

Saskatchewan HISTORY

★ Educational Policy
of the Hudson's
Bay Company

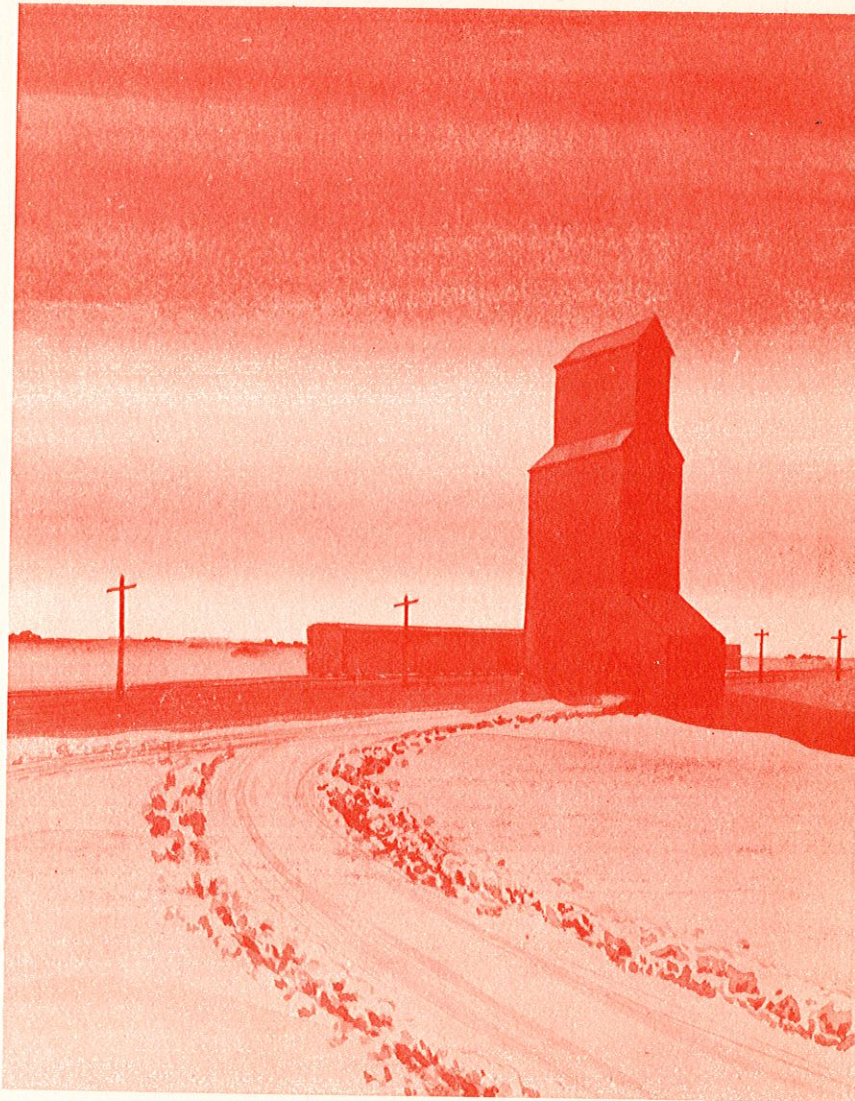
BY

M. P. TOOMBS

★ The Earl of
Southesk's Travels

BY

ELIZABETH HEIDT



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Saskatchewan History

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Educational Policy of the Hudson's Bay Company

THE missionaries were the educational pioneers in Western Canada. In the opinion of the Hudson's Bay Company they were the agents best fitted to educate the children of the Red River settlement, the children of white men at the trading posts and the children of the Indians who came to the Company's forts to barter. The educational policy of the Company appears to have originated with the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with the Indians, of keeping up the morale of the Company's servants, of encouraging honesty and fair play in trade relations, of educating the half-breed children in the ways of white men, of maintaining harmony in the Red River Colony, and of preserving for the Company the respect of all.

The formulation and administration of an educational policy involved the participation of three different governing bodies: the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, the Council of Assiniboia, and the London Committee. The jurisdiction of the Council of the Northern Department (composed of the overseas Governor and the chief factors) covered a large part of Rupert's Land (the Hudson Bay drainage basin) and the North Western Territory, (lying beyond Rupert's Land). The Council of Assiniboia governed the District of Assiniboia which in 1812 had been carved out of Rupert's Land and granted to Lord Selkirk. This district, in which the Red River Settlement was organized, comprised 116,000 square miles in what is today Manitoba, Saskatchewan, North Dakota, and Minnesota. After 1836, this area reverted to the Hudson's Bay Company, although the Red River Settlement, under the Council of Assiniboia, continued to have a distinct life of its own. This Council consisted of a Governor and ten or twelve members chosen from among the inhabitants of the colony. The appointments to the Council were made by the London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company from names submitted by the Governor.

The supreme governing body was the London Committee (a board of directors), presided over by the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. The members of the London Committee included certain men of an evangelical turn of mind. Among these was Benjamin Harrison, Governor Pelly's brother-in-law. "He was a member of a group of earnest Evangelicals known as the Clapham Sect, among whom Lord Selkirk was numbered."¹ Nicholas Garry, another Committee member, became interested in Rupert's Land when he visited the region in 1821. He was a strong supporter of the Bible Society, and while at York Factory "had presided at the formation of an Auxiliary of the Society" under the leadership of the Reverend John West.² Possibly the outstanding London Committee member was Andrew Colville.

¹ Arthur S. Morton, *Sir George Simpson, Overseas Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto, 1944), p. 68.

² Arthur S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West to 1870-1871* (London, 1937), p. 631.

He was gifted with much of the humanitarianism of the time and endowed with a rare combination of shrewdness in business, judgment in choosing the means of accomplishing his ends, and consideration for those whose fate lay in his hands.³

With men such as these on the London Committee, it is not surprising that the questions of religious education and of secular education early received attention.

In the Red River Settlement Lord Selkirk's interest in the religious and educational welfare of his Scottish settlers was manifest from the beginning. Before leaving Scotland, these settlers had been promised "the services of a minister of religion who was to be of their own persuasion."⁴ In regard to education, in a letter to Miles Macdonell, June 12, 1813, Lord Selkirk wrote:

The settlers who are now going out have expressed much anxiety about the means of education for their children. There is so much of a laudable spirit in their desire that it must be attended to, and it is in every view, time that a school should be established. K. McRae is well acquainted with the improved methods which have been invented or introduced with such wonderful effect by Jos. Lancaster, and he could in a few weeks organize a school on his plan, if you can pick out from among the settlers a steady young man of a cool temper to be employed as a schoolmaster. Arithmetic with reading and writing in their native tongue are the branches to be first attended to and I care not how little the children are taught of the language of the Yankies.⁵

It appears that McRae and Miles Macdonell did not maintain friendly relations; at any rate, there are no indications that the school was established. Neither did plans for the arrival of a Presbyterian clergyman materialize.

When Lord Selkirk visited the colonists in 1817 he made the settlers a present of two lots of land of ten chains frontage each. In presenting these lots to the Protestant (Presbyterian) people he said:

This lot on which we are met today shall be for your church and manse; the next lot on the south side of the creek shall be for your school and for a help to support your teacher, and in commemoration of your native parish, it shall be called Kildonan.⁶

But the Protestants were not the only recipients of Lord Selkirk's bounty. In 1818, Monseigneur Plessis, the Bishop of Quebec, declared his intention of sending two missionary priests to the colony. Lord Selkirk expressed his appreciation of this declaration by giving to the Roman Catholic Church, by notarial deed, twenty-five acres of land for the erection of a church and school-house, and by a second deed he gave a tract of land, five miles in depth and seven miles in width, behind that belonging to the church.⁷

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Donald Gunn and Charles R. Tuttle, *History of Manitoba from the Earliest Settlement to 1835, and from 1835 to the Admission of the Province into the Dominion* (Ottawa, 1880), p. 200.

⁵ E. H. Oliver, ed., *The Canadian North-West; Its Early Development and Legislative Records*, 2 Vols. (Ottawa, 1914-1915), Vol. 1, pp. 52-53.

⁶ Donald Gunn and Charles R. Tuttle, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

⁷ Abbé G. Dugas, *The Canadian West, Its Discovery and Its Development* (Montreal, 1905), pp. 280-284.

It is interesting to note that these two endowments, the former to the Protestants, and the latter to the Roman Catholics are now the sites of famous schools. According to Garrioch, the land intended by Lord Selkirk for the Presbyterian church and school became the scene of the Reverend John West's educational labors.⁸ St. John's College was later erected on this site. The site of the Roman Catholic endowment was named St. Boniface by the Reverend Father Provencher. On this site today stands

l'église devenue Métropole la maison devenue demeure archi-épiscopale; l'école devenue d'un côté le collège de Saint-Boniface et l'Académie Provencher, pour les garçons, et de l'autre le Pensionnat et l'Académie Taché pour les filles.⁹

As early as 1815, "Harrison had tried to interest a missionary society devoted to work among American Indians to undertake a mission in Rupert's Land.¹⁰ In 1816, £30 a year had been set aside by the Company for books "for the instruction and amusement of the officers and servants of the Company,"¹¹ and inquiries were made of Governor Semple as to what books he desired for religious instruction, "and we are desirous of your opinion as to the prospect of success in civilization as the nature of the country and other circumstances will permit."¹²

The first Anglican chaplain brought out by the Hudson's Bay Company was the Reverend John West. His official duties were to minister to the religious needs of the Hudson's Bay Company's servants. After that, he was free to undertake other missionary work. Accompanying Mr. West, was Mr. Harbridge, whose duties were to act in the capacity of schoolmaster.¹³ According to Sir George Simpson's evidence before the Select Committee in 1857, the chaplain at Red River received from the Company an annual salary of £150.¹⁴ Hargrave¹⁵ states that the Church Missionary Society assisted in providing funds for the support of the missions established in the Red River Settlement. "West was specially interested in education of the Indian children. He built a school near his residence and added two houses to be homes for the boys and girls."¹⁶

Garrioch relates very graphically West's plans for schools in the Colony:

On landing at York Factory Mr. West began to plan and prepare for a school in the Red River Settlement where the children of Hudson's Bay employees or settlers could be trained and sent out as teachers to their fellow countrymen. When he left York Factory in a birch bark canoe for the eight hundred miles journey to the Red River Settlement, among his companions was a small nucleus of the contemplated Indian school in the person of a Cree boy, son of Withawecapo; and at Norway

⁸ Reverend A. C. Garrioch, *First Furrows* (Winnipeg, 1924), p. 58.

⁹ Monseigneur Taché, *Une Page de l'Histoire des Ecoles de Manitoba* (Montreal, 1894), p. 10

¹⁰ Arthur S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West to 1870-1871*, p. 631.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Joseph James Hargrave, *Red River* (Montreal, 1871), p. 104.

¹⁴ Great Britain. House of Commons. *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company* (London, 1857), p. 63.

¹⁵ Hargrave, *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

¹⁶ Arthur S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West to 1870-1871*, p. 634.

House, three hundred miles from the settlement, a second Cree pupil was taken aboard. In this manner there were gathered as many as ten Indian boys, two of them coming from a tribe living west of the Rocky Mountains. Four of these afterwards did good work in the Mission field, viz., Reverend Henry Budd, who founded a Mission at Cumberland on the Saskatchewan; Reverend James Settee, who a little later established a mission at Lac la Ronge; John Hope, who, as Catechist, worked among the Cree Indians in the neighborhood of Battleford; and Charles Pratt, who worked for many years among the Crees of Touchwood Hills.¹⁷

Since about half the population of the Settlement was Roman Catholic, the Catholic mission, led by Bishop Provencher, was doing for the Catholics what the Anglican mission was doing for the Protestants. On July 2, 1825, the Northern Council passed the following resolution:

Great benefit being experienced from the benevolent and indefatigable exertions of the Catholic mission at Red River in the welfare and moral and religious instruction of its numerous followers, and it being observed with much satisfaction that the influence of the mission under the direction of the Bishop of Juliopolis has been uniformly directed to the best interests of the Settlement and of the country at large, it is Resolved—

That in order to mark our approbation of such laudable and disinterested conduct on the part of the said mission, it be recommended to the Honourable Committee that a stipend of £50 p annum be given towards its support and that an allowance of luxuries (tea, sugar, wine and the like) be annually furnished it from the depot.¹⁸

In 1835 the grant was increased to £100 per annum.¹⁹

For the area beyond the Red River Settlement educational policy was defined by the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land in the following "Regulations for Promoting Moral and Religious Improvement" issued in 1836, and which reflect the influence of the London Committee:

Resolved 1. That for moral and religious improvement of the servants, and more effectual civilization and instruction of the families attached to the different Establishments, and of the Indians, that every Sunday divine service be publicly read with becoming solemnity once or twice a day, to be regulated by the number of people and other circumstances, at which every man, woman and child resident will be required to attend together, with any of the Indians who may be at hand and whom it may be proper to invite.

2. That in the course of the week due attention be bestowed to furnish the women and children such regular and useful occupation as is suited to their age and capacities and best calculated to suppress vicious and promote virtuous habits.

¹⁷ Reverend A. C. Garrioch, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁸ Quoted in Arthur S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West to 1870-1871*, p. 635.

¹⁹ "Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land" in Oliver, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 721.

3. As a preparative to education, that the mother and children be always addressed and habituated to converse in the vernacular dialect (whether English or French) of the Father, and that he be encouraged to devote part of his leisure hours to teach the children their ABC and Catechism together with such further instruction as time and circumstances may permit.²⁰

A critical examination of the grants made to missions and schools between 1830 and 1843 reveals how carefully the Hudson's Bay Company was adhering to three cardinal principles of policy: (1) encouraging missions of all denominations; (2) assisting the work of these missions by grants and by other material aid; (3) assisting secular education by erecting schools and otherwise providing school accommodation, and by grants-in-aid. In the Council Minutes of June 8, 1835, there is the following introduction to Resolve 77:

The very great benefits that are likely to arise connected with the objects of morality, religion and education not only in Red River but through the country at large, from the highly respectable and admirably conducted Boarding School, lately established for the instruction of the youth of both sexes under the management of Reverend Mr. Jones, excites feelings of the most lively interest in its favor, and of great solicitude for its prosperity and success, which even in a business point of view are very desirable, from the large amount of capital it brings into circulation, while it is highly creditable to the country and honourable to the gentlemen who have come forward so handsomely in its support; but it is with unfeigned regret we observe that, owing to the heavy expense incurred by Mr. Jones in erecting the necessary buildings for this Seminary, it cannot possibly, at the present charge for board and education, afford remuneration adequate to the labour bestowed by Mr. Jones upon it, and the outlay of money it has occasioned him; and as an increased charge for board and education might operate to the prejudice of this establishment in its infant state, it is Resolved

77. That an allowance be allowed to the Reverend Mr. Jones of £100 p annum in aid of this highly promising establishment subject to the approbation of the Governor and Committee.²¹

In the Minutes of 1837, the members of the Council were very much concerned over the Reverend Mr. Jones' intention to discontinue the management of the Red River Boarding School. It was decided by Resolve 82 to purchase the buildings from Mr. Jones for the sum of £500, and to rent them to Mr. McCallum, Mr. Jones' successor in the school, for £50 a year, providing that Mr. McCallum would sign a five year lease.

Then again, in the Minutes of the 1840 meeting, Resolve 73 was passed for the purpose of giving effect to "the laudable views of the Governor and Committee towards the diffusion of Christianity and civilization among the natives of this country."

73. That three missions be established in the Northern Department this season—say one at Norway House under the charge of the Reverend

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 755-756.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 721-722.

Mr. Evans, one at Lac la Pluie under the charge of Reverend Mr. Mason, and one at Edmonton under the charge of the Reverend Mr. Rundle; that every facility be afforded them for successfully conducting their spiritual labours; and that a copy of the 9th paragraph of the Governor and Committee's Dispatch of the 4th, March, 1840, on this subject be furnished to each of the gentlemen in charge of the above districts for the purpose of giving full effect to their Honour's instructions.²²

According to the Minutes of 1840, 1841, and 1843 (1840 minutes are not as specific as those of 1841 and 1843), the four Wesleyan Missionaries, (Mr. Evans, Superintendent of Missions, located at Norway House, Mr. Jacobs, at Norway House, Mr. Mason at Lac la Pluie, and Mr. Rundle at Edmonton) were each to receive the following:

- (1) A commissioned gentlemen's allowance (special supplies of tea, sugar, wine, etc.).
- (2) Board and lodging in like manner as is provided for commissioned gentlemen (i.e., chief factors and chief traders).
- (3) Permission to purchase personal supplies from the shops or stores at the same prices usually charged commissioned gentlemen (at cost).
- (4) Permission to use the Company's interpreters in communication with the natives.
- (5) Free transportation in the Company's craft, and when necessary special conveyance would be provided. Only the superintendent was to be provided with the means of conveyance for winter travelling.²³

Resolve 87 of the 1841 Council meeting provided that a "place of public worship be erected at the Indian village in the vicinity of Norway House for the Wesleyan Mission." The dimensions of this building were 40 feet in length and 30 feet in width. In addition there was to be a schoolhouse 30 feet by 24 feet and a residence for "Mr. Jacobs the schoolmaster." Accommodations were also to be provided for the Reverend Mr. Evans within the establishment at Norway House.²⁴

Beginning with the appointment of Mr. West in 1820, chaplains were brought out from time to time and located at various trading posts. In his evidence before the Select Committee in 1857, Sir George Simpson gave a summary of the total annual expenditures incurred by the Hudson's Bay Company at that time for the services of chaplains and for missions and schools. Since the Episcopalian Bishop, Chaplains, Roman Catholic, and Protestant missionaries were all engaged in educational work, the grants paid to the clergy indirectly became grants to schools. In 1857, the Hudson's Bay Company was making the following annual grants: to the Episcopalian Bishop of Rupert's Land £300, and £100 in aid of schools in the Red River; to the chaplain at Red River £150; to the chaplains at York, Moose, and East Main, £50 each; to the schools at Fort Victoria, £200;

²² *Ibid.*, p. 811.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 829-830.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 830.

to the Roman Catholic missions at Red River, Oregon, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, £100 each; to the Wesleyan missions at Norway House, Oxford House, and Rainy Lake, £50 each; to the Wesleyan mission on the Saskatchewan, £20; and to the Presbyterian Church at Red River, £50.²⁵ The number and location of the chaplains and missions varied from time to time. In addition to these amounts the Anglican Bishop at Red River received an annual bequest of £380 from the estate of the late Mr. James Leith. In this way there was a considerable amount of money at the disposal of the Anglican Church, and all churches received some assistance.

As a matter of fact, Bishop Anderson in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1857²⁶ presented a very glowing report of missionary and educational activities. There were 13 missionary stations, 11 English clergymen, and 19 country born and native teachers. There were 18 schools with 795 scholars. Morton expresses the opinion that the Catholics could have told a like story.²⁷ Sir George Simpson's statement of the number of religious establishments in the Company's territories in 1857 is particularly significant in view of the fact that in most of these missions, schools were established. Simpson stated that

In the Company's territory there are 19 missionary stations of the Church of England, 12 Roman Catholic, 4 Wesleyan, and 1 Presbyterian, making a total of 36. In Oregon there is a Roman Catholic Mission. On the Gulf of St. Lawrence, one. At Albany and Temiscaming, one. At the Pic there is a Wesleyan missionary. At Fort William there is a Roman Catholic missionary; and at Vancouver's Island there is a Church of England missionary, making in all, 42 missionary stations.²⁸

Besides the attention given to missionary and educational efforts by the London Committee, and by the Council of the Northern Department, the Council of Assiniboia made certain grants-in-aid in its own right. In this connection it must be remembered that, particularly after 1849, the Assiniboia Council enjoyed freedom of action largely without interference from the Hudson's Bay Company. Adam Begg, the diarist, paid glowing tribute to this feature of the government.²⁹ The grants to education that were made, therefore, were entirely in addition to the grants of the Northern Council.³⁰

The Minutes of some of the meetings of the Council of Assiniboia have been published in *Pioneer Legislation*.³¹ The first reference to grants for educational purposes is contained in the Minutes of the Council meeting held on May 1, 1851. The following resolution was moved by Mr. Cochran and seconded by Mr. Lafleche, and carried unanimously:

To weaken the mischievous and destructive energy of those violent and untamed qualities of human nature, which so frequently manifest

²⁵ *Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, p. 63.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

²⁷ Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-1871*, p. 819.

²⁸ *Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, p. 63.

²⁹ See Arthur S. Morton, *Sir George Simpson*, pp. 204-205.

³⁰ The revenue for these grants was derived from customs duties paid for the greater part by the Hudson's Bay Company.

³¹ E. H. Oliver, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 263-622.

themselves in society in a half civilized state, and to strengthen the feelings of honourable independence, to encourage habits of industry, sobriety, and economy, it is

Resolved. That £100 be granted from the public funds, to be divided equally, between the Bishop of Rupert's Land and the Bishop of North West, to be applied by them at their direction for purposes of education.³²

In this same year the Presbyterians at Frog Plain applied to the Council for a grant for their school. In response to this application, the Presbyterians received £15,³³ and a like sum was voted at a later meeting as an additional grant for the Roman Catholics.³⁴

There is every indication that these were not annual grants. In the minutes of the Council meeting held on February 22, 1866, a petition signed by settlers at Point Coupee asking for a grant to pay their schoolmaster was not received very favourably by the Council. The sum of £10 was voted, but the Council, "while admitting the unquestionable importance of education to the children of all classes in the community, were fully aware that the funds at their disposal would not admit of systematic grants being made for that purpose, and that in the present state of affairs, the Educational wants of the Settlement must continue to be met in the same way as they have hitherto been."³⁵

Although the official educational policy of the Hudson's Bay Company was fairly well defined, some officials of the Company, in private, were not very enthusiastic in its application. This applies particularly to Sir George Simpson. In his private letters he oftentimes expressed open contempt for the missionaries. In his opinion, educating an Indian only meant rearing him in habits of indolence. An enlightened Indian "is good for nothing" even the "half-breeds of the country who have been educated in Canada are blackguards of the very worst description." In Simpson's opinion, Mr. Harrison's scheme "will be attended with little other good than filling the pockets and bellies of some hungry missionaries and schoolmasters."³⁶

Sir George Simpson, however, was a good Company servant. He carried out Company policy in an efficient manner regardless of his own opinions. There is no doubt that at times Simpson and the Company's men considered the missionaries meddlesome, particularly when they would not permit travel on Sunday at a time when the voyageurs were engaged in a race against bad weather.

Despite these policies and efforts there was much criticism hurled against the Hudson's Bay Company. In the late forties, the half-breeds in the Red River Settlement became very restive. They employed A. K. Isbister to present their grievances to the British Government. Isbister tried to make out a very damaging

³² "Minutes of the Council of Assiniboia" in E. H. Oliver, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 365.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 562.

³⁶ Arthur S. Morton, *Sir George Simpson*, p. 69.

case against the Company. In his Memorial presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies³⁷ in 1847, the stress was laid upon the attempt to protect the Company's trading interests by permitting "generation after generation of the helpless race consigned to their care to pass their lives in the darkest heathenism."

There is not at present, nor, as your memorialists, confidently believe, has there been a single Indian school, church or other establishment for religious and general instruction established by the Company throughout the whole of their extensive territories. What little has been done for the religious and moral improvement of the natives is wholly due to the persevering exertions of the Church Missionary Society, and since the year 1839, of the Wesleyan Society of London. The Church Missionary Society receives no assistance whatever from the Company, and owing to the heavy expenses attending the establishment of Indian missions, its operations are necessarily very circumscribed. What assistance the Wesleyan Missionaries receive from the Company, if indeed they receive any, your memorialists are not prepared to say.

In Sir J. H. Pelly's reply to these charges, he indicated the Company's policy:

In instructing the natives, and in conducting their own business, the Company adopt one uniform rule, namely, that of employing the instruments fitted for their purpose; and on this principle they have employed the agency of the Church Missionary Society, and Wesleyan Missionary Society for the conversion of the natives, and of a Roman Catholic Missionary Society for the religious instruction of that portion of the mixed race, who, being of French descent, have been brought up in the faith of the Church of Rome . . . All the Societies that send missionaries to the Company's Territories receive assistance from them . . . In the Red River Settlement (there are) a bishop and several priests; there are four Roman Catholic schools, four Protestant Churches and nine Protestant schools, attended by nearly 500 scholars, at one of which . . . three of the memorialists were educated.³⁸

A. K. Isbister's charges in his Memorial appeared to the Colonial Secretary to be not well founded. No one knew better than Isbister did the circumstances regarding education in the Red River Settlement. He had been brought up in the Settlement, had received his education in St. John's College, and was now practising law in London. In view of the actual facts, it would appear that, in presenting his clients' case, Isbister did not always consider rigid adherence to the truth entirely necessary. Accusations against the Company were quite frequent. Too often damaging charges were made by those who had real or imaginary *personal* grievances.

Viewed in the light of present day conceptions, the educational policy of the Hudson's Bay Company was quite inadequate. It threw the primary responsibility for education upon the several church organizations. The grants-in-aid were not administered systematically. Every year they had to be voted by the Northern Council. The amount expended by the Company upon education

³⁷ *Correspondence Relative to Complaints of the Inhabitants of the Red River Settlement* (London, 1849), pp. 21-22.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

was not in keeping with the need for educational services. Special grants were sometimes given, but special application had to be made to obtain these. The church organizations were faced with gigantic difficulties in carrying out their missionary and educational work.

But before criticizing such a policy too severely, it is well to consider the prevailing attitude towards educational services in the England of that day. In 1821, education in England was no affair of the state. Schools organized under the auspices of the churches and of private individuals were the only educational institutions. It was not until 1833, that the British government made its first grant of money in aid of schools. This aid, a grant of £20,000 was distributed mainly through the National Society, to schools organized, controlled, and conducted by the Established Church. In 1839, the government increased the grant to £30,000, and a Committee of the Privy Council on Education was created. Although the government appointed inspectors of schools, these had to receive the approval of the two Archbishops. Between 1839 and 1870, grants slowly increased and certain additional machinery of government was set in motion to supervise educational activities. It was not until 1870 that the first state ~~of~~ education came into existence, and this worked side by side with the church and other private school organizations. The English system of education had failed to meet the educational needs of the masses prior to the introduction of Forster's Education Bill of 1870. Here is what one historian writes concerning that period:

There were nearly four million children of school age of whom nearly one-half were unprovided for. About one million attended schools attached for the most part to the Church of England. They were supported by voluntary subscriptions, supplemented by fees and small government grants, and were under government inspection. Another million went to schools which received no government aid, were un-inspected, and often in a very unsatisfactory state.³⁹

If these educational conditions prevailed in England in 1870, is it to be expected that, during the five decades which preceded, a Company whose chief purpose was trading in furs over a vast uncivilized area, rendered for a time more inhospitable by the machinations of rival fur traders and by frequent Indian tribal wars, would adopt a policy more enlightened? That the Company did develop a policy, and that it did endeavour to put that policy into effect, history has firmly established.

M. P. TOOMBS

³⁹ Arthur Lyon Cross, *A History of England and Greater Britain* (New York, 1916), p. 995.

The Harmony Industrial Association: *A Pioneer Co-operative*

IN the beautiful valley of the Qu'Appelle River a short distance above its confluence with the Big Cut Arm Creek, some eight miles east of Tantallon, stands a verdant grove of maples. May their branches spread, for they shelter the very cradle of the co-operative movement in Saskatchewan. Here is the site of the Hamona community, a Rochdale of the West, a Brook Farm on the Canadian Plains.¹ The quietness of a sanctuary prevails over the spot today. The ruins of a couple of stone buildings are all that remain to indicate that it was once the site of human habitations. More than half a century ago this part of the valley was astir with the activities of men and women working under the inspiration of a great ideal.

In the summer of 1895 a group of people met at Beulah, Manitoba, for the purpose of establishing for themselves a new order of society, an economic commonwealth within the framework of a Victorian political state, a co-operative refuge in the midst of a competitive world. They belonged to no particular religious sect or racial group. The only bond of fellowship was a burning faith in the co-operative way of life. The frontiers of settlement are commonly regarded as areas where individualism reigns supreme, so that a co-operative community on the Canadian prairies in the 1890's seems at first sight a strange incongruity. But history demonstrates that the lure of vacant lands on the far horizon has attracted both the acquisitive and the idealistic, both the money makers and those whose object is to found a new society nearer to their hearts' desire.

The Hamona community owed its origin to the idealism and organizing capacity of two brothers, J. E. and W. C. Paynter, members of an Ontario family which had settled at Beulah, Manitoba, about 1878. Another leader was Samuel Sanderson, of Oak Lake, a Quaker whose family years before had helped escaped slaves coming north by "underground railway" to find new homes in Ontario. The impulse which led them to found a co-operative community was the Christian concept of brotherhood and the ideas of the English and American social reformers of the late 19th century. Such books as William Morris's *News from Nowhere*, Robert Blatchford's *God and My Neighbour*, Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, and John Ruskin's writings, were influential in preparing their minds for the venture.² "I became convinced," J. E. Paynter later wrote, "that something could be accomplished for the good of humanity by organizing those interested into a colony to demonstrate to the world what men could

¹ For source materials for this article the author is indebted to the following: Mr. J. E. Paynter Vancouver, B.C.; Mr. R. W. Huston, Regina, Saskatchewan; and Mr. Harry J. Perrin, Spy Hill, Saskatchewan. The correspondence of these gentlemen with the author and with the Provincial Archivist has been deposited in the Archives of Saskatchewan and is cited hereinafter as the J. E. Paynter Papers. The text of the constitution of the Harmony Industrial Association which is reprinted here is from the only known copy now in existence, in the possession of Mr. Perrin.

² J. E. Paynter Papers.

Prospectus
OF THE
Harmony Industrial Association,
(Co-operative System.)
XXXXXXXXXXXX

OFFICERS.

PRESIDENT —
S. SAUNDERSON Oak Lake.

VICE-PRESIDENT —
W. C. PAYNTER Beulah.

SECRETARY —
WALTER C. VINCENT Beulah.

TREASURER —
W. B. GURNEY Beulah.

XXXXXXXXXXXX

Price, Mailed . . . 5 cents.

Applications to be made to
The Secretary,
Beulah, Man.

Birtle Printing Company Print.

DEAR FRIEND: —

In placing in your hand this prospectus we do so hoping that you will read, weigh and consider and if you are heartily in accord with the system and wish to become a member fill in the blank on the last page and send to the secretary.

The present arrangements are to put up a boarding house about the middle of October to accommodate those who will spend the winter getting out wood to burn lime kilns next summer, fire wood and logs enough to build small houses on each homestead. These will be hewed or slabbed and framed and hauled to the several sites and erected.

In the spring the members with families will arrive. Breaking will be pushed forward by the Department of Agriculture while the Department of Public Works will start building with stone and concrete upon the town sites.

SITE.—This is in the Qu'Appelle Valley about 18 miles north west of Fort Ellice; 30 north of Moosomin on the C. P. R. and 18 miles from Millwood on the M. & N. W. Railroad. The survey of the G. N. W. Central railroad runs through the centre of the district. The Big Cut Arm Creek empties into the Qu'Appelle at this point and upon each of these streams are fine water powers which can be utilized for manufacturing and lighting by electricity.

Title page and first page of the prospectus and constitution of the Harmony Industrial Association

accomplish by working co-operatively instead of competing against one another.”³ He was the most articulate member of the group and discussed the project with many people in the course of his travels as agent for the Miniota Farmers’ Mutual Fire Insurance Company.

In 1895 the two brothers prepared a draft constitution for the proposed colony and a meeting of those who had become interested in the project was convened in the school house at Beulah in June of the same year. Here the constitution (printed at the end of this article) was adopted, clause by clause, and officers were elected as follows: President, S. W. Sanderson; Vice-President, W. C. Paynter; Secretary, W. C. Vincent; Treasurer, W. B. Gurney. Shortly thereafter Robert Greer was elected Vice-President and W. C. Paynter became Secretary-Treasurer.

The object of the organization, which was named The Harmony Industrial Association, was stated in the following terms in the preamble of the Constitution:⁴

“Feeling that the present competitive social system is one of injustice and fraud and directly opposed to the precepts laid down by our Saviour for the guidance of mankind in subduing all the forces of

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Prospectus of the Harmony Industrial Association (Co-operative System)*, Birtle, Manitoba. [1895], pp. 19.

nature and the evils springing from selfishness in the human heart, we do write under the name of the "Harmony Industrial Association" for the purpose of acquiring land to build homes for its members to produce from nature sufficient to insure its members against want and the fear of want.

"To own and operate factories, mills, stores, etc. To provide educational and recreative facilities to the highest order and to maintain harmonious relations on the basis of co-operation for the benefit of its members and all mankind in general."

Proposed capital stock of the Association was set at \$100,000, divided into 500 shares of \$200 each, four percent dividend to be paid annually on shares. The total annual profits of the organization were to be equally divided among the members in proportion to the number of days' labour performed. The four percent interest provision was discontinued after the first year or two as being "an unbrotherly custom, absolutely forbidden by the Laws of the Bible."⁵ In the event of a member withdrawing from the Association it was provided that he should be repaid in cash, stock and implements in proportion to the amount of these he had brought into the colony, together with accrued profits.

To qualify for membership applicants were required to be of good moral character and well informed in the principles of co-operation and able to pass an examination in that subject.

Article 5, section 6, of the Constitution reads:

"Every member shall surrender his natural freedom which leads him to disregard the rights of others, for the sake of civil or social freedom, which, being based on the principles of right and justice, has regard for his rights and the rights of all."

(Section 7) "The Association shall in no way interfere with the free exercise of individual tastes, desires, and preferences in all social, religious and domestic affairs."

(Section 11) "A man's endowments fix the measure of his duties and the employee of great endowments who does not do all he might shall be considered a less deserving workman than the employee of small endowments who does his best."

Politicians should ponder section 15:

"No member shall vote for himself for any office and for any member to ask another to vote for him shall be evidence sufficient to show that he is unworthy of public trust."

The modern family allowance system was anticipated in article 16:

"Each child shall receive a graduated sum per year until 18 years of age, the amount to be determined by the board of directors."

Each member was guaranteed employment, whenever possible, in the kind of work for which he showed preference. All members were to receive the same compensation for each day's labour performed.

The Paynter brothers were responsible for the selection of the site of the

⁵ J. E. Paynter Papers.

colony, which was on the projected line of the Great North West Central Railway and at a point where there was good water, plenty of timber, building stone, light loam soil, and "fine water powers which can be utilized for manufacturing and lighting by electricity." "These things," it was declared in the prospectus, "freely supplied by the hand of nature . . . with industry and skill may be made to contribute to our comfort and prosperity."

Building operations on the Qu'Appelle were started in the fall of 1895,⁶ although, for a couple of years longer, some of the members continued to operate their holdings at Beulah in the interests of the Association. In the fall of 1898 the Beulah interests were abandoned, and all the members moved to Hamona, as the colony was named.⁷

The delay in moving to the new site appears to have been connected with the problem of securing free homesteads while operating as a co-operative farming unit. When the Association was formed the prevailing regulations of the Dominion Government under *The Dominion Lands Act* required that a homesteader should reside on his quarter section while performing his homestead duties. But the members of the Association wished to have their houses grouped in a small village in order to carry out their industrial projects and to facilitate social intercourse. This difficulty was overcome by J. E. Paynter, who, after the general election of 1896 took advantage of his acquaintance with the new Minister of the Interior, the Hon. Clifford Sifton, to make representations on behalf of his associates.⁸ The result was that at the spring session of Parliament in 1898 Sifton introduced an amendment to *The Dominion Lands Act* which made special provision for homesteaders who wished to engage in co-operative farming.⁹ Upon application by a co-operative farming association, the Minister might reserve a block of odd and even numbered sections within which the members could secure homesteads without residing on their own quarter sections, providing that their length of residence and improvements as members of the co-operative were equivalent to those which applied to homesteaders generally. One unanticipated result of this new provision of the *Act* was that in the following year it provided a method for dealing with the wishes of the Doukhobors who were anxious to settle and farm on communal principles.¹⁰

While the membership of the Harmony Industrial Association was much smaller than had been hoped for, there were in the colony at one time ten families and a number of single men, probably about fifty persons in all. The homes were grouped in the form of a village, with both rent and fuel free to all. There was a blacksmith shop, a carpenter shop and a laundry. A bunk house for single men was also provided. A community kitchen was operated for a time, but the experiment does not seem to have been very successful and was later abandoned.

⁶ See *The Spectator* (Moosomin), November 14, 1895.

⁷ The name appears to have been derived from the word "harmony" in the title of the Association.

⁸ J. E. Paynter Papers.

⁹ 61 *Victoria Chap.* 31, section 3: Assented to June 13, 1898. See also discussion of the amendment in *House of Commons Debates*, 1898, cols. 5937-38.

¹⁰ See Report of the Deputy Minister of the Interior in *Canada Sessional Papers*, 1900, Paper No. 13, p. xvi.

An important institution was the co-operative store where goods were purchased with scrip issued to all members for services rendered. Lime kilns were operated and this product formed an important source of revenue for the colony. However, difficulties in transporting the lime to markets beyond the adjacent settlements imposed limitations on this industry.

Contacts were established with other co-operative societies. The group at Hamona subscribed to *The Social Gospel (Christian Commonwealth)* published by a co-operative community in Commonwealth, Georgia. More important were their relations with the Ruskin Colony on the Fraser River in British Columbia. An interchange of products on a barter basis was arranged between these two co-operatives, the Hamona Association sending flour and butter and receiving lumber and salmon in return. The balances arising from the trading were settled periodically by cheque.

The children were instructed by a qualified teacher with a farm kitchen for a classroom until the Hamona School District No. 451 was organized in 1897 and opened in 1898. The social and cultural life of the colony was not neglected. In winter there were sleigh rides, tobogganing, card parties, concerts and sing-songs. A sort of forum was usually held on Sunday afternoon, at which topics of interest were discussed. Various members took turns conducting religious services. During the summer there were picnics and outdoor sports. One of the first sports days in the district is said to have been held at Hamona colony.

Owing to its small membership, the Association was unable to launch many of its proposed industries and social services. Nevertheless, the colonists seem to have suffered less from the depression of the nineties than did many individual homesteaders, and they certainly enjoyed amenities of life denied to their more isolated neighbours. People who were members have since testified that the years spent in the colony were among the happiest and most educative of their lives.

About 1900 the members decided to dissolve the Association. Difficulties had arisen due to the attitude of some of the later members who wished to extend the practice of communal living beyond the limits envisaged by the founders, and there was considerable disappointment when the railway line through the settlement failed to materialize. The winding up and distribution of the assets was accomplished without any conflict or court action and in a manner quite in keeping with the brotherly spirit which had animated the founders. Most of the houses and buildings were purchased by the members and removed to their respective homesteads.

To some of these devoted co-operators and their descendants the dissolution of the colony only meant that their activities were transferred to wider fields of co-operative endeavour—to the Comrades of Equity, the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company, the Saskatchewan Co-operative Creameries Association, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and the Saskatchewan Municipal Hail Association. Today the Hamona colony is but a few heaps of rubble and a fading memory. The vine here planted perished, but from its seeds there issued new life and growth.

GILBERT JOHNSON

“CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS”

ARTICLE 1:

(Section 1) Feeling that the present competitive social system is one of injustice and fraud and directly opposed to the precepts laid down by “Our Saviour” for the guidance of mankind in subduing all the forces of nature and the evils springing from selfishness in the human heart, we do write under the name of the “Harmony Industrial Association” for the purpose of acquiring land to build homes for its members, to produce from nature sufficient to insure its members against want or the fear of want.

To own and operate factories, mills, stores, etc. To provide educational and recreative facilities of the highest order and to promote and maintain harmonious relations on the basis of co-operation for the benefit of its members and mankind in general.

(Section 2) The capital stock of the Association shall be \$100,000 divided in 500 shares of \$200 each.

(Section 3) Four percent dividend shall be paid annually on shares. The total annual profits shall be equally divided among the members of the Association in proportion to the number of days’ labour performed for the Association.

(Section 4) The stock certificates shall not be transferable except to the Association or its duly qualified members and no member shall be allowed to hold more than five shares, one share of which shall admit to qualified membership, ten percent of which SHALL be paid in cash, and no member shall have more than one vote in the Association.

(Section 5) All members upon being admitted shall sign the constitution, obligating themselves to comply therewith and that they become members and receive stock under the conditions set forth in this constitution.

(Section 6) No members can withdraw their property until three years and then only upon giving six months notice prior to the 1st day of November in any year, to the Secretary of their intention to do so.

(Section 7) The Association may pay a member, withdrawing in cash, stock and implements, in proportion to the amount of these things brought in, along with profits accruing to said member during the time he or she was a member.

ARTICLE II:

(Section 1) Qualification of members: Any person may become a member of this Association by fulfilling the following requirements:

- (a) He or she must be of good moral character.
- (b) Must be well informed in the principles of co-operation and be able to pass an examination in this branch as hereinafter provided.
- (c) Must be in health, not under 18 years of age, with willingness and ability to aid in the promotion of the Association’s object.
- (d) Must receive a two-thirds vote of all members present and voting.

ARTICLE III: Officers, their election and duties.

(Section 1) The officers of this Association shall be a President, a Vice-president, a Secretary and a Treasurer (both offices of Secretary and Treasurer may be held by the same person), a Board of Directors consisting of thirteen

¹¹ The text printed here is taken from the copy owned by Mr. Harry J. Perrin of Spy Hill.

members elected by a majority vote of all members present voting, for a term no longer than one year and subject to conditions in Section 5, Article 3, of these by-laws; and Superintendents of the following departments.

- (a) Department of Finance.
- (b) Department of Public Works.
- (c) Department of Education and Recreation.
- (d) Department of Manufacture.
- (e) Department of Agriculture.
- (f) Department of Distribution.
- (g) Department of Sanitation.
- (h) Department of Cuisine.

(Section 2) The President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer shall be selected from among the board of directors and shall be elected at any regular meeting by a majority vote of members present and voting, for a term of no longer than one year, and subject to conditions in Section 5 Article 3 of these by-laws.

(Section 3) The Treasurer shall be Superintendent of the Department of Finance and shall not be required to give bond.

(Section 4) The superintendents of the different departments shall be elected by a majority of the members of the Association present and voting, for a term of no longer than one year and subject to conditions in Section 5, Article 3 of these by-laws.

All officers and superintendents of the Association shall hold their respective offices for a term no longer than one year or until their successors are elected, but they may be re-elected to the same positions.

(Section 5) On petition of 25 percent of the stockholders the president shall call a special meeting of the Board of Stockholders, not later than three days after the said petition shall be served on him, for the purpose of initiating new business or rejecting or approving any action of the Board of Directors or any officer. The President shall post three notices of such meeting in prominent places.

ARTICLE IV: Duties of Officers.

(Section 1) The duties of the President shall be to preside at the meetings of the Board of Directors exercising the prerogatives usually devolving upon such officer; to call all meetings of stockholders to order, state the object of the meeting and allow the stockholders to choose their own chairman; he shall see that all rules and regulations are enforced at the request of members of the Association; he shall give them such information as they may require, and he possess, of the affairs of the Association; make a semi-annual report to the members concerning the same.

The President shall sign all orders of the Treasury for money and shall have general management and control of the affairs of the Association.

(Section 2) The Vice-President shall perform the duties of the President in his absence and at all times aid him in the execution of the same.

(Section 3) The Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the meetings of the stockholders and the Board of Directors, preserve the books and records of the Association and keep an accurate account of the business transactions thereof.

(Section 4) The Treasurer shall be the custodian of the Association's funds and keep an accurate record of all funds received and paid out by him.

He shall pay no money except by order of the President countersigned by the Secretary. He shall make a financial report quarterly or at such times as may be required by the stockholders.

His report shall be examined by an auditing committee consisting of three members of the Association and he shall perform any other duties incident to the nature of his office.

Duties of Superintendents.

(Section 1) The duties of the Superintendent of the Department of Finance shall be such as are defined as the duties of Treasurer.

(Section 2) The duties of the superintendent of the Department of Public Works shall be to have charge of erection of all the Association buildings of whatever kind or description and the proper maintenance thereof and the grading paving, etc., of the Association's streets, alleys and other public works.

(Section 3) The duties of the Superintendent of the Department of Manufactures shall be to have general supervision of the manufactories of the Association.

(Section 4) The duties of the Superintendent of the Department of Agriculture shall be to have charge of the farming and stock raising operations of the Association, care for forestry, lawns, gardens, boulevards and parks.

(Section 5) The duties of the Superintendent of the Department of Distribution shall be to have charge of the distribution of food, clothing and manufactured goods of all kinds.

(Section 6) The duties of the Superintendent of the Department of Sanitation shall be to exercise a general oversight of the healthful condition of the homes of the members, factories, and other buildings belonging to the Association, to give instruction in the laws of hygiene and furnish medical treatment and medicine to members and their families without charge.

(Section 7) The duties of the Superintendent of the Department of Education and Recreation shall be to have general supervision of the educational facilities of the Association, to provide instruction and elevating entertainments and in general devote his energies to the moral, mental and physical well being of the members and their children.

(Section 8) The duties of the superintendent of the Department of Cuisine shall be to have general charge and supervision of all hotels, restaurants, co-operative kitchens, etc.

ARTICLE V: General.

(Section 1) Each member of the Association shall be guaranteed employment whenever possible and in that branch of service which he prefers, subject, however, to conditions hereinafter provided.

(Section 2) A day's labour shall consist of not more than ten hours or such number under 10, as the Board of Directors may determine.

(Section 3) All members of the Association shall receive the same compensation for each day's labour performed or for a proportional amount for each fractional part thereof.

(Section 4) All orders of foremen and superintendents must at all times be obeyed.

(Section 5) The foremen of each department shall keep the working time of employees and report same weekly to the Secretary.

(Section 6) Every member of the Association shall surrender his natural freedom, which leads him to disregard the rights of others, for the sake of civil or social freedom, which being based upon the principles of right and justice, has regard for his rights and the rights of all.

(Section 7) The Association shall in no way interfere with the free exercise of individual tastes, desires and preferences in all social, religious and domestic affairs.

(Section 8) The Association shall furnish all teachers, books, apparatus and necessary appliances for the most thorough instruction of the children of the members in such lines as they show most aptitude.

(Section 9) The Association may fix a monthly rate of maintenance on residences based on the actual cost of construction.

(Section 10) The Association shall be entitled to all benefits to be derived from things produced, discovered or invented by any of its members provided said Association renders such support, aid and assistance desired and necessary to its construction and development.

(Section 11) A man's endowments fix the measure of his duties and the employee of great endowments who does not do all he might shall be considered a less deserving workman than the employee of small endowments who does his best.

(Section 12) The question of special incentives to call out the best endeavours of employees being one of great importance, the Board of Directors shall devise a system of preferment, and the system, which shall be subject to the approval of all the members by a majority of the members present and voting, shall be such as will best promote the interests of the Commonwealth.

(Section 13) No member shall vote for himself for any office and for any member to ask another to vote for him, shall be evidence sufficient to show that he is unworthy of public trust.

(Section 14) Each member shall be entitled to the use and occupancy of a residence lot.

(Section 15) All employees under 18 years of age shall be classed as apprentices and their compensation shall be determined by the Board of Directors.

(Section 16) Each child shall receive a graduated sum per year until 18 years of age, the amount to be determined by the Board of Directors.

(Section 17) Every member shall furnish the Secretary with a list of members of his family.

(Section 18) The school age of children shall be 18 years.

(Section 19) No member of the Association shall be permitted to allow his children to grow up in ignorance.

(Section 20) There shall be kept in the office of the Secretary a register in which the names, ages, and sex of each family shall be recorded.

(Section 21) No official of the Association or the Association in its organized capacity, shall loan the Association's funds.

(Section 22) Whenever a member of this Association fails to comply with the by-laws of this Association or fails to perform any of the duties or discharge any of the obligations imposed on him or her as a member of this Association,

he or she shall thereby subject himself or herself to the penalty of suspension from the Association. When a member is suspended he or she shall drop from the pay roll and shall, for the time of suspension, be entitled to none of the privileges and benefits of the Association. When in the opinion of five members of this Association a member has made himself or herself liable to suspension under the laws of this Association, said five members shall prefer charges and specifications of offence or violation of duty by said member.

These charges shall set out the acts and doings of said member and wherein it is claimed these acts and doings are a violation of by-laws of the Association.

These charges and specifications shall be in writing and filed with the Secretary of the Association, who shall make a copy thereof and deliver it to the member charged, and notify him or her to appear at a time fixed not less than five days after notice—before a called meeting of this Association to try said member on said charges and specifications. Said meeting shall hear the proof on both sides and investigate the charges and specifications and then vote by ballot on the charges as a whole.

The question voted shall be “innocent” or “guilty.” If a majority of the members present vote that the said member is “guilty” then the President shall submit to a vote of the meeting the question of “for what time suspended?” and the time of suspension having been determined by a majority vote of the members present at said meeting, the President shall declare the offender suspended from the pay roll and all privileges of the Association for a time determined by the meeting and the same shall be done.

(Section 23) The stockholders shall in the first week in January and the first week in July elect a board of examiners whose duty it shall be to decide upon the qualifications and fitness of applicants for shares of stock. Such board shall immediately after organize by the election of its Chairman and Secretary and formulate a standard of examination. Such board of examiners shall serve six months and report its findings in every case to a meeting of the stockholders.

(Section 24) No debts shall be contracted for the Association by any officer in excess of cash on hand.

(Section 25) A majority of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

(Section 26) Any rules or regulations in any way conflicting with these by-laws shall be considered null and void.

(Section 27) No member shall be allowed to disclose any of the business affairs of the Association to parties not members.

(Section 28) It shall be the duty of any member to abide by any motion carried at a regular meeting of the Association or Board of Directors and in case of refusal he shall subject himself to the penalties provided for an infraction of the by-laws.

(Section 29) These by-laws may be altered or amended at any regular meeting of the members by a two-thirds vote of all members present and voting, provided such alteration or amendment has been presented in writing two weeks previous to the time of such change.

Rules of Order.

Editor's Note:—The constitution concludes with a list of eighteen parliamentary rules for the conduct of meetings. Todd's Manual was to govern all questions not covered by the rules listed under this heading.

TALES OF WESTERN TRAVELLERS

The Earl of Southesk's Travels

JAMES CARNEGIE, Earl of Southesk,¹ differed from other travellers in Western Canada in the 1850's, most of whom were fur traders, explorers or missionaries. He came because he wanted to travel "where good sport could be met with among the larger animals, and where at the same time [he] might recruit [his] health by an active open-air life in a healthy climate."² A big game hunting expedition through an unknown country inhabited by hostile natives hardly seems the most efficacious means of restoring one's health. Nevertheless, preposterous though his undertaking appears, he achieved a remarkable measure of success in accomplishing his purpose. For, despite wading through mosquito infested swamps, slithering over shaly mountain ridges and facing blinding sub-zero blizzards, the invalid returned home well enough to marry a second time, have seven more children and live to the perfectly satisfactory age of seventy-eight. He returned, moreover, with trophies which surpassed prize specimens reported by such seasoned explorers as Captain Palliser and Sir John Richardson. Fortunately for his contemporaries and for posterity, the Earl of Southesk was no mere foolhardy pleasure seeker. A cultured man, poet and antiquary as well as soldier and adventurer, he hunted and trekked by day and read Shakespeare at night, then carefully recorded everything in his journal. Some fifteen years later he published *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains* based upon his journal, providing a colourful and spirited description of the country, its climate and its inhabitants and of his own experiences.

Southesk, having left Liverpool on April 15, 1859, accompanied by one of his gamekeepers, Duncan Robertson, arrived in New York on April 28th and promptly set off to see the Niagara Falls before his journey west. From the Falls, ruined for him by "the disgustingly obtrusive civilization that crawls over its sides," Southesk travelled by train to Lachine, where he met the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Sir George Simpson, whom he planned to accompany to Fort Garry, the base of his expedition to the Far West. Proceeding by train and boat the party reached St. Paul, whence they were to travel north by horse and cart along a new overland trail up the course of the Mississippi to the Red. The flooded state of the rivers almost caused Simpson to turn back to Lake Superior to follow the usual canoe route. Finally however, on May 18th, they

¹ James Carnegie, Earl of Southesk (1827-1905) was born at Edinburgh and educated at Edinburgh Academy and Sandhurst. He held a commission in the Gordon Highlanders and later in the grenadier guards before succeeding to the baronetcy held by his father in 1849. He sold much of his extensive property and rebuilt the family residence, Kinnaird Castle, where he assembled a fine collection of antique gems, paintings, books and archaeological items from the Near East. He obtained the earldom of Southesk in 1855 by securing an Act of Parliament reversing the attainder of his ancestor who had participated in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715. In the years following his return from North America he wrote poetry and engaged in antiquarian research, receiving honorary degrees from the universities of St. Andrews and Aberdeen.

² The Earl of Southesk, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains; a Diary and Narrative of Travel, Sport and Adventure, During a Journey Through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories, in 1859 and 1860.* (Toronto and Edinburgh, 1875), p. 1.

set out on the course originally planned. The trip proved laborious, the days made wretched by travel over soggy plains in which every brook was a river, every swamp a lake and the road a swamp, and the nights disturbed by violent rainstorms. On June 1st they reached Fort Garry, Simpson continuing north to Norway House while Southesk, impatient to set off "for summer in this land is a very fleeting season," hastened preparations for the trip into the interior. On June 15th everything was ready and Southesk's party, comprising himself, his gamekeeper, five Red River men and Simpson's Iroquois canoeman, Toma, left Fort Garry, accompanied by a swarm of half-breed hunters and their families who were on their way to the great annual buffalo hunt.

Southesk's candid descriptions re-create the novelties he encountered. Of the Spanish saddle he wrote, "no more detestable invention can be imagined." "The rider might as well attempt to sit inside a pitch fork."³ The hunters' wives he said were "tall and angular, long masses of straight hair fell over their backs; blue and white cotton gowns, shapeless, stayless, uncrinolined, displayed the flatness of their unprojecting figures."⁴ Though he occasionally admitted to "a singularly handsome girl," he invariably regretted her "flat contours." The careless abandon with which prairie fires were allowed to flourish aroused his indignation, despite the fact that he himself started one whose "lurid glow" illuminated the darkness of the horizon for hours afterward. On numerous occasions he pointed out the desolation resulting from recent fires and attributed the dearth of timber of any size to this "curse" constantly devastating the land.

The mosquitoes earned his most impassioned tirades. "The mosquitoes," he wrote, "I divide into three classes: the common brown, the large soft drab and the fierce little black—Quirk, Gammon, and Snap. I named them thus after the well-known firm of lawyers in *Ten Thousand a Year*. The Quirks were pertinaciously blood-sucking in a humdrum, respectable manner; the Gammons alighted like thistle-down and drank your blood with tender slyness; the Snaps rushed in with sudden fury and nipped more than they sucked, though careful not to go empty away."⁵ "The flies (mosquitoes)" he remarked, "are a pest of creation. Welcome rain, wind, sun, anything that annoys and destroys the tormentors."⁶ "Well may the Evil One be called Baal-Zebub—the god of flies."⁷ His virulence must be forgiven, for like all old-country people he suffered much more from their bites than do permanent residents.

From Fort Garry the party followed the Assiniboine to Fort Ellice where they acquired Pierre Numme as guide, a queer oldish French halfbreed, whose weak eyes constrained him to wear huge goggles made of wire and glass, which injected "a dash of the pedantic into his rough and hunter like appearance." Leaving Fort Ellice on June 27th, they continued westerly to Qu'Appelle Fort

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

(on the plains south of the present town of Qu'Appelle) which they reached on July 2nd. The "fleeting season" was at last making itself felt, a brilliant sun glaring down mercilessly during the day and violent thunder storms lashing along the valley in the evening. Southesk recorded that "the heat was intense, not a breath of wind stirring; the earth glowed like a furnace."⁸ The country, meanwhile, had become a delightful exchange of "miserable swamps for low hills of a light and sandy soil covered with poplar groves dotted with scattered spruces; or for glorious open plains, some flat, some undulating, but all sound and hard and dry and redolent of warmth."⁹ Flowers of the gayest colour enlivened the landscape while thyme and other aromatic prairie herbs added to the charm. "Sometimes acres and acres were covered with intermingled masses of the orange lily and the pendulous blue-bell, the whole of them so short of stem that the glory of the flowers combined with the rich greenness of their leaves and it seemed as if a vast oriental carpet had been thrown upon the plain."¹⁰ To Southesk's disappointment they encountered but little game, wolves and cabrees offering the only sport. He did shoot a skunk, "a much handsomer creature than might be supposed and not offensive if killed dead on the spot, as happened in this instance—very fortunately!"¹¹ Near Long Lake he stalked three white cranes looking "exquisitely beautiful" beside a pool of water; but he yearned for buffaloes and would not be content.

On reaching the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan desire received hope of fulfillment when a place where a great herd of buffaloes had crossed the river was discovered. Southesk decided to cross the Saskatchewan in their pursuit instead of going upstream to the Cypress Hills. This decision had the added advantage of keeping them within the territories of the friendly Crees rather than carrying them into that of the hostile Blackfeet. The crossing, made some twenty or thirty miles below the Elbow, was accomplished by the use of large flat-bottomed canoes constructed on the spot with local materials and covered with oilcloth. On the second day after the crossing the long sought buffaloes were sighted. Before Southesk's ecstatic gaze "immense herds were stringing across the whole face of the country. The deep rolling voice of the multitude came grandly on the air like the booming of a distant ocean."¹² They had a most successful hunt, Southesk himself securing both a fine cow for eating and a bull whose magnificent head with long perfect horns and most luxuriant mane and beard he wanted as a trophy.

On the following day a sudden attack by a band of half naked armed Cree warriors caught the camp undefended and helpless. This near disaster proved a blessing in disguise. The Crees, who had seen their stray horses and believed them from a Blackfoot encampment, were hunting in the vicinity under the leadership of a halfbreed hunter named Tait. Southesk learned from Tait that both Fort Pitt and Carlton, where he had intended to replenish his supplies, were

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 92.

near starvation. He arranged to camp nearby and employ Tait's women to dry meat. A joyous and exciting week followed, a hilarious evening around the campfire climaxing a hazardous day. One especially riotous escapade involved an attack upon a pack of wolves which were prowling between their camp and the lake devouring the remains of the buffaloes they had killed. "Someone suddenly proposing to give them a fright, we all joined in the fun, and sallied forth armed with whatever came handiest, I with the swiggle tree of the waggon, Duncan with a long stick, M'Kay with a log of wood, M'Beath with the tent-pin mallet . . . away we rush under the clear moonlight, the pace terrific, M'Kay leading; M'Beath steps in a hole and measures his long length on the ground; some fall over him, others keep their course, bounding down the slope with shouts and tremendous peals of laughter."¹³

On July 23rd reports of spreading Blackfoot war parties induced Southesk to detour northeast to Fort Carlton with Tait before going to Fort Pitt. They were welcomed by Mr. Hardisty, the officer in charge, who graciously stored Southesk's trophies and helped him assemble equipment for Rocky Mountain rigours. From Fort Carlton they followed the North Saskatchewan to Fort Pitt and Fort Edmonton, where their cart, unsuitable for rugged mountain paths, was replaced by pack horses. They proceeded westward visiting briefly at Father Lacombe's mission at Lake Ste. Anne, the last outpost of civilization they encountered before braving the unfrequented wilds of the Rockies. Their route at the start was close to the present C.N.R. main line but instead of continuing to Jasper House they struck off south into hitherto untravelled mountain valleys lying to the east of the northern part of the present Banff-Jasper Highway.

The trip southward through the desolate mountains was physically exhausting and mentally depressing, confinement within the tremendous barriers of unmitigated rock appalling their spirits and crushing their courage. It was not, however, a period of unrelieved gloom. The magnificent grandeur of the glittering snow covered peaks, the still beauty of sapphire blue mountain lakes and the terrifying depths of the abysmal chasms inspiring awed admiration more frequently than the despairing prostration to which Southesk's physical weakness occasionally made him a prey. Adding to his general despondency was the fact that his anticipation of sport in the mountains had been bitterly disappointed; he had seen but one grizzly and, excepting mountain sheep, had little luck with other game. When they reached the Old Bow Fort and sighted level plains once more, Southesk wrote "on the 1st of September I entered the mountains with joy, on the 1st of October I leave them with greater joy."

Winter surprised Southesk on his return to the prairies, its unprecedented earliness and severity catching him unprepared. His party reached Fort Edmonton on October 16th and hurried by boat toward Carlton, only to be trapped by great masses of ice which blocked the river. Sending two of his men forward to Fort Pitt to fetch horses, Southesk waited resentfully, his misery intensified by a bad cold. The maddening tedium, which was becoming almost beyond endurance,

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

was finally broken on November 1st when his men returned. The weather, which had moderated somewhat during the last days of their enforced rest, became once more agonizingly cold. When they reached Fort Pitt they procured much needed winter clothing and equipment before continuing to Fort Carlton "in the teeth of a snow storm drifting furiously before a high north wind" and in temperatures the men judged to be thirty degrees below zero, although it was only November. At Fort Carlton Southesk secured fresh horses before resuming his journey. By this time he was finding the prairie winds very trying. "Our fate," he recorded, "seems to be that to which prophecy dooms a certain ancient family for their ancestor's share in Thomas A'Beckett's murder—

. . . the Tracies
Shall always have the wind in their faces'.¹⁴

They travelled across country through the Touchwood Hills to Touchwood Hills Fort and thence to Fort Pelly, which they reached on December 8th. As it had become apparent that the deepness of the snow made further travel by horse impractical, Southesk decided to remain at Pelly until dogs, which were scarce in the vicinity, were found. Fort Pelly was a new, square, white-washed "cottage" built near the banks of the Assiniboine behind the old Fort, whose remains now served as servants' quarters and barns. The Fort, which provided more comfortable accommodation than any he had visited since he had left Fort Garry, served as his home throughout his stay, during which he gained considerable insight into life in a trading post. As might be expected from a friend of the hierarchy of the Hudson's Bay Company, he sympathized with the Company's problems and deplored the competition offered by the free traders. He pointed out the difference in the behavior of the Indians in the southern districts where the lavish donation of gifts and the unchecked distribution of immense quantities of liquor, which had followed in the wake of the free traders, had demoralized the Indians and transformed reasonably submissive subjects into uncontrollable drunkards. He was interested in the farming carried on at the Fort, particularly in the livestock being raised. He was not, however, very impressed by the future possibilities of the prairies as an agricultural area, considering the area south of the North Saskatchewan River to be nothing more than "hundreds of miles of barren prairie, incapable of growing crops or timber, and scarcely suitable even for grazing purposes."¹⁵

Having collected enough dogs to draw his "cariole" and three sleds for the most essential of their provisions, Southesk felt prepared to continue his journey, and, on December 27th set out, leaving behind two of his men to follow with the rest of the baggage when more dogs arrived. Travelling to Fort Garry, Southesk, despising his "luxurious degradation," reluctantly submitted to riding in his "cariole," a toboggan surmounted by a small carriage "more like a coffin or slipper-bath" than a carriage, while his companions ran alongside on snowshoes, vociferously urging forward the dogs with "incessant volleys of abuse" in a potent mixture of English, French and Indian.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 304-305.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

On January 9th they reached Fort Garry, where Southesk spent two weeks visiting old friends and making new ones. Regretfully leaving Fort Garry on January 25th, he followed his former route to Saint Paul. On February 15th he reached New York, and, after a brief social whirl, "bade [his] final adieu to the New World."

We do not, it is true, owe Southesk a debt of gratitude for an outstanding contribution to the geographical knowledge of an unknown country or for a profound interpretation of social phenomena therein. We do, however, owe him thanks for an entertaining yet meticulously accurate account of the picturesque details of life on the prairies a hundred years ago. His companions, his horses, his dogs are your friends; the places he visited, the wild life he saw, the things he did become personal experiences. You can even taste the food he ate, whether it's the buffalo tongue, juicy and tender, or the Saskatoon berries which he had on the prairies, or the beaver tail "like pork fat sandwiched between Finnan haddock,"¹⁶ or the roast skunk, white and soft like sucking pig but "with a suspicion of skunkiness about it"¹⁷ that prevented him from finishing his plateful, which he tried in the mountains. His hope that his book may "be found to possess some degree of interest, and to afford some new information in regard to a country not yet superfluously depicted and described"¹⁸ is more than realized.

ELIZABETH HEIDT

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

Helping to Build the G.T.P.

ON October 15th, 1906, I left Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, for my homestead in the Ladstock district of Saskatchewan. Ladstock was the first post office², the postmaster being an old countryman, Andrew Fudge, who for many years travelled the country preaching the gospel at settlers' homes. (Bachelors usually turned up in force at the services as a welcome opportunity to meet together.) After getting supplies from Sheho I commenced housekeeping on October 23rd. After getting the shack fixed up, furniture made and wood hauled out of the bush on my shoulders, I spent most the winter cutting rails and posts to fence five acres of crop.

On May 30th, 1907, Ern. Patrick, Billy Lovell and I left our homesteads, walking through the Horse Lake district to a point on the G.T.P. railway, now known as Kelliher, looking for construction work. From there we walked west up the right of way till we came to a Canadian White Construction Company camp a few miles east of Punnichy, where we secured a job at No. 5 camp.

Probably every homesteader from a wide area was employed. Their numbers were augmented by relays of old country immigrants brought out by the ship load by a man named Short. Freighters transported the men and supplies from Lipton and always had wagon loads of men to take back, the loneliness and mosquitoes proving too much for many of them. At that time water levels were high—every slough and lake was full so that before construction could be started water had to be drained off. It was in digging ditches, while being tormented by millions of mosquitoes, that most of the newly arrived immigrants were employed. Hundreds of them just worked until the next freighter arrived and then packed up. All the construction work was done with horses and mules, wheelers and scrapers. The only occasion on which mechanical means were used was in 1908, when a steam shovel was brought in to widen a cut east of Punnichy.

On a new camp being formed I was transferred to No. 6 where for several months I ran the dump on a big fill across a lake near the Indian Mission. On completion of the fill to the centre of the lake we moved camp to the east side, and in the process of pulling up stakes we were surrounded by every Indian on the Muscowpetung Reserve, who when the cart wagon pulled out made a frantic dive for the site. On completion of this section we moved westward to what is now Touchwood Siding passing a store kept by Henry Fisher, then turning in near the Hudson Bay Post in charge of Factor McKenzie didn't proceed far before we had to unload a plow to turn furrows on a side hill to enable the loaded

¹ *Editor's Note:* The author of these reminiscences, Mr. Arthur James Wheeler of Bank End, was born at Farnam, Surrey in 1883. He came to Canada in 1904 and worked for a time at Portage la Prairie. He homesteaded at Bank End and has operated a farm there since that time.

² *Editor's Note:* Ladstock Post Office was opened on November 1, 1905: Report of the Postmaster General for 1906, C.S.P. 1907, Paper No. 24.

wagons to pass without turning over. Shortly before reaching the camp site a lovely scene unfolded on the west side of the tract. We saw through the trees a large lake dotted with tiny islands and around the islands hundreds of pelicans floated. Arriving at the camp site we found two other camps in the vicinity. There were over a hundred teams assembled within a quarter mile to complete the last link, a bad stretch of small knolls and deep pot holes. One other camp had to close down losing most of their horses with glanders.

We commenced work on a small knoll with thirteen teams and scrapers. Two of us worked on the dump and got no rest as the teams were coming in a continuous circle. Opposite to us was a mule outfit. Since the scrapers had to be dumped sideways into the water it was hard to get the mules close enough to the edge of the dump, so the boss stood in the centre and batted the nearest mule with a shovel. Sometimes the team went overboard. A watch was never needed for within a few minutes of 12 o'clock the mules would stop and bray. The cook used to dump refuse on the side of the slough, and at night on approaching the water hundreds of "plops" could be heard, made by the muskrats; there must have been thousands along the right of way.

It was a great life under canvas. The Company provided the very best of food, and the men were well treated. One never to be forgotten incident occurred one Sunday evening. In our tent were a number of Welshmen and Englishmen, most of whom, like myself, had sung in old country choirs. After supper we all took a walk, and approaching one of the high hills in the Punnichy area we climbed to the top just as the sun was setting. At the foot of the hill was a large lake in which a glorious sunset was reflected. We took in the scene for a few moments then someone suggested we sing the "Glory Song." There in that unspoiled countryside with not another human being or habitation in sight, men's voices were raised in a beautiful rendering of the music. As the echoes died away we stood in silence for a time and then wended our way back to camp.

I believe we had a representative of the Y.M.C.A. in our camp who gave assistance in many ways. The men provided their own amusement. For beds we drove four posts in the ground, nailed slats on and stole some hay. One night a practical joker sawed almost through every bed post; when the boys came in at dark the beds collapsed and finally the tent came down. When the weather became cold the bull cook—an old country Scots guards drill sergeant possessed of a vile temper—had to have fires going in the tents when the boys finished work. Whether there was a good fire or not we would complain loudly and long just to get his goat. Scottie was usually within earshot and emerging from one tent or another would roar in his best parade ground manner, grab a cordwood stick, and the boys had to fly!

Finally we completed the grade on the G.T.P. on November 14th, 1907. On November 15th, I struck out on foot from Touchwood Siding with \$207.50 in my pocket (wages were \$40.00 per month and board). I was loaded with a heavy pack (clothes, blankets, two loaves, a big hunk of cheese and a dollar bottle of

vanilla), but did not reach my shack. After travelling twenty-five miles in six hours I stopped at a bachelor's shack, stretched out on the floor, pack on my back, and went to sleep.

On January 21st, 1908, I went to a barn dance at Kelliher to celebrate the arrival of the first train on the G.T.P. So enthusiastic were the settlers that in dancing a Swedish polka one corner of the barn floor gave way, but happily with no untoward results. Dancing still went on.

On June 29th, 1908, I resumed railroading on the G.T.P.—ballasting and laying the track—working from Semans to Jasmin. Jerry Reardon was general boss, Carlson camp boss and Billy Campbell lifting track. We had forty or fifty Doukhobors in the gang and occasionally they would give me a Sunday job writing out an order to Eaton's for their requirements. Their diet consisted largely of eggs and the Raymore farmers were unable to keep up with the demand. The gang was composed of all nationalities, British, Italians, French, Roumanians, Ukrainians, Jews, and a Negro. We lived in old Colonist cars and in spite of all precautions were never completely free from vermin. Every two or three days we would start a fire in the open, put a pot on and boil up. At first we had hay in our bunks but had to discard it and thereafter for months slept on bare boards. Meat was kept fresh by sprinkling quarters of beef and hog carcasses with black pepper and hoisting them to the top of high poles sunk in the ground.

That November I came home with \$118.92 in my pocket for four and one-half months' work. Wages at the time were \$1.50 to \$1.75 per day, out of which we had to pay board.

I again struck out for work in June of 1909, and started working on the section of the G.T.P. at Quinton. At that time the sections were long, and ours stretched from one-half mile west of Punnichy to one mile west of Raymore. I stayed with the job until November 30th, 1910, when I left for a visit to England. On my return to this country, I had an opportunity to resume railroad work, as I was offered a section by Roadmaster Bob Johnson, but I turned it down for the homestead and a lifelong struggle with a mortgage.

The Newspaper Scrapbook

DURING Mr. E. P. Leacock's visit to Regina a representative of *The Leader* happened to run across the genial land agent of the C.P.R. at the new coal town of Southern Assiniboia and of course the conversation was on Estevan, its progress and its resources.

"The town was established on the 16th of August," said Mr. Leacock. "There are now 45 buildings, exclusive of stables and sheds, actually inhabited. The Kelly Hotel is up to its third story. It is 48 x 70, with a wing. Most of the buildings have stone foundations.

"Mr. Hamilton, the Land Commissioner, having noticed how the looks of many towns were spoiled, took measures to have a sidewalk commenced. The result is that all the houses and stores have been built on a level. The C.P.R. made a free gift to the town of the lumber for sidewalks to meet the present necessities of the built-over portion of the town, the citizens doing the rest.

"The citizens have decided to strictly enforce the provisions of the Unincorporated Towns Ordinance and therefore a complete sanitary system is established. A cemetery is being surveyed on a beautiful butte overlooking the Souris."

"How is business at the cemetery?"

"Happily, we have not yet had to use it, though since the middle of August we have had a large population, both floating and stationary. Then a large public hall has been erected and was to be opened for divine service yesterday. It was built by private parties under the supervision of the town committee and it is adapted for church, school and social purposes. A school district has been formed and school will open on October 15th."

"What about the coal mines, Mr. Leacock?"

"In regard to that, a great deal of grumbling has taken place at the delay there has been in shipping coal. When I left on Friday morning the depot was completed, the trolleys were in place and the cars were placed under the depot. Unless some unforeseen delay occurs coal will have been shipped on Saturday. The coal is good. We do not pretend that it is anything else than a first class lignite. For heating purposes it has been tested for a long time by the settlers for miles around. They say it is splendid for that purpose, and while it burns with the quickness and gives the heat of a wood fire it lasts longer proportionately than wood. For steam generating, all the threshing machines within any reasonable distance of the coal are fired with it. The threshers tell me it gives them perfect satisfaction.

THE *Toronto World* says that the Northwest Legislative Assembly celebrated its opening by adjourning to allow the members to attend the Regina horse races and that the management induced Premier Haultain to deliver an oration on the races before the adjournment. The directorate of that association—it adds—is evidently posted on the benefits of advertising.

The *Standard* is sorry to spoil so magnificent a story, but in order to correct any erroneous impressions which it might create among our tight-laced friends in the east, we feel bound to say that although founded on fact it has been wonderfully magnified in transit. Mr. Haultain did not deliver an oration. He simply moved that during three successive days, forenoon sessions should be held, in order that members wishing to attend the races might do so during the afternoons. The House being composed without a single exception of men who have some "go" in them and who are all interested in horses, the motion was carried unanimously.

—*The Standard* (Regina), August 12, 1892.

THE meeting held this morning in the town hall, for the purpose of forming the North-West Dairymen's Association, was well attended. His Honour the Lieutenant Governor was present and delivered a suitable inaugural address. Among the many other gentlemen present we noted particularly Mr. McKay of Indian Head, Mr. Barrows, publisher of the *Western World* and the *North-West Farmer*, Mr. Levi Thompson of Ellisboro, Senator Perley and Mr. Watson, D. A. McDonald, and Mr. Hopkins. The following members of the Legislature were also in attendance, viz., Messrs. McKay, Meyers, Mowat, Campbell, Reaman, Jelly, Page, Knowling, Dill, and Mr. Speaker Ross.

Officers were elected as follows: President, Mr. A. G. Thorburn; First Vice, Mr. E. H. Hopkins; Second Vice, Mr. J. Reaman; Directors, Messrs. Thompson, Wilson, Radcliffe and Thos. McKay.

Mr. Jowett was elected Secretary-Treasurer.

On motion of Mr. Dill, seconded by Mr. Campbell, a hearty vote of thanks was tendered His Honour the Lieutenant Governor for his presence and his assistance in connection with the formation of the Association. His Honour in reply stated that the project had his fullest sympathy and that he would gladly do his part to give practical effect to any recommendation of his Executive in respect to it.

—*The Standard* (Regina), August 26, 1892.

THE use of the telephone is making good progress in the city. The latest addition is that of the "Palmer" House, which is connected by special wire with Gillespie's livery stables. Mr. McCormic is also making arrangements with the barracks, post-office and all places connected by the police line. No doubt the time is not far off when an exchange will be established.

—*The Regina Leader*, November 22, 1883.

Book Reviews

FIRST BATTALION, THE REGINA RIFLE REGIMENT, 1939-1946. *Eric Luxton, ed.* Regina: Regina Rifle Regiment, Armouries, 1949. Pp. 70, illus. \$2.00.

A RESUME OF THE STORY OF THE FIRST BATTALION, THE SASKATOON LIGHT INFANTRY (M.G.) CANADIAN ARMY OVERSEAS. *D. E. Walker, compiler.* Saskatoon: Saskatoon Light Infantry, 1950. Pp. 139, illus., maps. \$2.00.

THE story of the part played by the First Battalion, The Regina Rifle Regiment in the Second World War was compiled in 1946. It is prefaced by a dedication to all riflemen of the Unit who were killed in action and by a foreword from General H. D. G. Crerar, C.H., C.B., D.S.O. An outline sketch is given of each of the Commanding Officers, from the date of mobilization, June 1, 1940 until disbandment on January 1, 1946. Each individual sketch is brief and accurate. Written in terse military language, no attempt is made to embellish the accomplishments of the commanders. The subsequent narrative of the tasks performed by the Battalion gives ample proof of their contributions and personal worth. Surviving riflemen will remember the merits of their commanding officers on reading the captions opposite the name of each—"Quinn—mobilized 'em—'Black Bess' Matheson trained 'em and fought 'em—Gregory fought 'em again—Howat brought 'em home."

The Roll of Honour listing the names of 458 members of the Battalion who made the supreme sacrifice follows. The name and rank of each is given, but unfortunately the regimental numbers are omitted. The Reginas received reinforcements from all parts of the Dominion and regimental numbers are clues to original places of enlistment. Regrettable is the fact that members of the Battalion who died while serving in other units of the active force could not be included in this list.

Honours and awards, carefully compiled from the official records, are given. Additional honours obtained by members of the Battalion serving with other formations are omitted. It is noted that many of the "originals" succeeded in obtaining both honours and promotions, reflecting credit to themselves for their tenacity through the lengthy period of training and to the original officers responsible for their enlistment and development.

The history covers the period from *D* Day, June 6, 1944, to *VE* Day, May 8, 1945. When the intensity of the operations and the brief period of time in which they were carried out are considered, these lists of awards stand out in true perspective.

A full page copy of a painting depicting the landing on *D* Day and a tribute to the padres and stretcherbearers makes a pleasant interlude before the history begins. A photograph of the investiture of Padre Jamieson with the Military Cross by General Montgomery, is also included.

The story of the Reginas is divided into four parts—Part I by Major S. T. Tubb, D.S.O., Part II by Major J. G. Baird, D.S.O., Part III by Captain E. C. Luxton (mentioned in dispatches) and Part IV by Major E. Rouatt, M.B.E. In assigning these four officers to the task of writing the history, the committee chose wisely. All four had distinguished records with the Battalion and each was intimately conversant with the period for which he was made responsible.

The history does not purport to be a military treatise, but a factual narrative account of the Battalion's record in the Canadian active army. The writers maintained a unique degree of readability, accuracy and fairness throughout the narrative.

In his narrative Major Tubb skillfully tells the story of the infant Battalion suffering from growing pains. Hardships and difficulties met and finally overcome are subtly effaced. All too brief are the sentences devoted to the enlistment period. As in World War I, and like the 28th Battalion, the unit was drawn from many points in Western Canada. Regiments like the Prince Albert and Battleford Volunteers, the Edmonton Fusiliers and the Manitoba Horse contributed large contingents to form the Battalion or later to supply reinforcements. The stories of training at Dundurn and Debert, of the trip across the Atlantic with the "U" Boat menace are graphically told. Brief but poignantly told are the accounts of the various brigade, divisional and corps exercises which took place in England under Hewitt, Sharp, Foulkes and Matheson. The narrative is in the simple military style of an officer who watched the Battalion develop from timid nervous beginnings to the concluding poise of a military unit capable and efficient from its first baptism of fire to the final victory of the campaign.

Parts II and III, narrated by Major Baird and Captain Luxton, give the complete account of the campaign in France, Belgium, Germany and Holland from *D* Day to *VE* Day. The official war diaries are rigidly followed by each writer. However, each has succeeded in retaining the flexible interesting narrative style introduced by Major Tubb. The warm personal touch which the official documents could not convey is maintained. Modesty has kept names, personalities and individual exploits out of the story. A sketch map of the campaign enables the reader to follow the Battalion through each phase and every page is vividly illustrated.

The Battalion took the name of "Johns" early in the campaign, a cognomen of goodwill and endearment fittingly bestowed by other units of the 3rd Division and proudly accepted by all ranks. A fighting unit and a regiment of the line, specially selected for the greatest task of the war, superbly trained and disciplined, the Johns won acclaim for their splendid initiative and co-operation with the other units of the division.

To Major G. E. Rouatt was entrusted the task of writing the prosaic story of the aftermath. His skillful treatment of the last days is tinged with sadness. The trials and sacrifices ended, preparations were made for the return to civilian life. It was fitting that the Battalion should be disbanded on New Year's night, January 1, 1946.

When at some future date a complete history of the Regina Rifle Regiment is compiled, this chapter, the story of the 1st Battalion, will be both instructive and a source of inspiration.

THE history of the First Battalion of the Saskatoon Light Infantry (M.G.), compiled by Lt. Col. D. E. Walker, D.S.O., E.D., is very well illustrated throughout and may be divided into four main parts: the training period in England; the Sicilian and Italian campaigns; action in North West Europe; and other historical data. The writer of this history served in the militia Unit before the Second World War and with the Battalion from its mobilization until the date of disbandment. He eventually became one of the commanding officers. The work is painstaking in detail; the collection of group photographs, campaign sketches, maps and other illustrations is both instructive and interesting. The illustrations furnish the personal touch which is in some measure missing from the narrative.

A brief historical outline of the origin of the Battalion precedes the account of the raising of the unit, which served overseas as the Machine Gun Battalion to the First Canadian Division.

An account is given of the rapid mobilization of the Battalion and its embarkation for England early in December, 1939. Unlike many units in the Canadian Army, most of the Officers, N.C.O.'s and men of the Saskatoon Light Infantry were drawn from the city of Saskatoon and the surrounding district. As the result, although it was a support battalion, often split into smaller formations and attached to other units, a fine regimental esprit de corps was maintained. The preliminary training took place in England prior to and following the dramatic events at Dunkirk.

During its lengthy sojourn in England the Battalion became closely associated with its allied regiment, the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, and a delightful section of the history, with excellent illustrations, is devoted to this phase in the life of the Battalion. The unit along with other Canadian battalions formed part of a composite force with the British Army.

The story of the presentation of the colours, the gift of the City of Saskatoon, to the Battalion by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, in October, 1941, is vividly described. The accompanying photographs of this historic event are most interesting.

In spite of long periods of intensive training and the fact that the Battalion was often split into formations of large or small detachments and attached to other units, the narrative shows that succeeding Commanding Officers overcame all difficulties in maintaining the Battalion's esprit de corps. New appointments, promotions and age group changes occurred frequently, but in spite of these the history records that a very high degree of efficiency was main-

tained. Perhaps few units in the Canadian Army furnished a greater number of commanding officers to other units in the Corps than did the Saskatoon Light Infantry (M.G.).

In soldierlike style and with selected operational sketches, Lt. Col. Walker has traced, step by step, the progress of his Battalion through the Sicilian Operation, the Italian Campaign—Reggio to Ortona—the Campobasso, the Adriatic Sector, the Crossing the Moro River, the Hitler Line and the Liri Valley, the Gothic Line and the advance to the Po Valley. As the campaign progressed the fortunes of the Battalion varied. In the role of a support unit many difficulties of supply, reinforcement and co-ordination had to be overcome; new weapons were acquired and their technical uses mastered. The Battalion took these changes in its stride. The tense outlines in Lt. Col. Walker's narrative of this period, while perhaps lacking the personal touch, leave little to be desired. With extraordinary clarity, which the civilian reader can easily follow, the author's story deals with the many changes in methods, weapons and re-organization. He adopted a unique method of listing the number of casualties suffered in the unit at the conclusion of each phase of the campaign.

An important section is devoted to a description of the reorganization which took place after Ortona and prior to the advance into Italy. The unit's role as a support battalion increased in importance. It was no longer solely a machine gun battalion, but embraced anti-tank, anti-aircraft and heavy mortars in the new set-up. Throughout this period Battalion headquarters was skillfully maintained, records faithfully kept and cohesion never permitted to lapse.

With the Italian Campaign brought to a successful conclusion the Battalion, early in March, 1945, with other units of the First Canadian Corps, moved to the Western Front. In the brief period until May 6th and VE Day the unit saw active service in Holland. Fortunately, successes were many and casualties were few in number.

The remaining chapters are devoted to the account of the Battalion's homecoming to Saskatoon where it was disbanded on October 3, 1947.

Supplements, of great interest include a brief history of the 5th Battalion and the K.O.Y.L.I. Also included are four short poems by Sgt. W. A. McKay, songs sung by men of the unit while on service, and the music of the Battalion's Regimental March. An Honour Roll giving a complete list of all members of the Battalion killed, wounded or missing accompanies the history. An outstanding feature of this roll is that it gives the regimental number of each soldier as well as his name and rank.

Members of the Saskatoon Light Infantry, those who contributed material towards the creation of the book and the author are to be highly commended for a splendid job well done.

DON G. SCOTT-CALDER, E.D.

ST. PETER'S ABBEY, 1903-1921. By *The Reverend Jerome Weber, O.S.B.* Reprinted from the *Annual Report of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association*, 1949, Pp. 17.

IN this seventeen page pamphlet one may scan the first eighteen formative years in the history of the Abbey which was founded to serve the German-speaking Catholic immigrants who came to Western Canada from the United States. Scattered in small groups and lacking the services of German-speaking priests, they sent petitions to their former parishes for assistance. The Rev. Conrad Glatzmeier O.S.B., received such a petition and communicated with his superior, The Right Reverend Peter Engel, O.S.B., Abbot of St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, and urged him to establish a large German colony in Western Canada. A small group was organized, consisting of the Reverend Bruno Doerfler, O.S.B., H. J. Haskamp of St. Cloud, M. Hoeschen of Freeport and H. Hoeschen of Melrose, and in August, 1902, they set out to explore the Canadian West for a suitable site for a colony. After travelling for over a week, part of the time by team and wagon, they arrived at the region where Leofeld now stands and, in the words of Father Bruno, "were greeted by a gently rolling plain, studded with beautiful groves and crystal lakes. The soil on the plain was of the very choicest, for it was deep black humus." Reports were given when the party returned to Minnesota, and those interested in the new colony made plans to establish it. Abbot Peter and the Chapter of the Abbey were to take over the spiritual care of the settlers, and the German American Land Company was formed by Messrs. Haskamp and Hoeschen. In the autumn of 1902, homesteads were taken up. In December the Monks of Cluny were transferred to Canada and the Reverend Alfred Mayer, their Prior, accompanied by Father Bruno, set out for the new colony. They selected a site and then went to Prince Albert to confer with the Missionary Bishop, Francis Regis Albert Pascal O.M.I. An agreement was drawn up whereby the Bishop agreed to hand over to the Benedictines the care of souls in the fifty townships. They were also to establish their monastery in the Colony. The name Cluny was dropped and St. Peter chosen—to be a continual sign of gratitude to Abbot Peter to whom the colony owed so much. When the first group of pioneer priests arrived in May, 1903, an altar was erected in a tent and Holy Mass was offered up on the spot where the monastery was to be built. From then on all was activity; a small frame house was erected, and the church, with sides of logs, was finished in September. During the first year five parishes and two missions were established. The next year a German newspaper was published in Winnipeg—Prior Alfred as editor. In June of 1906 Father Bruno succeeded Prior Alfred. Recognition from the Holy See came to the Priory in 1911; the rank of an Abbey of the American Cassinese Congregation was granted, and Prior Bruno was appointed the first Abbot. By this time there were nine parishes and fourteen missions. The Sisters of St. Elizabeth were the founders of the hospital, and the Ursuline Order started to teach in the schools. The Priory lost its leader in June, 1919, and Reverend Michael Ott, O.S.B., was chosen to succeed Abbot Bruno. Abbot Michael saw the need of completing the work of the grade schools by an institution of higher

learning, and in June, 1921, he laid the cornerstone for St. Peter's College. By this time the Apostolic See had raised the Abbey of St. Peter to an Abbey Nullius and a new phase of development began.

Father Weber has given us a remarkably clear picture of the first phase of the pioneer history and development of St. Peter's Abbey. His account is carefully documented and the footnotes contain valuable information. May the student priests of St. Peter's College continue to minister to the spiritual welfare of the people of the Colony with the same fervour and zeal shown by these pioneers!

LUCY RIMMER

A HISTORY OF CANADA. By *Jean Bruchesi*, translated from the French by R. W. W. Robertson. Toronto: Clarke Irwin & Co., Ltd., 1950. Pp. 358. \$3.50.

WHEN French Catholics are able to feel equally at home in Quebec and other parts of Canada; when the "Quebec reservation" is ended; when the cultural equation in Canada is balanced; in short, when the "French fact" is recognized, understood, and appreciated by the English in Canada, then will the desires of French Canada, and the objects of M. Bruchesi's book be realized. A new concept of national unity, based on equal rights and privileges for both Canada's great peoples, must be the end for which all Canadians strive. For M. Bruchesi, and by implication for all French Canada, this means a levelling-up process which will raise French rights to a par with those the English have always enjoyed by virtue of successful exploitation of the conquest. Specifically, it will mean the strengthening of the weak points in Confederation, which were, and still remain, "an insufficiently clear definition of the rights of the French language, and disconcerting lack of clarity on school privileges outside Quebec." Finally, it will mean that the English Canadian must learn, as the French Canadian learned more than two centuries ago, to consider Canada in its relationship to the outer world (including England, the Commonwealth, and the United States), only after Canada has been considered as an independent entity.

Of these things Quebec's scholarly Under-Secretary and Deputy Registrar writes convincingly, yet provokingly; convincing by the eloquent force of his style, by the brilliant strategy of his plan; provoking by the occasional lack of restraint in his dialectics. The author has produced ten analytical essays, each dealing with a separate aspect of French life in Canada. The content is admirably suited to the purpose, and the arrival of the French, evolution of their culture, basis of conflict, resistance to assimilation, relation to the external world, and intellectual life are all effectively interpreted to drive home the "French fact," and the justice of French grievances. But even the most sluggish of critics will be prodded into asking questions, and there are many to be answered. They will be directed at *interpretations* as, for instance, the *raison d'être* for Confederation; *omissions*, such as regard for the place of the railway in both the political and economic development of Canada; *exaggerations*, such as the whole chapter on Intellectual Life, which by comparison with the French makes of the English but unlettered churls; and the sort of *excesses of sentiment* which ascribe as "fanatickal" any English move that M. Bruchesi and the French do not like.

But these, perhaps, are superficial criticisms of a book which has been begging to be written, and is well worth reading for the first three chapters alone. A more important criticism seems apparent to this reviewer. It seems safe to assume that *A History of Canada* was produced from the lectures at the Sorbonne, where the ideas from which it is compounded were first aired, in the hope of contributing to national unity. Regrettably, the author has fallen prey to the universal human fault, (shared equally in French and English Canada), of expecting the other fellow to make the first expiatory move. Moreover, the highly analytical character of the material has forced the writer in many cases to assume among his readers a wide familiarity with the facts of Canadian history. Since this is an unwarranted assumption except among academic circles, if the book is read widely the reaction to it may well be the opposite of what the author desired. However, I am inclined to predict that it will be read by few other than the well educated. And the latter are precisely the people who need the least convincing of the existence of the "French fact," and the rectitude of M. Bruchesi's views.

A final word should be said about the literary qualities of the volume. For lucidity, vigour and sheer eloquence, M. Bruchesi has no peer in Canadian historical circles. I can only say that while Mr. Robertson's translation is undoubtedly masterly, one wishes one could read the French in the original just for its poetry.

J. D. HERBERT

THROUGH THE YEARS WITH KNOX. Celebrating sixty-five years of service as a pastoral charge, 1885-1950, and the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Knox Church, 1900-1950. By Rev. Dr. John L. Nichol. Saskatoon: Knox Church, 1950. Pp. 59, illus. \$1.00.

THE arrangement of this attractive congregational history is chronological to 1914, the year of the formal opening of the present Knox Church. The historian has rescued from obscurity many facts relating to Presbyterianism in the early days of Saskatoon. Though the majority of the Temperance Colonists were adherents of the Methodist faith, the Presbyterians were numerous enough to organize a mission field as early as 1885. It is interesting to read of the Presbyterians at a later date using the railway roundhouse as a place of worship. In 1900, "Old Knox Church" was built west of the river. The rapid increase in the population of Saskatoon and the consequent growth in the congregation of Knox, created from time to time an acute seating problem; the church would be enlarged, but within a year or two its capacity would again be taxed, and the church again enlarged. The latter section of the history contains biographical sketches of the ministers of Knox, and group pictures of present-day Sunday school classes and clubs connected with the church. *Through the Years with Knox* is a worthwhile and attractive institutional history.

BRUCE B. PEEL

Notes and Correspondence

THE item in "The Newspaper Scrapbook" in our last issue relating to the establishment of the flour mill at Fort Qu'Appelle has prompted the following comments from Mr. James Cooper of West Bend:

In 1907 I was working at Rossendale, Manitoba, for Mr. D. A. Johnson (known as young Dave). His father (old Dave) owned the farm, but was then retired and living in Portage la Prairie. He, I believe it was, who built the Qu'Appelle mill.

He often visited at the farm and told some very interesting stories of the early days. He came originally from the Owen Sound district in Ontario, where he had milling experience. Coming to Portage la Prairie by way of Minnesota and The Red River in the 1870's, he built the first oatmeal mill in Western Canada and ran it for a number of years. Then while still running the Portage mill he built a flour mill at Fort Qu'Appelle, going back and forth between "Troy" and Portage at the week-ends by the C.P.R., which was running that far by then, and driving out from Troy to the Fort by livery team.

He ran the flour mill I think, for about a year and a half, and then either during the "Saskatchewan Rebellion" or very soon after he sold it and still carried on the Portage Oatmeal mill. A few years later, just when he had a deal almost completed to sell, the mill was destroyed by fire. The building and machinery were covered by insurance but the stock was not, and it being early winter the mill was stocked to the roof with oatmeal so his loss was very heavy . . .

He rebuilt the mill, taking in a partner who, I suppose, furnished the needed money, and soon after the new mill was completed he traded his interest in it to his partner for four oxen and some farm implements. Having had some years previously bought a section of land at Rossendale, he moved out then and made good.

A local history essay competition for schools in north-western Saskatchewan is being sponsored by the North-West Mounted Police Memorial and Indian Museum at Battleford. Its object is "to create an interest and pride in the development of the community, and a desire to preserve historical landmarks, sites and relics, and to memorialize the pioneers of this country by tracing the history of each particular community as located by the school district, through a united effort of all the students in the school."

The *Fourth Report of the Saskatchewan Archives*, covering the period 1948-1950 has just been issued. This report, as well as the second and third reports, may be secured by writing to the Saskatchewan Archives Office, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Information on the program of microfilming Saskatchewan's weekly newspapers is contained in the following section of the *Fourth Report of the Saskatchewan Archives*:

In seeking to preserve the fast vanishing files of Saskatchewan's weekly newspapers the Archives Office has coordinated its efforts with the national newspaper microfilming program of the Canadian Library Association. Being national in scope, the Association's program includes only a few Saskatchewan papers, with the result that the filming of the vast majority of the province's papers will be undertaken by the Archives Office. The fact that there are over 130 weekly newspapers now being published in Saskatchewan, that at least 430 more have been published at various times, that practically all files prior to 1943 must be secured from the publishers' offices, and that the files of some papers have disappeared completely, will give some idea of the magnitude and difficulty of the project. Obviously, certain priorities had to be established, and the following categories of papers have been receiving first attention:

1. Papers established before 1900 not being filmed by the Canadian Library Association.
2. The newspaper files beginning in 1943 available in the Legislative Library.

The filming of the first mentioned category is being made possible in part by the generous cooperation of the Provincial Library of Manitoba which possesses fine files of a number of early Saskatchewan papers. The second category consists of the only comprehensive collection of Saskatchewan weeklies available in one place—the Legislative Library. The Library, though it has subscribed to all of the weeklies for many years, was most unfortunately prevented from preserving most of them due to the lack of storage space, with the result that when the microfilm program was inaugurated only files beginning with the year 1943 were in its possession. Consequently, the opportunity of filming these files was seized, in order to take advantage of a centralized collection and to relieve the storage difficulties of the Library. About one-third of all of the newspapers published in the five years 1943-1947 have been filmed and it is expected that the remainder will be completed during 1950. Each year thereafter all files for one year will be filmed.

It will be seen that the attention given to these two categories of newspapers still leaves for future filming the files of a great number of papers published during the years 1900 to 1942. The filming of this group will be a long term project. Most of the files, if they still exist, will have to be borrowed from publishers' offices, and first attention will be given to representative papers from various sections of the province and to papers which are in fragile condition or which are in unsatisfactory storage quarters.

A list of the papers microfilmed to date and those which were acquired from the Canadian Library Association may be found in the Accessions section of the Report. The Provincial Archivist would welcome communications from readers of *Saskatchewan History* who know the location of files of papers no longer being published and which might be microfilmed.

Contributors

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GILBERT JOHNSON is the agent for the Saskatchewan Pool Elevators Ltd., at Marchwell, and has contributed numerous articles on local history to the weekly press.

ELIZABETH HEIDT is a member of the staff of the Legislative Library, Regina.

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MAJOR D. G. SCOTT-CALDER recently retired after thirty-five years service in the Department of Education. He is a veteran of World War I and World War II.

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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.

NOTICE

Many of the articles which appear in *Saskatchewan History* are based on documents in the Office of the Saskatchewan Archives, University of Saskatchewan, and in the archives collection relating to Regina and district which is maintained in the Legislative Library. The Provincial Archivist is anxious to augment both these collections with letters, diaries, reminiscences, photographs, and records of all types of organizations and businesses. Readers of this magazine are urged to communicate with the Provincial Archivist if they possess or know the whereabouts of materials which may be donated, or borrowed for microfilming.

