-West Territories, set apart, by proclamation, any portion thereof to form and be known as a Stock District, and designated by a number, and name in said proclamation a Clerk of a District Court who shall be recorder of marks[10] for such District;

And whereas it is desirable that the portion of the North-West Territories hereinafter described be set apart as a Stock District:

Now know ye that under the powers so vested in us we do hereby proclaim as set apart, to form a Stock District to be designated "Stock District No. 1,"

---

[9] Charles Mair (1838-1927). Poet, journalist, and officer of the Dominion Immigration Service. Author of *Tecumseh: A Drama, Through the Mackenzie Basin*, etc.

[10] Brands.

all that portion of the North-West Territories bounded on the North by the Red Deer River and the South Branch of the Saskatchewan River, flowing eastward, until the one hundred and eighth Meridian of West longitude is reached; on the East by the said Meridian; on the South by the southern boundary of the said Territories and on the West by British Columbia;

Of which all persons whom these presents may concern are hereby required to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF we have caused the seal of the North-West Territories to be hereunto annexed. Witness His Honor Edgar Dewdney, Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories, at Government House, Regina, this fourth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four and in the forty-eighth year of Her Majesty's reign.

By Command,

A. E. FORGET,
Clerk of Council.

No. 376

Minute by His Honour the Lieutenant Governor

Government House, Regina, N.W.T.
Tuesday, 12th January, 1886.

Whereas by Section 5 of Ordinance No. 21 of 1885, intituled "An Ordinance to amend, and consolidate as amended, the several Ordinances respecting Prairie and Forest Fires," it is in effect enacted that the Lieutenant Governor may appoint Fire Guardians to enforce the provisions of said Ordinance;

Therefore under the authority so vested in me, I do hereby appoint John Henry Hawks, Esquire, of West $\frac{1}{2}$ of section 22, in township 19, range 17, West of the second Principal Meridian, to be a Fire Guardian with all the powers conferred by said Ordinance upon Fire Guardians.

E. DEWDNEY
Lieutenant Governor

TEACHERS' SECTION

An Indian's Description of the Making of a Buffalo Pound[1]

ACCORDING to tradition it is over a century since the last buffalo pound was made on the prairie. There are two known sites of old buffalo pounds on the Assiniboine Reserve, which is located south of Sintaluta, and on one of these sites not long ago a great buffalo hunting knife was found. Mina Yuhen (Has The Knife), chief of a large tribe of Assiniboines, and also a medicine man, presided at the making of one of these pounds. This noted poundmaker had two nicknames, "Chatka" (Left-Handed), and "Tatokana" (Antelope). The white traders at Fort Union, where the Chief died in 1847, called him "Kohan," which means "Hurry." Always he was in a hurry and hurrying the members of his band.

Chief Mina Yuhen was a methodical person, and he conducted his life with a great deal of tribal ceremony. He adopted the custom of planting a flag-pole in front of his teepee and at its top attached the hide of a buffalo head. This hide was a sacred emblem (Tatanka) symbolizing the art of poundmaking which the presiding Manitou of buffalo had conferred upon him, and indicating that he was the monarch of the buffalo herds. When the Chief decided to move camp, he had the flag-pole with the attached buffalo head hide taken down, placed on a tripod, and pointed in the direction of his contemplated journey. This was the sign to the camp and the direction of the Chief's intention.

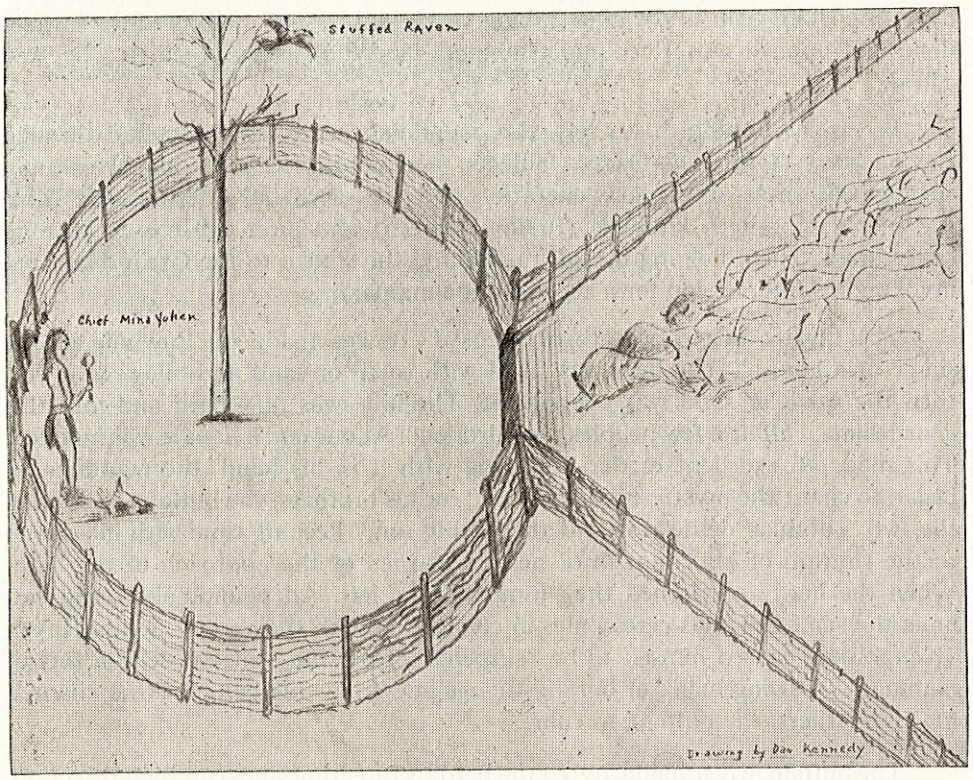
The making of a buffalo pound called for ingenuity and skill. The first step was to find a suitable location; that is, a place where there was a natural drop—as in a ravine—of about five feet, which was to be a "jump-off" or entrance to the pound or trap. If such a natural terrain could not be found, an artificial drop was constructed. The trap was a circular area of from forty to ninety feet in diameter, depending on the size of the camp and the number of buffalo the hunters wished to entrap. This trap was surrounded by a strong fence built of poles attached to posts (on the prairie, poplar poles were used), into which were woven branches and willows to present the appearance of solid walls. In the centre of this area a tall pole was planted, or if a tree were convenient, it was left. From this pole or tree, the Chief caused to be suspended a stuffed raven or magpie, both meat-eating birds. Only one aperture was left in the fence. This was opposite the entrance for the buffalo and was only for the entrance and exit of the poundmaker.

The "mystic" dimension of the entrance for the buffalo was usually seven paces wide or the length of the two flint dried buffalo hides which curtained off the entrance as soon as the buffalo entered the pound. In other words the width of the opening was about twenty-one feet. The flint (or dried) buffalo hides, which curtained off the enclosure, made a rattling noise which kept the

[1] Based on correspondence and personal interviews with Dan Kennedy (Ochankugahe) of the Assiniboine Reserve, a reliable authority. It is suggested that this article might be used in the teaching of Grade IX Social Studies.

buffalo from going near it once they were in the pound. Thus, the weakest part of the pound, Indian ingenuity made the strongest.

Two wing lines or fences (about six panels of poles) also attached to posts were then built and continued with "fascines" which flared out from the entrance. These fascines were branches, underbrush, and twigs tied in bundles and attached to willow twigs planted in the ground. Close to the panels of poles, these fascines or lead-up fences were placed close together, giving the appearance of solidity, but as they extended out they were spaced farther and farther apart. The lead-up fences were continued for a distance of two or three miles, but they were not as substantially built as the wing portions nearer the trap.



When all was ready, the dedication of the pound took place. This was an elaborate and sacred ceremony extending over a period of four days. The preliminary rites took place in the teepee of the poundmaker. To quote Dan Kennedy:

"At the time of the poundmaking, two buffalo teepees were set up, facing the setting sun, to which the poundmaker addressed the invocation, "Wee-yogh-peyam Tatanka-num-teepee-no" (sun-setting-towards-buffalo-two-teepees). This was a plea for the success of the undertaking.

"Here objects of veneration were exposed. They were a buffalo head, symbol of the presiding Manitou of the buffalo, and the raven or magpie, whose help was invoked for the success of the buffalo pound as they were allies of the under-

taking, being carnivorous and depending upon meat. The sacrificial offerings were placed near the objects of veneration. These consisted of from two dozen to one hundred peeled fruit tree (saskatoon or other fruit) sticks, about eighteen inches long. Half of these were painted red, the other half were painted yellow. A number of these sticks were sacrificial offerings of sweat baths, a religious rite, the delight of the Manitou, to invoke his aid in the projected hunt. The greater number of these pledges, however, were simple sacrificial offerings.

"For four successive nights the invocation ceremony kept up. On the fourth night, before dawn, the buffalo driver, whose name was Toka-Ki-He-Kuna (He Who Comes First), left quietly to join up with his brothers, the buffalo, where they roamed or fed. After the poundmaker himself, Toka-Ki-He-Kuna was the most important man in the undertaking, as the success of bringing in the buffalo depended upon his subtlety and cunning. 'He-Who-Brings-Them-In,' he was called."

When the buffalo driver left, the poundmaker entered the pound through the aperture, taking his sacred objects, and continued with his invocation, sitting near these objects of veneration and the sacrificial offerings. He filled the sacred pipe with kiniknik (Indian tobacco) and incensed it over burning sweet grass. Then, holding it aloft, he offered the smoke to the Great Manitou, invoking his intercession for a successful poundmaking.

The mystic rattler was then incensed. It was made of "rawhide in the shape of a gourd." The hide was filled with earth or sand and allowed to dry, then the earth or sand was poured out. The hide was now hard and into this gourd-shaped affair a few pebbles were dropped. At one end a handle was inserted. This made an excellent rattler. Standing with it in his hand, the poundmaker began to chant the mystic canticles or call for his brothers, the buffalo, "invoking the two 'Tatanka' deities towards the setting sun," keeping time with his rattler to the rhythm of his chant until he was warned of the approach of the herd. When the herd approached the "jump-off" he left. All poundmakers did not have the same religious ceremonies in connection with their work. White Raven (Kanghiska) caused himself to be "suspended from the centre-post in a sort of hammock or swing made of buffalo thongs and from this hammock he chanted for his brothers, the buffalo, to come."

The buffalo driver manoeuvred the herd by directing smoke in their direction, being careful to keep out of sight. The smoke he contrived by keeping alight with dried buffalo chips the burning ember—a piece of wood—which he carried. There were no matches in those days and flint was used to kindle fires. He was careful to keep in a position where the wind would waft the smoke toward the buffalo and send them moving in the direction of the "Was-a-tomp," or mouth of the pound. It was extremely important that he keep to windward of the moving buffalo.

Always a second hunter acted as a decoy to lead the herd into the flare of the pound as it approached. If on foot, he covered himself with a buffalo robe; if on horseback, he simulated the appearance of a buffalo, being careful to keep far enough away to support his disguise. Once the driver got the buffalo inside

the mouth of the pound, his work was done. Then, he either concealed himself behind the fascines or rode off.

At this point the other hunters who were hiding behind the fascines, and spaced at proper distances, took over. It should be remembered that the sign-posts or fences (fascines), which fanned out from the trap to the wide opening, were only little bundles of willows planted in the ground—a slight surge of the moving animals and they would be through. By bobbing up behind the fascines, alternately, the hunters kept the herd moving steadily and surely into the pound. These hunters, so concealed, had to be skillful and alert in their movements, lest the buffalo become frightened and break through the fragile fences. Once inside the pound, the rattling curtain of flint hides kept the buffalo safely away from the entrance.

After the buffalo were killed, they were distributed equitably among those camps of Indians that had taken part in the hunt or poundmaking. After the division of the kill and after the carcasses had been skinned and cut up and each participant apportioned his share, the enclosure was cleaned up. A pound usually held from forty to sixty buffalo. According to Dan Kennedy, the pounds were not responsible for the destruction of the buffalo. "The buffalo pound is a sacred institution and invoked only when very necessary. It is not a commercial enterprise and should not be viewed in that light."

MARY WEEKES

RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES—*Gilbert Johnson*

Wolverine House[1]

ABOUT two and a half miles northeast of the hamlet of Marchwell, on the southwest quarter of section twenty-four, township twenty-one, range thirty, there is a grass-grown excavation on a hill. In the 'eighties of the last century this was the cellar of "Wolverine House," which formed the centre of an expanding settlement. It contained a small store where the everyday requirements of the homesteaders could be supplied, and being near the Pelly Trail, served as a stopping house where weary travellers could find shelter and refreshment. While not a regular post office, mail for newly arrived settlers in the district was often forwarded in care of the proprietors. The Royal North-West Mounted Police were also stationed there for a time.

The establishment doubtless took its name from a nearby creek known locally as Wolverine Creek, although officially designated Smith's Creek on maps. The former name is probably derived from the tragic Indian legend of the Wolverine, the scene of which is laid some twenty miles to the south.[2] It is said that this particular site was selected because a survey made shortly before had indicated that it would be in the path of the projected railway and that a siding would be near that spot.

Government records at Regina and Ottawa reveal that on June 21, 1884, two men, Arthur P. W. Goldsmid and Herbert R. Vyvyan as the "Canadian Managers of the Wolverine Farming and Trading Company," made entries for homesteads and pre-emptions on this section. Wolverine House was probably built the same summer. As for the "Farming Company," it was no doubt one of the many ephemeral colonization companies which at that time were securing concessions from the government with a view to promoting land settlement. Goldsmid is distinctly remembered by several old timers. He is believed to have been an English Jew, and is said to have been a former actor and his wife an actress. His partner, Vyvyan, is a more elusive character. On April 27, 1885, he wrote to Ottawa asking for leave of absence from his homestead in order to join the Imperial Army. This is the last authentic information available about Vyvyan. The North-West Rebellion was at its height just then, but his name does not appear on the list of volunteers. Settlers who came to the district in 1886 speak of Goldsmid having a partner named Flynn. Was "Flynn" a local corruption of the name Vyvyan, or had Vyvyan taken the Queen's shilling in 1885 and been supplanted at Wolverine by a man named Flynn? We do not know. A couple of years later Flynn (or Vyvyan) left the district and a man named Rendall went into partnership with Goldsmid.

The early settlers were a colourful assortment—scions of aristocracy, office men, actors, soldiers, sailors and artisans. They furnished some strange contrasts.

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[1] This account, written by Gilbert Johnson of Marchwell, is reprinted with minor alterations, from the *Langenburg News*, March 4, 1948.

[2] See Bruce Peel, "On the Old Saskatchewan Trail," SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY, May, 1948, p. 5.

Bennetts from Scotland and Blanes from Ontario arrived in 1884 and founded families which still occupy the original homesteads southeast of Wolverine. The next few years saw the arrival of several other families and a goodly number of bachelors. A man named Power built an exceptionally fine house on section twelve. Being more interested in race horses than in agriculture, he did not stay long, and Jephson, a surveyor, took the place over for a time. The Lees came to the district in 1887 and settled near Wolverine House, but later acquired the Power farm where the Eric Lees now reside. To the west, on section twenty-two, was "Lochwood," the home of the Henry MacDonald family who came from Aberdeen. On the same section lived Frank L. Hart, a Londoner who "went native" upon settling in Canada. An engraver by trade, he had great artistic ability and was well educated, but lived in a state of indescribable squalor. His house was a log shack with an open cellar and without chimney or stove pipe; and his dress, a nondescript combination of tatters, sometimes consisted of little more than an old sack fastened about his waist as a loin cloth. His short stocky figure, mounted bareback on a pony as shaggy and unkempt as himself, was a familiar sight as he made periodic calls on neighbors and residents of adjacent settlements, showing a marked preference for homes in which there were marriageable daughters.

In 1886 George Veal of Liverpool and his three sons, James, Henry and Austin, settled four miles north of what is now Marchwell on a farm still occupied by one of the family. Then there were Amos Trego and his two sisters, a quaint, middle-aged trio, who looked as if they had stepped right out of a Victorian picture. There was tragedy, too, as when neighbors found Donnelly, an old soldier, dead in his lonely cabin three miles west of Wolverine. Near the Donnelly place lived Frank Petch, a frail-looking old bachelor who kept a horse ranch. A mile further east was the Loptin family. Loptin was a former sea cook, and his skill in preparing food was as great as his capacity for its enjoyment. Just south of what is now Marchwell, lived two "nobby" bachelors named Hunt and Tillier, who operated a ranch in partnership. Hunt married in 1887, and Tillier returned to England. Other bachelors in the district were Robert Bertram, a tough, wizened little old man from Ontario, who seemed to thrive on tea and chewing tobacco, and Fred Doehring, also known as "Bismark," who was noted for his fiery temper. In 1892 the Johnsons, who hailed from Denmark, settled north of the creek and members of the family still live there. While he lived somewhat nearer to Langenburg than to Wolverine, no roster of old timers would be complete without Horatio Meadows, J.P., ex-preacher, political opportunist and known as "the silver-tongued orator of Wallace." (Wolverine was in the electoral district of Wallace.) A colourful figure with black, curly hair reaching to his shoulders and a smack of the frontier about his dress, he played an active, if not always admirable, part in the affairs of the community.

During the first years of the settlement supplies were often freighted by team from Moosomin, except when the water of the Assiniboine was sufficiently high to accommodate steamboats. Of these the S.S. "Marquette" is known to have arrived at Fort Pelly on July 9, 1881, and the "Alpha" reached the same destination in 1882, but is said to have been wrecked in the ice at Brandon in the late fall of that year. Passengers often went to Fort Ellice by boat and then overland to the settlements up the river.

The Manitoba North Western Railway reached Langenburg late in 1886 and this brought a market and post office nearer to the settlers on the west side of the district. Russell was a popular trading centre and distributing point for farm machinery. James Kippan sold many of the early homesteaders their first implements. The Assiniboine had to be forded, and when the water was high, a trip to Russell by ox team or pony and buckboard was at times something of an adventure.

Small fields of grain began to appear. They were usually seeded by hand and threshed by horse power, but frost, drought, and gophers discouraged grain growing, and cattle continued to be the mainstay of the homesteaders. Destructive prairie fires swept the district at short intervals, ruining both hay and pasture. The fires also destroyed the trees, so that firewood and logs for building often had to be hauled great distances. Wheat, when not too badly frozen, was taken to Millwood or Asessippi to be ground into flour.

Many of the homesteaders were ill suited to the hardships of pioneer life, and did not take seriously to farming. They spent their money freely while it lasted and under the adverse conditions of the 'nineties, the core of the little settlement melted away. It was the odd pioneer only who was prepared to make a determined effort to wrest a living from the land and to carry on to the happier days which lay ahead.

Wolverine House was sold and moved to a new location near Spy Hill. All that remained to mark the site was a yawning excavation framed with grass, thistle and goldenrod. At the turn of the century it was already regarded as an old landmark and known simply as "Wolverine." The region was a favorite haunt for stray cattle and horses owing to its proximity to the beaver dams on the Wolverine Creek, which in dry seasons furnished practically the only supply of water in the district.

It was a desolate spot. Had a boy in search of his elusive herd stopped his pony on the crest of the hill on an evening in the autumn of 1901, he could have scanned the prairie for miles around without seeing a single farmstead. Had the boy been of a fanciful nature he might have peopled the place with the melancholy ghosts of the past, which the sight of the remnants of a deserted human habitation is apt to inspire. Or his imagination might have been quickened by the doleful howl of a coyote as he rode in the gathering dusk, over the trackless prairie.

PLACE NAMES

The Legacy of the Fur Trade

THE fur trade was the dominant interest of the first white men to penetrate the country that is now Saskatchewan. Yet the influence of their long occupation on Saskatchewan place names is slight. This is partly because the traders accepted Indian names along with Indian customs, and partly because they operated in areas relatively useless for agriculture, and therefore unsettled until now, when they are being exploited for their mineral resources.

The chief feature of the northern country upon which the fur trade bestowed a name is the Churchill River.[1] Various parts of the river have borne half a dozen recorded names and probably many more that have not been set down. It is altogether likely that each band along the Churchill had its own name for the part of the river it knew. We know, for example, that a band of natives near the river mouth referred to it as Missinipi or Big River.[2] According to Tyrrell[3] the Chipewyans farther up the river referred to it as the Tzandeze or Metal River. In 1720, Jérémie[4] referred to it as the Manoteusbi or Strangers' River. Watkins[5] spelled it Mantawasepe. It derived this Indian name from the fact that Munk, the Danish explorer, wintered at its mouth in 1619-20. Munk himself called it the Danish River. The name Churchill was first applied to the river in 1768 by Capt. John Abraham, a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was sent to establish a post at its mouth. He named it in honor of Lord Churchill, later the Duke of Marlborough, who had been elected governor of the company the previous year. Joseph Frobisher, one of the Montreal traders, came upon the upper reaches of the river at Ile à la Crosse in 1776 while engaged in a project to cut off the fur going from the Athabasca country to the Hudson's Bay Company. He named it the English River, and so it was known throughout a long part of the fur trade era.

One of the first establishments in what is now Saskatchewan that still bears the name of its founder is Fort à la Corne about twelve miles below the forks of the Saskatchewan rivers. The post was established in 1753 by Louis Chapt, Chevalier de la Corne, who had followed the Vérendryes in the western fur trade. The evidence on this fort and its names is somewhat confusing. Professor Morton says it was originally called St. Louis. Others believe that St. Louis was another fort nearby. The name Nippewan was also apparently used for a fort in this area.[6]

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[1] Information relative to the origin of the name of the Churchill River is taken from *Place Names of Manitoba*, compiled by the Geographic Board of Canada (King's Printer, Ottawa, 1933). See page 23.

[2] This name was recorded in the journal from York Fort in 1714.

[3] J. B. Tyrrell in his edition of *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America*, 1784-1812 (Champlain Society, 1916).

[4] Nicolas Jérémie, fur trader in the employ of the Compagnie du Nord, known for his narrative of twenty years spent at York Factory, 1694-1714.

[5] Rev. E. A. Watkins in his *Dictionary of the Cree Language* (London, 1865).

[6] For information on this point, see Elliott Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (New York, 1897), II, 506; A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to* 1870-1, (London, 1939), p. 238; Ernest Voorhis, "Historic Forts and Trading Posts" (Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 1930), mimeo., p. 29.

This confusion derives from the fact that we are not certain that La Corne was the first man either to ascend the river or to establish a trading post on this site. Some think La Vérendrye built a Fort St. Louis near the rapids; others attribute to him a fort called Nipawee or "wet place." Professor Morton doubts whether he built beyond The Pas (Paskoyac). However, it is certain that in 1751 Frenchmen built Fort La Jonquière above The Pas—perhaps at Calgary, perhaps at the elbow of the South Saskatchewan, but quite likely on the site of the later Fort à la Corne. Thus La Corne, who has left his name, was almost certainly not the first on the ground.

The name Nipawee, ascribed by some to La Vérendrye, was later applied to a succession of posts lower on the stream near the present town of Nipawin, a name derived from the trading posts. This name was spelled many ways during the fur trade days. Coues lists the following spellings: Nipawi, Nepiwa, Nepoway, Nepoin, Neepoin, Nippewean, Nepowewin. Just when the post was established near the site of the town that bears its name is not known, but James Finlay of the Hudson's Bay Company records that he wintered at Nipawi in 1771-2 and that this was the last (or most westerly) French post on the Saskatchewan.

Another well-known fur trader's name is Fort Ile à la Crosse. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, writing in 1801 of his travels through the fur country, describes the location of Fort Ile à la Crosse and adds: "This lake and fort take their names from the island just mentioned which . . . received its denomination from the game of the cross [lacrosse] which forms a principal amusement among the natives." The post was established by Thomas Frobisher in 1776.[7] The first Hudson's Bay Company post was established in 1790. From that date on, the fort played an important part in the fur trade as a provisioning point for the Athabasca brigades and as a link with the pemmican-producing country to the south.

Occasionally, digging through early records for the origin of a name, one runs across a colorful name that has disappeared. One such is Hungry Hall, a post on the Saskatchewan near Nipawin. This is its story, as told by Professor Morton. Mr. William Thorburn built in 1791 on the left bank of the Saskatchewan opposite the west end of the island at the mouth of the Petaigan River. The post was called Hungry Hall, as Peter Fidler observed, "on account of the poor living they had there." The post was abandoned after 1793.[8] Such a name is worthy of preservation, but it has long since disappeared.

A. R. CAMERON

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[7] Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 327.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 462.

REVIEW ARTICLE

Saskatchewan in Fiction

THE literature of any country, if it is to represent that country's spirit honestly, must reproduce the everday life of the people, their aims and ideals, and the characteristics which are peculiar to them as natives of that country. It must reproduce as well the country itself—its peculiarities of climate and vegetation and natural resources, and the atmosphere which makes it home for the people who live there.

Saskatchewan is barely fifty years old socially, and politically it is even younger. The first native generation is only now reaching full maturity. There has scarcely been time, as yet, to produce an atmosphere that is distinctly Saskatchewan, and certainly it is too soon to expect that atmosphere to be completely and honestly recorded in literature. Nor should we expect a complete interpretation of the country from any one book, or any one author, for Saskatchewan is a province of various aspects, in spite of its uniformly agricultural atmosphere. It is a land of small prairie towns whose bleak, sun-baked exteriors give no hint of the social activity which seethes beneath the surface, and of bustling oversize towns, flaunting their pseudo-sophistication in the faces of the unpolished farming communities which support them; of small, shabby, run-down farms, and others large and prosperous; of rolling grasslands enclosed by rickety fences of poplar poles strung with one or two strands of barbed wire, and large level wheat fields rippling green or gold beneath the summer sun; of wind and sun and hail, summer drought and spring floods. Its tradition is that of the pioneer, modified by the more permanent outlook of the established farmer, and a newer interest in the incipient industrialism of the cities. The conversation in town and country alike concerns the crops, the weather, and politics, and gives abundant evidence of the enthusiastic war which Saskatchewan wages continually against Eastern Canada, the railroads, and the weather.

The one good attempt to represent the Saskatchewan farmer in fiction was made by Frederick Philip Grove in his novel *Our Daily Bread.*[1] This is the story of a man whose ambition is to be the head of a great family—to blaze out a trail for worthy sons and daughters to follow. But his children prefer to live their own lives, and they leave the old man finally to die, deserted, amidst the ruins of the farm he had built up to be a family estate. If the book had been as well executed as conceived, it would have given us a true and moving picture of farm life on the plains. But Grove was not, himself, a native of Saskatchewan. He was an educated man with a cosmopolitan background, and although his novel bears evidence of his extensive experience as a western farm hand, it shows, too, a background and education entirely foreign. As a realistic picture of Saskatchewan it is marred by the stilted and unnatural conversation of the characters, and by countless small errors of detail which prevent us from losing ourselves in the story. We are brought up short in one place, for instance, by Grove's assertion

[1] *Our Daily Bread,* by Frederick P. Grove. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928. Pp. 390.

that his heroine leaped upon her horse's back and dug her knees into its flanks. We struggle vainly to picture the incident. Is she on backwards, or is she merely double-jointed? Another character, waiting to receive an erring husband, says proudly, "Look, I have adorned myself to receive him." This is not the idiom of Saskatchewan. The book's most serious flaw, however, is that it is badly written. Grove's constructions are awkward, and his work is cluttered and unorganized to a degree that seriously impairs its readability.

Sinclair Ross's *As For Me and My House*[2] is written with more facility and is good entertaining reading. It gives an excellent picture of life in a small Saskatchewan town during the depression. The story has a psychological foundation in the struggle of a couple to reconcile the husband's life as a small town minister, with his artistic temperament. The husband is weaker than Ross probably intended, and appears quite unworthy of the courageous wife who tells his story cheerfully, and without complaint. His unhappiness in his work fails to justify, in the mind of the reader, his complete preoccupation with his own unhappiness and his final seduction of a young and innocent girl. But the picture of small town life is excellent. It shows the pettiness of small town gossip, but at the same time we are made to feel the innate human kindness beneath the surface. The book gives us, too, revealing glimpses of the lives of the farmers during the depression, and of the country itself during the windy, dusty 'thirties.

W. O. Mitchell's *Who Has Seen the Wind*[3] represents the same period. Mitchell's picture, however, is only incidental to a story based on the psychological growth of a small boy. But the town in which the boy grows up is typical of the large Saskatchewan town—large enough to harbour all types of people and points of view, and small enough to bring them into violent conflict. The book contains excellent pictures of two farmers of the depression period. Saint Sammy, an old man ruined by the drought, has escaped from his troubles into mild insanity where he admits only his simple, homely religion, the animals that are his friends, and the sun, the wind, and the prairie. The other is a gaunt, practical man, driven by his difficulties to profanity rather than to prayer, but struggling continually to outwit the forces of nature and sustain himself and his farm in spite of adverse conditions. That Mitchell is a native of Saskatchewan is obvious. His detail is excellent, and any reader who is familiar with the south-eastern part of the province is at home in his book.

Arthur Stringer is a writer of an earlier period in Saskatchewan history. He has won a reputation among critics as a realist—a reputation which is, in the opinion of this reviewer, entirely undeserved. He has written a trilogy of Saskatchewan farm life—*The Prairie Wife, The Prairie Mother, The Prairie Child.*[4] They tell the story of a society girl who meets and marries a Scottish-Canadian

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[2] *As For Me and My House,* by Sinclair Ross. Cornwall, New York: The Cornwall Press, 1941. Pp. 296.

[3] *Who Has Seen the Wind,* by W. O. Mitchell. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1947. Pp. 344 .

[4] *Prairie Stories, containing The Prairie Wife, The Prairie Mother, The Prairie Child,* by Arthur Stringer. Toronto: Blue Ribbon Books, 1936. Pp. 317, 359, 382. *The Prairie Wife* was first published by A. L. Burt Company, New York, in 1915 and *The Prairie Mother* and *The Prairie Child* by McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, in 1920 and 1922.

farmer, while they are travellers in Europe. She returns to his pioneer farm with him, and writes to a friend an unbelievably minute account of her experiences. The first book is creditable as a light romance. It is concerned mainly with the domestic life of the couple, with glancing—and not too accurate—references to their everyday life as farmers and pioneers. If Stringer had left his characters there, he would have done well; but, unfortunately, he turned the trilogy into a dramatic psychological tale. The upright Scottish hero degenerates, and becomes quite unworthy of his wife's affection. She bears his weakness and brutality nobly until he deserts her, and then struggles valiantly to make a living for herself and her three small children on the rundown farm. Unbelievably, her difficulties are emotional rather than practical. Left without machinery, money or experience, she is represented as being well on the way to successful farming—and is defeated only by a disastrous hailstorm. There is no indication that she knows anything of machinery or of any phase of practical farm life—she is represented, in fact, as an engaging little scatter-brain, clever rather than intelligent, and with all of the foibles and weaknesses which men love to consider typically feminine. Nevertheless it takes her only two hours to unravel the intricacies of her "tractor-engine" when it gets "out of kilter" and to locate the trouble in the timer and repair it. In spite of her accomplishments, however, our heroine is eventually driven from her farm home to the arms of a millionaire neighbor, who has long stood conveniently waiting to rescue her. Even in its bare outline the story seems quite unrealistic. The literary style is too extravagant to be palatable through three novels. It is full of conceits which have certainly no place in a realistic novel. The heroine's heart is a constant source of interest. Things melt in it "like an overlooked chocolate mousse," sentiment drips from its eaves, and the thought of her children "at any time of the day, can put a cedilla under my heart to soften it." For those who can endure such a style, the books may be entertaining reading, but it is difficult to see how even the most superficial reader can consider them realistic.

E. K. Grayson's *Willow Smoke*[5] is another book of Saskatchewan farm life when the country was relatively new. Miss Grayson's heroine was born on the prairie. Her mother died while she was still young; her father was a weak, sneering bully of a man; she had no books to read and no one of any education to associate with. Yet in spite of this, her soul is starving for the beauty and colour of Paris and Berlin, and the cultures of the old world, and she is sick of the "newness" of the prairie, and its "raw-looking hills." Her one comfort is a "scraggly plant"—a geranium—that "symbolized her own yearning for a refinement and a beauty that had passed her by." Miss Grayson's heroine complains of leading a drab colourless existence, but does nothing about it. She has neighbors from Scotland and Spain, and among the friends of the family are a retired opera singer and her educated, though frequently drunken, husband. The girl shows no interest in these people, and has apparently no desire to have them share their broader sphere of life with her—she prefers to brood over her "scraggly plant." If the plant is scraggly, the girl has no one to blame but herself, for even on the "raw" "barren" plains, a geranium will flourish in midsummer if it is properly looked after.

[5] *Willow Smoke*, by E. K. Grayson. New York: Harold Vinal, 1928. Pp. 342.

It may be said that Saskatchewan fiction contains only two really well-written books—Sinclair Ross's *As For Me and My House* and W. O. Mitchell's *Who Has Seen the Wind.* Neither of these is great literature, but they show the beginnings of a mature fiction of creditable quality. The other books serve to round out the picture and show the trend which Saskatchewan literature will probably take as it progresses. There is, as yet, no fictional representation of Saskatchewan city life, and no good account of life on a Saskatchewan farm. But with the passing of time and the growth of new generations of Saskatchewan authors, we can expect Saskatchewan literature to improve in both quality and quantity. Meanwhile the foundations have been laid, and we have no reason to be ashamed of the literary achievements of the first fifty years of our history.

SHIRLEY I. PAUSTIAN

Book Reviews

WHEN THE STEEL WENT THROUGH: REMINISCENCES OF A RAILROAD PIONEER *By P. Turner Bone, C.E.* Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1947. Pp. 176, 24 illus. $3.00.

REMINISCENCES, particularly those of an octogenarian recalling the experiences of his twenties, should probably not be read with a too critical eye. It is the exception in this type of writing to find a work which cannot be condemned for a rambling style, frequent lapses of memory, and a tendency to emphasize the trivial. *When the Steel Went Through* does not depart from the general pattern in these respects. Its pages are crowded with anecdotes and autobiographical data, which serve no purpose except to reveal Turner Bone as a lovable man with many friends and a talent for story-telling. Unfortunately, most of the stories lose their flavor in print. At the same time, those pages in which Mr. Bone is paying strict attention to his activities as a railroad engineer, and to his experiences at "end of track," give this book some value for the student of early western life. When the young engineer, newly arrived from Scotland, began his employment with the C.P.R. in June 1883, the line had reached a point twelve miles west of Medicine Hat. The scene of his major activity, therefore, is in the region east of Calgary extending to the Rocky Mountains. He remained with the Mountain Division of the C.P.R. until October, 1886. After an interval in the east and in Scotland, he returned to the west in the spring of 1889 and was engaged on the location of the railway connecting Regina with Prince Albert by way of Saskatoon, and subsequently on the construction of the Calgary and Edmonton Railway. The narrative ends in 1892. The chapter dealing with the railway in Saskatchewan is sketchy, but Saskatchewan readers will find in other parts of the book references to events which bear indirectly on their history. More reminiscences of pioneers should be recorded to give life and color to our history. Their value would be enhanced if they were written under the direction of those trained in historical research.

MARION W. HAGERMAN

TALES AND TRAILS OF WESTERN CANADA. By *Irene Craig* and *Nell Macvicar.* Regina: School Aids and Text Book Publishing Co., 1947. Pp. 144, illus. $1.00.

GREAT CHIEFS AND MIGHTY HUNTERS OF THE WESTERN PLAINS. By *Mary Weekes.* Regina: School Aids and Text Book Publishing Co., 1947. Pp. 135, illus. $1.00.

PAINTED ARROWS. By *Mary Weekes.* Regina: School Aids and Text Book Publishing Co., 1947. Pp. 148, illus. $1.00.

MANY a school child looks upon Canadian history with distaste. Constitutional developments and political abstractions are dull fare for the developing mind; in history it is adventure and the man of action which appeal to children. The first two books deal with many colourful figures and incidents in

Western Canadian history. *Tales and Trails of Western Canada* emphasizes Manitoba history; *Great Chiefs and Mighty Hunters*, as the name implies, tells of our western Indians. The former is written for the reading level of the middle grades; the latter for senior grades and junior high school. Although both are attractively illustrated with photographic reproductions, one feels that the publishers should be more aware of the possibilities of line and colour reproduction. These books meet the standards of history readers and should awaken in school children an interest in the history of the prairie provinces.

Painted Arrows is a new edition of a book published several years ago. It is juvenile fiction, the adventures of a Métis lad, Paul Savard. The plot throbs with the action and suspense dear to the teen-age reader. There is much historical information illustrative of the life of the period, but, as in the best historical fiction, the story is so absorbing that the historical background and details fall into a properly secondary place. Orson Lowell's pen and ink sketches add greatly to the attractiveness of the book. The sketch map enhances the reader's interest in the story. But why was no mention made of Paul and his horse crossing the Missouri River, for it is obvious from the map that they must have done so? This river was the major physical obstacle barring the lad's flight. Moreover, had the writer had greater knowledge of the topography of that section of Saskatchewan just north of the international boundary, she might have used it to advantage. The deep, wooded ravines of Wood Mountain would have made a more plausible hide-out for Paul than the caves he built on the edge of the creek. Any highway map will show that the distance between the White Mud and the South Saskatchewan is much less than "a couple of hundred miles." These are errors which the alert school child will catch. When a writer of fiction uses a map showing well-known landmarks, he should be careful to keep his story consistent with the map. One important requisite of historical fiction is that it be historically accurate in the small details as well as the major events. On page 29, Paul is apparently using a repeating rifle about 1841, some twenty years before this weapon was really introduced into the West. On page 59, the Assiniboines, a Siouan tribe, are described as a branch of the Crees. Are young ducks ever called chickens as on page 77? To say that in August the weather often got as cold as winter is certainly poetic license. On page 110, Savard and his prisoner obviously travelled east not west. Though marred by these mistakes, *Painted Arrows* is enjoyable reading and does catch the spirit of the wandering Métis life.

BRUCE PEEL

HISTORY OF THE REGINA LOCAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN, Commemorating Golden Jubilee, 1895-1945, Regina, 1945. Pp. 72.

LOCAL historians and feminists alike owe a debt of gratitude to the Regina Local Council of Women for providing a record of the activities of that remarkable organization during a very critical half century in the history of the city and the Province. This is not an elaborate history but a simple straightforward chronicle of work, success and failure from year to year. It can and does boast of notable achievements—the founding of the first hospital in Regina, and

almost the first in the North-West, the founding of the Children's Aid Society, and the organization of public relief, and of reception facilities for girls during the great immigration period. But we also read the record of projects which, though they fail, are patiently carried on from year to year in confidence of ultimate success.

The early section is especially valuable for fragments of local history which might otherwise have been lost. The second section shows the increasing labours of the organization in relation to the interests of women and children, and, in general, to all matters of health, education and social welfare. Grateful acknowledgements are made to the few men who encouraged the schemes of the early years, but the chroniclers are firm on the subject of how very few they were. There is also a touch of bitterness in the statement that the Cottage Hospital being completed, it had to be handed over to a board of male directors "for although the women had done everything they were not considered by the inhabitants capable of managing it."

One small criticism must be made. Even a chronicle is the better for some logical arrangement of facts. An exact and careful attention to detail need not preclude some selection and arrangement. The want of this is felt particularly in the second section where the author has an embarrassing wealth of material. However the work as a whole is a notable achievement and one which may, we hope, inspire many more.

HILDA NEATBY

A few copies of the *Second Report of the Saskatchewan Archives*, 1946-7 are available on application to the Archives Office, Box 100, University of Saskatchewan. In addition to the report of the provincial archivist for the year 1946-7, this publication contains a history of the Legislative Library in Regina and selected transcripts from the records of the Attorney-General's Department of the North-West Territories on such subjects as the courts on the frontier, social conditions in the Yukon, the legal profession, game laws, prairie fires. It includes also full-page photographs of the lieutenant governors of the North-West Territories and a map of the Territories in 1890.

Notes and Correspondence

THE editors of SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY have received some correspondence on Mr. Peel's article in the last issue entitled, "On the Old Saskatchewan Trail." Mr. George Douglas of Lafleche, the local historian of the Wood River Valley, writes:

. . . an uncle of mine went by that trail to the Cariboo in 1862—the party, 150 strong, went on horseback to the Yellow Head pass in the Rockies and split there—part going down the Fraser and the rest to Kamloops by way of the Thompson River. A woman and two children went along. A. L. Fortune, an early settler in the Okanagan Valley, kept a diary of their adventures, and it was brought to light a few years ago by his wife, then living at the north end of the valley. A copy of it is in the Historical Society office at McCallum Hill Building, Regina. My father was out there in 1880 and went to see Mr. Fortune. They knew one another when young.

The diary of A. L. Fortune was one of the primary sources on which M. S. Wade based *The Overlanders of '62*. A Mr. Douglas is mentioned on page 14 of this book.

Mr. Gilbert Johnson of Marchwell, whose history of the early settlement in the Wolverine district is printed in this issue, writes for information on place names there. The present Deerhorn Creek was once called Wolverine, apparently after the legend of Spy Hill, but the present Smith Creek has long been known locally as Wolverine Creek and is so designated by highway markers on the Manitoba side of the boundary. Can any of our readers contribute information about the place names around Marchwell?

Professor Paul Kuehne of St. Peter's College, Muenster, has sent us "Notes on Mount Carmel," two articles which appeared in *The Prairie Messenger*, July 13 and July 20, 1938. In these articles Father Kuehne supplements and, in part, corrects the information on the Hill of the Cross given in Mr. Peel's article. We appreciate his courtesy and reproduce here the substance of his information, which shows that the cross was erected at an earlier date than the one stated in SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY.

H. Y. Hind, the explorer, in 1858 called Mount Carmel the Big Hill. In the *Report of the Geological Survey* for 1873-4, A. R. C. Selwyn said that a travelling party of Roman Catholic missionaries had erected a cross and named the hill Mount Carmel. E. W. Jarvis, in his explorations for the C.P.R. in 1874-5, called it "Spathanaw Watchi" or Round Hill, and said the cross had been erected by a bishop who camped at its foot. The Right Rev. Bruno Doerfler, O.S.B., founder of St. Peter's Colony and first abbot of St. Peter's at Muenster, cherished the idea of making the hill a shrine, but it was not until September 22, 1922, that it was dedicated. A beautiful marble statue, sculptured in Italy, was erected on Mount Carmel in 1929.

Father Kuehne obtained first-hand information about the grave on the hill: In 1922 I met a seventy year old man, speaking French. He was Isidore Dumas. At the time he was working on the farm of Mr. Lueke at Fulda. He told me that, about fifty years before, which would take us back to about 1872, a girl was buried on the northeastern slope of the hill, very near to the summit. She was of Scottish-Irish descent and called Hatty (Henrietta) Mackay. She had lived with

her parents at Fish Creek, but had run away because they wanted her, a Catholic, to marry a Protestant. The girl had died of poison which had been spread near the hill to kill wolves. Isidore Dumas, who in those early days lived at Batoche, himself built the coffin and buried her with the help of Alexander Ablais, who later moved to Lac la Biche. This is undoubtedly the "lonely grave" to which Sir Wm. Butler refers in his books, and which he thought to be that of an Indian.

Dr. R. C. Russell of the Dominion Laboratory of Plant Pathology in Saskatoon has pointed out an error in the location of the Touchwood Hills post. In 1876 the third and last post was moved back to a site on the Saskatchewan trail.

Since writing the article, the author has found a diagram of a finger post which in 1875 stood near Humboldt at the fork of the trail. It directed the traveller to Gabriel's Crossing in the three languages of the country—English, French, and Cree—and gave the ferry rates in shillings and pence.

The author has also come across a reference to a Steinway grand piano, brought to Prince Albert by Red River cart about 1876. Though accidentally dipped in the South Saskatchewan when being ferried over the river, it gave many years of service. Today it reposes in the Community Hall at Waskesiu.

Mrs. G. M. Hewson of Langbank has sent the following comment on the article "Railways and Settlement (1881-1891)," which appeared in the May issue:

I hope in some succeeding number to see a fuller account of the "Jewish colony established in 1884 between Pipestone Creek and Moose Mountain," mentioned on page 18 of this issue. My father came out from Nova Scotia in 1892, and for some years, working for a relative, he cut hay and wintered cattle a few miles south of here at the "Jew Lake." We used to ask him why it was called that and why the Jews did not stay there. It is my impression that they were all gone by that time, but they had evidently planted trees on an island, which escaped the prairie fires and grew to quite a size eventually. I should like very much to read an account of this colony, and learn where they came from, some of their names, and what eventually happened to them.

This colony was the first of a number of attempts, largely unsuccessful, to establish Jewish settlements on the plains. The persecution of the Jews in Russia in the early part of the eighties, and the repercussions which were felt in Eastern European countries, drove refugees in large numbers to London and other European centres. Among the emergency committees formed to assist them was the Mansion House Committee in London, which included Sir Alexander Galt, Canadian High Commissioner. Galt was largely responsible for the acquisition by the Committee in 1882 of a tract of land in the North-West Territories to be used for colonization. The land selected was some twenty-five miles south-west of Moosomin, forming a district named "New Jerusalem." Available accounts do not agree on the date of the establishment of the colony. As stated in Mr. Pollard's article, Dr. Oliver gives the date as 1884. The *Moosomin Courier* in its issue of January 15, 1885, refers to the "Jewish colony located here by the Mansion House Committee of London last summer." On the other hand, Robert England in *The Colonization of Western Canada* (London, 1936) and Louis Rosenberg

in *Canada's Jews* (Montreal, 1939) state that twenty-six families were settled in the district in 1882, receiving 160 acres of land each from the Dominion Government and a loan of $400 each from the Russo-Jewish Committee. B. G. Sack in his *History of the Jews in Canada* (Canadian Jewish Congress, Montreal, 1945) says that the first Russian-Jewish immigrants reached Winnipeg on May 26, 1882, and that the first twenty-six Jewish "homesteaders" were almost to a man, members of this group, which included Philip Radin, Tobias Finkelstein, the Weidman brothers, Simon Lechtzier, Wolf Lerner, Wolf Moscowitz, and Benjamin Zimmerman. He does not, however, say whether they occupied their land immediately or spent a winter or two in Winnipeg. There is no doubt, however, that the experiment at Moosomin ended in failure. The sponsors, inexperienced in colonization, did not give adequate supervision to the immigrants, who were new to farm life and could not adapt themselves to the harsh enviroment of the North-West. They gradually deserted their farms and returned to the city. Some of them drifted to the older provinces, others to the United States, but the majority of them settled permanently in Winnipeg. Of the more than one hundred persons who made up the Moosomin colony in the eighties, only one lone Jew remained in 1901 according to the census of that year. In 1892, profiting by the experience of the previous decade, Jewish settlers established a somewhat more successful colony at Hirsch, sponsored by the Baron de Hirsch Institute in Montreal. Smaller Jewish settlements were begun at Wapella with the arrival of John Heppner in 1886 and at Oxbow with Jacob Pierce and his sons in 1888. Individual Jews began to settle at other points in the North-West Territories during the nineties. M.H.

An inquiry about the legend of the Qu'Appelle Valley has come from Mrs. E. Plecity of Los Angeles. The oldest version seems to be that of the traveller Harmon in 1804. He called it *Ca-ta-buy-se-pu* or River that Calls. "This stream is so named by the superstitious natives, who imagine that a spirit is constantly going up or down it; and they say that they often hear its voice distinctly, which resembles the cry of a human being." Since then, a number of other more elaborate and fanciful tales have been told, including Pauline Johnson's famous *Legend of the Qu'Appelle.*

The editors of SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY wish to express their gratitude to the Homemakers' Clubs throughout the Province for their interest and support, as well as to Miss Bertha Oxner, Director of Women's Extension Work at the University, for bringing the matter to their attention. Such a kind and helpful response is an encouragement to further effort.

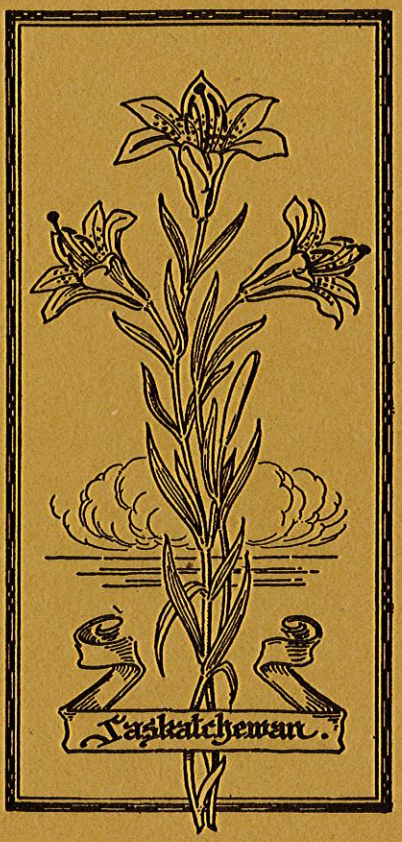
Contributors

CHRISTINE MACDONALD is a graduate of the University of Saskatchewan and of the University of Toronto Library School. As librarian in the Legislative Library at Regina, she assists in the work of the Archives Division and has recently compiled a check list of the publications of the Governments of the North-West Territories and the Province of Saskatchewan.

MARY WEEKES, a well known writer in the field of Indian folklore, is the author of *Round the Council Fires* (1935), *The Last Buffalo Hunter* (1939), *Painted Arrows* (1940), and *Great Chiefs and Mighty Hunters of the Western Plains* (1947), and has contributed to numerous journals and magazines. She is a member of the National Indian Committee, the Canadian Handicraft Guild, and the Canadian Authors' Association. Her fine collection of Indian beadwork is preserved in the Provincial Museum at Regina.

SHIRLEY PAUSTIAN received a master's degree from the University of Saskatchewan last spring, submitting a thesis on the subject, "Farm Life on the Great Plains as represented in the Literature of Western America." This winter she will complete courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Agriculture.

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.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