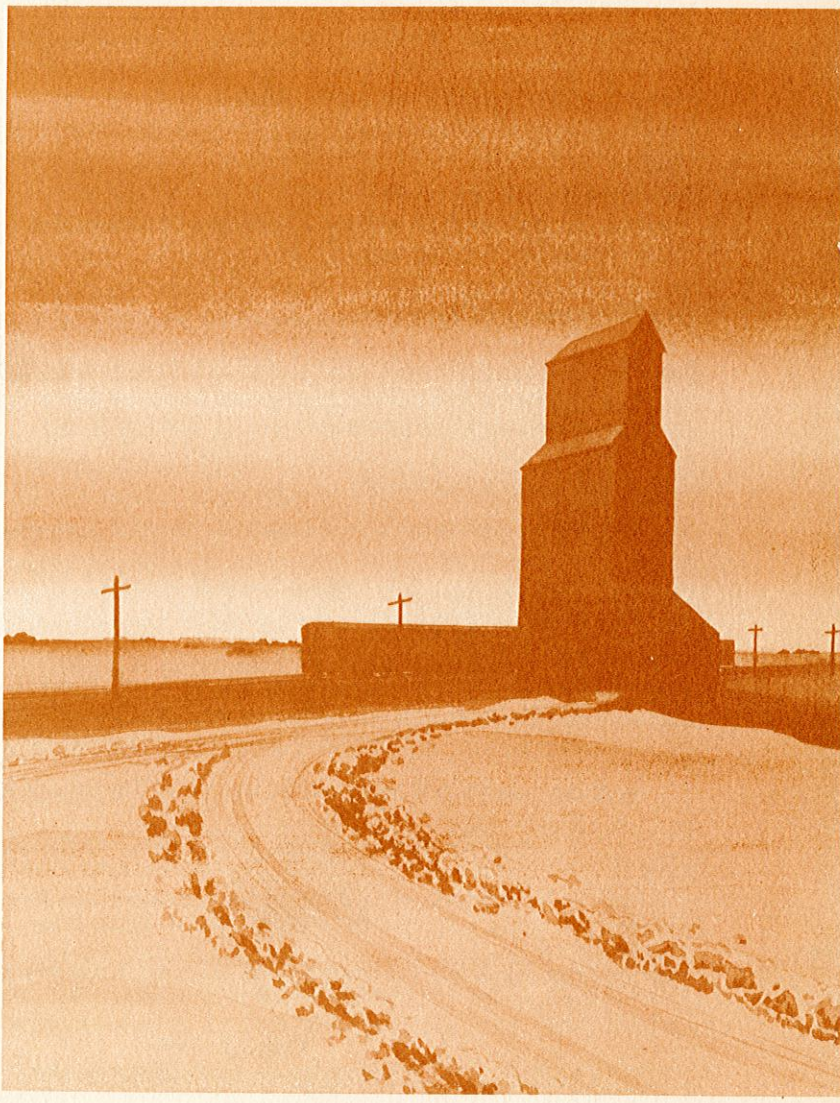
Saskatchewan HISTORY



★ Turner's Weekly

BY

WILLIAM K. ROLPH

★ Paul Kane's "Wanderings"

BY

G. W. SNELGROVE

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Turner's Weekly: An Episode in Prairie Journalism

In recent years the newspaper and the journal of opinion have become an increasingly important source of information for the historian—particularly the local historian. Within their pages lie mirrored the changing character of the community as it progressed from a raw frontier settlement to a sophisticated urban centre. Nowhere was this more apparent than on the prairies of Western Canada. Settled largely in the twentieth century when the means of communication and the general level of education had both reached new heights, the journalist occupied a unique position in these growing settlements. It was the newspaper which provided the new arrivals with information on lands for sale or lease, on housing, on job opportunities, and most important of all on what was happening in the world they had left behind. Newspapers, too, served as forums of discussion where the issues of the day were debated, the wants of the settlers made known, and publicity given to the efforts to correct these abuses. Throughout Western Canada the advent of the pioneer farmer and the pioneer journalist almost exactly coincided. Through the pages of these frontier journals it is possible to trace the history of the rise and decline of their communities—some developing into flourishing cities; others remaining small hamlets whose newspapers either disappeared or became merely organs of local gossip.[1]

Fortunately, Saskatoon escaped this latter fate. Founded as a temperance colony in 1883 it managed by a combination of luck, favourable publicity and the shrewdness of its early settlers to become the chief distributing centre for central and northern Saskatchewan. This development was the result of the coming of the railway to Saskatoon. Soon after the first settlement took place, rail connection was established with Prince Albert and Regina via the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway and early in the twentieth century, a group of Saskatoon business men, headed by James Leslie and Malcolm Isbister, successfully persuaded the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern Railway also to pass through the city. The construction of these railways—the one linking Saskatoon with Winnipeg and Edmonton; the other connecting it with North Battleford completed the town's railway network. Every important urban centre in the province, except Moose Jaw and Swift Current, now enjoyed direct rail connection with Saskatoon. The hub city was born.[2]

With the railways came the newspapers. In April, 1906, the Saskatoon *Phoenix* became the second daily newspaper in the province and a month later a rival daily—*The Capital*—was founded. In 1912 *The Capital* gave place to the *Saskatoon Daily Star*.[3] It was as a member of the *Star* staff that Harris Turner first became acquainted with the newspaper world of the new city. There he soon made a name for himself through his column, "Starbeams," which was a witty and penetrating commentary on the foibles of mankind. The war, however,

[1] For a discussion of the history of the press in this period see: Earl Drake, "The Press of Saskatchewan in the Territorial Period," unpublished M.A. thesis in the library of the University of Saskatchewan.
[2] John H. Archer, *Historic Saskatoon* (Saskatoon, [1948]), pp. 1-20.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 32.

interrupted and permanently altered his career as a newspaperman. Enlisting in 1915, he went overseas in 1916 and was blinded in action. After almost a year in St. Dunstan's Hospital in England he returned to Saskatoon in 1918. There he met another ex-newspaperman, also recently discharged from the army, A. P. Waldron. Anxious to return to the newspaper world but ambitious to run their own paper, Turner and Waldron pooled their resources and took over the bankrupt printing plant of the *Saturday Press*. Along with the *Press* they also acquired an able printer, Alexander McRobbie, who joined with Turner, Waldron and a fourth member who was added a little later, J. D. F. Eustace, to make up the sole proprietors of the new venture.[4]

In the opening issue (September 21, 1918) Turner made clear the aim of the new publication. It was to be "an independent weekly paper which appeals to the general public . . . as an interesting and entertaining literary enterprise." He emphasized that it would be a journal of opinion, allied with no political party, concerned with the "rehabilitation of the soldier, the remoulding of some of the traditional political ideas and prejudices which form the basis of our political system, the development of the ideals which made Canada's participation in the war inevitable and unquestionable, and the necessary fusion of the various nationalities, represented in Canada's population, into one harmonious unit."[5] To achieve these objectives the periodical was to be more than another veterans' paper although the foreword included a special appeal for the support of all returned men. Both Turner and Waldron visualized their publication as a Western Canadian equivalent of the *New Republic* or the *Nation* and from the outset consciously modelled their format, style and content on these two influential American journals.[6] Consequently, the new weekly displayed an independence of outlook, an interest in literary affairs, particularly relating to Western Canada, and a sprightliness of style which was largely absent from the columns of other prairie papers with the exception of the *Calgary Eye-Opener* under the inimitable Bob Edwards.

The first number, printed in the usual double column style of its American forerunners, contained an editorial section, articles on the Soldier Settlement Board and the Navy League of Canada, a column of veterans news and a half-page column of humourous verse and comment entitled "Shrapnel," edited by Turner himself. Most of its themes were drawn from the military or current political scene and give an interesting insight into Turner's thinking on many of the issues of the day.[7] Also included were two short stories of doubtful literary worth but interesting because of their Canadian theme—one dealt with the impact of the discovery of the amount of freedom in Canada on a German couple living in a defeated post-war Germany; the other was a story of war-time coincidence obviously based on the writings of Edgar Allan Poe. An unusual feature, but one which was to become one of the most interesting aspects of the new periodical, was the publication of an original poem by Larry Dean entitled "The Underdog."[8]

[4] Interview with A. P. Waldron, April 3, 1951.
[5] *Turner's Weekly*, September 21, 1918, p. 1. Hereafter this source is cited by date only.
[6] Interview with A. P. Waldron, April 3, 1951.
[7] September 21, 1918, pp. 5-6.
[8] September 21, 1918, p. 6.

From the outset the editors made it clear that they intended to deal with public questions in a forthright manner but at the same time "to rub the feet of progress with the oil of humour so that the march may be the more triumphant if the less wearisome."[9] In the first few issues the bulk of editorial comment dealt with the progress of the war, the treatment of veterans, particularly the private soldier, at the hands of the government, the operation and weaknesses of the Soldier Settlement Board, the growth of political independence in Canada, and the position of the Mennonites and enemy-alien groups. As far as the war was concerned criticism was limited to the failure of the government to make full use of their wartime powers of compulsion in regard to the operation of the Canadian war effort.[10] Another favourite topic was the position of the returned men. As veterans themselves, Turner and Waldron were anxious to see that their companions-in-arms received a square deal from the various governmental agencies responsible for dealing with veterans' affairs. They were concerned with seeing that privates, especially, were not victimized and, as convinced believers in social and political equality, they were opposed to the principle of higher pensions for officers than for enlisted men. To retain this principle, based as it was on British precedents, Turner considered, would constitute a "damnable outrage."[11] Considerable space, too, was devoted to the operation of the Soldier Settlement Board and there was strong criticism of its failure to take over the vacant land in the hands of private land companies for the use of soldier settlers. The issue of October 19, 1918, for example, contained a bitter editorial attack on the failure of the government to acquire this land and an article showing the amount of non-government land in the rural municipalities of Newcombe and Royal Canadian between Ranges 22 and 26 west of the Third Meridian available for resettlement.[12] Typical also of this pro-veteran attitude was the hostility of *Turner's Weekly* to the exemption of the Mennonites and Doukhobors from military service because it enabled these people to take advantage of the wartime prosperity of agriculture to expand their holdings and to increase their incomes. On the other hand, it was claimed, their Anglo-Saxon neighbours, whose sons were overseas, lacked the manpower to carry out a similar programme.[13]

On political questions the journal maintained its announced policy of independence toward all political parties. It denounced any return to partyism as "ruinous and intolerable" and supported the union government while urging it to adopt a stricter enforcement policy on conscription and other war measures.[14] It displayed little enthusiasm for the efforts of a few returned men to establish a veteran's party and, while supporting the aims of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, it did not advocate the formation of an independent agrarian political organization.

Articles as well as editorial comment emphasized the interest of the weekly in the position of the veteran. But, since it was more than merely another veterans' periodical, *Turner's Weekly* included articles and editorial comment on a number

[9] September 21, 1918, p. 1.
[10] October 5, 1918, p. 2; November 30, 1918, p. 1.
[11] October 5, 1918, p. 3.
[12] October 19, 1918, pp. 1, 6.
[13] October 19, 1918, p. 3; October 26, 1918, p. 2.
[14] November 9, 1918, p. 3.

of topics of general interest. These dealt with such matters as the character of the post-war era, the problems of peace and the relationship between the English-speaking and non-English-speaking elements in the province. The issue of December 28th, 1918, contained a sharp attack by Turner himself on the continued teaching of the French language in the primary grades of the public school because it contributed to making Saskatchewan a dual language province.[15] Earlier issues had contained articles on the Ukrainian question and the effect of the coming of new Mennonite settlers from the United States.

Turner did not forget that the new paper was a literary review, too. The early numbers contained several short stories, a serialized novel by John Storm entitled *The Patriot*, and several examples of poetry more distinguished for the vividness of their imagery than for their other poetic qualities as the following excerpt illustrates:

THE FULLER FREEDOM
Jonathan Hughes Arnett

The sun has set in a sea of blood,
And the glare has faded to blackest night.
The gloom is deep. But we know 'twill break
When the light of morning greets our sight.[16]

Despite the doubtful merit of its literary pieces, *Turner's Weekly* survived and throve. Whatever the defects of other contributors, Turner, himself, was a writer of genuine ability. His informal discussion of the paper's position and attitude entitled a "Sermon to the Subscribers" was a well-written and humorous review of the current situation combined with an artfully expressed appeal for more subscriptions. Also in the weekly humourous column "Shrapnel," he continued his witty and pungent comments on the current scene. Particularly effective in this regard was Turner's doggerel verse. The following example is typical.

The melancholy days are here,
The saddest of the year;
The postman's laden down with bills
For all that Christmas cheer.[17]

By the end of 1918 the new venture had become well-established and 1919 was to see it apparently on the high road to success. As the circulation increased and the interest in veterans' affairs declined with the coming of peace, *Turner's Weekly* changed too. More and more space was devoted to questions of general political, economic or social interest and less and less to matters of concern primarily to the returned man. Although the operation of the Soldier Settlement Board continued to be discussed and while the column on veterans' affairs continued to be published and articles on pensions, insurance and employment as they related to the returned man continued to appear, the tone of the periodical underwent a significant alteration. Formal acknowledgment of this change was contained in the issue of February 1st where Turner declared that "it is far from our intention to deal with matters which effect returned men only . . . our idea

[15] December 28, 1918, pp. 4-5.
[16] November 30, 1918, p. 11.
[17] December 28, 1918, p. 6.

is to produce a paper which appeals to the general public or rather that section of it which has time to think and smile."[18]

Politically the weekly followed the independent course outlined in its first issue. It continued to manifest hostility to party politics which it regarded as being dominated largely by men of fortune and operated in the interests of the few rather than the many.[19] Because the new political movement among the farmers was avowedly opposed to party government it supported the agrarian revolt. Not only did it publish articles discussing and explaining the platform of the Canadian Council of Agriculture but it also expressed strong editorial approval of it as a challenge to Eastern Canadian arrogance and indifference to western attitudes on such questions as the tariff question and freight rates. Articles were published, too, emphasizing the close identity of interest between the farmer, the labourer and the returned soldier. In a speech before the Warman Grain Growers' Association, Turner pointed out the defects of party government, its weakness during the war and the necessity of developing political organization, like that of the farmers', which would destroy the blight of partyism in Canadian politics.[20] He was opposed, however, to the soldiers organizing a separate political organization because it would be based on the selfish interests of a small group rather than the general welfare of all and also because, with the end of the war, the special community of interest which separated the soldier from the rest of the people had disappeared. The citizen-soldier had become a citizen again and his interests were those of the citizen, not the soldier. It was as a member, therefore, of the labour movement or the grain growers' association that the veteran would play his most effective role. "The vast majority of the returned men in the West will be either grain growers or labour men, and in their civilian capacities they will be found in the forefront of the fight for reform."[21]

This feeling of hostility to partyism and interest in extending the new spirit of political freedom was also manifested toward the provincial scene. Turner was, himself, a soldier-representative in the provincial legislature,[22] or the "Archie McNab Memorial Tabernacle" as he preferred to call it. He found there the same adamant party solidarity which he was decrying in federal politics. He was particularly incensed at the action of the provincial legislature in appealing to the non-English-speaking element in the population through amendments to the School Act allowing the use of French in teaching in the primary schools in Grade One where a majority of French-speaking Canadians in any given school district demanded it. The resolution asking for the repeal of the Wartime Elections Act, he considered, was another example of appealing to national prejudice, and therefore, to be condemned. In the Pelly by-election *Turner's Weekly* took a strong stand in favour of the anti-government candidate and, while disappointed when he lost, pointed out that the Liberal majority had been reduced from 800 to 200 despite the presence of a large non-Anglo-Saxon element in the population.[23]

[18] February 1, 1919, p. 2.
[19] For an interesting expression of this feeling see the issue of September 6, 1919, p. 7.
[20] April 17, 1919, pp. 5-6.
[21] May 10, 1919, p. 1.
[22] Turner was re-elected as an Independent in the 1921 general election, topping the poll in the two member constituency of Saskatoon City.
[23] August 9, 1919, p. 7.

In both federal and provincial politics the weekly remained true to its avowed principle of political independence and of opposition to party government. In this attitude it reflected the political turmoil of the West in this period—turmoil which was to be canalized by the farmers' association into support of the Progressive party and to result in the great agrarian political victories of 1921 on the prairies.

Political discussion was not limited to the Canadian scene. With the decline of interest in veterans' affairs room was found for editorials and articles dealing with the political scene in Great Britain. The rise of the Labour party there was followed with knowledge and sympathy. American politics however, received scant attention and it was apparent that the interest of both Turner and Waldron was concentrated chiefly on European developments. In this connection the Russian Revolution was also discussed. There was strong opposition to the dispatch of allied military forces to the aid of the White-Russian counter-revolutionaries. "The solution to Russian problems can only be satisfactorily arrived at by Russians, and there is a growing opinion that allied 'aid' is a real hindrance to the permanent cure of Russian social and political diseases."[24] On the other hand, Bolshevism, as it was called, was condemned and ridiculed.[25] In line with its reform sympathies the journal was a leading and very vocal advocate of proportional representation and the transferable vote. Numerous articles were published, chiefly by J. T. Hull, a leading western supporter of this method of voting.[26]

Closely related to its interest in politics was its interest in economic questions, particularly economic organization. The columns of *Turner's Weekly* were filled with articles and editorials on the best method of securing the rights of labour and a vigorous discussion took place as to how these rights should be used once they had been secured. There was an illuminating series of articles on the virtues of industrial co-operation between labour and management written by A. P. Stretton and published in the fall and winter of 1919. Stretton denounced the present industrial organization with its separation of capital and labour as "wrong in principle" and declared that the right solution lay in "industrial consolidation on the proper unit basis in industry."[27] The Winnipeg strike also provided an opportunity for a review of labour relations and the position of *Turner's Weekly* vis-a-vis organized labour. In general its attitude was sympathetic. It recognized the right of the workers to strike over the refusal of their employers to deal with union spokesmen and held that the uncompromising attitude of the owners was the fundamental cause of the difficulty. On the other hand it felt that in calling a general sympathy strike the unions were adopting methods which harmed the community rather than just the employers and that their actions endangered "the present economic system and state of society in Canada." It felt, too, that employers whose union had signed a contract with them should not be victimized through their employees deserting their jobs in sympathy with other workers. "When an employer has an agreement with a

[24] August 23, 1919, p. 5.
[25] See the editorial "The Returned Soldier, the Good Citizen and the Bolshevist," January 18, 1919, pp. 7-9, for an illustration of this attitude.
[26] For example see issue of May 24, 1919, pp. 5-7.
[27] A. P. Stretton, "Wanted: A New Basis of Industrial Organization," October 25, 1919, pp. 10-11.

union, he must be able to proceed with his business on the distinct and unalterable understanding that the agreement will hold good until its term has expired.[28] In comparison with the almost hysterical outbursts of most of the Canadian press the calm and judicial attitude of *Turner's Weekly* provided a welcome and unusual contrast.

As a liberal weekly the journal was also interested in promoting peace and the League of Nations. During the Versailles Peace Conference numerous articles and editorials were published in favour of this new organ of international co-operation. As a participant in, and sufferer from war, Turner was particularly anxious to foster the cause of peace. Efforts of Canadian public men to perpetuate the military organizations of the war years were sharply criticized. "A standing army in Canada is as much out of place as a poker game at a prayer meeting."[29] The action of Sir Arthur Currie in advocating compulsory military training was also condemned as tending to create "a spirit of swollen-headed arrogance and a boastful narrow patriotism."[30]

Since it was not solely a journal of opinion, throughout 1919 it continued to publish material of a literary or humourous character and to encourage the development of an artistic as well as a political viewpoint among its subscribers. In this connection it published a series of articles on various periods of art history written by V. A. Lackner. These included articles on both Egyptian and Greek art and were taken from Lackner's book *The World's Greatest Artists and Their Works*. Novels continued to be a feature of the periodical although there was no noticeable improvement in their literary merit. The most interesting contribution in this regard, however, was the publication of a series of letters from Turner to his wife dealing with his experiences in the army in 1915-1916. Written in a light and semi-humourous vein they are still readable and throw an illuminating gleam on Turner's ability to see the humour in every situation. A careful reading of these letters shows the kind of man he was and helps to explain how Turner was able to overcome the handicap of blindness and to re-establish himself in the newspaper world. *Turner's Weekly* did not forget the poetry corner, either. Every issue contained several poems usually by local and little known contributors, but one poet, Jonathan Arnett, enjoyed a somewhat wider reputation. Some of his best work was published in the *University Magazine*, a leading Canadian literary publication. But in poetry, as in prose, some of the most interesting contributions were from the pen of Turner himself. He did not possess great poetic gifts but he did have the ability to write biting, satirical verse as the following examples illustrate. The first is a criticism of the repatriation of wounded Canadian privates who are forced to remain below decks while officers, who saw little or no action are allowed to monopolize all the ship's facilities. This injustice moved Turner profoundly and the poem concludes acidly:

> Alas! does Britain's might rest on the fact
> That some poor dupes were fools enough to fight?

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[28] May 31, 1919, p. 7.
[29] September 6, 1919, p. 7.
[30] December 6, 1919, p. 5.

We fought four years against the junker class
To travel homeward 'neath the kings of snobcraft.[31]

The other selection, a parody on Rudyard Kipling's "Boots," shows Turner's understanding of the effect of prolonged bombardment on the soldier's nerves. It ends with a bitter lament on the destruction of human values caused by the shells:

Till the soldiers, long tormented,
Are enraged, unstrung, demented,
Like no men by God invented;
And they curse the fiend-born senders of the shells:
Shells, shells, shells, shells, shells!
The foul, unholy breeders of the shells.[32]

Not all his poetry was of this acrid type, however. In the issue of February 15th, 1919, Turner contributed an amusing parody on the sentimental, tearful style, beloved of amateur poets. Entitled *The Crowded Grave 'Neath the Basement Floor* it contained all the clichés to be found in the verses of these neo-romanticists including a "chill wind" shrieking "through the gaunt grey walls," a "dark-cloaked figure" coming "through the trees," and the climax was reached when:

The castle, crushed by an unseen hand,
Fell down with a gust of foul, moist air,
On the corpse of the pest and the terror there.[33]

As part of the plan to make *Turner's Weekly* pleasant reading as well as informative, the humourous or semi-literary features of the periodical were continued and expanded. Increasing emphasis was placed on the reprinting of short articles and comments from leading American and British political and literary journals. A new column, "Vanity Fair," was introduced which was a pot-pourri of comment, quotations and discussion of various aspects of contemporary civilization with particular reference to Saskatchewan. A typical column included a number of short quotations from Irvin S. Cobb on eating habits in England and France and a review of the highlights of the recent meeting of the Saskatchewan Provincial Chapter, I.O.D.E.[34] Another feature was "Random Jottings." As its name implied it was made up of random remarks on various unrelated topics which had come to the writer's attention during the previous week. For example, one column contained a brief discussion of a recently deceased journalist and writer, Nat Gould, the comments of Doctor Johnson on libel, the difficulty of learning the English language and the small amount of space actually physically filled by the earth's population.[35] Cartoons by Syl Moyer were another addition which helped brighten up the weekly. Perhaps the most interesting innovation was the column of gleanings from the Saskatchewan country weeklies which became a regular feature at this time. These gleanings were usually humourous stories, events or poems of which the following is a typical example:

Sgt. Scotty McGregor . . . returned on Saturday morning. A reception was to have been given him in the evening, but somehow

[31] January 4, 1919, p. 5.
[32] April 5, 1919, p. 14.
[33] February 15, 1919, p. 9.
[34] April 19, 1919, pp. 8-9.
[35] August 9, 1919, p. 10.

> Scotty got mixed up with a few bosom friends and a wee drap o' Scotch, which made it quite unnecessary to add further to his entertainment.
> —*Liberty Press.*[36]

That the efforts of Turner and Waldron to entertain and instruct the citizens of Saskatoon were appreciated was reflected in the growing amount of advertising carried by the weekly and by its rapidly expanding circulation throughout most of 1919. In 1918 one or two pages, usually one, sufficed to handle all the advertising copy but by November, 1919, the amount of space devoted to advertising had increased to ten pages and now included a business and professional guide. A similar increase had taken place in circulation which in September, 1919, reached 6,100, a very large circulation for a weekly journal of this type.[37] Despite these advances the paper was still in a precarious financial position because of the lack of sufficient capital—none of the four owners were men of means and they were dependent on the profits earned by the paper for financing any capital expenditures and were unable to lay aside any substantial reserves to meet future financial emergencies. However, at the close of the first year's operation, Turner could report with pride that, in spite of the vicissitudes of war, pestilence ('flu epidemic) and famine (crop failure) *Turner's Weekly* was well-established and that circulation was mounting.[38] Unfortunately costs were mounting too, and threatening to outstrip income. A strike of printers led to the negotiation of a new contract at considerably higher rates than formerly. Newsprint was rising steadily in price and by the close of 1919 was double what it had been when the paper started. Turner was compelled to appeal constantly to the subscribers to pay up their subscriptions and to renew those which had expired. It was becoming clear that advances in circulation and increases in advertising revenue were not sufficient to meet the new scale of costs. The question whether the paper could survive in the face of these adverse factors still remained unsolved.

During the first six months of 1920 there was no noticeable change in the style or format of the weekly. Politically it continued to support the cause of the farmers and to express hostility toward the old political parties. The most significant change was the appearance of a number of editorials favouring the entrance of the farmers into provincial as well as federal politics. The work of the farmers' government in Ontario was hailed with delight and the farmers of Saskatchewan were urged to imitate their Ontario brethren, unless the provincial Liberal government should sever its connection completely with the federal Liberal party.[39] On the other hand it published an article strongly critical of the ideas of Henry Wise Wood of Alberta in regard to group action and, in general, showed little sympathy toward those elements in the agrarian movement who favoured the farmers organizing a class party.[40] Instead Turner supported the broad reform concept of the Manitoba and Saskatchewan farmer associations, who saw in the new political party a genuine reform movement. Apart from this, the bulk of political comment was limited to the well-worn topics of the position of organized labour; the iniquities of the party system dominated by the

[36] September 20, 1919, p. 16.
[37] September 13, 1919, p. 5.
[38] October 4, 1919, p. 10.
[39] February 21, 1920, p. 7; March 13, 1920, p. 8.
[40] February 7, 1920, p. 10.

"interests"; the virtues and operation of proportional representation; and the changing political picture in Great Britain. One new feature was the publication of editorials on political or international questions culled chiefly from other Canadian papers. Apparently this was used mainly as filler material because there was little attempt at making a systematic examination of Canadian opinion on either domestic or foreign questions. Neither the number of editorials reprinted nor the topics selected bore any relationship to each other and both varied widely from issue to issue.[41]

Economic discussion was limited largely to articles on the National Guild movement and the virtues of profit sharing in labour-management relations written by A. P. Stretton. These, like many of the articles on politics, were more suitable for a predominantly industrial, urban society than for the agrarian community of Saskatchewan. This concentration on non-agricultural topics, while reflecting the nature of the interests of Turner and Waldron, was probably a source of weakness for them in connection with their efforts to strengthen the circulation of the periodical. Of more immediate importance to its readers were the articles and editorials published on such questions as the tariff, the problem of co-operative marketing and the operation of the Canadian banking system. In connection with the latter the weekly carried a series of three articles by Major C. H. Douglas dealing with his new theory of social credit.[42]

Articles of a literary or general nature also continued to appear. These were generally of an informative or humourous character and were usually reprints from English or American periodicals.[43] One change was the increasing reliance on non-original and non-Canadian work. While the regular features—Random Jottings, Vanity Fair, and Gleanings from the Country Weeklies—were still published, only the last one retained its predominantly local content. The other two columns were filled with material gathered from outside sources and they dealt with topics only of general interest for the readers of *Turner's Weekly*. Even the poetry corner lost its local character and came to include reprints of poems by contemporary English and American poets. The short stories, too, lost their Canadian flavour and instead, the weekly published stories by de Maupassant, Poe, Dumas, and other masters. Since these works were all in the public domain no royalty was required and this was an important consideration in view of the parlous financial state of the journal. Turner did not completely lose interest in fostering Canadian literature and he published two genuine Canadian pieces. Both these works, however, were of greater interest to the historian than to the student of literature. The first entitled "Escape—the Diary of an Uncomfortable Prisoner" was an account of the front-line experiences of a Canadian soldier in the last months of the war, his capture by the Germans and his experiences in Germany as the German army and state both crumbled away. The second, "The Life and Letters of Caleb Hopkins" was the biography of a resident of Toronto in the period 1830-1880. Of little literary value, it sheds an interesting light on life in Toronto in the middle of the nineteenth century. Turner also

[41] For a typical example of this haphazard approach see the issue of January 19, 1920, p. 10.
[42] May, 1920, *passim*.
[43] In one issue appeared articles on "Serious Weeklies," "Are We Happier Than our Fathers," and "The Sensation of Flying." January 3, 1920.

wrote the occasional special article and his comments were invariably spiced with that spirit of wit which was his trade mark.[44] In these issues he displayed a growing interest in the development of a native Canadian drama and was critical of the custom of relying on American touring companies for theatrical entertainment. "Surely we produce a brand of dramatic fare as good as the plays now supplied us by nomadic players from the United States."[45]

But the main concern of both Turner and Waldron lay in their growing financial plight. Newsprint costs had almost quadrupled during the previous eighteen months[46] and this, along with the rising cost of labour, placed an almost intolerable burden on the paper's income. Turner pointed out that "the price of ink has advanced to such an extent that babies cannot afford to drink it. The price of paper is so high that a man fumbling with a hymn book gets the same sensation as the man fiddling with his gold watch chain."[47] Every effort was made to increase circulation. Appeals were made for new subscribers, agents were sought to sell the weekly on a commission basis, and emphasis was placed on the plant's facilities for job printing because it was hoped that the revenue from this would offset the decline in income from the periodical. Unfortunately the post-war inflation and the rapid fall in farm income in 1920 rendered futile these efforts to save the paper. Faced with a declining circulation, falling advertising revenues, and rising costs, the owners had no alternative but to cease publication. September 11th saw the end. In a last "Sermon to the Subscribers" Turner explained the financial impossibility of continuing any longer and closed sadly:

> I can say no more. I hope to meet you all again under happier auspices. Let me again assure you of my deep regret at the necessity of this farewell.[48]

Thus *Turner's Weekly* failed, a victim of forces over which it had little or no control because they were inherent in the economic conditions of the feverish post-war era in which it was born. Fortunately the printing plant survived and Turner, Waldron and McRobbie were able to build up a successful printing business. They linked their future with the rising farmers' movement in the province and became the publishers of the leading Saskatchewan farm journal —*The Progressive*—later to become the *Western Producer*. Both Turner and Waldron have continued their close association with the farmers' organizations and have remained active within the *Western Producer*—the one as a columnist, the other as an editor.

Turner's Weekly occupies an important niche in the history of prairie journalism. Because of the calibre of its editors the paper was better written, more interestingly edited, and printed articles and commentaries on a wider variety of topics, than was usually to be found in other western papers. As an independent journal of opinion it enjoyed a unique position in a province whose

[44] March 20, 1920, p. 21. This gives a humourous account by Turner of the conduct of business in the Provincial Legislature with special reference to its ceremonial aspects.
[45] May 1, 1920, p. 5.
[46] Between November, 1918, and April, 1920, the cost of newsprint rose from six cents a pound to twenty-three cents a pound. Interview with A. P. Waldron, April 3, 1951.
[47] "A Sermon to Subscribers," June 26, 1920, p. 9.
[48] September 11, 1920, p. 6.

newspapers and periodicals were largely concerned with discussion of local questions or advocating the program of a particular nationality, political party, or economic organization. *Turner's Weekly*, however, was concerned solely with presenting the views of its editors. As returned soldiers and as liberals the latter were naturally most interested in protecting the rights of veterans and advancing the cause of political and economic liberalism. If this had been all, the weekly would have been little more significant than several other similar ventures. It was Turner's interest in literature and his conscious attempt to foster a similar feeling in his readers which separates *Turner's Weekly* from the rest of its contemporaries. Although the effort proved abortive because of insufficient capital to enable it to survive the post-war depression, the rapid growth of circulation during 1919 attested to the soundness of this approach. The fact that a weekly periodical of a serious literary, as well as political character, could command the financial support of over six thousand people in Saskatoon and district throws a revealing light on the general level of education existing in what was at that time still essentially a pioneer community. Both in its democratic, individualistic philosophy and in its concern with cultural subjects *Turner's Weekly* expressed the intellectual outlook of the western Canadian agricultural frontier.

WILLIAM K. ROLPH

THE OIL BOOM—1914 VERSION

THE oil excitement in Alberta re-acted upon this Province to some extent and discoveries of oil or gas were alleged during the year as being made near Moose Jaw, Estevan, Dalmeny, Weyburn, Mount Nebo, Saskatoon, North Battleford, Regina, Maple Creek, Hanley, etc., many companies were formed and Saskatoon was a centre of much speculation. The most widely-advertised concerns were the Barnes Consolidated, the North Star Gas and Oils Limited, and the Standard Oil Limited, all of Saskatoon, the Southern Saskatchewan Company of Moose Jaw and the Regina Oil and Gas Company. The Regina *Leader* refused to carry advertisements of these stocks, the Regina Board of Trade asked the Government to prohibit the sale of oil stocks—especially from Calgary; the Deputy Provincial Secretary stated on June 11th that no action could be taken without a change in the law.

—*Canadian Annual Review*, 1914.

The Presbyterian Church in Saskatchewan in the Nineteenth Century

It was eighty-five years ago that the Presbyterian Church began to have a place in what is now the Province of Saskatchewan.[1] One hundred years ago the first Presbyterian minister came to the prairies. The Selkirk settlers who began to make homes in the Red River Valley from 1812 on were Highland Scottish. They were anxious to have a minister of their own Church, and if possible, one who could speak Gaelic. For years their appeals fell on deaf ears. Governor Alexander McDonnell declared that the Scotch should live as he himself did, without a church at all. An Anglican clergyman was sent them in 1820, but the demand for a Presbyterian minister continued. Finally, in 1851, Reverend John Black, a minister of the "Canada Presbyterian Church," was ordained in Toronto and designated to work among the settlers in the Red River Valley.

Mr. Black was a man of wide horizons. No sooner had he got the work of his own parish, Kildonan, organized than he began to think of the condition of the native Indians in the far-flung prairies to the west. The Roman Catholic, the Anglican and Wesleyan (Methodist) Churches had missions here and there, but in relation to the need it was only a beginning. The Presbyterian Church as yet had done nothing in this field. Again and again Mr. Black appealed to the Synod in Ontario to measure up to what he felt to be its responsibility. He said, "I cannot lead my people in prayer for the extension of the kingdom unless we have some mission ourselves out among the people who are not yet Christian." Finally in 1862 a man was sent in answer to his appeal, Reverend James Nisbet, a classmate of Mr. Black. Mr. Nisbet was to assist Mr. Black for a while, in the meantime fitting himself for the missionary task.

After consultation with the Hudson's Bay Company and with the Anglican and Wesleyan Church authorities, the general whereabouts of the mission, on the North Saskatchewan, was agreed upon. By June, 1866, arrangements were completed for beginning the work and on the sixth day of that month the party set out from Kildonan. It consisted of Mr. Nisbet, four other men, Mrs. Nisbet (Mary McBeth of a prominent Kildonan family), two other women and three children. They had eleven Red River carts and a light wagon. It was a long trek of five hundred miles to the Saskatchewan. Forty days later they reached Carlton House on the North Saskatchewan. Mr. George Flett, a member of the party, had gone ahead to do some scouting for a site and he awaited them at Carlton. While the rest of the party rested a week, Mr. Nisbet and Mr. Flett went on and met with the Indians at a place farther down the river called Carlton Flats, where the Company had a winter station. Mr. Flett was of great assistance

[1] For the years 1866 to 1874 I am indebted to "The Life Story of Reverend James Nisbet," by the late Reverend W. A. Macdonell, M.A., and to "The Presbyterian Church in Saskatchewan, 1866-1881," by the late Reverend Dr. E. H. Oliver, read to the Royal Society of Canada, May, 1934. Copies of these articles were loaned me from the United Church Archives, St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon. For the remaining period my information comes mainly from the reports to the Presbyterian General Assembly year after year. These will be cited hereafter as "A.R." (Assembly Reports).

in the negotiations with the Indians. He was of Cree origin on his mother's side, and now he claimed his ancestral portion and surrendered it to the Presbyterian Church. The Crees accepted this arrangement and thus the site was secured for the mission. This land is part of the present city of Prince Albert. It was Mr. Nisbet who gave the place its name. On their return to Carlton, tents and light equipment were loaded into a barge and the party floated down the river. Carts, horses and oxen were brought overland, the Indian trails being widened where necessary. July 26th was the date of the party's arrival at Prince Albert as recorded by Mr. Nisbet. It was on that date that the Presbyterian Church definitely began its work in Saskatchewan.

Mr. Nisbet was the only ordained minister, but he had valuable assistance in Mr. Flett, and in Mr. John MacKay. Mr. MacKay was also Cree on his mother's side and his wife was a sister of Mrs. Nisbet. He had the reputation of being a mighty hunter. These men were capable interpreters and were personally devoted to the work. Some years later both were ordained by the Church. The other two men were young men from Kildonan who were to serve for a year and help in building and farming operations.

Mr. Nisbet's activities were directed by a two-fold motive, to preach the gospel to the Indians and to establish a base for future operations. He was convinced that the missionary work must be of an itinerant character, the missionary to accompany the Indians in their wanderings. But the first task must be to provide shelter. By the time winter set in two small houses were erected for the party, and soon after a small schoolhouse to serve both as school and church. Services were conducted at the Prince Albert mission, and monthly at Carlton. For about five years Cree was used at all services, someone interpreting. After that time the morning service was in English, in the afternoon both Cree and English were used. As soon as possible Mr. Nisbet began a school for the Indian children. Attempts to interest the older Indians in schooling were not encouraging.

Another sort of enterprise undertaken by Mr. Nisbet was the establishing of a farm. It was to serve a dual purpose, to furnish food for the mission and to give the Indians some training in agriculture. This became somewhat of a "model" farm, proving, contrary to Hudson's Bay Company opinion, that wheat, oats and barley could be grown in the Saskatchewan country. The first grist mill in Saskatchewan was built at the mission. Mr. Nisbet's success in agriculture began to attract white settlers to the district and by 1872 it was reported that there were a number of excellent farms in the neighbourhood. Consequently, it was decided that there was no need of the Church continuing its farm as a missionary enterprise, the missionaries being left free to devote themselves exclusively to their own special work.

Progress in the evangelisation of the Indians was inevitably slow. Mr. Nisbet reported in 1870, "with old and young it is uphill work and in this aspect of it we have no greater obstacle to contend with than the liquor traffic by which we are every now and then annoyed . . . the children are for the most part quick-tempered and impatient of correction; at home they are under no control." He pleaded for a second ordained missionary to co-operate with him. One would

travel with the natives on the plains while the other remained in charge of the Mission work at Prince Albert. The Foreign Mission Committee of the Church (for work among the Indians was regarded as "foreign missions") decided it had not funds enough to engage a second minister.

By 1872 there had been ten adult baptisms, all converts from heathenism. There had been seventy children baptised (thirty-nine Indians, twenty-eight half-breeds and three whites). There were ten Indians "under hopeful discipleship." Not fewer than five hundred Indians visited the mission in the course of the year and friendly contacts had been made with them. In 1871 a church to accommodate one hundred and fifty people had been erected.

In the meantime a considerable number of white settlers and half-breeds had been coming to the district and in 1873 this influx increased. The effect upon the Indians was not favourable and they tended more and more to keep apart from the mission instead of congregating around it. John MacKay, however, was a great favourite among them and he continued to minister to them. Later they were transferred to a reserve at Mistawasis about sixty miles west of Prince Albert and at the request of their chief, Mr. MacKay became their permanent missionary. He was ordained in 1878 and gave signal service until his death in 1890.

In 1872 a second missionary was appointed to Prince Albert, Reverend E. Vincent. But he and Mr. Nisbet were not to work long together. The health of Mr. and Mrs. Nisbet was broken by the burden and strain of their pioneering experiences. They decided in 1874 to return to Kildonan for a rest. Neither, however, was fit for the journey of five hundred miles across the prairie. Mrs. Nisbet died ten days after their arrival at their old home and eleven days later her husband followed her. Reverend James Nisbet is to be remembered as the man who planted the Presbyterian Church in Saskatchewan.

For a few years Presbyterian activities were largely confined to the Prince Albert area. Mr. George Flett, however, in 1875, was ordained by the Presbytery of Manitoba and appointed to a mission to the Indians at Okanese, near Fort Pelly (the fort was approximately five miles south and three miles west of the present town of Pelly). The same year, Reverend Alexander Stewart was appointed to the white work at Fort Pelly and opened three stations. Livingstone, the first seat of government for the old North-West Territories, was within Mr. Stewart's parish.

Within a few years Prince Albert had almost entirely changed its character.[2] The Indians following the buffalo were moving westward and came to Prince Albert only at certain seasons of the year. A large English-speaking settlement, however, had been formed around the mission. By 1876 the population numbered four hundred. Mr. Vincent returned to Ontario the same summer as Mr. Nisbet left and was succeeded by Reverend Hugh McKellar.[3] That autumn Reverend D. C. Johnson, recently ordained, was sent out to take charge of the school, which the Church had established in Prince Albert. The next year the English and the

[2] A.R., 1876 Appendix, p. 157.
[3] A.R., 1877 Appendix, p. LXVIII.

Indian work were separated, the English department being transferred to the care of the Home Mission Committee of the Church. By this time there were two commodious churches and five preaching stations in a settlement of six hundred people.

In the meantime it became known that a new site had been selected for the capital of the North-West Territories, near the junction of the Battle River and the Saskatchewan, to be called Battleford. This resulted in the abandonment of the Fort Pelly station and the transfer of Mr. Stewart to Battleford. On his arrival there, however, he found building so little advanced that no effective work could be done, so he was placed at Prince Albert to take charge on the departure of Mr. McKellar.

By late 1877 conditions having advanced at Battleford, Reverend Peter Straith was appointed to that Mission. Finding no school there for the children he undertook the work of a teacher. Towards the end of the next year a school house was erected and began to be used for divine service under both Anglican and Presbyterian auspices. Mr. Straith was removed from Battleford in 1879.[4] The report of the Assembly's Home Mission Committee in 1880 states, "the great demand for missionaries for more important fields necessitated the withdrawal of a missionary from that point. This was deemed all the more advisable since much doubt seems to rest on the likelihood of Battleford being a place of any considerable importance." It would appear that from time to time services of worship were held in Battleford under Presbyterian auspices, by supply from Prince Albert and otherwise. It does not, however, appear further on the list of Presbyterian mission fields until 1884 when three preaching stations and twenty families are reported, with $10.00 per Sabbath promised for stipend.

In the meantime Prince Albert was making progress. Reverend James Sievright came to be minister in the autumn of 1880. He had five preaching stations, with services at Prince Albert twice every Sabbath, at McCrae's and Flett's once a month and at McBeth's and Ridge once a fortnight. At the last three the walls of log churches were reported up early in 1882. When practicable he supplied Carrot River once a month on week days. On a map of 1886 this Carrot River station is located a few miles north-west of Kinistino,[5] about forty miles from Prince Albert by winter trail, but in the summer for lack of ferries the distance to be travelled was reported to be sixty miles each way. Mr. Sievright tells of missing one Sunday appointment through being stuck in a slough and also of losing his way several times on week day trips, being out most of the night on the prairie. A new church, their second, was erected at Prince Albert in the summer of 1881, reported as "probably the best in the N.W.T." The newly appointed Superintendent of Missions, of whom more later, after visiting this field expressed the opinion that less aid should be needed from Home Mission funds. "The most of the people at Prince Albert," he stated in a report, "are farmers and the $300.00 which they give for the support of a minister represents 150 bushels of wheat. This would mean about three bushels for each family." The grant as revised by the Home Mission Committee in March, 1881, was

[4] A.R., 1880 Appendix, p. XIII.
[5] A.R., 1882 Appendix, p. XIX f.

$900.00 per annum. Prince Albert is reported as having paid $300.00 for supply and $2,376.00 for building during the year 1881-1882, amounts which were no doubt more creditable than appears on the surface, in view of the fact that "the year before the wheat crop was nearly all frozen" and the following crop "by no means average."

In 1875 the various branches of Presbyterianism in Canada united to form The Presbyterian Church in Canada. In the prosecution of the mission work the principle was continued of requiring each mission field or charge to guarantee a certain amount of support according to the people's ability. At the General Assembly of 1876 it was decided that the same rule should be applied to the work in the Presbytery of Manitoba, to which all the fields on the prairies for some time belonged. Every application for a grant was to be examined on its merits and assistance given only when the congregation applying had been stimulated to do its utmost towards self-support. While this may have seemed a very stern measure in the early days of settlement, in later years it helped greatly in the building of a strong, self-sustaining church.

Reference has been made to the appointment of a Superintendent of Missions. This was a new departure for the Presbyterian Church. Circumstances seemed to demand it. Settlement was advancing so rapidly that members of the Presbytery of Manitoba became convinced that the Church could do its proper work of caring for the incoming settlers only by appointing someone to this specific task. The choice made with unanimity was Reverend James Robertson, then minister of Knox Church, Winnipeg, a man of forty-two, who had already become intensely interested in the home missionary work of the West. He was inducted into his new position on July 26, 1881. Henceforth (until his death in 1902) the work of the Presbyterian Church on the prairies was to bear more and more the impress of his personality. His first missionary tour was two thousand miles, with horse and buckboard.[6] He became convinced from the very beginning of his missionary journeys among the new settlements that to give "visibility and permanence" to the cause in any community there must be a church. Makeshift arrangements for meeting in schoolhouses (few and small), stables, settlers' houses, railway waiting rooms, did not meet the need. Dr. Robertson on one occasion conducted a service in the front part of an hotel, while the hotel keeper was selling whiskey at the rear. There must, he also contended, be a reasonably comfortable house for the minister. Sometimes "ministers and their families were compelled to live in places scarcely fit to shelter cattle." Mr. Robertson, therefore, initiated the Church and Manse Building Fund to assist congregations in getting the necessary buildings. With unflagging zeal Robertson solicited funds throughout the nation. The value of the fund to the progress of the church can hardly be overestimated. Each annual report, henceforth, contains figures as to new churches and manses having been built, and not many of them could have been secured at that time had it not been for assistance from the fund.

Mr. Robertson was also firmly convinced of the urgency of the church keeping pace with settlement.[7] In one of his reports to the General Assembly he

[6] A.R., 1886 Appendix, p. XXIX.
[7] A.R., 1889 Appendix, No. 1, p. XIV.

declared, "unless cared for, it is found that people here readily lapse. Exposure to the sun and wind of the prairie is apt to fade the colour out of the religion of many who come from the east—one is surprised at some who fall." Spurred by his enthusiasm, earnest effort was made to keep up with advancing settlement and in 1886 Mr. Robertson was able to report, "during the past summer not a settlement of any size in the country was left unprovided with ordinances . . . districts removed from the railway had at least partial supply."[8]

The building of the main line of the C.P.R. had speeded up settlement.[9] The General Assembly of 1883 was informed that Moosomin and Regina (now the capital of the Territories) had been occupied for the first time. At Broadview, Summerberry, Wolseley, Indian Head, Qu'Appelle, Fort Qu'Appelle, and Moose Jaw, services were held occasionally. Carrot River, to the north, now had a minister of its own, Reverend R. G. Sinclair. The name of Reverend John Anderson appears on the list as minister at Regina.[10] By 1884 Broadview, Grenfell, Indian Head, Fort Qu'Appelle, Moose Jaw and Whitewood had been organized as fields. Churches were erected at Indian Head, Qu'Appelle, Moosomin, Moose Jaw, Grenfell, Condie and at three points on the Prince Albert charge. Manses were built at Broadview, Prince Albert and Regina. Assistance from the church and manse fund provided for almost a third of the cost of these buildings. The sites were given the church free of cost, mainly by the Canada North-West Land Company. An exception was Fort Qu'Appelle where the Hudson's Bay Company sold the land at one-half the ordinary price. The C.P.R. conveyed building materials at one-half the usual freight rate. (This was later changed to two-thirds.) In this year, 1884, the Presbytery of Manitoba was divided into three Presbyteries, Brandon to comprise congregations and fields from Portage la Prairie to Fort MacLeod, Calgary, and Edmonton, thus including the whole of Saskatchewan.

By 1885 the annual report mentions "the occupation for the first time" of Touchwood Hills, Yorkton, Cathcart ("a crofter settlement southwest of Moosomin") and Carlyle, also "the re-occupation of Battleford." There were church buildings now at Moffatville, Wolseley, Ellisboro, Welwyn, Carlyle (two, east and west), Battleford. Regina had a brick church, costing $4,000, loan from C. and M. Fund, $2,000. This was the year of the rebellion but it is stated that "not a church or manse was destroyed, nor has the work been perceptibly retarded."[11] Among the Indians served by the Church, the influence of the missionaries had a steadying effect.[12] Immigration was somewhat checked but the tide began to flow again the next year. Settlement proceeded rapidly. By 1886 Regina Presbytery had been formed, with twenty-eight mission fields within its boundaries but this takes in five or six in Alberta, including Calgary and Lethbridge.[13] Here we have the first mention of Saskatoon, of which the forecast was made, "it promises to be important." "Prince Albert and Regina had reached the stage of supplemented congregations," receiving aid, but entitled to call their own ministers. "Quiet growth of these congregations under their efficient

[8] A.R., 1886 Appendix, p. VIII.
[9] A.R., 1883 Appendix, p. XVII.
[10] A.R., 1884, Appendix, pp. XV, XX.
[11] A.R., 1885 Appendix, p. XXXV.
[12] A.R., 1886 Appendix, p. XXX.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. IX.

pastors" is reported. There are nine ordained ministers within Saskatchewan on the Regina Presbytery list, two of these being on Indian fields. The salary of the minister at Prince Albert is $1,400; at Regina $950, with manse in each case; at Battleford, $1,000, without manse.

Other areas began to be opened up. Alameda, for instance, appears first in the 1885 report. We may quote a description of the work on this field, as given by the student who served it for a summer, because it is probably quite typical of the pioneer rural fields, though the response was not always so encouraging:

> In the field are seven preaching stations for a people scattered over a fertile prairie thirty-five townships in extent. Dalesboro, on the west, is about sixty miles distant from the eastern station, Winlaw. The people are young, intelligent and ambitious—settlers chiefly from Ontario and Scotland. Those adhering to the Presbyterian Church are more numerous than those of any other denomination, and will come as far as sixteen miles to divine service. Only in one corner of this field was there a missionary of any other denomination. A log church was erected this summer and a communion roll formed when forty-one united with the church. The people are crying for the gospel and gladly hear the message wherever it is proclaimed."[14]

By 1890, it was realized that "until a railway reaches this settlement (Alameda) not much growth can be looked for."[15] The same statement in effect is made regarding such widely separated fields as Battleford, Carlyle, Colleston and Kinistino. Saskatoon "is likely to become an important point in the future." Maple Creek is reported as the eastern portion of the Gleichen field. (Gleichen town is one hundred and eighty-eight miles west of Maple Creek). But the field evidently included Swift Current, for it is stated "the missionary was teacher at Swift Current and attended to the mission work also. A church was built at Swift Current and one is to be built this year at Maple Creek." By 1892 each had become a field. There was also progress in the Saltcoats-Yorkton area, the prospects of a railway in the near future stimulating settlement. Moose Jaw, Qu'Appelle and Moosomin had become "augmented" charges. Regina had reached self-support, paying $1,500, and providing a manse. There are on the list twenty-nine mission fields within what is now Saskatchewan. Pense is one of the last added and it includes Lumsden.

There were, however, difficulties to be faced. Regina Presbytery "suffered for several years through an inadequate rainfall." Lack of regular supply and the shortage of ordained ministers tended to hinder growth. The Superintendent declared that the practice of "summer supply and winter neglect" was a wasteful way of doing things. "It is vain to do satisfactory work in this way."[16] He was worried also by the necessity of placing so many fields under the care of "devoted but inexperienced catechists" who have never been in college. "Our own people and those of other churches expect scholarship and culture from our minister." He suggested two methods of remedying the defect in the matter of supply: the one, to "send all graduates of our colleges to the mission field for a year after graduation"; the other, to let one or more of the colleges hold summer sessions,

[14] *Ibid.*, p. XIX.
[15] A.R., 1890 Appendix, No. 1, p. XXV.
[16] A.R., 1891 Appendix, No. 1, pp. XXIII f.

since there were many more students applying for summer fields than there are fields available. Men attending these would be available to take the place of summer students returning to college. The church tried the second method, with some gratifying results, but declined to bring the other suggestion into force.

Estevan appears on the list in 1893, "a new town . . . near the Souris coal fields . . . likely to be important." Oxbow and Wapella were arranging to build churches. Alameda "will soon be self-supporting." The Soo Line was in the course of construction and a missionary was assigned to the construction camps. Other fields were opened from time to time, too numerous to detail here, and a considerable number of churches and manses were built.

In the Home Mission report for the year 1893 appears the first reference to "foreign nationalities."[17] "Germans, Scandinavians, Icelanders and people of other races are getting established in the country but their religious well-being is often neglected." Hungarians were added to this list the next year, Galicians (Ukrainians), Finnish, Doukhobors, a little later. The report of the Home Mission Committee asks, "if the West is dotted over with colonies whose religious welfare is neglected, the whole religious tone must be lowered. Can we afford this? Have we, as Presbyterians, and as patriots, no mission to these people?"[18] A beginning was made in work among certain Icelandic, Hungarian, German, and Scandinavian groups. "Whatever the resultant of this mixture of blood and beliefs," declares Dr. Robertson, "the duty of the church is clear, viz., to leaven the minds of these strangers within our gates with the Gospel of Christ."[19] It is fair to say that this and not proselytization was the motive of the Presbyterian Church in the work among what it began to call the "new Canadians." This work was to assume increasing importance in the decade ahead.

As the nineteenth century drew near its close, there are recurring reports of the difficulty due to "too few missionaries," also of the suggestion of requiring all graduates to labour a year on the home mission field. (All this sounds very modern indeed!). The Home Mission Committee requested the Assembly to legislate along this line. The Assembly declined but adopted certain other measures although the reports of the next few years do not indicate much improvement resulting therefrom.

The missions to the Indians with which the Presbyterian Church had begun in Saskatchewan, had been continued and expanded. In 1900 there were within Saskatchewan missions at Mistawasis, Prince Albert (Sioux), Regina (Industrial School), File Hills, Round Lake, Crowstand, Hurricane Hills, Moose Mountain and Lakesend, with six ordained ministers and fifteen teachers and other workers. The work of Miss Lucy Baker as teacher to a band of Sioux Indians near Prince Albert is worthy of more mention than is possible here.

The Church and Manse Building Fund had thoroughly justified its inception, even though the money available was always short of the need. In eighteen years it had assisted in the erection of three hundred and sixty-four

[17] A.R., 1893 Appendix, No. 1, p. XV.
[18] A.R., 1894, H.M. Report, p. 12.
[19] A R., 1899 Appendix, p. 17.

churches and seventy-six manses, four hundred and forty buildings in all, of which approximately eighty were in what is now Saskatchewan. The 1900 report lists thirty-two ordained ministers in active service in this territory. There were forty-two mission fields; thirteen congregations receiving help from the Augmentation Fund and four charges self-supporting. "Visibility and permanence" had indeed been given to the Presbyterian Church in Saskatchewan. Robertson's ideal, "the missionary should accompany the settler, not follow him afar off,"[20] had in no small measure been realized.

R. J. McDONALD

MOOSE JAW OR DAVIN'S JAW?

IT is not often that the tedium of debates in the House of Commons is dispelled by genuine wit and effective repartee, but such occasions were by no means unusual when Nicholas Flood Davin was the member for Assiniboia West. The following episode occurred during the session of 1891, the participants being Davin, then a leading light of the Conservative party, and David Mills, Liberal stalwart for the Ontario Constituency of Bothwell. Davin was one of the most eloquent and cultured members of Parliament of his day, and though loquacious, was never tedious or dull. Mills, though not so noted as an orator, was a distinguished scholar and effective debater.

During a discussion on the constituencies to be established for the election of members to the North-West Territories Assembly, one of which was Moose Jaw, Mills slyly remarked that the name Moose Jaw must grate harshly upon Davin's "exquisitely fine ear." "I will suggest," he said, "that it be called Davin's Jaw."

Davin was more than equal to the occasion. Rising immediately he replied to Mills in the following terms:

"The name is taken from a stream called the Moose Jaw. I believe it is the translation of an Indian word, but it is very appropriate, because the stream forms an outlet very like that of a moose jaw. But I object to Davin's Jaw for this reason—that we intend to have mills on the Moose Jaw, and if we have Davin's Jaw, probably some Mills would be afraid to go there."

But Mills could trade a pun, even with Davin. "I think," he retorted, "the honourable gentleman will be content as long as the mills *go* after they are there."

Obviously the battle of wits had ended in a draw.

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[20] A.R., 1892 Appendix, No. 1, p. XV.

Paul Kane's "Wanderings"

BLACKFOOT CHIEF AND SUBORDINATES — PAUL KANE, 1810-1871

CANADIAN SCHOOL

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, OTTAWA

Paul Kane met this formidable group on the prairies as they advanced with their warriors toward Edmonton, to fight against the Crees and Assiniboines. Chief Big Snake stands in the centre. On the right is Mis-Ke-Me-Kin, (The Iron Collar), with his face painted red. On the extreme left Chief Little Horn proudly wears a decorated buffalo robe. Between the latter and Big Snake is Wah-nis-stow, (The White Buffalo) a chief of the Sar-cee tribe. Behind these men are two lesser chieftains.

In the preface of his book Kane wrote, "The principal object of my undertaking was to sketch pictures of the principal chiefs, and their original costumes, to illustrate their manners and customs, and to represent the scenery of an almost unknown country." The above painting shows a good example of how graphically he tried to accomplish this. It is his finished painting made after his return to Toronto from his original sketch done on the spot. Note the heavy grey of the sky of the type he had learned to paint in Europe. He caught none of the clear, brilliant atmosphere characteristic of western Canadian skies. The value of the painting lies in its historical interest rather than in its aesthetic merits.

A UNIQUELY colorful figure in the early days of native Canadian art was Paul Kane. Artist-adventurer, his travels led him from Toronto across Canada, over the prairies, through the Rockies and down the west coast as far as Oregon City and then back east again. Wherever he went he sketched, especially in the many Indian settlements. Thus we have preserved, dating from about the middle of the nineteenth century, a splendid pictorial record of the appearance and customs of the various Indian tribes. What amazing courage the man must have had! What resourcefulness, will power and stamina! To have undertaken such a great enterprise and to have carried it out successfully, in the rugged prerailway era, seems almost unbelievable to us today. He fought his way through on foot, by boat and on horseback against every hardship imposed by nature. Believing firmly in his one-man mission, he faced all with continued cheerfulness. His sense of humour must have saved his sanity many times.

Besides the more than five hundred sketches he made on his journeys, Paul Kane brought back a large collection of Indian costumes and curios of all kinds. In addition he kept a diary which forms the basis for the book which appeared in 1859 (eleven years after his expedition) entitled *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America.* A French edition was published in Paris in 1861 and a Danish edition two years later. In 1925 The Radisson Society of Canada reprinted the work with a valuable introduction by Lawrence J. Burpee.[1] For sheer romantic adventure through the remote wilds of western Canada about one hundred years ago, the book is as exciting as any work of fiction.

Paul Kane was born in 1810 at Mallow, County York, Ireland. His father, Michael Kane (or Keane), a former army officer in the old country became a wine merchant on Yonge Street, in what is now "down-town" Toronto, which was then a village of about two hundred. He had moved to Canada in 1818 or 1819. In writing of his childhood in York, Paul wrote: "I had been accustomed to see hundreds of Indians about my native village, then Little York, muddy and dirty, just struggling into existence."[2] From 1819 until 1826 he attended the District Grammar School where he studied drawing among other things, under the drawing master, Mr. Drury, who appears to have been an odd character. Besides his love of draughtsmanship he acquired an intense interest in the Indians encamped about the town. He found a ready means of expression when he began to use his skill in art to interpret his interest in the aborigines.

At the age of sixteen he started to work in Conger's furniture factory. This continued for four years. During that time he obtained oil paints from New York and in this medium painted several portraits. He gave up his job and went to Cobourg, where he painted portraits of Sheriff and Mrs. Conger, her sister Mrs. Percy, Sheriff Ruttan and other local notables. In 1836 he went to Detroit and for five years wandered through the United States gaining more experience. In 1841 he sailed from New Orleans to Marseilles wishing to study abroad as

[1] *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America from Canada to Vancouver's Island and Oregon Through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territory and Back Again*, by Paul Kane, in J. W. Garvin, ed., *Master-Works of Canadian Authors*, Vol. *VII* (Toronto, 1925). This edition has been used by the author in preparing this article.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. VII.

so many Canadian and American art students have always longed to do. He took no formal art education in any particular art school but studied on his own in the art galleries of Paris, Milan, Florence, Rome, Venice and Naples. An adventurous trip to the Holy Land with some Syrian explorers and treacherous Arab guides, led him to Egypt, back to Italy and to England again.

Now thirty-four years old he returned to Toronto which had changed remarkably in the nine years interval. The following year, 1845, marked the first of his two western jaunts in which he actually attempted to get to the Pacific Coast alone! With him he had only his artist's portfolio, a box of paints, a gun and some ammunition. He meant to acquire his food from wild life as he proceeded. On this trip he got as far west as Sault Ste. Marie, no mean feat in those days, but had to return to Toronto. This experience taught him much and made him much more fully aware of the difficulties he must face were he ever to reach the west coast. He learned, for example, that it would be wise for him to obtain help from the Hudson's Bay Company at whose posts he might stay throughout the project.

His next move was to obtain preliminary assistance from Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Company, who, incidentally, commissioned the artist to paint a series of twelve pictures depicting Indian life. Kane was to join the Company's spring brigade westward in May 1846 at Mackinaw. He missed the Governor's steamboat there, but undaunted at this misfortune, he procured a small boat and using a blanket for a sail overtook the vessel at Sault Ste. Marie after twenty-four hours of killing exertion. Bad luck was again his, when he found there was no room left for him in the canoes. Then he made arrangements on his own to catch up with the brigade and eventually joined it after almost superhuman efforts, paddling for ten hours straight. Three large birch-bark canoes, about twenty-eight feet in length comprised the brigade. Through a series of rivers, lakes and difficult portages, that took them through Rainy River and the Lake of the Woods they reached Winnipeg River and Fort Alexander. Kane left the brigade there and engaged a party of Indians to take him up Red River to Fort Garry, which he reached about the middle of June. Early in July he left for Norway House, to meet the brigade on its way inland from York Factory.

With this brigade he got to the Saskatchewan River and ascended it to Carlton House. Leaving the boats there, he continued on horseback to Fort Pitt and thence to Edmonton. Imagine what a journey that must have been! From Fort Edmonton, with some other men, he travelled in November up through the Athabaska Pass where the horses were abandoned and the men were forced to trudge through the deep snow on snowshoes. Then they managed to descend the Columbia River to Fort Vancouver by early December, where Kane stayed for a month. His studies of the Chinook Indians took him on to Oregon City. Later he took another side trip to Vancouver Island.

Kane returned to the east by the same route as he had taken to the Pacific, except for side excursions to the Grand Couleé out to the country of the Crees and Blackfeet.[3] He arrived back in Toronto in October 1848, after enduring

[3] Graham McInnes, *Canadian Art* (Toronto, 1951), p. 32.

incredible hardships. But he had had a great adventure, had studied the customs of many tribes of Indians, and possessed his precious diary and the five hundred sketches.

Into Kane's description of his history-making trip he interjected many accounts which showed his ever-ready enthusiasm for recording in sketches what interested him, be it a landscape or the details of an embroidered shawl on the back of an Indian. Somehow he always found time to do them. In one place, for instance, he wrote: "While the men were engaged in making the portage, I took advantage of the delay to make a sketch." Another example is his humourous but lengthy account of his entanglement in a hunting attack on a huge buffalo herd, as his party neared Fort Edmonton. "My horse," he wrote, "which had started at a good run, was suddenly confronted by a large bull . . . and being thus taken by surprise, he sprung to one side, and getting his foot into one of the innumerable badger holes, with which the plains abound, he fell at once, and I was thrown over his head with such violence, that I was completely stunned, but soon recovered my recollection . . . and soon put a bullet through the enormous animal. He did not, however, fall, but stopped and faced me, pawing the earth, bellowing and glaring savagely at me. The blood was streaming profusely from his mouth, and I thought he would soon drop. The position in which he stood was so fine that I could not resist the desire of making a sketch. I accordingly dismounted, and had just commenced, when he suddenly made a dash at me. I had hardly time to spring on my horse and get away from him, leaving my gun and everything else behind."

"The beauty of the scenery which lies all along the banks of the Saskatchewan" west of Carlton to Edmonton excited Kane's enthusiasm. His westward journey was made during the early autumn season which many of us regard as the prairie's finest. He mentions sketching a "most beautiful and picturesque valley" tributary to the great river, "fringed on each side by a border of small, dense, and intensely green and purple bushes, contrasting beautifully with the rich yellow grass of the gradually sloping banks, about two hundred feet in height, and the golden hues of the few poplars which had just begun to assume the autumnal tints." His descriptions of places and people are full of the detail and color which betokens the perception of the artist. The Reverend Mr. Hunter's house at The Pas "most brilliantly decorated inside with blue and red paint"; the country in the vicinity of Carlton presenting "the appearance of a park"; the "peculiar soft, warm haziness over the landscape, which is supposed to proceed from the burning of prairie fires"; the half-breed steersman "one of the finest formed men I ever saw, and when naked, no painter could desire a finer model"; the "bits of bones, shells, minerals, red earth, and other heterogeneous accumulations" forming the contents of a medicine bag—the narrative is full of such comments when the author is not exhausted by the back-breaking labour of the more difficult parts of his route.

Among the hardhips which Kane endured were the vicious insect life which abounded particularly in swampy terrain. He wrote of the "myriads of mosquitoes which appeared determined to extract the last drop of blood from my body," and which robbed him of sleep. On the open western plains "he experienced the

awesome and terrifying sight of prairie fires; he crossed the swollen rivers Indian fashion, his horse swimming and Kane being towed, grimly hanging on to the horse's tail."[4] He mentioned the clouds of dust on the prairies raised by the hordes of buffalo. The dust almost suffocated him. Crossing the Rockies in November, his moccasins, often wet and sometimes frozen, lamed him for life. The glare of the sun on the snow greatly affected his eyesight in later years. In the Columbia River, he was forced "to wade waist-deep through the frigid waters of the swift-running mountain river filled with drifting ice."[5] His wet clothes froze stiff with the intense cold. That he survived at all, seems a miracle today.

From his studio in Wellington Street, Toronto, where his sketches became finished paintings, Kane produced works which were sold to various patrons. The Legislature commissioned him to do twelve paintings for the House and voted £500 for the purpose. He finished the twelve canvases for the Hudson's Bay Company commissioned by Governor Simpson. His most generous patron, however, was the Honourable George W. Allan, who purchased one hundred paintings. This collection now hangs in the Royal Ontario Museum, in Toronto.

At the age of forty-three Kane married, and by his wife had two sons and a daughter. He lived to be sixty-one years old and was buried in St. James' Churchyard in Toronto. His name is honored in the Canadian Rockies by Mount Kane and by the Kane Glacier.

Art critics agree that Kane's paintings will endure not so much for their aesthetic merit as for their historical and ethnological value. In spite of his rather limited means of expression, for because of his training abroad he saw Canada through the eyes of European artists of the day, his works have a certain strength that reflect the artist's vigorous experiences. Also, though he is a poor colorist, and though he almost invariably chose anecdotal subject matter which had romantic connotations, his work has to commend it "an honesty and a simplicity that are both charming and disarming."[6] As D. W. Buchanan puts it, "what interests us largely in them [Kane's paintings] today is their reportorial exactitude, their detailed and precise depictions of the games and occupations, the clothing and weapons and the badges of office, in fact, of all the anthropological data he thought worth while to collect about the Indian tribes and chiefs he visited during his journeys."[7]

Paul Kane was indeed, an amazing artist-adventurer!

G. W. SNELGROVE

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[4] Albert Robson, *Paul Kane* (Toronto, 1938), p. 11.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[6] Graham McInnes, *Canadian Art*, p. 33.
[7] Donald W. Buchanan, *The Growth of Canadian Painting* (London and Toronto, 1950), p. 19

The Journal of Edward K. Matheson[1]

INTRODUCTION

THE journal of travel from Winnipeg to Sandy Lake (sixty miles northwest of Prince Albert) in the year 1877, which is published for the first time in the following pages, was written by a twenty-two year old teacher who occupies a distinguished position in the roster of Saskatchewan pioneers and in the annals of the Anglican Church in this province. This was the Reverend Canon Edward K. Matheson, D.D. (1855-1931), who began his career as the teacher of an Indian school near the mission at Sandy Lake.

Although Anglican missionary effort in the province dates from 1840,[2] thirty-four years later when the Reverend John McLean was consecrated as first bishop of the newly created diocese of Saskatchewan there were only two other ordained clergymen in the diocese, the Reverend J. A. Mackay at Stanley and the Reverend Luke Caldwell at Fort à la Corne. John Hines, the missionary at Sandy Lake, was not ordained until later.

In 1877, the Reverend J. A. Mackay came from Stanley to establish missions on the reserves about Battleford. That summer he travelled to Red River, to bring his wife and family to his new home, and to secure some helpers for the work in the diocese. Samuel Pritchard Matheson, then a young clergyman, suggested his cousin Edward K. Matheson, a native of Kildonan. The latter's education had been limited to the parochial schools, but while he worked in his uncle's mill he was attending night classes. He agreed readily to teach school at Sandy Lake, while he prepared for the study of theology, to be undertaken when the Bishop should open the college, which he was planning to meet the need for "trained interpreters, schoolmasters, catechists, and pastors who would be familiar with the language and modes of thought of the people (Indians)." This was to be Emmanuel College, and in 1882 Edward Matheson became Saskatchewan's first graduate in Theology.

Other members of the party which made the six hundred and thirty-two mile journey from Red River to Sandy Lake were the Reverend J. A. Mackay, his wife and four children; James Bird (who helped Mackay in the building of the mission at Battleford) and his wife; David Stranger (interpreter and assistant at the Sandy Lake Mission), and his two daughters; Thomas Clarke (later the Reverend Canon Clarke, Rural Dean of Melfort), who was to teach school at Battleford.[3] Before leaving for the Saskatchewan, Edward Matheson made a visit to his mother at Headingly and attempted to visit his sister, Mrs. Alexander

[1] *Editor's Note*: The original journal is in the possession of a niece of the Reverend Edward K. Matheson, Mrs. G. J. Buck, Regina, who has kindly prepared the introduction. The footnote references in the journal as it appears here have been supplied by the editor.

[2] Church of England missions were established at The Pas in 1840, at Lac la Ronge in 1845 and at Stanley in 1850. Cumberland, in Saskatchewan, was served from The Pas.

[3] See Campbell Innes, "Life Sketch of Canon Matheson," in *Canadian North-West Historical Society Publications* Vol. 1, No. III, 1927, pp. 16-28.

Cunningham, at Baie St. Paul. Towards the close of the journal he mentions an unexpected meeting with his elder brother, John Matheson, who was then an independent freighter, but who fifteen years later returned to the same diocese as a missionary. The entry in the journal for July 13th lists their train as consisting of nine carts and two wagons, four horses, eight oxen, two cows and a calf. The women and children rode in the wagons, supplies were carried in the ox-carts, and the men walked.[4]

RUTH M. BUCK

JOURNAL OF EDWARD K. MATHESON

On *Monday the 11th of June*, 1877, I engaged with the Reverend J. A. McKay[5] to go out to the Saskatchewan as a schoolmaster for the Reverend J. Hines.

On *Monday the 18th of June*—I left St. Paul's Parish[6] where I had stayed for the last five years, and came to Headingly,[7] where I spent three most pleasant weeks.

Monday, July 9th.—We started from Headingly and had dinner above Morgan's bridge. After dinner we took the outer road and passed the night back of Lane's Fort.

Tuesday, July 10th.—We travelled in the forenoon till we arrived near the Bay[8] and in the afternoon we travelled till we arrived at the back of the Bay where we spent the night.

We had several bad mires to go through today. One of the oxen got stuck in the mire and we were delayed a good while before we got him out.

Wednesday, July 11th.—I left the carts before breakfast and started in for A. Cunningham's place, about six miles distant, where I arrived after a walk of two and one half hours. I had to go through some deep water and some mire that took me up past the belt, before I could get across the Long Lake[9] and when I got across, I had to pay a man 25c to show me the road to Alick's. When I arrived there I found that they had all gone away the day before. I was never so disappointed in my life and I hope I never will be again. I remained there until two o'clock, P.M., and then I started off up to Poplar Point to meet the carts. I had to take a guide with me to show me the road from Long Lake to Poplar Point. I had to go out about two miles back of the H.B. Co. store to where they were camped for the night. I was very glad to get to the carts again.

Thursday, July 12th.—There was a heavy rain falling in the morning which prevented us from rising as early as we wished, however, it cleared off about

[4] In another notebook which continues after September 3, 1877, Matheson refers to Sandy Lake as Aisissippi Mission. This is now known as the John Hines Mission, after its founder. Ahtahtahkoop (Starblanket) is the name of the school, after the chief of that period.
[5] The spelling used by the bearer of the name was Mackay.
[6] On the Red River, north of Winnipeg.
[7] On the Assiniboine River, west of Winnipeg.
[8] Baie St. Paul, a parish east of Poplar Point.
[9] A narrow marshy lake east of Poplar Point.

7.30 so we made haste and started. We travelled only a few miles and there came a heavy rain which delayed us a while. When it cleared off we took dinner and travelled in the afternoon till we arrived at the High Bluff Church where we spent the night . . .

Friday, July 13th.—After breakfast we started and travelled till we arrived at the Portage mill. We remained here till the following Monday. We bought an ox and cart here which made our train nine carts and two wagons, four horses, eight oxen, two cows and a calf.

Saturday, July 14th.—I went down to see the "Portage Town" (east) consisting of a mill, a hotel, a store, a butcher's shop, and several other buildings. It is a very nice spot for a town. It is situated just on the bank of a lake and is a very nice dry spot. A drunken fellow came to our camp in the afternoon and wanted to kick up a row, but we tied him hand and foot and compelled him to keep quiet, until his boss came and took him away. He came again but he kept quiet all night and went off early next morning.

Sunday, July 15th.—We went down to church in the morning. Mr. McKay took the service and preached a very good sermon. After service I came back to the camp and had dinner and then I spent the afternoon writing letters to some of the dear friends I had left behind me.

Monday, July 16th.—We started about 5 o'clock P.M., and travelled about four miles and then camped for the night.

Tuesday, July 17th.—We started about 8.30 and it commenced raining at once but we travelled till we crossed Rat Creek [10] and then we camped. It rained all evening so we spent the night there.

Wednesday, July 18th.—It was a nice cool morning so we made an early start and we travelled about two miles when we entered the Bad Woods. (They well deserve the name.) The road through them is very bad. It is sandy soil and very soft. We travelled about five miles in the woods in the forenoon. In the afternoon we travelled till we crossed a bad creek.[11] We spent the night about a mile west of it.

Thursday, July 19th.—We made an early start as the morning was nice and cool. We travelled about seven miles when we arrived at a large creek, [12] we camped and had dinner there. In the afternoon we travelled about four miles and camped for the night. The roads were worse today than any we passed through yet.[13] We went through one mire where the pure soft mud was knee deep. Some of the carts got stuck several times. It took us all the afternoon to travel about four miles, the roads were so miry.

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[10] After leaving Portage la Prairie the trail, instead of following the Assiniboine, led almost due west through wooded country traversed by streams flowing north or north-east into Lake Manitoba or the marshy areas in its vicinity.

[11] Probably Beaver Creek.

[12] Probably Squirrel Creek.

[13] In this vicinity the trail crossed what was then the western boundary of the Province of Manitoba and the travellers were in the North-West Territories.

Friday, July 20th.—We travelled in the forenoon till we arrived at the hills.[14] Close by a grave we had some very bad mires to go through but only one cart got stuck.

In the afternoon we travelled about eight miles till we came to a deep valley a short piece west of a house, and we spent the night there.

Saturday, July 21st.—We travelled in the forenoon till we came near to Pine Creek.[15] We had very bad roads to go through for the first two miles of our morning's spell. This is the last of the Bad Woods. After that the roads were fine. One of the carts capsized, but fortunately nothing was damaged. In the afternoon we travelled till we crossed Pine Creek, and camped for the night.

Sunday, July 22nd.—We remained at Pine Creek all day. We had morning service about 11 o'clock and evening service about 6 P.M. I spent the greater part of the afternoon walking around on the high hills and reading under the shade of the lofty pine trees, as it was a very hot day.

Monday, July 23rd.—We left Pine Creek at 8.30 and travelled till we reached a large bluff of wood about thirteen miles from Pine Creek where we camped for dinner. This is the first camping place from Pine Creek westward. In the afternoon we travelled till we reached Boggy Creek.[16] We crossed it and then camped for the night. We had to carry wood for night and morning from the bluff we camped at at noon.

Tuesday, July 24th.—We made an early start and travelled in the forenoon about twelve miles till we came to the woods. We had one very bad swamp to go through but fortunately we did not get stuck. We travelled in the afternoon about ten miles and then camped for the night.

Wednesday, July 25th.—We made an early start and arrived at the Little Saskatchewan[17] for dinner. We had to cross our carts on a skin raft. We commenced crossing them about 5 P.M. and finished about 8 P.M. We spent the night here.

Thursday, July 26th.—We left the Little Saskatchewan about 9 A.M. It was so hot that we only travelled about five miles in the forenoon and in the afternoon we travelled about four miles and then camped for the night.

Friday, July 27th.—It was raining in the morning but it cleared off about noon so we started and travelled about a mile when there came a very heavy rain which lasted all day, so we spent the night here. There was also very loud thunder at the commencement of the rain but it cleared off soon (the thunder).

Saturday, July 28th.—We travelled in the forenoon till we arrived at the forks of the road. We had to carry our wood with us to cook our dinner. In the afternoon we travelled till we passed the "Big Salt Lake"[18] about a mile and we spent the night there.

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[14] The travellers had here reached the "second prairie level" (Manitoba escarpment) where the elevation was above 1,000 feet.
[15] Near the present Melbourne, Manitoba.
[16] Willow Creek?
[17] Now called the Minnedosa River.
[18] A few miles south of the present Strathclair, Manitoba.

Sunday, July 29th.—We had morning service about noon. After dinner I went down to the Lake and spent the greater part of the evening there reading, etc. The Lake is about four miles long and about a mile wide. The water tastes very raw, and it is not fit to use though it is very clean and looks very nice. We had evening service about 9 P.M. and then retired to rest.

Monday, July 30th.—We travelled in the forenoon till we arrived at the Shoal Lake. One of our carts capsized at the end of the Lake but nothing got broken. In the afternoon it was so very hot that we only travelled about five miles and then we camped for the night. About 10 o'clock a most terrible thunder storm came accompanied by a very strong wind which blew down Mr. McKay's tent and it was with difficulty that we managed to keep the other from blowing over. It also blew the wagons away quite a distance, but happily it only lasted about half an hour and then it cleared off so we fastened down the tents and retired to rest, thankful to God that we were safe and no damage done to our property.

Tuesday, July 31st.—We travelled in the forenoon about ten miles. It blew so hard in the afternoon that we were afraid it would tip the wagons over so we remained there for the night.

Wednesday, August 1st, 1877.—The wind was still blowing very strong in the morning but we started and travelled till we arrived at a creek[19] about ten miles east from Birdtail Creek.[20] It blew so hard in the afternoon that we were afraid to travel for fear of the wagons tipping over so we spent the night there.

Thursday, August 2nd.—We travelled in the forenoon till we arrived about two miles from Birdtail Creek. After dinner we travelled to the Creek and had to cross our carts on a raft. It took us a little more than an hour to cross them. Then we came up to the top of the bank and spent the night there. Dick Pritchard [a cousin] and I. Stevenson overtook us there.

Friday, August 3rd.—We travelled in the forenoon till we crossed Snake and Stony Creek and in the afternoon till we arrived at the ferry on the Assiniboine. We could not get across that evening so we had to wait until the next morning to cross. It took us an hour and fifteen minutes to come from the top of the bank to the bank on the east side of the river. There are awful high banks on both sides of the river and a most splendid view from the top of the bank on the east side.

Saturday, August 4th.—After getting the carts across[21] we had dinner and then we had to double the animals to take the carts up the bank. We travelled in the afternoon till we reached the first spring about ten miles from the river and then we camped for the night.

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[19] Minnewasta Creek.

[20] The trail crossed this creek near the present Birtle, Manitoba.

[21] Presumably the party by-passed Fort Ellice and crossed the river on the 4th just north of its junction with the Qu'Appelle, near the present Lazare. From here to the Touchwood Hills, which were reached on the 14th, the trail ran in a north-westerly direction in the vicinity of the present main line of the C.N.R.

Sunday, August 5th.—We had service in the morning about 10.30. There were several parties camped close by us and they all came over to service so that we had quite a nice congregation. We had service in the evening about 9 P.M. and then we retired to rest.

Monday, August 6th.—We travelled in the forenoon till we arrived at the Wolverine Hill[22] and in the afternoon about ten miles farther and then camped for the night.

Tuesday, August 7th.—We travelled about five miles and then we came to the Cut Arm Creek and travelled about five miles farther on and then took dinner. In the afternoon we travelled till we arrived near the Pheasant Plain and then we camped for the night.

Wednesday, August 8th.—We made a good day's travel today as the roads were good. Today is Helen McKay's eleventh birthday and Mr. McKay gave us a grand dinner in honour of the occasion.

Thursday, August 9th.—We travelled about ten miles in the forenoon and about ten miles in the afternoon. We had to carry our wood yesterday and today and we have to carry it for dinner tomorrow.

Friday, August 10th.—We got across the Pheasant Plain this evening and passed it about three miles and then spent the night.

Saturday, August 11th.—It was raining in the morning so that we did not start as early as we wished but it cleared up about 9 A.M. and then we started and travelled about ten miles in the forenoon. After dinner we travelled till we came to a very pretty valley about two miles east of a large lake and then we camped for the night.

Sunday, August 12th.—We had morning service about 11 A.M. and evening service at 7 P.M. and then retired for the night.

Monday, August 13th.—We made a good day's travel and had the pleasure of killing a beaver in the afternoon.

Tuesday, August 14th.—We travelled in the forenoon about ten miles and in the afternoon till we passed the H.B. Co.'s post, at Touchwood Hills, about a mile and then we camped for the night.

Wednesday, August 15th.—It was very hot in the forenoon so we only travelled about eight miles and in the afternoon we travelled until we arrived at the old Police Station.

Thursday, August 16th.—We travelled in the forenoon till we arrived at the edge of the "Salt Plain"[23] and in the afternoon till we came to the first lake on the south side of the road. We had to carry our wood and water as there is no wood on the plain and the water in the lake was too strong with salt for use.

[22] Spy Hill.
[23] This would be close to the south end of Big Quill Lake.

Friday, August 17th.—We had to travel about ten miles in the forenoon before we could get water. There is a swamp about a hundred yards to the south side of the road. In the afternoon we travelled about six miles and then came to water right along the road.

Saturday, August 18th.—We travelled about four and one-half hours before we came to water. (A good distance to the south of the road). After dinner we travelled and came to a lake along the road at sunset but there was no wood so we had to travel until we came to wood and when we came to wood there was no water so we had to travel on till nearly 10 P.M. before we came to water as well.

Sunday, August 19th.—We had morning service about noon and evening service about 6 P.M. and soon after retired to rest feeling happy that this is the last Sunday we will spend on the road before we get to Carlton.

Monday, August 20th.—We travelled in the forenoon till we came to the forks of the road,[24] one to Prince Albert and the other to Carlton and Battleford. In the afternoon we travelled till we came near where the telegraph wire crosses the road.[25] We had to carry wood for night and morning.

Tuesday, August 21st.—We made a good day's travel as it was nice and cool. We passed the night a short distance west of the "Great Salt Lake."[26]

Wednesday, August 22nd.—We travelled in the forenoon till we got about a mile in the woods. In the afternoon we travelled till we got about eight and one-half miles from Gabriel Crossing on south branch and we spent the night there.

Thursday, August 23rd.—We travelled in the forenoon till we came to the Crossing. After dinner we crossed our carts and travelled about four miles and then camped for the night. This is the first water that there is after leaving the river.

J. R. Matheson came to us here and I was most awfully glad to see him.

Friday, August 24th.—We travelled about ten miles in the forenoon and about seven in the afternoon.

Saturday, August 25th.—It was raining heavily in the morning so we did not get started till about 11 A.M. However, we arrived about 2 P.M.

God be thanked for health and strength and His kind protection of me during the journey.

I remained at Carlton until the following Thursday and then I crossed the North Branch and travelled about a mile and spent the night along with J. R. Matheson who was on his way to Green Lake.

Friday, August 31st.—I made an early start and arrived at Mr. Hines' place about 5 P.M.

Monday, September 3rd.—I commenced teaching school.

[24] This fork was about two miles west of the present Humboldt.
[25] The Dominion telegraph line from Winnipeg to Edmonton had been completed in the previous year. See J. S. Macdonald, *The Dominion Telegraph* in *Canadian North-West Historical Society Publications*, Vol 1, No. VI, 1930.
[26] Probably Muskiki Lake, near Bremen.

DISTANCES TABLE

From a Notebook Accompanying the Journal of Edward K. Matheson*

Distances	*Miles*
St. Paul's (Parish) to Winnipeg	7
Winnipeg to Headingly	15
Headingly to Long Lake	22
Long Lake to Poplar Point	8
Poplar Point to Portage	15
Portage to Rat Creek	10
Rat Creek to edge of woods	3
Distance through Bad Woods	35
Bad Woods to Pine Creek	12
Pine Creek to Boggy Creek	20
Boggy Creek to Little Saskatchewan	30
Little Saskatchewan to forks of road	20
Forks of road to Big Salt Lake	10
Big Salt Lake to Shoal Lake	10
Shoal Lake to Birdtail Creek	20
Birdtail Creek to Fort Ellice	10
St. Paul's to Fort Ellice	247
Fort Ellice to first spring	10
First spring to Wolverine Hills	10
Wolverine Hills to Cut Arm Creek	15
Cut Arm Creek to edge of Pheasant Plain	20
Distance across Pheasant Plain	55
From Pheasant Plain to the fort at Touchwood Hills	55
Touchwood Hills to Salt Plain	25
Distance across the Salt Plain	30
Salt Plain to forks of road to Prince Albert	25
Forks of Prince Albert Road to forks of Battleford road and crossing of telegraph wire	13
From telegraph wire to Great Salt Lake	20
From the Great Salt Lake to Gabriel's Crossing	28
From Gabriel's Crossing to Carlton	24
St. Paul's to Carlton	577
From Carlton to Aisissippi [Sandy Lake]	55
From St. Paul's to Aisissippi	632

*This table of distances has been supplied by Mrs. Buck from the original notebook in her possession.

The Newspaper Scrapbook

A REPRESENTATIVE of *The Times* paid a first visit to Swift Current on Saturday last. In the early days this town was a place of considerable repute. It was a place of supply for the troops engaged in quelling the rebellion of 1885, and until the opening of the Prince Albert railway in 1891, Swift Current was the southern terminus of a stage and carter's freight line to Battleford. Since then the Battleford trade has been diverted to Saskatoon, and in the outside world Swift Current is now looked upon more as a relic of former greatness than as a present hive of industry. This was the impression that possessed *The Times'* man until he got off No. 1 at Swift Current on Saturday. Before he had been there an hour his notions underwent a complete metamorphosis. That the Swift Current citizens have no lack of enterprise is amply evidenced by the fact that our representative experienced no difficulty in adding to an already comfortable list of subscribers to *The Times*, in a very short time no less than fourteen worthy names. The first man met on the platform was Mr. Thos. Tweed, of Medicine Hat, who was paying a visit to, and looking after the interests of his constituents, and incidentally his own interests with a view to re-election to the Assembly. Mr. Tweed held a meeting for organization that evening. He appears confident of re-election, although he has no mean antagonist in Mr. Fearon of Maple Creek.

Staff-Sergt. Poett, veterinary of the N.W.M.P., stationed at Maple Creek, was a visitor at Swift Current on Saturday. In conversation with *The Times* he volunteered the satisfactory information that glanders in horses has been entirely eradicated throughout the Swift Current, Maple Creek and Medicine Hat districts from the south boundary line to the extreme north, and that no infectious or contagious diseases now affect any of these bands, herds or droves in these districts. This circumstance is due to stringent measures adopted and enforced by the Police authorities, although Neil McDonald, the "father of Swift Current," who was present during the conversation, remarked that we may thank Providence more than the measures.

Around Swift Current very little grain-growing is attempted. The C[anadian] A[gricultural] C[oal] and C[olonization] Co., which has an immense farm immediately south of the town, is now devoting its energies mainly to sheep and horses. With sheep especially it is meeting with encouraging success. At Saskatchewan Landing, thirty miles north, several cattle ranchers are doing well.

—*Moose Jaw Times*, October 19, 1894.

E. J. COSTER returned from Saskatoon Saturday evening, coming in on the new bicycle route, and doing his 108 miles in nine hours. This is pretty fast time considering the amount of sand to be got through on this trail.

—*The Saskatchewan Times* (Prince Albert), July 16, 1895.

Book Reviews

HENRY WISE WOOD OF ALBERTA. *By William K. Rolph.* University of Toronto Press, 1950. Pp. xi, 235. $3.75.

WHEN Dr. William K. Rolph chose to set down the story of Henry Wise Wood of Alberta, who, as he says, for twenty years was recognized as the most powerful and influential figure in the farmers' movement in Alberta, he succeeded in giving in detail, yet with clarity too, a picture of the farm movement in those years. And since that movement was not confined to Alberta, there are interesting glimpses of what was going on in the other two prairie provinces.

"Uncrowned king of Alberta" they called Henry Wise Wood, who at one time held the offices of president of the Alberta Wheat Pool, vice-president of the central selling agency of the three pools and president of the United Farmers of Alberta. The extent of his influence is clearly shown in Dr. Rolph's book, but to this reader, at least, the secret of it remains difficult to understand.

Dr. Rolph carefully describes the setting in Alberta at the time of the advent of this leader. The Society of Equity and the Alberta Farmers' Association amalgamated in 1909 and Henry Wise Wood, a newcomer to Alberta from Missouri, joined the new society. He attended his first United Farmers of Alberta convention two years later and in 1914 became a district director. In 1915 he became vice-president, in 1916 president. That year, too, this man, who later argued that true democracy could be achieved only through the creation of organized class groups and fought to keep the political arm of the U.F.A. altogether a farmers' group, tried unsuccessfully for the Liberal nomination in Calgary West.

Perhaps if Dr. Rolph could have found an account of one of those schoolhouse meetings in Wood's early U.F.A. days the reader might have had the key to the enigma. But it seems that Wood kept few copies of his correspondence, no clipping file, no diary. Perhaps some oldtimers could do the future historian a service by setting down what they remember of Wood at one of those meetings or as a manager of conventions. It is scarcely likely they would be non-partisan but they might reveal something more of the man himself.

Dr. Rolph has made careful reference to government documents, to reports and proceedings of organizations. He has interviewed people who knew Wood personally, and visited the family home at Carstairs. His work is a valuable one. Perhaps someone will yet tell the story of our pioneers in the prairie farm movement in such a fashion that such pictures as Motherwell driving his grain wagon home from Indian Head, and Partridge setting off as a farmers' representative to see what happened to wheat at Winnipeg will not be forgotten, that they will catch the imagination of even the Western Canadian with no special yen for history so that they will become a part of his conception of the story of his land. When such a book is written one can imagine how deeply the author will be indebted to Dr. Rolph's excellent record.

There may be those who will quarrel with Dr. Rolph's assessment of Wood's influence outside of Alberta, for instance when he says "the agrarian movement, not only in Alberta, but also in western Canada, was in large measure shaped by the political, social and economic ideals of this Missouri farmer." But they

perhaps would agree that the tremendous loyalty which Wood inspired did prevent Alberta from suffering from the jealousies and dissensions of leaders as did the other two prairie provinces. At any rate Alberta was often in the lead; as when the Alberta Wheat Pool was organized a year ahead of Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

Particularly interesting is Wood's political philosophy and its influence. Each economic group should organize and then seek representation and recognition of its views and achievement of its purposes through the political institutions of the country. According to Wood, when each was represented they should then co-operate for the good of all. Nowhere in Dr. Rolph's book did I find that Wood had made a clear exposition of just how this group government was going to work in the actual legislation and government of a country. Whether Wood really understood how his theory of the economic group idea would work in the Canadian parliamentary system, or not, there is no doubt that much of his fear of the farmers being betrayed by political parties arose from his experiences of the trials of the agrarian movement in Missouri.

Dr. Rolph makes this clear and he suggests that not all Alberta farmers "grasped the full meaning of Wood's ideas, but they did accept his major premise that the success of their political revolt depended on the maintenance of agrarian control over their political activities. Under Wood's powerful leadership they developed a spirit of co-operation among themselves which made the farmers' movement in that province unique within the Canadian agrarian crusade."

It is perhaps worthy of comment that later Alberta farmers were to follow another leader without understanding his theories—"It took all of Wood's skill as a political leader and as a manager of conventions to prevent the U.F.A. from being carried away by the idea of cheap money through government fiat. No sooner was his influence removed than the farmers and the province, under the spell of William Aberhart's oratory, accepted Social Credit as the panacea which would solve all their problems."

On the whole, Wood's attitude to new ideas and new financial ventures was one of caution. But in sharp contrast were some of his activities on the central selling agency and he and MacPhail had one of their most serious disagreements over the question of buying May options. It was well that MacPhail's counsels prevailed for the price broke. But for the most part Wood was cautious. Dr. Rolph indicates that the rank and file of the U.F.A. often disagreed and were impatient and yet Wood's influence and the personal loyalty he inspired would prevail. For example in the 1919 convention in spite of Wood's known antipathy towards the formation of an agrarian political party, the temper of the convention was clear and on political action the convention decided. But Wood's views prevailed on how it would be taken.

Wood did not always head a growing organization. In 1921, membership in the U.F.A. was 37,000. By 1923 it had declined to 18,829. One wonders how others active in the farmers' movement would react to the explanation Rolph quoted from Wood that declining membership was due to "the farmers' inability to pay even the modest fees of the U.F.A. and not to any growing indifference to the principles of the organization."

By 1930 membership barely exceeded 12,000 though, as Rolph points out,

the popularity of the U.F.A. political movement continued practically undimmed. Wood's cautious attitude towards new ideas was once again involving him in battles with rebels and though he was elected U.F.A. president for the fifteenth time, many felt the organization needed a younger, more vigourous leader.

There should be much satisfaction that Dr. Rolph has essayed this biography of Wood while many of his contemporaries are still living. For them it should revive memories. Perhaps they will be stimulated to make comments and set down their recollections.

ROSE DUCIE

AGRICULTURE ON PARADE. *By Grant MacEwan.* Thomas Nelson and Sons (Canada) Limited, Toronto, 1950. Pp. 200. $4.00.

AGRICULTURE ON PARADE is an account of the fairs and exhibitions of western Canada. After giving a background of early fair activity in the Old World, Professor MacEwan then proceeds to an account of the first fair in Western Canada, that at Victoria in 1861, and tells of Portage la Prairie leading the way on the prairies with its fair in 1872. He continues with a recital of fair and exhibition activity in each of the main centres of Western Canada, describes the growth of winter fairs, Class "B" fairs, the small local fairs, and tells of the organization involved and of the associations of which these Western Canada fairs are members. Also included is an account of the growth of the Junior Club Movement, of the part played by junior farmers in exhibiting and judging, and of the introduction of Farm Boys' and Farm Girls' Camps into fair and exhibition programs.

In his book the author stresses the educational value of agricultural competition. Through its control of the classes open for entry, a far-sighted and enlightened board of directors could do much towards the encouragement or discouragement of breeds which experience, study and experimentation had shown were fit or unfit for western agriculture. Thus the author suggests that instead of offering competition only for what appeared to be the more numerous or common breeds, fairs tended to lead rather than to follow and to encourage the exhibition of promising newcomers in a territory where "suitability in breeds had not been well established and many of them were making a bid for favour." At the fair, exhibitor and spectator alike had greater opportunity to witness and compare these "bids for favour" with certain less desirable classes, which were being gradually eliminated.

The sophistication of modern day competition might be somewhat startled at some of the prizes offered and methods employed in earlier contests. The best lady rider in Regina in 1885 received a wringer valued at seven dollars and fifty cents, while a six dollar rocking chair went to the owner of the best Durham bull. Included in the class of special prizes in Saskatoon the following year was "one pound of the best tea" for the best loaf of bread, two pounds or over, made by a bachelor, while in Calgary in the same year judges of a baby show in which three babies were entered, evaded their dilemma by awarding three first prizes.

When the first fair at Brandon opened in 1881, with no entries in the cereal classes, officials solved the difficulty by borrowing grains from the local elevator, and listened in silence when an argument arose among spectators as to the justice of relative awards for first and second prize samples of wheat which had been taken from the same bin in the elevator. Items of expenditure of eighty cents for cheese and forty cents for crackers in the Clearwater fair accounts in 1880 are presumed by the author to have provided the noon meal for show judges and management.

The book presents a good general picture of western fairs and exhibitions, and is of interest in its recording of early efforts and trends of future development. However, the tedium of following exhibition development in each of the principal cities of Western Canada through the same general growth pattern of rudimentary beginning, expansion, creation of permanent building, fires and rebuilding, financial difficulties, attraction "stunts," etc., is increased by the frequent inclusion of lists of names which probably mean little to the ordinary reader; names of exhibition managers and officials, judges, exhibitors and winners. In this way, doubtless unintentionally, there seems to have been included similarities to a fair itself, with its long list of exhibits, and the eagerness of an enthusiastic exhibitor, assuming in each spectator the same seriousness and deep interest in every detail which he himself feels.

It might have been an improvement had some of the sameness and repetition been eliminated to allow for a somewhat fuller account of unusual features of achievement. For example, the author reports that in Regina on Wednesday of exhibition week in 1917 the grandstand burned, but that by noon on Thursday "a new stand was completed and waiting for visitors." Additional information as to how this remarkable achievement had been brought about would doubtless be of interest, but such is not included. The *Regina Daily Post* of July 26th, for instance, reveals that although the "new stand" consisted of bleachers, they were nevertheless bleachers with a seating capacity of 5,000, for which lumber had been rushed in before midnight and carpenters rallied. One of the shows loaned 1,000 seats and another man offered his next year's concession, amounting to $400.00, to help ease the financial situation. Also, greater documentation would have made it a more authoritative and useful publication.

Evelyn Eager

Notes and Correspondence

THE province's first newspaper, P. G. Laurie's *Saskatchewan Herald*, established at Battleford in 1878, is a perennial source of inspiration to students of local history and to history-conscious residents of the Battlefords district. Stories based on its files appear frequently in the *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix* and other papers. This paper was chosen by the Canadian Library Association for microfilming a few years ago, and a copy of the C.L.A. film, covering the years 1878 to 1900, is available in the Office of the Saskatchewan Archives at the University of Saskatchewan. Original files are also in the possession of the University Library, the Legislative Library and the museum of the Fort Battleford National Historic Park. The latest presentation of material from the files of this pioneer paper consists of a twenty-four page booklet entitled *Stories of the Old Times from the Saskatchewan Herald Files*, prepared by the late Richard Laurie, a son of P. G. Laurie, and edited by his sister, Mrs. J. C. De Gear. This booklet, which was printed from original *Herald* type, contains a foreword by Mr. J. D. Herbert, officer-in-charge of the Fort Battleford National Historic Park. The "stories" are from the first year's issues and provide a good representative sample of the contents of the paper. Copies of this publication, which sells for $1.25, may be secured from Mrs. De Gear, Battleford.

An attractively illustrated article by Dave Belbeck in the April 1951 number of *Canadian Printer and Publisher* tells the story of John Scott of Whitewood, "Old Warrior With a Quill." Mr. Scott's career as editor and publisher of *The Whitewood Herald* extends over a period of fifty years—a record unique in the history of Saskatchewan journalism. A member of his staff, Mr. Fred Cardis, has been with the paper since 1913. *The Herald* was founded in 1892 by F. J. Greenstreet, and Mr. Scott's immediate predecessor as editor was John Hawkes, later Legislative Librarian of Saskatchewan. During a recent visit to Whitewood the Provincial Archivist was happy to learn that Mr. Scott had a complete file of his paper from the date he assumed control, February 8, 1900. This file is now being microfilmed by the Archives Office.

The original letters patent incorporating the Qu'Appelle Printing and Publishing Company, bearing the seal of the North-West Territories and the signature of Lieutenant-Governor C. H. Mackintosh, have been presented to the Archives by Mr. J. F. Bell of Qu'Appelle, and will be deposited in the Archives Division of the Legislative Library. This Company, incorporated on February 24, 1894, was for a time the proprietor of *The Qu'Appelle Progress*, founded in 1885 by James Weidman.

Contributors

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Saskatchewan.