

Saskatchewan History

★ Early History
of
Emmanuel College

BY
JEAN E. MURRAY

★ Quiet Earth,
Big Sky

BY
WALLACE STEGNER



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The Early History of Emmanuel College

THE earliest provision for higher education in the North-West Territories was made by the first bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Saskatchewan, the Rt. Rev. John McLean. In 1879 Bishop McLean opened a divinity school at Prince Albert which he named Emmanuel College. Some years later he petitioned Parliament for an act to establish a University of Saskatchewan of which Emmanuel College was to become a part. He obtained a university charter in 1883 but he did not proceed far with the university scheme before his death in 1886. The next bishop of Saskatchewan, the Rt. Rev. W. C. Pinkham, thought that these large plans were in advance of the requirements of the country. He turned Emmanuel College into an Indian school and allowed the university powers to fall into abeyance. Twenty years later the third bishop, the Rt. Rev. J. A. Newnham, made Emmanuel College into a divinity school once more and revived the university charter. By this time the Saskatchewan government was planning to establish a provincial university with exclusive right to the name and powers already claimed by the university created by Parliament. Bishop Newnham protested against the government's policy but, once the Legislative Assembly had made provision for a provincial university and the Board of Governors had chosen a site in Saskatoon in the Diocese of Saskatchewan, the Bishop and the Synod of 1909 decided to affiliate their theological college with the provincial university. They moved the College to Saskatoon but they did not sever its connection with the university established in 1883. The first University of Saskatchewan did not, in fact, relinquish its charter rights but in 1914 it changed its name to the University of Emmanuel College. In that year also it created the corporation known as Emmanuel College and set up a Statutory Council to manage its affairs.



BISHOP JOHN McLEAN

"The origin of Emmanuel College," said Bishop McLean to his first Synod, "was in the sense of need I entertained for a trained band of interpreters, schoolmasters, catechists and pastors, who being themselves natives of the country would be familiar with the language and modes of thought of the people."¹ The work of the diocese, when the Bishop took charge of it in 1874, was mainly among the Indians. The diocese extended from Lake Winnipeg to the Rockies and included the Hudson's Bay Company districts of the Saskatchewan and Churchill

¹ *Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1882, p. 5.

rivers and the sub-district of Fort à la Corne in the Cumberland district.² In this region there were only a few settlers in the 1870's but there were many Indians who had not yet been evangelized. In the Saskatchewan district alone there were thirty thousand Indians who were "still in a state of heathenism and whose case [was] very urgent from a spiritual point of view."³ The Anglican Church had established missions at Stanley on the Churchill river and at Nepowewin below the forks of the Saskatchewan and had stationed clergymen there who could preach to the Indians in their native tongue.⁴ A mission was soon to be opened at Sandy Lake north-west of Prince Albert by John Hines, a lay reader who had come from England for this purpose.⁵ More workers were needed immediately if missions were to be established also among the Indians living on the plains.

Bishop McLean attempted to train teachers and catechists soon after his arrival in the diocese. He believed that "the half-breed . . . has all the advantage of being one with the Indian in his language and yet of being able to master theology through the medium of English."⁶ So he selected half-breed students for a small class which he conducted at his headquarters in Prince Albert. He used a grant from the New England Company, an English missionary society, towards the expenses of this work and he carried on the class long enough to train two students to be teachers for Indian children.⁷ He came to the conclusion, however, that "no real good could be done without the establishment of a regular and permanent diocesan institution."⁸

In addition to workers for the Indian missions the Bishop needed clergymen for the churches which were to be opened in the settlements. He expected a rush of immigration into the Saskatchewan valley after the Canadian Pacific Railway was built across the prairies and he wanted the Anglican Church to be ready to meet this challenge. He planned to establish missions at Carlton and Edmonton as well as in Prince Albert, and he obtained a grant from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts towards the support of two clergymen. He could not find men in England with the qualifications required by the S.P.G. committee and so he made an appeal for volunteers in eastern Canada. Eventually

² *Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land*, 1873, p. 4. The Diocese of Saskatchewan was one of four dioceses into which the Diocese of Rupert's Land was divided in 1873. The four dioceses became the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land for which a constitution was drawn up and adopted in 1875. See *Reports of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land*, 1875 and 1876, pp. 3-5 and appendix I.

³ Public Archives of Canada, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Archives (hereafter cited as PAC, SPGFPA), Series D, Volume 42, Letters Received (Originals), 1862-1876, (microfilm copy in the Archives of Saskatchewan), Statement of Committee for the Saskatchewan Bishopric Fund, June 14, 1873.

⁴ E. Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society* (London, 1899-1916), II, 609; III, 242.

⁵ J. Hines, *The Red Indians of the Plains* (Toronto, 1916). See also Stock, *op. cit.*, III, 239, 242.

⁶ PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 42, J. [McLean] to W. T. Bullock, November 12, 1875.

⁷ *Six Years' Summary of the Proceedings of the New England Company for the Civilization and Conversion of Indians, Blacks, and Pagans in the Dominion of Canada and the West Indies, 1873-1878* (London, 1879), p. 81. The New England Company was founded by an act of the Long Parliament in 1649.

⁸ *Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1882, p. 6.

he secured two clergymen and appointed one of them, the Rev. Isaac Barr, to be his examining chaplain and the missionary to Carlton and sent the other, the Rev. Dr. William Newton, to Edmonton.⁹ The Rev. Isaac Barr proved to be "unable to sustain the burden of his remote station"¹⁰ and resigned his charge within six months of his arrival in the diocese. The Bishop then appointed George McKay, a former student of St. John's College, to be catechist in the Prince Albert district.¹¹ Apparently the Bishop could not get more clergymen until 1877. Since he realized that he could not count on getting missionaries from England and eastern Canada for the rough, hard work of pioneering, he decided to recruit and train his own men. As he explained later:

It is of vast importance to my Diocese that I should have a good theological school of my own. I want men of good natural ability, physical strength and energy of character, as well as personal piety. Such men trained in other colleges are likely to find attractive spheres in their own neighborhood; but if I can select the men here and then train them, I may get many of the same stamp as your missionary, the Rev. E. Matheson, who was doing good service as a schoolmaster in an Indian mission when I took him in hand.¹²

In the winter of 1875-76 Bishop McLean began to make plans for an institution that would be both a training school for native helpers and a theological college.¹³ He heard that the territorial capital was to be established at Battleford and he thought that he would place his college there.¹⁴ He was a man of boundless energy and enthusiasm and he soon raised funds in England and in eastern Canada for a building.¹⁵ He was an experienced teacher. For seven years prior to his con-

⁹PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 42, J. McLean to W. T. Bullock, July 10, 1873, and April 20, July 31, September 20, and October 22, 1874. The Rev. Isaac Barr took honours both in classics and Hebrew at the University of Toronto and then went through the full theological course of three years at Huron College. He returned to the North-West Territories in 1903 as the organizer of the "Barr Colony." For biographical information about Barr and Newton see E. K. Matheson, "The Church of England among the English Speaking Settlers," in *Canon E. K. Matheson, D.D., Saskatchewan's First Graduate*, Canadian North-West Historical Society Publication, Volume I, Number 3 (Battleford, 1927); W. Newton, *Twenty Years on the Saskatchewan* (London, 1879); F. A. Peake, "Anglican Beginnings in and about Edmonton," in *Alberta Historical Review*, Volume III, Number 2 (June 1955), pp. 15-31.

¹⁰C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* (London, 1901), p. 180d. Bishop McLean said that Barr's resignation was due to the continued illness of his wife and child. See PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 42, J. [McLean] to W. T. Bullock, November 12, 1875.

¹¹*Ibid.* George McKay was a son of William McKay, a Hudson's Bay Company officer at Fort Ellice. George McKay had attended St. John's College, Winnipeg, when Bishop McLean was warden of that College. See Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91. George McKay was ordained in 1878 and went immediately afterwards to open the mission at Fort Macleod. He later became archdeacon of Alberta and a professor at Emmanuel College. See *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892* (London, 1894), p. 879.

¹²PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 54, J. [McLean] to Prebendary Tucker, November 12, 1880. The Rt. Rev. Robert Machray found it difficult to obtain clergymen for the Diocese of Rupert's Land. See *Report of the Second Conference of Clergy and Lay-Delegates from Parishes in the Diocese of Rupert's Land, 1867*, pp. 8-9; PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 42, The Bishop of Rupert's Land Submits the Following Statement to the Thoughtful Consideration of Churchmen, January 1, 1874.

¹³Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92; PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 42, J. [McLean] to Prebendary Tucker, July 24, 1876.

¹⁴*Ibid.* See also Bishop McLean's letter of October 31, 1876, in *ibid.*

¹⁵Bishop McLean reported to the Synod of 1882 that he had raised nearly \$20,000 for Emmanuel College and had spent over \$12,500 on buildings, land, and other college property. See *Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan, 1882*, p. 9.

secration he had been the divinity professor and principal of St. John's College in the Diocese of Rupert's Land, and he decided now to be the divinity professor and principal of the college in Saskatchewan.¹⁶ He made arrangements for the transfer to Battleford of the Rev. J. A. Mackay, a missionary who had been at Stanley for nine years and was unusually well qualified for the work of Indian training.¹⁷ For the third member of his teaching staff the Bishop chose J. C. Flett, an assistant master of St. John's College School.¹⁸ Both J. C. Flett and J. A. Mackay were sons of Hudson's Bay Company officers and had received their training in Winnipeg.

Bishop McLean undoubtedly hoped to develop his college into a centre for diocesan and missionary effort in Saskatchewan. He shared the view of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, the Rt. Rev. Robert Machray, that the best way to meet the difficulty of supplying clergy for a frontier diocese was "by the establishment of what the American Church has found so useful in the Western States They call it an Associate Mission. It is an institution combining the giving of higher education, more especially theological, with mission work in all the country around the mission as a centre."¹⁹ In the Diocese of Rupert's Land the cathedral establishment was serving this purpose. As Bishop Machray pointed out in 1874, the cathedral staff were doing parish work in Winnipeg and, with the assistance of the students in theology, they were looking after missions in the central part of Manitoba. They also did the teaching in the theological college and, with the assistance of masters, in the associated collegiate school. At one time Bishop Machray had hoped to develop in Winnipeg "a strong Provincial centre and a strong Provincial college" for the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land. He knew that the opening of another college would hurt the registration at St. John's College but he felt that he should not oppose the establishment of

¹⁶Dr. McLean was a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen. He came to Canada under the auspices of the Colonial and Continental Church Society in 1858 and was ordained deacon and priest in the Diocese of Huron. He served in that diocese until 1866 when he was invited to Winnipeg by Bishop Machray, his friend of university days, to become archdeacon of Assiniboia, warden of St. John's College and professor of divinity, rector of St. John's Cathedral, and examining chaplain to the bishop. He was consecrated to the episcopate in Canterbury Cathedral on May 3, 1874. For other biographical information see E. K. Matheson, "John McLean," in *Leaders of the Canadian Church, Second Series*, edited by W. B. Heeney (Toronto, 1920), pp. 227-252; Newton, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-82; R. Machray, *Life of Robert Machray, Archbishop of Rupert's Land, Primate of all Canada* (Toronto, 1909); *Centenary Addresses and Sermons*, Collected and Arranged by Canon Bertal Heeney, The Rupert's Land Celebration, 1920 (Winnipeg, 1922); C. H. Mockridge, *The Bishops of the Church of England in Canada and Newfoundland* (Toronto, 1896), pp. 275-282.

¹⁷Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 92; *Saskatchewan Herald*, August 4, 1883.

¹⁸James C. Flett was a son of William Flett who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Lower Fort Garry, 1868-1882. J. C. Flett was ordained deacon in 1880 and priest in 1881. See *Classified Digest of the Records of the S.P.G.*, p. 878; PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 54, J. [McLean] to Prebendary Tucker, April 25, and September 9, 1880. See also *Winnipeg Daily Free Press*, September 23, 1882; *Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land*, 1877, appendix, and *ibid.*, 1878, appendix.

¹⁹PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 42, Statement of the Bishop of Rupert's Land, January 1, 1874. Note especially the extracts from a letter of the Rev. Dr. Clarkson, bishop of Nebraska and Dakota, describing the associate missions in Nebraska. Bishop Machray discussed the American system in *ibid.*, R. [Machray] to W. T. Bullock, May 15, 1869.

an institution that would serve as an associate mission for the new Diocese of Saskatchewan.²⁰

Bishop McLean secured a temporary classroom in St. Mary's parish school about three miles west of Prince Albert and opened Emmanuel College there on November 1, 1879. He had changed his mind about placing the College at Battleford and was having the permanent buildings erected on a site just south of St. Mary's Church. He described the busy scene in a letter written a few days after the opening of the winter term:

The Buildings of the Training College are so far advanced that the Tutor in Cree has taken up his residence, and a boarding house for students will be opened next week under the charge of a Tutor who will reside with the students. The main building which includes classrooms, library, and Warden's residence is in progress but will not be ready for some months. The large Hall to be used as a library will contain the books already received from the University of Cambridge and those promised by the University of Oxford.

We have five students of Divinity already on the list, four of them being Indian-speaking natives of the country. Three are already at work; one will join next week; and the fifth will arrive (D.V.) as soon as the snow will enable him to travel by dog train from the interior of the country. I have several others ready to join when I can get the means to support them.

The necessity for the College is more apparent every day. Almost in sight of it is an encampment of a thousand Sioux Indians, all heathens.²¹

In January the Bishop reported further that he had nine divinity students²². The total number of students in attendance for the year was eleven. "Of these four were Cree Indians, two Cree Half-breeds, one a Sioux Indian, and the rest were of European parentage."²³ The native students were given systematic instruction in the grammar and composition of the Cree and Sioux languages, in addition to classes in English and theology. This effort to teach Indian students to write their own languages grammatically, as well as to translate from English into Indian, was believed to be unique in the history of educational institutions on the continent.²⁴

²⁰Statement by the Bishop of Rupert's Land on the Formation of the Diocese of Saskatchewan and on its Relation to the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, n.p., n.d., p. 11; Church Missionary Society Archives, London, Circulars and other Papers, Volume 1881-1883, Rupert's Land, August 2, 1880 (leaflet), p. 7.

²¹SPGFPA, London, Series K, J. [McLean] to Prebendary Tucker, November 7, 1879. See also "Letters from Early Graduates," in *The Rotunda*, Emmanuel College Magazine, Volume I, Number 3 (Easter 1929), pp. 14-16; *Saskatchewan Herald*, February 29, 1880; C. Innes, "Life Sketch of Canon Matheson," and J. F. Pritchard, "Recollections of Red River and Prince Albert Days," in *Canon E. K. Matheson, D.D., Saskatchewan's First Graduate*, pp. 16-36.

²²PAC, SPGFPA, Series D. Volume 54, J. [McLean] to Prebendary Tucker, January 13, 1880.

²³"Address of the Warden and Tutorial Staff of Emmanuel College to His Excellency, the Governor-General, on the occasion of his visit to the North-West Territories," in *Saskatchewan Herald*, September 4, 1881.

²⁴*Ibid.*; *Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, December 27, 1882.

The main college building, a frame structure which the Bishop himself described as the finest and largest building in the North-West,²⁵ was ready for use by the summer of 1880. It was visited by the Hon. David Laird, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, at the opening of the winter term in November. The Governor gave "a very able and appropriate address" at a public meeting held on this occasion. He was then engaged in correspondence with Ottawa about grants-in-aid for territorial schools,²⁶ and his views on education were received with "marked interest and approval."²⁷ At the same meeting Bishop McLean announced his plans for a boys' school in which members of the College staff were to give instruction in the subjects ordinarily taught at an English public school. The Emmanuel College school was to be open to all boys "without distinction of religious creed."

The boys' school was opened in 1881²⁸ and became, for a time, the most flourishing department of Emmanuel College. It was intended chiefly for the sons of settlers and was the first institution to do high school work in the Territories. Although three miles distant from the town, it drew many pupils from



Emmanuel College, Prince Albert, N.W.T.

²⁵PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 54, J. [McLean] to Prebendary Tucker, November 12, 1880. See also *Dominion Annual Register for 1880-81*, p. 352; *Saskatchewan Herald*, December 20, 1880.

²⁶Archives of Saskatchewan, Department of Interior, file number 85869 (transcript).

²⁷*Saskatchewan Herald*, November 29, 1880.

²⁸"Address of the Warden and Tutorial Staff of Emmanuel College to his Excellency, the Governor-General, on the occasion of his visit to the North-West Territories," in *Saskatchewan Herald*, September 4, 1881. See school advertisement in *ibid*.

Prince Albert. The number of day pupils dwindled, however, after the Presbyterians added a high school room in 1885 to their mission school in the town.²⁹

In addition to the classes for boys, Emmanuel College had a department "for young men in a course of arts" in 1881-82.³⁰ It is likely that this department was the upper division of the collegiate school and that it provided classes designed for the students who were preparing for the matriculation examinations of the University of Manitoba. In the spring of 1881 the Bishop had stated that one of the aims of Emmanuel College was to provide "instruction in the higher branches of a general education."³¹ In the following winter he probably was considering the introduction of a regular course in arts. He could not have organized one at that time for he certainly did not mention an arts course when he described the work of the College to the Synod of 1882.

A theological course leading to holy orders was instituted formally at Emmanuel College in 1881.³² This paved the way, no doubt, for the official graduation in 1882 of the Rev. E. K. Matheson, the first student to complete the three year course in theology which the College had instituted informally in 1879.³³

The important question of a university for the North-West Territories was discussed at "a large and influential gathering" held in the College on January 25, 1882, to witness the ceremony of admitting a member of the College staff, the Rev. James Flett, to the degree of bachelor of theology. The degree was granted by St. John's College, University of Manitoba, and the Bishop of Saskatchewan was commissioned by Bishop Machray, the chancellor of St. John's College, to act as his deputy on this occasion. Bishop McLean gave an outline of the provisions of the act establishing the University of Manitoba and "pointed out the great advantages it conferred upon the Province by uniting all denominations in the effort to secure a high standard of education."³⁴ The University of Manitoba was an examining and degree-conferring body only and left to the denominational colleges the teaching in arts as well as the teaching and granting of degrees in theology. This principle was approved by the Prince Albert meeting in a resolution proposed by Charles Mair and Thomas McKay, and cordially

²⁹ *Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1889, pp. 12-13; *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 1885, appendix, p. cviii; *Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, March 6, 1885.

³⁰ PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 62, Minutes of Meeting at Emmanuel College, January 25, [1882], enclosed in J. [McLean] to Prebendary Tucker, January 27, 1882.

³¹ Emmanuel College Archives, Episcopal Letter Constituting the Warden and Professors of Emmanuel College to be the Bishop's Council under the style and title of the Dean and Canons of the Diocese of Saskatchewan, April 30, 1881.

³² *Constitution and Statutes of the University of Emmanuel College formerly called the University of Saskatchewan* (Prince Albert, 1914), p. 25.

³³ See the reminiscences of Mrs. E. K. Matheson in *Canon E. K. Matheson, D.D., Saskatchewan's First Graduate*, pp. 68-73.

³⁴ PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 62, Minutes of Meeting at Emmanuel College, January 25, [1882], enclosed in J. [McLean] to Prebendary Tucker, January 27, 1882.

supported by the Rev. James Sieveright, B.A., the Presbyterian minister, and Colonel Sproat.³⁵

Bishop McLean referred to this resolution in his address to the Synod in August. He said that he would be very glad to see a university established in the Saskatchewan district on the same principle as the one in Manitoba but, in the meantime, Emmanuel College should be incorporated and have power to grant degrees in theology as this would provide the younger clergy with an incentive to study.³⁶ The Synod fully approved of this and authorized a petition to Parliament for an act of incorporation.

On the way to England to raise more funds for his diocese Bishop McLean probably learned in Winnipeg that the Council of the University of Manitoba was going to renew its application to the Dominion government for a special land grant to make the University self-supporting.³⁷ Bishop McLean may have wondered then if he, too, should take steps towards securing a grant of land for university purposes.

In Toronto he consulted the law firm of Blake, Kerr, Lash and Cassels, the financial agents of the Synod of Saskatchewan. Probably the Bishop discussed his college problems with S. H. Blake, a senior partner who was known to be interested in the evangelical work of the Church and who was in close touch with affairs at the University of Toronto.³⁸ Since Bishop McLean did not expect the Church societies to continue indefinitely the liberal support that they had been giving to his diocesan college, he was exploring other means of financing it. He hoped to arrange for the establishment of a meteorological station at Prince Albert like the one in Winnipeg for which St. John's College was responsible. St. John's College was receiving a thousand dollars a year for taking meteorological observations and Emmanuel College might obtain a sizable amount in fees for similar services.³⁹ The Bishop was also considering the investment of funds in land

³⁵Lt. Col. Alexander Sproat, D.L.S., was a Presbyterian. He was registrar of land titles and had been member of Parliament for Bruce, 1867-72. See *The Bulletin* (Edmonton), January 24, 1881; *Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, November 8, 1882; *Calgary Herald*, August 27, 1890. Charles Mair was prominent in the affairs of St. Mary's Anglican Church. See *Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, January 3, 1883. Thomas McKay was the eldest son of William McKay of Fort Ellice and the brother of the Rev. George McKay. Thomas McKay attended St. John's parish school, Winnipeg, and taught for some time at Westbourne, Manitoba. See J. Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatchewan and its People* (Chicago-Regina, 1924), II, 1180.

³⁶*Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1882, p. 7.

³⁷Bishop Machray was convener of the committee appointed to draft a memorial to the Dominion government. See *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, December 8, 1882.

³⁸See biographical note in H. J. Morgan (ed.), *Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1912). S. H. Blake was a brother of the Hon. Edward Blake who was head of the firm. The Hon. Edward Blake was chancellor of the University of Toronto. S. H. Blake provided a special prize in 1886 for the best honours candidate in the examinations for the licentiate in theology of Emmanuel College. See *Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1886, p. 14. Bishop McLean may have known the Blake family when he was living in Ontario. He named one of his sons, Hume Blake McLean.

³⁹*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, December 20, 1882; *Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land*, 1873, p. 16.

that might help to form a college endowment.⁴⁰ He knew, of course, that the usual way of financing education in frontier regions in North America was by revenue from lands granted by the state. He must have realized that an undenominational university would have a better chance of getting a grant of crown lands than a denominational college, and that a university so endowed could assist in various ways the colleges that were connected with it. He apparently came to the conclusion that he could best serve the interests of higher education in his diocese by petitioning Parliament for an act to establish an undenominational university with which Emmanuel College could become affiliated.

The task of drafting a petition and a bill to establish the University of Saskatchewan seems to have been entrusted to C. A. Brough of the Blake law firm.⁴¹ Undoubtedly the main provisions of the bill were approved by the Bishop before he continued on his way to England, but the details may have been left to his Toronto advisers. In some respects the bill followed the University of Manitoba Act of 1877; in others it followed the University of Toronto Acts of 1849 and 1853. It borrowed at least one feature from the McGill College charter of 1821. Like McGill College the proposed University of Saskatchewan was to have the Governor-General of Canada for the official Visitor, instead of the Lieutenant-Governor as was usually the case, and was to deposit copies of its statutes and regulations with the Secretary of State of Canada to be laid before the Visitor for approval or disallowance.

As the North-West Territories had no representation in Parliament in 1883 it was necessary to find easterners who would be sponsors for the petition and bill. Lt.-Col. A. T. H. Williams, a farmer of Port Hope who was the member for East Durham, acted as sponsor in the House of Commons. The Colonel was interested in the North-West. He was the lessee of one and a half townships in the Calgary district and had just returned, in fact, from a visit to Manitoba.⁴² He did not approve of the sections of the university bill that related to land holding and suggested that some restrictions be placed on the power of the corporation to acquire land. He had the bill amended to limit the amount of real estate that could be accumulated to that which would yield a revenue of \$50,000 annually.⁴³ The Hon. Edward Blake, the leader of the opposition and member for West Durham, was critical of this amendment. He thought that it was more important to avert the evil of holding land for too long a time in mortmain. He insisted that the corporation be required to dispose of the real estate

⁴⁰*Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1882, p. 71.

⁴¹See advertisement in *Saskatchewan Herald*, February 17, 1883. A list of members of the Blake firm is in *Dominion Annual Register* for 1883, p. 503.

⁴²*Manitoba Daily Free Press*, September 29, October 17 and December 18, 1882. Bishop McLean was reported to be in Winnipeg on October 12, just five days before Lt.-Col. Williams arrived there and it is possible that the two of them travelled to Toronto together. Lt.-Col. Williams returned to the North-West in 1885 as Officer Commanding the Midland Battalion and it was he who led the charge that won the day at Batoche. He became seriously ill about six weeks later and died while on the way home with his men. See "The Diary of Lieut. J. A. V. Preston, 1885," in *Saskatchewan History*, Volume VIII, Number 3 (Autumn 1955), pp. 95, 100, 104.

⁴³*Debates of the House of Commons*, 1883, I, 52.

which it did not need for its own use within ten years of its acquisition.⁴⁴ Another important change was made in the bill when it was in the hands of the private bills committee. Instead of allowing the university senate to establish and incorporate as many colleges as it thought desirable, the committee decided to give power to the university to affiliate any number of colleges but to establish and incorporate only one.⁴⁵

In the Senate the bill was sponsored by the Hon. G. W. Allan of Toronto.⁴⁶ He thought it desirable to place a limit on the aggregate amount of property that the university and its affiliated colleges should be allowed to hold. "Parliament would never, by means of a bill of this kind, allow an enormous monopoly to grow up in that country," exclaimed Senator Miller of Halifax.⁴⁷ So the wording of the bill was changed in order to make it quite clear that only the university could acquire land to the value of \$50,000. In the course of the debate Senator Almon of Halifax said that the committee on private bills was under the impression that no newspapers were published where the proposed university and colleges were to be established! In such a community, he thought, "a university is just a little out of place."⁴⁸ The committee evidently did not know that five newspapers had already been established in the North-West Territories and that at least five more were about to appear.⁴⁹

In its final form the bill provided for the establishment of a university in that part of the North-West Territories which was in the Diocese of Saskatchewan. The members of the corporation were to be: the Lord Bishop of Saskatchewan; certain clergy and laity of his diocese, namely, the Rev. J. A. Mackay, the Rev. James Flett, the Rev. George McKay, the Rev. William Newton, Chief Factor Lawrence Clarke of the Hudson's Bay Company,⁵⁰ Thomas McKay, Skeffington C. Elliott,⁵¹ and W. V. MacLise; all persons who later should become chancellor or members of senate; and all persons upon whom the university might in the future confer degrees. In its corporate capacity the university could hold property for the purposes, objects and endowment of the university and of the college which it might establish at Prince Albert. The university was to have power to

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 244, 261.

⁴⁵*Manitoba Daily Free Press*, February 28, 1883.

⁴⁶*Debates of the Senate*, 1883, p. 160. Senator Allan was chancellor of the University of Trinity College, Toronto.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 214. Senator Almon was a governor of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia.

⁴⁹E. Drake, "Pioneer Journalism in Saskatchewan, 1878-1887," in *Saskatchewan History*, Volume V, Number 1 (Winter 1952), p. 20. Senator Almon had not yet learned that the *Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review* (established in 1882) was edited by Fitzgerald Cochrane, a Nova Scotian who had practised law in Halifax for many years. See *Dominion Annual Register for 1886*, p. 263.

⁵⁰He was "an Irishman, an eloquent speaker but very dictatorial in his manner, he having been the uncrowned king of the northern District of Saskatchewan as the Chief Factor in charge." See H. W. Newlands, *Address delivered to Convocation, University of Saskatchewan* (Saskatoon, 1922), p. 7.

⁵¹He was a son of Judge Elliott of London, Ont., and a nephew of the Hon. Edward Blake. Skeffington Elliott was killed in the skirmish at Duck Lake on March 26, 1885. See *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, March 30, 1885.

confer degrees in all faculties but it was not to require religious qualifications or tests except in the faculty of theology.

The university was to be governed by a chancellor, vice-chancellor and senate. The Lord Bishop of Saskatchewan was to be *ex officio* chancellor and was to nominate the vice-chancellor. The senate, until otherwise provided by university statute, was to be composed of the nine persons who had been named as members of the corporation. The senate was to have power to affiliate other incorporated colleges in the diocese with the university. It was also to have authority to establish a college at Prince Albert in connection with the university and to provide for its endowment and the appointment of its staff. The professors and other members of the college thus established were to become, by statute of the senate, "a body politic and corporate in affiliation with the said university, with perpetual succession" and "vested with all powers . . . incidental to corporations of a like nature, save . . . that the said college shall have no power to confer degrees apart from the said University."⁵² The college could, with the consent of the university senate, open and maintain branches at other places in the diocese.

The college which was thus to be established and incorporated by the university senate was evidently to be Emmanuel College. Whether the college was to teach theology only or, like St. John's College in Winnipeg, was to teach arts subjects in addition to theology, is not made clear in the bill. Bishop McLean assumed that the university senate would authorize Emmanuel College to teach arts subjects for he said in an appeal for funds in 1883: "The Bishop is very anxious to have Emmanuel college so thoroughly equipped in all its departments that it will not only continue to be effective as a Training School for Missionaries but [also], by meeting the requirements of the University Act, become a centre of higher education to the youth of the country."⁵³

The sections of the bill which related to the constitution and powers of the University of Saskatchewan pleased the Bishop very much. The proposed university could be an examining and degree-conferring body only but it was not limited to this function. In his comment on the bill the Bishop said:

You will see at once what a great opportunity it offers the Church of England in this country. You will notice that the Diocese of Saskatchewan is recognized as the limit of operation of the Bill; that the University is connected with the Diocese; that the Bishop is Chancellor; while the Senate and University Body is composed of churchmen. I feel exceedingly anxious to take the fullest advantage possible of the great opportunities afforded by the Bill.⁵⁴

⁵²46 Victoria, chapter 47, section 6. See also *Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, March 21, June 20, and June 27, 1883.

⁵³PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 66, The Diocese of Saskatchewan (leaflet), p. 2, enclosed in J. [McLean] to Prebendary Tucker, June 18, 1883.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, J. [McLean] to Prebendary Tucker, July 2, 1883.

Summaries of the bill appeared in the Prince Albert and Battleford newspapers in March and the full text was printed towards the end of June.⁵⁵ The *Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review* attached great importance to the measure and expressed the hope that the establishment of a university would stir into vigorous life all those who were interested in the educational institutions of the North-West. Since there was talk of a Catholic seminary and a Presbyterian college and, as these institutions might seek incorporation with power to grant degrees, the *Times* thought that there should be legislation to prevent the establishment of a number of different universities in the district. The University of Saskatchewan had been sponsored by the Anglican Church and could require religious tests in the faculty of theology. The *Times* therefore considered it to be a sectarian university and wondered if an arrangement could not be made to establish an undenominational training school for the preparation of students in the classical, mathematical, literary and scientific subjects. "It would in the end," said the *Times*, "save a very large outlay of money for educational purposes by each of the interested denominations."⁵⁶

Meanwhile the affairs of Emmanuel College were prospering. In October, 1883, the Bishop reported to Synod that there were thirty-four students at the College of whom twenty were boarders.⁵⁷ Eight of the students were being trained as missionaries and among the eight there were representatives of the Cree, Blackfoot and Chipewyan tribes. Four students were preparing to pass the entrance examinations of the University of Saskatchewan. In order to encourage the young men of Prince Albert to qualify for admission to the University, a lecture hall had been built in the centre of town where matriculation classes were to be given in the evenings.⁵⁸ In fact, the work of Emmanuel College had increased to the extent that it required the attention of a full-time professor of divinity. The Bishop hoped to continue as principal, however, and to do some of the teaching when he was in Prince Albert.

In the following spring the Bishop announced the appointment of the Rev. W. R. Flett, a brother of the Rev. James Flett, as principal of Emmanuel College and professor of divinity.⁵⁹ The new principal had been educated at St. John's College, Winnipeg, and at Sidney College, Cambridge, where he had taken an honours degree in mathematics. He had been teaching mathematics and science at the London International College and at the Royal Naval School, Twickenham, and he was to offer special lectures in agricultural chemistry at Emmanuel

⁵⁵*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, March 21, June 20, and June 27, 1883; *Saskatchewan Herald*, March 31, 1883.

⁵⁶June 13, 1883.

⁵⁷*Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1883, p. 8.

⁵⁸*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, October 10 and October 17, 1883. The *Times* suggested that classes be given there in mathematics, practical surveying and engineering in addition to classes in the liberal arts. See also *Calgary Herald*, March 12, 1885.

⁵⁹*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, May 16, 1884; *Saskatchewan Herald*, May 31, 1883. See also *The Times* for August 8, and August 22, 1884, and January 9, 1885; *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, September 23, 1882.

College. Chemicals and laboratory apparatus had been purchased in England and Germany for this purpose.⁶⁰

Early in September the Bishop said that "the first meeting of the University would be held in October, when representatives of all denominations were expected to be present, and . . . would have an equal right in its benefits. He counted on the aid of Bishop Grandin of St. Albert . . ." ⁶¹ The first meeting was not held, however, until December 3, 1884, when D. H. Macdowall, member of the North-West Council, and the Rev. W. R. Flett were made members of the Senate, Principal Flett was named vice-chancellor, and M. W. Maclise was elected registrar. A board of studies was appointed to consider the requirements for University examinations in different faculties and to report to a Senate meeting on December 29.⁶² Regulations regarding the matriculation examination were published in Prince Albert in mid-January.⁶³ The subjects for "the previous examination" for the ordinary B.A. degree were prescribed but not announced;⁶⁴ the subjects for the final examination were to be decided later but apparently they were never prescribed. The scheme of examinations for both the ordinary and honours B.D. degrees was approved by the Senate at a special meeting held on January 26.⁶⁵ The names of the University examinations, as might be expected, were the same as those used in the Universities of Manitoba and Cambridge.⁶⁶

The activity of the Senate of the University of Saskatchewan caused some uneasiness in Prince Albert. The *Times* now pointed out that there was room for argument about the need for a full-fledged university in the Saskatchewan district. Moreover, the constitution as well as the work of the Senate could be criticized on several grounds. The *Times* said:

We consider the [university] movement decidedly premature on the ground that the longer it could reasonably be deferred, the greater must be the chance of securing a senate such as from experience of universities, their management and requirements, could put things into proper form from the commencement. However high our opinion may be of the individuals composing the present senate, they will cheerfully admit that men of personal university experience are conspicuous by their absence . . . Our other reason is that if there are any students fit to enter upon a university course, they cannot exceed at the most liberal calculation (nor are there likely to be for some years to come) half a dozen who would be far more benefitted by going away and competing fairly with youths of their own age elsewhere. Supposing however . . . the time to be ripe for the incorporation of a university we would be curious to learn why

⁶⁰*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, September 5, and November 21, 1884.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, September 5, 1884. Bishop Grandin was the first bishop of the Catholic Diocese of St. Albert. His residence was at the St. Albert Mission near Edmonton.

⁶²*Ibid.*, December 5, 1884, reprinted in *Saskatchewan History*, Volume III, Number 3, (Autumn, 1950) p. 113; *Constitution and Statutes of the University of Emmanuel College*, p. 12.

⁶³*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, January 16, 1885.

⁶⁴*Constitution and Statutes of the University of Emmanuel College*, pp. 13-14.

⁶⁵Statute VII in *ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

⁶⁶*Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land*, 1880, pp. 27-28; anon., "The University of the Prairies," in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, CX XVII (January-June 1880), pp. 714-18.

no attempt has been made in deference to the advanced spirit of the age and with the happy result of that plan in Manitoba for our guidance, to avail ourselves of the overwhelming advantages of making it purely unsectarian . . . Would not one senate composed of the men of all denominations and enjoying the highest degrees guiding our university be far better for the education of the country at large than several consisting of a small working head and strictly ornamental tail?⁶⁷

The *Times* did not argue, curiously enough, that it was unwise to launch a university in a time of depression and unrest. Crop failures in 1883 and 1884, and a falling off in the demand for land after the C.P.R. decided to build through the southern instead of the northern part of the Territories, had caused a depression in the North Saskatchewan valley. Economic conditions were particularly bad in the Prince Albert district⁶⁸ and were to become even worse during the North-West Rebellion.

The coming rebellion was not anticipated by many of the citizens of Prince Albert⁶⁹ and certainly not by Bishop McLean. The Bishop was in England in the winter of 1883-84 and did not return to the North-West until late in the following summer.⁷⁰ Two of his clergymen, the Revs. E. K. Matheson and J. F. Pritchard, attended Riel's meetings in their parishes and reported to the Bishop, no doubt, that the speeches were moderate in tone and not inflammatory.⁷¹ There were rumors in September that an uprising of Métis and Indians was imminent but the rumors died away. In November the work of Emmanuel College went forward smoothly. The number of students in all classes reached thirty-seven, the largest number yet enrolled at the College.⁷² There were nine candidates for admission to the University of Saskatchewan to read for the degrees of B.A. or B.D. and there were nine missionary students. Four Indians had come in for training; three were Cree and one was from the Blackfoot tribe.

The College routine was interrupted suddenly by the outbreak of the Rebellion late in March. Both staff and students joined the settlers from the district in seeking shelter near the "fortified" area in the central part of the town. An Indian attack was anticipated daily and the tension became very great. Bishop McLean described the experience in a later letter to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society in England:

. . . We have been in great danger of our lives. We [the Bishop and his family] had to leave our house and come to the town of Prince Albert, as the College is three miles distant and I live on the grounds. A stockade was erected and other defences arranged and the people were crowded into the houses ready at a moment's notice to run behind the entrenchments.

⁶⁷*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, December 12, 1884.

⁶⁸Archives of Saskatchewan, Sir John A. Macdonald Papers, E. Dewdney to Sir John A. Macdonald, October 29, 1884, (transcript).

⁶⁹See, for example, the letters from Skeffington Elliott and others at Prince Albert printed in the *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, April 4 and April 13, 1885.

⁷⁰*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, October 10, 1883 and May 2, 1884.

⁷¹See Canon E. K. Matheson, D.D., *Saskatchewan's First Graduate*, pp. 21, 34.

⁷²*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, January 16, 1885.

We have been in this state for nearly two months. We could not undress at night as the summons might come at any moment. The well known character of Indian warfare made this a very anxious time.⁷³

Since the telegraph was cut and there was no mail, the people of Prince Albert felt that they were practically in a state of siege. Food was rationed and every able-bodied person was assigned to home guard duty. When eventually "the siege" was lifted it was too late in the season to resume classes at Emmanuel College. The Bishop was busy, however, with new plans to increase the usefulness of the College.

Since the Rev. W. R. Flett had resigned on April 2⁷⁴ the Bishop took over the administrative duties at the College and decided also to teach the classes in agricultural chemistry. He assigned some of the other College work to Canon George McKay of Fort Macleod, the new archdeacon of Alberta. Archdeacon McKay was a graduate of St. John's College, Winnipeg, and had studied also at Sidney College, Cambridge. He was particularly well qualified for work with missionary students since he was able to speak and teach all four of the Indian languages used in the diocese—Cree, Sioux, Chipewyan, and Blackfoot.⁷⁵

Before leaving in September to visit the missions near Calgary,⁷⁶ the Bishop prescribed the requirements for the licentiate in theology of Emmanuel College.⁷⁷ He urged his clergy to try to qualify for the licentiate and pointed out to the Synod of 1886 that the clergy "have also an opportunity of reading for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in the University of Saskatchewan, the statute for which has been sanctioned by His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council. The course of study for the B.D. is more extensive than that for the College Licence—the one is intended to form an introduction to the other."⁷⁸

Bishop McLean had been much impressed by the loyalty of the Christian Indians during the trying months of the Rebellion⁷⁹ and he decided to expand the work done for Indians at Emmanuel College. In addition to training the limited number of Indians who could be taught to be missionaries he planned to train "as large a number of Indians as possible, not only in the composition of their own language, and in the ordinary English branches, but [also] in the elements of chemistry, especially in its application to farming or agriculture."⁸⁰

⁷³PAC, Church Missionary Society Archives, Series C, 1/0, J. [McLean] to [F. E.] Wigram, May 16, 1885. See also PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 74, J. [McLean] to Prebendary Tucker, May 16, 1885, and Hines, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206.

⁷⁴PAC, Church Missionary Society Archives, Series C, 1/0, J. [McLean] to [F. E.] Wigram, May 16, 1885; *Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, July 3, 1885. The Rev. W. R. Flett died in London, England on April 27, 1886: see *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, May 20, 1886.

⁷⁵*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, July 24 and August 14, 1885; *Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1886, p. 12.

⁷⁶*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, September 11, 1885.

⁷⁷Emmanuel College Archives, Episcopal Licence to the Warden and Professors of Emmanuel College to examine candidates for the Licentiate in Theology of Emmanuel College, September 1, 1885.

⁷⁸*Report of Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1886, p. 14.

⁷⁹PAC, Church Missionary Society Archives, Series C, 1/0, J. [McLean] to [F. E.] Wigram, May 16, 1885.

⁸⁰*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, April 30, 1886. See also PAC, SPGFPA, Series D, Volume 74, J. [McLean] to Prebendary Tucker, June 10, 1885.

The chemical laboratory possessed by the College was to be used in teaching Indian pupils "how plants grow—what substances in the soil and atmosphere form their food—how different kinds of crops withdraw from the soil different constituents or different proportions of the same constituent—how therefore the soil becomes impoverished . . . and generally whatever relates to an intelligent cultivation of the soil."⁸¹ The College owned two hundred acres of good land and part of this land was to be prepared for farming and gardening so that students could have practical training in addition to the lessons in the classroom. Indian students were to be given this training in the hope that some of them would become efficient farmers and others would learn enough to teach farming to the Indian children on the reserves. The Rev. John Hines who had been very successful in teaching farming on the Sandy Lake reserve, was to be invited to take charge of Emmanuel College and to organize the new course.⁸²

The Bishop had decided to teach farming to Indians at the College because he knew that government attempts to teach farming on the reserves had not been particularly successful. He hoped that the Indians trained at Emmanuel College would play a useful part in the economic rehabilitation of the plains tribes. His proposal to teach agricultural chemistry to these students was too ambitious, perhaps, but it was warmly approved by the University Visitor, the Marquis of Lansdowne, who also offered to give prizes to the most deserving pupils.⁸³ The Bishop felt encouraged, too, by Thomas Swanston's offer of the immediate gift of a large and valuable piece of land adjoining the College property,⁸⁴ and by Thomas McKay's promise to be helpful in other ways. The officers of the Hudson's Bay Company and two of the sons of William McKay, a Company Factor,⁸⁵ gave funds for a scholarship to enable a deserving Indian student to obtain an education at the College.

Bishop McLean outlined his new plans for training Indians to the Synod of 1886 and he must have taken special pleasure in doing so in the presence of the three Cree chiefs, Star Blanket, John Smith, and James Smith, who were at the Synod for the first time as lay delegates. The Bishop reminded the Synod that good work had already been done in training missionaries. He drew attention to the exceptional qualifications for Indian training that Archdeacon McKay and Canon Flett possessed in their knowledge of native languages. The Bishop regretted that the College had not attracted students from the Blackfoot reserves in the Alberta section of the diocese but he realized that travel was expensive and Indians were averse to living for any length of time at a distance from home and friends. He therefore wanted to try the experiment of opening a branch of

⁸¹*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, April 30, 1886.

⁸²Hines, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁸³*Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, April 30, 1886.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵Isaac Cowie, a clerk of the Company, had a very high opinion of William McKay. See *The Company of Adventurers* (Toronto, 1913), p. 185. William McKay had eight sons of whom three, Thomas, George, and James, had some official connection with Emmanuel College.

Emmanuel College at Calgary and he hoped soon to see his way clear to give effect to this plan.⁸⁶

Bishop McLean seems to have taken some steps towards opening a Calgary branch for he visited Chief Crowfoot of the Blackfoot tribe that autumn.⁸⁷ Unfortunately the Bishop suffered a painful injury when on the journey home and he died on November 6, 1886. He left his new plans for Emmanuel College to others to complete.

The second bishop of Saskatchewan, the Rt. Rev. W. C. Pinkham, had long been active in educational affairs in Manitoba. He had been a member of the Board of Education from its inception, the superintendent of education for Protestant schools for twelve years, and the representative of the Board of Education on the Council of the University of Manitoba. He had taken a leading part in the Synod of Rupert's Land and had been deeply interested in the welfare of St. John's College.⁸⁸ In Saskatchewan it was believed that he would strive to "perfect the higher educational institutions of his diocese."⁸⁹

Bishop Pinkham soon let it be known, however, that he did not share his predecessor's "large ideas and very ardent hopes as to the position and usefulness"⁹⁰ of Emmanuel College. The new bishop did not intend to live in Prince Albert⁹¹ or personally to direct the work of the College. He appointed Archdeacon J. A. Mackay to the position of principal and invited nine residents of Prince Albert to act as an Advisory Council.⁹² The Bishop was much concerned about the education of Indian children and he believed that Emmanuel College could serve best as a school for training Indian teachers and catechists. He thought that the provisions that Bishop McLean had made for the licentiate in theology of Emmanuel College and for the University degree of bachelor of divinity were "in advance of the requirements of the country." He consulted "the leading clergy and laity" about this matter when on his first visit to Prince Albert and with their concurrence he decided to allow the provisions for the licentiate and the degree to fall into abeyance.⁹³ The university and college plans made by Bishop McLean were thus put aside. During Bishop Pinkham's episcopate Emmanuel College was

⁸⁶ *Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1886, pp. 10-13.

⁸⁷ *Saskatchewan Herald*, December 18, 1885.

⁸⁸ *Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, January 21 and August 26, 1887; *Saskatchewan Herald*, January 29, and September 3, 1887. Bishop Pinkham was born in St. John's, Newfoundland. He attended St. Augustine College, Canterbury, England, and came from there to Winnipeg in 1868.

⁸⁹ *Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, April 29, 1887.

⁹⁰ *The Fourth Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1889, p. 13.

⁹¹ Bishop Pinkham took up residence in Calgary. See *ibid.*, p. 12.

⁹² *Saskatchewan Herald*, September 3, and December 17, 1887. The Rev. John A. Mackay was made archdeacon of Saskatchewan in 1884. He seems to have severed his connection with Emmanuel College soon afterwards for he was supervising the C.M.S. missions in the Cumberland district in the winter of 1884-85. See *Saskatchewan Herald*, January 9, 1885; *Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, August 28, 1885; Stock, *op. cit.*, IV, 370. The Advisory Council set up by Bishop Pinkham in 1887 included Chief Factor Clarke, Archdeacon George McKay, Canon James Flett, Rev. E. K. Matheson, Sheriff Hughes, Thomas Swanston, C. Mair, Thomas McKay and S. Brewster.

⁹³ *The Fourth Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1889, p. 13.

continued as an Indian boarding school supported by government grants, by income from the College endowment fund, and by contributions from the Church missionary societies.

Shortly after Bishop Pinkham's consecration in 1887 the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land decided to make the civil district of Alberta into a diocese separate from Saskatchewan. The Bishop of Saskatchewan was to be bishop provisionally of both sees until an episcopal endowment could be obtained for Calgary, and then he was to have his choice of either see. In 1903 Bishop Pinkham was able to report that the new endowment had been completed and that he had elected to be Bishop of Calgary. The Rt. Rev. J. A. Newnham, Bishop of Moosonee,⁹⁴ was then transferred to the vacant see of Saskatchewan.

Although the Diocese of Saskatchewan was now much reduced in size⁹⁵ it was soon in greater need than ever of clergymen to serve the Barr colonists and other English immigrants who had settled in the North Saskatchewan valley. Yet it seemed almost impossible to secure clergymen trained at eastern colleges. Archdeacon G. E. Lloyd therefore urged the Synod of 1905 to reconsider the status and work of Emmanuel College "with a view to the reversion of the College (as far as possible) to the original purpose of its foundation."⁹⁶ In 1906 Bishop Newnham warned the Synod that a state university for the province of Saskatchewan was a possibility in the immediate future. The diocese, in his opinion, should have a voice in the matter since it already had a charter for a university. That charter had lain dormant, it was true, but it had not been surrendered. "Emmanuel College," said Bishop Newnham, "was originally intended for a training school for the clergy and for the higher education of [young men], with a view to it being the first part of the university when the time came."⁹⁷ The Bishop agreed with Archdeacon Lloyd that the time had come to return to Dr. McLean's original plan. So the Synod empowered the Executive Committee to convert Emmanuel College into a school of divinity again and to take such steps as might be necessary to revive the university charter.⁹⁸ Bishop Newnham himself informed the Hon. J. A. Calder, Minister of Education, that the university charter granted to the diocese by Parliament in 1883 was now to be acted upon by decision of the Synod. "As the university idea was initiated here", wrote the Bishop, "and as Prince Albert was specially named in the act for the location of the first College, may we not ask that at least the proposed University should be established at Prince Albert, and some mode of procedure be adopted by which the original idea could be carried out and merged in the new proposal?"⁹⁹

⁹⁴He was Bishop of Moosonee from 1893 to 1903.

⁹⁵The civil district of Assiniboia had been set apart as the Diocese of Assiniboia in 1883. It was later called the Diocese of Qu'Appelle.

⁹⁶*Journal of Proceedings of the Tenth Meeting of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1905, p. 56.

⁹⁷*Journal of the Eleventh Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1906, p. 22.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 51. See also *Prince Albert Times*, June 28, 1906.

⁹⁹Archives of Saskatchewan, Calder Papers, Schools, No. 1, pp. 448-49, [Bishop Newnham] to Hon. J. A. Calder, March 5, 1907.

In his capacity as *ex officio* chancellor of the first University of Saskatchewan, Bishop Newnham then called a meeting of the charter members of the University. This meeting passed a resolution in protest against the establishment of another university under the same name, and notified the government at Regina that the first University of Saskatchewan intended to maintain its charter rights. The members of the University of Saskatchewan suggested furthermore that the provincial bill "be so framed and constituted as to preserve [their] rights in full and to constitute or enlarge [their] constitution including the establishment of a College at Prince Albert in connection with the said University".¹⁰⁰ Their proposal was rejected by the government. Moreover, the bill which was passed on April 3, 1907, stated specifically that "no other university having corporate powers capable of being exercised within the province . . . shall be known by the same name, nor shall any such other university have power to grant degrees except in theology".¹⁰¹ The subject of education being a matter of provincial jurisdiction the bill was thus worded in order to reserve to the provincial university the right to confer all degrees, except those in theology.

In June, 1907, Bishop Newnham drew the attention of Synod to the wording of the provincial act. He said:

The question whether a Provincial Legislature can deprive a body politic of powers granted by the Dominion Parliament, is a very serious one, and, I suppose, must be settled by lawyers who are versed in political legislation. It seems to me that our course is merely to go on our way, perfect our statutes and organization as a Theological College and, if we see fit, as an Arts Faculty, or any other, enroll students, afford them opportunity for taking the course and passing examinations, grant degrees in due course and leave on the Provincial Legislature the onus of disproving our rights. The divinity college faculty is becoming more necessary and more an actuality by reason of our plan for the theological training of our catechists . . . We must have some sort of accommodation for these and I think we ought to resume the name Emmanuel College originally given by the founder, Bishop McLean. Local rivalries should have no place in this matter but we ought to unite as a diocese in the maintenance of our rights and in seeing that the original intention of the founder and the original terms of the charter be honestly carried out in the way best for the diocese and country at large.¹⁰²

Accommodation would be needed in October for the sixty students that Archdeacon Lloyd was bringing out from England with the aid of the Colonial and Continental Church Society. The Synod of Saskatchewan therefore instructed the Executive Committee to borrow funds to build and equip a diocesan college.

¹⁰⁰*Constitution and Statutes of the University of Emmanuel College*, p. 22. See editorial in *Regina Leader*, March 28, 1907; and letter to editor of *Winnipeg Telegram* reprinted in *Prince Albert Times*, August 15, 1907. The meeting was held on March 26, 1907, and was attended by three of the charter members of the corporation, namely, Archdeacon J. A. Mackay, Thomas McKay, and James Flett. As members of the Senate they elected five persons to fill existing vacancies, namely, James McKay, K.C., Rev. A. D. Dewdney, G. E. McCraney, M.P., Rev. D. T. Davies, and Rev. James Taylor. Archdeacon G. E. Lloyd was added to the Senate on June 13, 1907. See *Constitution and Statutes of the University of Emmanuel College*, pp. 21-22.

¹⁰¹Statutes of Saskatchewan, 7 Edward VII, chapter 24, section 3.

¹⁰²*Journal of Proceedings of the Twelfth Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1907, pp. 24-25.

Before doing this, however, the Committee was to negotiate with the Minister of the Interior for either the surrender of the College building which was still being used for an Indian school, or the promise of temporary accommodation for the divinity school.¹⁰³

In July a number of the citizens of Prince Albert took the initiative in organizing a committee in the northern part of the province to press for establishment of the provincial university at Prince Albert.¹⁰⁴ They seemed, however, to be making little headway. The Scott government stated emphatically that it was leaving the selection of a site to the University Board of Governors, yet it made sure that Prince Albert was represented adequately on the Board of Governors. After the University Senate elected Andrew McDonald of Prince Albert to the Board in January, 1908,¹⁰⁵ the government chose James McKay, the chancellor of the Diocese of Saskatchewan and a member of the Divinity School Committee of Synod, to be one of its three appointees to the Board.¹⁰⁶

Meanwhile the divinity school had been opened in the land titles office in Prince Albert by Archdeacon Lloyd, the new principal. Although conducted under great difficulties, the school was producing good results but it needed more staff, more equipment, and better quarters. In May, 1908, Bishop Newnham reported to the Synod that "the Saskatchewan Theological College is now an established fact; it is the first faculty of the University in active work."¹⁰⁷ He later added:

I have a strong hope that before another Synod meets the Provincial University will be located here somewhere in the Diocese, either [in Saskatoon] or at Prince Albert, and that we shall no longer have to maintain a small unaided Church University in opposition to that of the Province, but that on honorable terms we shall be able to merge ours in theirs, and thus to establish our Theological College more firmly as a Faculty of the Provincial University.¹⁰⁸

The Synod then appointed a committee of equal numbers from Prince Albert and Saskatoon, together with the Bishop and the Archdeacon, "to pull the university into some city in the diocese, it is immaterial which."¹⁰⁹

The decision as to a location for the University continued to hang fire, however, and Archdeacon Lloyd grew increasingly anxious about the future of the Divinity College. In October he heard rumors that the University was likely to be placed in Regina¹¹⁰ and he began to talk about taking Emmanuel College to Lloydminster. He refrained from making definite plans, however, on hearing new rumors that the government would be quite satisfied to have the University in Saskatoon, and that all the probabilities pointed that way.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁴*Prince Albert Times*, July 18, 1907.

¹⁰⁵The University Board of Governors consisted of nine members of whom five were elected by the University Senate, three were appointed by the government and one, the president, was an *ex officio* member.

¹⁰⁶*The Daily Phoenix* (Saskatoon), January 10, 1908.

¹⁰⁷*Journal of Proceedings of the Thirteenth Meeting of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1908, p. 17.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁹*Prince Albert Times*, May 20, 1908.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, October 21, 1908.

Eventually the hopes of Archdeacon Lloyd and Bishop Newnham were realized in part, and the Bishop was able to say to the Synod of 1909:

Now that the University has been located at Saskatoon, and offers, on most favourable terms to our men, those secular subjects in education which we cannot give, it would seem highly advisable that our College should move to Saskatoon when the University opens in September. The Church at large, the societies which mainly support our college and our students, and the honour of the sacred ministry all demand that secular education should be added to the theology which we supply and the way in which this can be done without a large expenditure and by far the best way is to avail ourselves of the privileges offered by the University.¹¹¹

By direction of the Synod, Emmanuel College then moved to Saskatoon where it became the first theological college to affiliate with the provincial University. Emmanuel College continued, of course, to be a college of the University created by the Dominion act of 1883.

The first University of Saskatchewan did not relinquish its charter but it did not wish now to exercise its full rights. It gave up the name, The University of Saskatchewan, and secured a new title, The University of Emmanuel College, by an act of Parliament in 1914.¹¹² Since there was no statute to incorporate Emmanuel College among the early statutes which had been deposited with the Secretary of State at Ottawa, the University Senate passed a statute in 1914 declaring Emmanuel College to be established in accordance with the provisions of the act of 1883, and creating the corporation to be known as Emmanuel College. The statute gave power to the College Council to examine and present to the Senate of the University of Emmanuel College the candidates who had met the University requirements for degrees.¹¹³

The purpose of these constitutional changes was the subject of public speculation. Principal Lloyd decided therefore to issue a statement to the press. He pointed out that the University intended to retain its charter rights and then he added:

The Bishop of Saskatchewan and his advisers realized that the name "University of Saskatchewan" should belong to the provincial institution, and although they do not recognise any power on the part of the local legislature to take away their name without their consent, they are quite willing to surrender the name of the province . . . Should, however, any attempt ever be made to move the provincial university to Regina or to grant degree conferring power to any institution in the province other than the provincial university, the authorities of [the University of] Emmanuel College might take up again the exercise of their degree conferring power in all faculties in Saskatoon. But as neither of these events is likely to take place, in all probability only the power of granting degrees in divinity will be exercised in the future.¹¹⁴

JEAN E. MURRAY

¹¹¹ *Journal of Proceedings of the Fourteenth Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan*, 1909, p. 26.

¹¹² 4-5 George V, chapter 142.

¹¹³ *Constitution and Statutes of the University of Emmanuel College*, pp. 25-29.

¹¹⁴ *Saskatoon Phoenix*, January 20, 1914.

Quiet Earth, Big Sky

"Quiet Earth, Big Sky," or "how the Saskatchewan-Montana prairie looked a generation ago and what it meant to a youngster who lived there," first appeared in the October 1955 issue of *American Heritage*. The author, Wallace Stegner, spent part of his boyhood in Saskatchewan. He is now a distinguished American scholar and author. The reprinting of this fine article will serve to introduce him to readers of *Saskatchewan History*, many of whom will wish to read his novels *The Big Rock Candy Mountain* (1942) and *The Women on the Wall* (1950) which use the Saskatchewan area as part of their locale.

Wallace Stegner was born in Iowa in 1909. In 1915 the family moved north, and for the next four years his father homesteaded on the Saskatchewan-Montana border south of Robsart. The winters were spent in Eastend, "a village," Mr. Stegner writes, "which I think must have had extraordinary charms for boys, because I never talked with anyone who grew up there who doesn't remember it with a nostalgic pang." From Eastend the Stegners moved to Great Falls, Montana, and later to Salt Lake City. Wallace Stegner had a distinguished academic career at several American universities and received the degree of doctor of philosophy from the University of Iowa in 1935. Subsequently he taught at the University of Utah, the University of Wisconsin, and Harvard University. Since 1945 he has been professor of English and director of the creative writing program at Stanford University. His first short story was published in 1936 and this was followed by other short stories and several novels. Stegner's historical works, *Mormon Country* (1941) and *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian* (1954) are important contributions to Western Americana. He is now writing a book which he describes as "a physical and spiritual and imaginative history of a corner of the Cypress Hills." It is sure to be a work of unusual power and perception, in view of the standard which the author's earlier books have established.

"Quiet Earth, Big Sky" is reprinted here with the kind permission of the author and the publisher of *American Heritage*.

The Editor

I AM often tempted to believe that I grew up on a gun-toting frontier. This temptation I trace to a stagecoach ride in the spring of 1914, and a cowpuncher named Buck Murphy.

The stagecoach ran from Gull Lake, Saskatchewan, on the main line of the Canadian Pacific, to Eastend, sixty miles southwest in the valley of the Frenchman. Steel from Swift Current already reached to Eastend, but trains were not yet running when the stage brought in my mother, my brother, and myself, plus a redfaced cowpuncher with a painful deference to ladies and a great affection for little children. I rode the sixty miles on Buck Murphy's lap, half anaesthetized by his whisky breath, and during the ride I confounded both my mother and Murphy by fishing from under his coat a six-shooter half as big as I was.

A little later Murphy was shot and killed by a Mountie in the streets of Shaunavon, up the line. We had no streets in Eastend—our own house was then a derailed dining car—but I could imagine every detail of that shooting. It has given me a comfortable sense of status ever since to recall that I was a friend of badmen and an eyewitness to gunfights before saloons.

Actually Murphy was an amiable, drunken, sentimental, perhaps dishonest Montana cowboy like dozens of others. He wore his six-shooter inside his coat because Canadian law forbade the carrying of arms. When Montana cattle outfits worked across the line they learned to leave their guns in their bedrolls. In the American West men came before law, but in Saskatchewan law was there before settlers, before even cattlemen, and not merely law but law enforcement. It was not characteristic that Buck Murphy should die in a gunfight, but if he had to die by violence it was entirely characteristic that he should be shot by a policeman.

The first settlement in the Cypress Hills country was a Métis village, the second the Mountie headquarters at Fort Walsh, the third a Mountie outpost sent eastward to keep an eye on the Métis. The outpost camp on Chimney Coulee, four miles north of the village I grew up in, was the original town of Eastend. Its crumbling chimneys and the outlines of its vanished cabins remind a visitor why there were no Boot Hills along the Frenchman.

So it is not the glamour of a romantic past that brings me back to the village I last saw in 1919. Neither is it, quite, an expectation of returning to wonderland. By most estimates, Saskatchewan is a pretty depressing country.

The Frenchman, a river more American than Canadian since it flows into the Milk and thence into the Missouri, has even changed its name to conform with American maps. We always called it the Whitemud, from the pure white kaolin exposed along its valley. Whitemud or Frenchman, the river is at least as important as the town in my memory, for it conditioned and contained the town. But memory, though vivid, is imprecise, without sure dimensions. What I remember is low bars, cutbank bends, secret paths through willows, fords across the shallows, swallows in the clay banks, days of indolence and adventure where space was as flexible as the mind's cunning and time did not exist. And around the sunken sanctuary of the river valley, stretching out in all directions from the benches to become coextensive with the disc of the world, went the uninterrupted prairie.

The geologist who surveyed southwestern Saskatchewan in the 1870's called it one of the most desolate and forbidding regions on earth. Yet as I drive eastward into it from Medicine Hat, returning to my childhood through a green June, I look for desolation and can find none.

The plain spreads southward below the Trans-Canada Highway, an ocean of wind-troubled grass and grain. It has its characteristic textures: winter wheat, heavily headed, scoured and shadowed as if schools of fish move in it; spring wheat, its two-inch seed rows precise as combings in a boy's wet hair; gray-brown summer fallow with the weeds disced under, and grass, the marvelous curly prairie wool tight to the earth's skin, straining the wind in its own way, secretly.

Prairie wool blue-green, spring wheat bright as new lawn, winter wheat gray-green at rest and slaty when the wind flaws it, roadside primroses as shy as prairie flowers are supposed to be, and as gentle to the eye as when in my boyhood we used to call them wild tulips; by their flowering they mark the beginning of summer.

On that monotonous surface with its occasional shiplike farm, its atolls of shelter-belt trees, its level ring of horizon, there is little to interrupt the eye. Roads run straight between parallel lines of fence until they intersect the horizon circumference. It is a landscape of circles, radii, perspective exercises—a country of geometry.

Across its empty miles pours the pushing and shouldering wind, a thing you tighten into as a trout holds himself in fast water. It is a grassy, clean, exciting

wind, with the smell of distance in it, and in its search for whatever it is looking for it turns over every wheat blade and head, every pale primrose, even the ground-hugging grass. It blows yellow-headed blackbirds and hawks and prairie sparrows around the air and ruffles the short tails of meadow larks on fence posts. In collaboration with the light it makes lovely and changeful what might otherwise be characterless.

For over the segmented circle of earth is domed the biggest sky anywhere, which on days like this sheds down on range and wheat and summer fallow a light to set a painter wild, a light pure, glareless, and transparent. The horizon a dozen miles away is as clear a line as the nearest fence. There is no haze, either the woolly gray of humid countries or the blue atmosphere of the mountain West. Across the immense sky move navies of strato-cumuli, their bottoms as even as if they had scraped themselves flat against the earth.

The drama of this landscape is in the sky, pouring with light and always moving. The earth is passive. And yet the beauty I am struck by, both as memory and as present fact, is a fusion: this sky would not be so spectacular without this earth to change and glow and darken under it. And whatever the sky may do, however the earth is shaken or darkened, the Euclidean perfection abides. The very scale, the hugeness of simple space and simple forms, emphasizes this sub-perception of stability.

In spring there is almost as much sky on the ground as in the air. The country is dotted with sloughs, every depression is full of water, the roadside ditches are canals. Grass and wheat grow to the water's edge and under it; they seem to grow right under the edges of the sky. In deep sloughs tules have rooted, and every pond is dignified with mating mallards and the dark little automata that glide along after them as if on strings.

The nesting mallards move in my memory like a sleeper stirring. The image of a drake standing on his head with his curly tail feathers sticking up from a sheet of wind-flawed slough is tangled in my remembering senses with the feel of the grassy edge under my bare feet, the smell of mud, the push of the traveler wind, the weight of the sun, the look of the sky with its level-floored clouds made for the penetration of miraculous Beanstalks.

Desolate? Forbidding? There was never a country that in its good moments was more beautiful. Even in drouth or blizzard or dust storm it is the reverse of monotonous. You don't get out of the wind, but learn to lean against it. You don't escape sky and sun, but wear them in your eyeballs and on your back. You become acutely aware of yourself. The world is very large, the sky even larger, and you are very small; but also the world is very flat and empty, and you are a challenging verticality, as sudden as an exclamation mark, as enigmatic as a question mark, in its flatness.

It is a country to breed religious or poetic people, but not humble ones. At noon the sun comes on your head like a waterfall; at sunset or sunrise you throw a shadow a hundred yards long. It was not prairie dwellers who invented the

indifferent universe or impotent man. Puny you may feel there, but not *unnoticed*. This is a land to mark the sparrow's fall.

Our homestead, just southward from here around the roll of the earth, had only a wagon-track connection with the world. When we built the required shack on our half section in 1915 no roads led in; we came fifty miles across unplowed grass and burnouts by lumber wagon. Each year the day-long ride from town, starting at two or three in the reddening morning, led us from the valley up onto the south bench and the great plain reaching southward. We crossed a wave of low hills, the southwest end of the Cypress Hills uplift, and rocked and jarred for a couple of hours through an enormous horse pasture on leased crown land. An irrigation ditch led water around the contour of one of the hills, and we lunched by it. As we ate, range horses with the wind in their manes thundered like poetry over the hills to stare at us, and like poetry thundered away.

Then a farm with a stone barn and a flock of shy French kids. Further into the long afternoon, another farm where we stopped to rest and talk. After that, the road forked and dwindled, became finally our own grass-grown track. The land flattened to a billiard-table flatness, grew stonier, more sparsely grassed, more patched with cactus clumps. At last the twin tar-papered shacks we called Pete and Emil, unlivid in but doubtless fulfilling the letter of the homestead bond. Now we chirked up: we were nearly at our own place. When we arrived at our gate and saw the round-roofed shack, the chicken house, the dugout reservoir full to the brim, we jumped off the wagon and ran the last hundred yards.

Sometimes we had picked things up along the trail, once two coyotes that my father shot from the wagon, another time five baby mallards we had captured in a slough. All that summer they owned our dugout and stood on their heads in the weedy water with their tails aimed at the great sky. That fall they went back to town with us, but we forgot to keep their wings clipped, and one morning, like every other wild thing we ever held prisoner, they took advantage of a big south wind and were gone with all the other autumnal excitement streaming south.

We always had a menagerie. I had a black-footed ferret, weasels, burrowing owls, a magpie that could talk, or so I thought. All of them got away. It seemed impossible to maintain a jail at the center of all that emptiness and freedom.

Living out the months of our required residence and waiting for the long growing days to make us a crop, we saw few people. Occasionally a Swede or Norwegian batch stopped by. Once in a while we drove over to see a neighbor. Once or twice a summer we went to town for supplies. A visit or a visitor was excitement, a trip to town was delirium, but excitement was rare and delirium rarer. The rest of the time we communed with gophers, weasels, badgers, with sparrows and meadow larks, and robins and hawks, and sometimes with the shrikes who practiced their butcher's trade on our barbed wire.

In 1915, the plowed land was an occasional patch or stripe on the prairie's face. If our horses broke out they could wander for miles without hitting a fence.

By day, Pete and Emil and another empty shack, plus two inhabited farms, rode at anchor within the circle of our vision. At night the darkness came down tight all around, and the two little lights far out on the plain were more lonely even than the wind that mourned and hunted through the grass, or the owls that flew on utterly soundless wings and sent their short, barking cry across the coulee. On clear mornings the tips of Bear Paw Mountain, far down in Montana, were a mirage reflected up from another world.

Practically, there was little distinction between Saskatchewan and Montana. The southern boundary of our homestead was the international line, no more important than other survey lines except that the iron posts stood every mile along it. The nearest custom-house was clear over in Alberta, and all the time we spent on the farm we never saw an officer, American or Canadian. We bought supplies in Harlem or Chinook and got our mail at Hydro, all in Montana. In the fall we hauled our wheat, if we had made any, freely across to the Milk River towns and sold it where the price was higher.

We made a pretense of subsistence, with a cow, chickens, horses, a vegetable garden, but we weren't really farmers. We were bonanza farmers, mining virgin land. Three hundred acres in Marquis wheat, if you got such a crop as that in 1915 when many fields ran more than fifty bushels to the acre and practically none ran under forty, might give you 15,000 bushels of No. 1 Northern—and during those war years the price of wheat went up and up until by 1918 it was crowding three dollars a bushel.

But 1915 was the last good year for a decade. When we gave up after four successive crop failures, more than the commuters' shacks stood vacant on the weed-grown, whirlwind-haunted prairie. By the mid-Twenties, when the rains came again, only a few stickers were left to profit from them. The crop of 1927 was the biggest on record. It revived the boom. Then more dry cycle, until by the Thirties the whole southwest part of the province was a dust bowl, all but depopulated.

The judgment of the earliest surveyor seemed justified. It was indeed one of the most desolate and forbidding regions in the world, and infinitely more desolate for man's passing. The prairie sod was replaced by Russian thistle and other weeds, the summer fallow was blown away, the topsoil was vanishing as dust. Tar paper flapped forlornly on abandoned shacks. Gophers and field mice multiplied by millions, as they always do in drouth years, and took over the burrowed earth. The feudal hawks continued to hold the sky.

But we return at the crest of a wet cycle. These years, when anything over about ten bushels to the acre will show a farmer a profit, more fields have hit twenty-five. The 1951 crop was the largest in history, the 1952 crop topped it. Given rain, Saskatchewan can grow more wheat than a discreet economy will permit it to sell: the elevators and storehouses of the province bulge with the bounty of the fat years.

It is a prosperous country now. Its farms that used to jut bleakly from the plain are bedded in cottonwoods and yellow-flowering caragana. And the ring of horizon is broken by a new verticality more portentous than windmills or fence posts or even elevators—the derricks of oil rigs. Farther north, in the Beaverlodge country, Saskatchewan prosperity rides the uranium boom. Here it rides on wheat and oil. But though the country is no longer wild, it is probably less populous than in our time. Oil crews create no new towns and do not enlarge old ones more than temporarily. Even if they hit oil, they cap the well and go on. As for wheat, fewer and fewer farmers produce more and more of it.

To us, a half section was a farm. With modern machinery, a man by himself can plow, seed, and harvest a thousand or twelve hundred acres. The average farm now is at least a section; two sections or even more are not uncommon. And even such a farm is only a part-time job. A man can seed a hundred acres a day.

Once the crop is in there is little to do until harvest. Then a week or two on the combine, a week or two hauling, a week or two working summer fallow and planting winter wheat, and he is done until spring.

This is a strange sort of farming, with its dangers of soil exhaustion, wind erosion, and drouth, and with its highly special conditions. Only about half of even the pretentious farmhouses on the prairie are lived in, and some of those are lived in only part time, by farmers who spend all but the crop season in town. Sometimes a farmer has no farmhouse at all, but commutes to work in a pickup. There is a growing class of trailer-farmers, migrants, many of them from the United States.

Hence the look of extensive cultivation and at the same time the emptiness. We see few horses, few cattle. Saskatchewan farmers, who could go a long way to supplying the world's bread, are less subsistence farmers than we were in 1915. They live in towns like medieval towns, tight clusters surrounded by cultivated fields; but here the fields are immense and the distances enormous.

So it is still quiet earth, big sky. Human intrusions still seem as abrupt as the elevators that leap out of the plain to announce every little hamlet and keep it memorable for a few miles. The country and the smaller villages empty slowly into the larger centers; and the small towns get smaller, the large ones slowly larger. Eastend, based strategically on the river, is one of the lucky ones that will last.

In the fall it was always a wonderful excitement after an interminable day on the sun-struck wagon, to come to the rim of the south bench. The horses would be plodding with their noses almost to their knees, the colt dropping tiredly behind. Everything would be flat, hot, dusty. And then suddenly the ground fell away, and there below, looped in the green belt of the river, lay town, so snug in its valley that I always fell into it as one falls into bed, at home and protected and safe.

Now there is the same sudden revelation of sanctuary, but with a new perception. I had always thought of the river as running all its course in a sunken

valley; now I see that the valley is dug only where the river has cut across the uplift of the hills. Elsewhere it crawls disconsolately, flat on the prairie's face. A child's sight is so peculiarly limited: he can see only what he can see. Only later does he learn to link what he sees with what he imagines and hears and reads, and so come to make perception serve inference. During my childhood I kept hearing about the Cypress Hills and wishing that I could go there; now I see that I grew up in the very middle of them.

More has changed here than on the prairie. My town, for one thing, was as bare as a picked bone, without a tree in it larger than a six-foot willow. Now it is a grove. We drive through it, trying to restore old familiarities among the novelty of fifty-foot cottonwoods, lilac and honeysuckle hedges, flower gardens. And the familiarities are there: the Pastime Theatre, unchanged; the lumberyard where we got advertising caps; two of the three hardware stores (a prairie wheat town specializes in hardware stores); the hotel, just as it was; the bank building, now the post office; the churches and the Masonic lodge and the square brick prison of the schoolhouse, though with some smaller prisons added. The *Eastend Enterprise* sits just where it has sat since it was founded in 1914.

But all tree-shaded. In the old days we tried to grow trees, transplanting them from the hills or getting them free with two-dollar purchases at the hardware, but they always dried up and died. Now every lot in town gets all the water it needs for a dollar a year from the government dam upriver, and forty years have brought new trees and shrubs, especially the drouth-resistant caragana. Because I came expecting a dusty hamlet, the reality is charming, but memory has been fixed by time, and this reality is dreamlike. I cannot find any part of myself in it.

The river is disappointing, a quiet creek twenty yards wide, the color of strong tea, its banks a tangle of willow and wild rose. How could adventure ever have inhabited those willows, or wonder, or fear, or the other remembered emotions? Was it here I shot at the lynx with my brother's .25-.20? And out of what log (there is no possibility of a log in these brakes, but I distinctly remember a log) did my bullet knock chips just under the lynx's bobtail?

Who in town remembers in the same way I do a day when he drove up before Leaf's store with two dead dogs and the lynx who had killed them when they caught him unwarily out on the flats? Who remembers that angry and disgusted scene as I do, as a parable of adventure and danger, a lesson for the pursuer to respect the pursued?

Because it is not shared, the memory seems fictitious, as do the other memories: the blizzard of 1916 that marooned us in the schoolhouse, the spring flood when the ice brought the railroad bridge in kindling to our doors, the games of fox and geese in the snow of a field that is now a grove, the nights of skating with a great fire leaping on the river ice and reddening the snowy cutbanks. I have used these memories for years as if they really happened, have made stories and novels of them. Now they seem uncorroborated.

To see a couple of boys on the prowl with air guns in the willow brush somewhat reassures me, and forces me to readjust my disappointed estimate of the scrub growth. In my time we would have been carrying a .22 or a shotgun, but we would have been of the same tribe. And when one is four feet high, six-foot willows are sufficient cover, and ten acres are a wilderness.

Later, looking from the bench hills across my town, I can see where the river shallows and crawls south-eastward across the prairie toward the Milk, the Missouri, the Gulf, and I toy with the notion that a man is like water or clouds, that he can be constantly moving and yet steadily renewed. The sensuous little savage, at any rate, has not been rubbed away; he is as solid a part of me as my skeleton.

And he has a fixed and suitably arrogant relationship to his universe, a relationship geometrical and symbolic. From his center of sensation and challenge and question, the circle of the world is measured, and in that respect the years I have loaded upon my savage have not changed him. Lying on the hillside where once I watched the town's cattle herd or snared April's gophers, I feel how the world first reduces me to a point and then measures itself from me. Perhaps the meadow lark singing from a fence post—a meadow lark whose dialect I recognize—feels the same way. All points on the circumference are equidistant from him: in him all radii begin; all diameters run through him; if he moves, a new geometry creates itself around him.

No wonder he sings. It is a good country that can make anyone feel so.

WALLACE STEGNER

Jubilee Local Histories

Copies of local histories published during Jubilee Year, many of them produced by the schools, continue to flow into the Archives Division of the Legislative Library, and the end of this stream is not yet in sight. Supplementing the lists appearing in previous issues of *Saskatchewan History* we present herewith additional titles not previously reported. For this we are indebted to Miss Christine MacDonald of the staff of the Legislative Library.

The Editor.

ABBEEY

History of Abbey. By Abbey School, 1955. Pp. 18, mimeo. Available from W. A. Herle, Abbey.

ADANAC

The Story of Adanac. By Adanac Jubilee Association, 1955. Pp. 48, illus. \$1.00. Available from C. E. Delahoy, Adanac.

ARBORFIELD

A History of Arborfield. By Arborfield High School, 1955. Pp. 23, illus., mimeo. 25c. Available from L. McCabe, Arborfield School Students' Union, Arborfield.

BEblo

Beblo Jubilee History, 1955. By Beblo School, 1955. Pp. 16, illus.

BIENFAIT

History of Bienfait. By Bienfait High School. Bienfait High School Student Council, 1955. Pp. 37, illus., mimeo. Available from A. E. Gough, Principal, Bienfait S.D. No. 1787, Bienfait.

BOHRSON SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 1644

50th Anniversary of Bohrsen School District No. 1644, 1906-1956. By Mrs. R. Fern Haight, 1956. Pp. 31, illus. \$1.50. Available from Mrs. George Haight, Box 393, Hanley.

BOUNTY

Bounty. By Bounty Homemakers' Club, 1955. Pp. 331, illus. \$5.00. Available from Bounty Homemakers' Club, Bounty.

BRANCEPETH

Bygones of Brancepeth and Surrounding Districts. By Brancepeth School and others, 1955. Pp. 44, mimeo. 70c. Available from Mrs. Ralph Silde, Brancepeth.

BREDENBURY

History of Bredenbury, Sask., 1883-1955. By Bredenbury High School, 1955. Pp. 26. 75c. Available from the Treasurer, Literary Society, Bredenbury High School, Bredenbury.

CANDO

The Story of Cando and Community. By Cando School, 1955. Pp. 26, illus., mimeo. \$1.50. Available from Miss Alice Levchenko, Cando.

CARLYLE

Carlyle. By Carlyle School, 1955. Pp. 38, illus., mimeo.

DELISLE

Delisle and District in Review. By Ross Robinson, 1955. Pp. 35, illus. \$1.00. Available from R. Robinson, Delisle.

DRIVER SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 811

History of Driver School District No. 811 and Vicinity. By Driver School, 1955. Pp. 66, mimeo. Available from Dennis P. Mullally, Driver.

DUMMER

The Story of Dummer Through the Years; A Short History in Verse. By John G. Simpson. Dummer Ladies' Community Club, 1955. Pp. 19. 50c. Available from Dummer Ladies' Community Club, Dummer.

EATONIA

As Far As I Remember. By Eatonia School, 1955. Eatonia Homemakers' Club. Pp. 12, illus. 50c. Available from James Baker, Eatonia.

ELK

History of Elk. By Elk School, 1955. Pp. 37, mimeo. \$1.00. Available from E. F. Fruson, Elk School.

ESTON—See SNIPE LAKE R.M. No. 259.

FIFE LAKE

Fife Lake—A Local History. By Fife Lake School, 1955. Pp. 10, mimeo. Available from M. E. O'Kraney, Box 43, Fife Lake.

FILLMORE

The History of Fillmore Schools, Village and Country, 1905-1955. By Fillmore School, 1955. Pp. 14, mimeo. Available from W. Codling, Fillmore.

FISKE

The Progress of Fiske. Ed. by M. A. Cebryk, 1955. Pp. 28, mimeo. \$1.85. Available from Robert E. Green, Fiske.

FORGET—see STOUGHTON.

GAINSBOROUGH

A History of Gainsborough and District. By Gainsborough School, 1955. Pp. 36, illus., mimeo. \$2.50. Available from A. Goeres, Gainsborough.

HANDSWORTH—see STOUGHTON

HEPBURN

Hepburn's Heritage, 1905-1955. By Hepburn School, 1955. Pp. 28, illus., mimeo. \$1.25. Available from P. J. Harder, Hepburn.

HEWARD—see STOUGHTON

HOVDESTAD SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 2045

Hovdestad Pioneers, Golden Jubilee, 1905-1955. By Hovdestad School, 1955. Pp. 38, illus., mimeo. \$2.00. Available from C. Unger, Hovdestad S.D., Stewart Valley.

KILLALY

Fifty Years of Progress of the Community of Killaly. By J. H. Hanowski and Students of Killaly High School, 1955. Pp. 12. 50c. Available from J. H. Hanowski, Killaly.

KRYDOR

History of Krydor. By Krydor School, 1955. Pp. 21, illus., ditto. Free. Available from Wm. Woytiuk, Krydor S.D. 3571, Krydor.

LACADENA

History of the Lacadena Community. By the Lacadena Women's Association, 1955. Pp. 15, mimeo.

LAJORD

Lajord, 1905-1955. By Prairie Flower School, 1955. Pp. 18, mimeo. Available from A. E. Silzer, Prairie Flower S.D. No. 989, Lajord.

LAMPMAN

Lampman Local History. By Lampman School, 1955. Pp. 27, mimeo. Available from R. C. Steward, Lampman.

LIBERTY

Fifty Years of Liberty, 1904-1955. By the Book Committee, 1955. Pp. 112, illus. \$2.00. Available from Mrs. W. A. Wheatley, Liberty.

MARSHALL—see WILTON R.M. No. 472

MENDHAM

After Fifty Years; Mendham. By Mendham School, 1955. Pp. 16, illus. \$2.00. Available from the Principal, Mendham School, Mendham.

MIKADO

Mikado—Our Story. By Mikado School, 1955. Pp. 9, mimeo.

MILESTONE

Saskatchewan Golden Jubilee Milestone History. By Milestone Public School, 1955. Pp. 37, mimeo. Available from Joseph M. Ruddell, Principal, Milestone School, Milestone.

NAICAM

Naicam Then, 1905, and Now, 1955. By Naicam School, 1955. Pp. 42, mimeo. \$1.00. Available from J. N. Fofonoff, Principal, Naicam School, Naicam.

NORDRA SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 1947

A Brief History of the Nordra District. By Nordra School, 1955. Pp. 16, illus. \$1.00. Available from Mrs. H. Peters, Nordra S.D. No. 1947, Wynyard.

OGEMA

Ogema's History. By Ogema School, 1955. Pp. 22, mimeo. Available from Mr. D. Baldwin, Ogema.

PENNANT

Pennant. By Pennant School, 1955. Pp. 20, illus. \$1.25. Available from Mr. Wilf Kern, Pennant.

PLATO

Plato, Saskatchewan, 1905-1955. By Plato Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 16. 65c. Available from Mr. W. H. Housen, Plato.

PONTEIX

Ponteix, 1908-1955. By Ponteix School, 1955. Pp. 23, illus. \$1.50. Available from John Hammel, Ponteix.

PRINCE ALBERT

Saskatchewan Golden Jubilee Program, Prince Albert Schools, May 25, 1955. Pp. 16, mimeo.

RADISSON

History of Radisson, 1905-1955. By Radisson High School, 1955. Pp. 23, ditto. \$1.00. Available from J. R. McDonald, Principal, Radisson High School, Radisson.

ROBSART

Robsart Pioneers Review the Years. By the Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 115, illus. \$1.75. Available from Mrs. R. A. De Crane, Secretary, Robsart Jubilee Committee, Robsart.

ROSENHOFF

Saskatchewan Golden Jubilee, 1905-1955; Rosenhoff. By Rosenhoff School, 1955. Pp. 24, illus., ditto. \$1.50. Available from David W. Friesen, Principal, Rosenhoff School, Box 749, Swift Current.

ST. WALBURG

The St. Walburg Story. By St. Walburg High School, 1955. Pp. 78, illus., mimeo. \$1.35. Available from the Principal, St. Walburg School.

SCOTSGUARD

The Story of Scotsguard and Vicinity. By Mrs. Mary A. Rogers and Mrs. J. Fortney. Scotsguard, Jubilee Committee, 1955. Pp. 20. 50c. Available from Mrs. Mary A. Rogers, Scotsguard. [Includes also The Story of the Simmie District, by Mrs. Val Morstad.]

SNIPE LAKE RURAL MUNICIPALITY NO. 259

A Wheatland Heritage. By Edith Vernet Armstrong. Saskatoon, Modern Press, 1956. Pp. 275, illus. \$5.00. Available from Mrs. A. G. Armstrong, Box 118, Eston. [Includes history of town of Eston.]

SONNINGDALE

The Sonningdale Story. By Spartan High School, 1955. Pp. 22, illus., mimeo. 90c. Available from Mr. J. Lindberg, Sonningdale.

SPALDING

Do You Remember? The First Fifty Years in the Spalding District. By C. J. Morrison and Mrs. Matt. Dircks. Watson, Watson Witness, 1955. Pp. 20.

STAR CITY

Star City; Pioneer Days to Jubilee Year. By Jubilee Editorial Committee, Star City and District Board of Trade, 1955. Pp. 201, illus. \$1.50. Available from Star City Echo, Star City.

STEWART VALLEY

Climbing the Stairs at Stewart Valley. By Stewart Valley School, 1955. Pp. 33. \$1.50. Available from F. T. Stokes, Stewart Valley.

STONE

The Story of the Stone Community. By Charles E. Stearns, Ray Cole, and A. O. Booth. Shaunavon, Shaunavon Standard, 1955. Pp. 12. \$1.85. Available from Mrs. Thelma Meyer, Stone.

STONEHENGE SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 4833

History of Stonehenge S.D. No. 4833. By Stonehenge School, 1955. Pp. 26, illus., mimeo. \$1.00. Available from Mrs. Laura Dahlman or Mrs. George Cristo, Assiniboia.

STOUGHTON

New Hope on the Prairies; a History of Stoughton, Heward, Forget, Hands-worth districts. By Muriel L. Thompson. Weyburn, Weyburn Review, 1956. Pp. 99, illus. \$1.50. Available from Miss Muriel Thompson, Box 130, Stoughton.

TISDALE

Fifty Years Along the Doghide; A History of the Development of Tisdale and District. By Tisdale School, 1955. Pp. 51, illus. \$1.00.

TRAMPING LAKE

Fifty Golden Years; Tramping Lake, 1905-1955. By Tramping Lake School, 1955. Pp. 45, illus., mimeo. \$1.00. Available from Ursuline Sisters, Tramping Lake.

TWELVE MILE LAKE SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 3328

History of Twelve Mile Lake S.D. No. 3328. By Twelve Mile Lake School, 1955. Pp. 15, illus., mimeo. \$1.00. Available from Mrs. Laura Dahlman or Mrs. George Cristo, Assiniboia.

VAL MARIE

Val-echo; a History of Val Marie. By Val Marie High School, 1955. Pp. 61, illus. \$1.00. Available from Sister Saint-Sylva, Val Marie.

VONDA

Vonda, 1905-1955. By Vonda Public School, 1955. Pp. 33, illus., mimeo. Available from Mrs. B. Skwarchuk, Box 72, Vonda.

WARMAN

Warman's 50 Years of Progress. By Warman School, 1955. Pp. 20, mimeo. 25c. Available from Mr. W. D. Friesen, Warman.

WILTON RURAL MUNICIPALITY No. 472

Rural Municipality of Wilton, No. 472, Marshall, Saskatchewan, 1905-1955; 50 Years of Progress. Pp. 36, illus. Available from Secretary-Treasurer, R.M. of Wilton, Marshall.

Two useful contributions to the history of women's activities in Saskatchewan appeared late in 1955, and have not been previously noted in this journal. The first, *Building Fellowship: A History of the Y.W.C.A. in Saskatchewan*, is a 179 page lithographed booklet describing the history of the organization in this province down to the present day. The origin and development of each unit is told separately—Moose Jaw, established in 1907, Regina, 1910, Saskatoon, 1910, and Prince Albert, 1912—under such headings as organization, personnel, program and physical facilities. Sources for the study consisted of original records and interviews with those founders still living in the several cities. This Jubilee Year Y.W.C.A. project stimulated a greater interest in the archives of the organization, as well as being a useful contribution to the social history of these urban centres. *Building Fellowship* may be secured at \$1.00 per copy from any Y.W.C.A. in the province.

The *History of the Saskatchewan Women's Co-operative Guild* is a 36 page printed booklet setting out the main facts relating to the founding and progress of the several guilds and the provincial guild, and produced as a Jubilee Year project by the latter organization. The local guilds emerged as educational agencies associated with consumer co-operatives—the first being established in Regina in 1918. Their early history reflects the vicissitudes of the various co-operatives to which they were attached, and it was not until 1939 that a movement for the organization of a provincial guild developed, which bore fruit two years later. Copies of this item may be procured at 75c per copy from Mrs. V. C. Connor, 412 6th Street, Saskatoon.

The place of women's activities and organizations in the political and social thought of the prairies has never been adequately investigated. It has been a considerable force in our history, and these useful publications serve to remind us of the opportunities which await the scholar.

The Editor.

Book Reviews

JOHN A. MACDONALD: THE OLD CHIEFTAIN. By *Donald Creighton*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1955. Pp. ix, 630, illus. \$5.75.

IN 1952 the first volume of Professor Creighton's biography of Sir John A. Macdonald appeared, covering the years up to and including Confederation.

The quality of *The Young Politician* was of such a high order that the second volume, dealing with the exciting years and vast enterprises of Macdonald's career as Prime Minister of Canada, was awaited with impatience by all who had read the first. This too is a superlative book—so good that one could wish that two volumes had been set aside for the treatment of the period from 1867 to Macdonald's death in 1891. Three volumes are surely not too many when one of the best minds in Canada broods over the career of Canada's greatest Prime Minister.

Because of this space limitation Professor Creighton has concentrated on those large aspects of public policy which absorbed so much of Macdonald's attention in these years: the National Policy, the building of the transcontinental railway, the effort to establish a relationship with Britain at once warm and self-reliant, the maintenance of federal authority vis à vis the provinces, and the defense of Canadian interests against American aggression. These are great themes, skillfully treated, but one misses some significant minor themes, among them Macdonald as an administrator of a department, as a dispenser of patronage, and—except in a few instances—as a legislator. One misses, too, adequate estimates of some of Macdonald's colleagues, or any explanation of that paucity of top level ability in the Conservative party which placed such a crushing burden on the ageing Prime Minister.

But here at least is the portrait of a man—so vivid and so honest that he is as real as one's closest friend. This achievement is based on the completeness of the personal record which Macdonald left, which the author has mastered in all its details and vivified by the force of a penetrating but controlled imagination. Professor Creighton utilizes details of the physical and human environment throughout his narrative to achieve a superb realism—as for example his description of the people attending a political picnic in the 1870's (p. 221). No less effective is the imaginative, (but convincing) reconstruction of Macdonald's thoughts and feelings, as in the following moving passage from the chapter "Triumph and Disaster" (1885):

There were moments when for him, as for anyone else, what he had been through seemed too terrible to be borne. But mainly he carried the burden of his existence easily, even jauntily. There were more frequent reminders now of its dreariness; he was increasingly conscious of the almost frightening depth of experience upon which he could draw. Once, as he was on his way to his office past the rows of portraits of ex-Speakers in old Canadian Parliaments, he told his new secretary, the suave and impeccably correct Joseph Pope, that whenever he came that way he felt as if he were walking through a churchyard. Time and again there kept coming back

to him the story of the old monk in the ancient monastery in Europe who had the care of the portraits of the departed members of his order, and who said one day to some visitors, pointing to the pictures of the dead, "I feel sometimes as if after all, they were the realities, and we are the shadows." Macdonald knew that there was solid reality in what he had done in the past. But it was imperfect reality—imperfect because incomplete. Deep within him there lay the inarticulate assumption that the history of Canada during its most important half-century was a plot which he, as its author, must hasten to complete. He had always known what he wanted to do. The design has been there from the beginning. All he needed now was a few years in which to finish it.

Writing like this will give this biography a permanent place in Canadian literature, irrespective of its importance as a historical work.

Limitations of space probably also explain the restricted treatment of Macdonald's role in western Canadian affairs; consequently the Red River troubles of 1869-70 and the Rebellion of 1885 do not appear in as broad a setting as one could wish. The exposure of Riel's feet of clay will not be welcomed in some circles, but it is a salutary corrective to the emotional and distorted hagiography which has obtained wide circulation in recent years on the prairies.

This is a great book, by a great Canadian humanist.

LEWIS H. THOMAS

HISTORY OF RURAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SASKATCHEWAN. *Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life*. Regina: The Queen's Printer, 1955. Pp. 264, maps.

AN important part of the work of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life has been that of its research staff. Its activities have provided important material to assist in the preparation of the Commission's series of official reports. Furthermore, in a number of cases, the results of the research have been published separately as "Technical Reference Documents." The *History of Rural Local Government in Saskatchewan*, prepared by Mrs. Ruth Roemer, is one of these and has been issued in association with the Commission's *Report No. 4, Rural Roads and Local Government*.

The document is a detailed survey of the development of rural local government institutions from their beginning in 1883 to the present day. Chapter 2 gives a brief review of the various experiments in this field during the period of Territorial Government. Chapters 3 to 6 inclusive deal successively with the period of the establishment of the province (1905-1913), the period of the formation of the rural municipalities to the depression (1913-1931), the period of the depression to the beginning of World War II (1931-1941), and the period of World War II and the post-war years (1941-54). The precise years included in these periods apparently was influenced by the availability of census data. In each period there is a systematic and uniform examination of changes in environment and social organization and the effects of these on rural local government. The

main topics dealt with are population trends, agricultural development, economic conditions, functions of rural municipalities and other local government units, organization of rural municipalities, and municipal finance. The survey is well-documented with yearly statistics of number of occupied farms, improved acreage, farm capital in various forms, wheat acreage, wheat production, cash farm income, etc. Of the functions of rural municipalities, most attention is given to aids to agriculture, road building, education, health services, and social welfare. The discussion in each case emphasizes policy, accomplishments, expenditure, and allocation of costs between different levels of government. In the finance sections, details are given of expenditures, locally-raised revenues, tax arrears, and borrowing. An admirable feature of the analysis is that, wherever possible, differences between regions and between individual rural municipalities are set forth. Such detailed information is essential to an understanding of the problems and to an evaluation of policies. Important aspects of developments are illustrated by a series of useful charts. Finally, for each period, there is a brief description of previous studies in the field.

The final chapter summarizes the foregoing and suggests certain trends to be discerned. A comparison of this document with the official report on the subject indicates that consideration of the historical background played an important part in determining the Commission's analysis of present problems and proposals for local government reorganization. Students in this field will be grateful for the most comprehensive survey of rural local government in Saskatchewan that has been made to date.

A. N. REID

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES. By *Bruce Braden Peel*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press in co-operation with The Saskatchewan Golden Jubilee Committee and the University of Saskatchewan, 1956. Pp. xix, 680. \$10.00.

WITH his *Bibliography of the Prairie Provinces*, Mr. Peel has made a scholarly and much-needed contribution to the bibliographical field. The result of ten years of exhaustive and painstaking research, it is, of course, of primary value to the student and the librarian, but it is also of great interest to anyone concerned with the Canadian West. In it we see reflected the development of the region from the days of the explorer, the fur-trader, and the missionary to the present: the coming of the North-West Mounted Police and the railway, the Riel Rebellion and the Métis problem, the successive waves of immigration with the various ethnic groups brought thereby, the experiences of the pioneer and homesteader, the agricultural setting, educational problems, political movements, the establishment and growth of cities and towns and of the institutions belonging to those communities. In short, we find mirrored here every aspect of the life of the Prairie Provinces.

The *Bibliography* is of necessity selective. A fully comprehensive one would have been an almost impossibly large undertaking because of the magnitude of

the material in the field. But within the limits he has set himself Mr. Peel has covered as completely as possible books and pamphlets related to the Prairie Provinces.

While he has included accounts by early explorers and tourists of their cross-country travels and publications on the C.P.R. during the period it was under construction, as a general rule books related to Canada as a whole which contain material on the prairies are not listed. With some exceptions he has left out technical bulletins concerning prairie agriculture and publications of the governments of the prairie provinces, partly because of the enormous quantity of these two types of publications, and partly because many of them are listed elsewhere. Also excluded, with exceptions, are serial publications, and works by prairie writers on non-prairie subjects.

As the best sources of information on the West during the period of settlement the compiler has included British Blue Books having to do with the Prairie Provinces and early Canadian Sessional Papers containing the annual reports of the Departments of the Interior and of Indian Affairs and of the N.W.M.P. Commissioners. Fiction with a prairie setting and poetry which describes the prairie region or whose author was influenced by the prairie environment are listed. Prairie foreign language publications are fully represented beginning with translations of the Bible and religious works into Indian dialects and including writings by members of the various ethnic groups which settled in the West.

The arrangement is chronological. The majority of the 2769 entries are for first editions with the exception of a few where the compiler had more complete information about later editions. Wherever possible, other editions or translations are noted. For each entry a full bibliographical description is given. Explanatory or descriptive notes have been added by Mr. Peel for many items, particularly if the title does not indicate sufficiently the subject of the publication.

Especially helpful to the student is the subject index. There are 23 broad Explanatory or descriptive notes have been added by Mr. Peel for many items, Communications, The Wheat Economy, Politics and Government, and Literary Works, with further breakdowns under each topic. Here also the items are listed chronologically in order to show the development in each field.

In addition to a title index there is an excellent author index where biographical notes are provided with special attention to the more obscure writers. For the better-known persons direction is given to standard reference works where information is readily available.

Mr. Peel was for several years in charge of the Shortt Library of Canadiana at the University of Saskatchewan and is now Chief Librarian of the University of Alberta.

Notes and Correspondence

READERS of *Saskatchewan History* will please note that it has not been possible to publish Part III of Father Bruno's narrative "Across the Boundary" in this issue. It will, however, appear in the winter issue.

The Saskatchewan Archives Office on the campus of the University of Saskatchewan has recently moved to new and enlarged quarters in the Murray Memorial Library. Visitors and readers of *Saskatchewan History* are cordially invited to inspect the new quarters. No major change in activities will result from this move, but the work of the office will be carried on with much greater efficiency and convenience to the public.

The Wolverine Hobby and Historical Association continues to be the most active local historical organization in the province, with regular monthly meetings. Reports of the last three meetings, kindly supplied by the president, Mrs. Florence Barker of Spy Hill, indicate the keen interest which the members are taking in the preservation and improvement of historic sites, including Fort Esperance and the Harmony Colony site. The Society has also undertaken the project of collecting and preserving photographs of pioneer scenes. The July meeting was held at the quarters of the Western Development Museum in Yorkton. The program included a reminiscent talk by Mr. John Delorme of Welby on his boyhood experiences during an overland trek from Washington to Saskatchewan. Members then examined the interesting collection of historical materials donated to the Museum by Mr. W. J. McDonald of Yorkton.

Contributors

JEAN E. MURRAY is a member of the Department of History, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. Her article "The Provincial Capital Controversy in Saskatchewan", appeared in Volume V, No. 3 of *Saskatchewan History*.

WALLACE STEGNER is professor of English and director of the creative writing program at Stanford University.

LEWIS H. THOMAS is Provincial Archivist and editor of *Saskatchewan History*. His book *The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories, 1870-97* was published this year by the University of Toronto Press.

A. N. REID is a member of the Department of Economics and Political Science at the University of Saskatchewan. Several of his articles on the history of local government during the territorial period have appeared in earlier issues of *Saskatchewan History*.

CHRISTINE MACDONALD is member of the staff of the Legislative Library, Regina, and the author of *Publications of the Governments of the North-West Territories and of the Province of Saskatchewan*.

Pictorial Historic Map of Saskatchewan



This handsomely produced pictorial historic map measures 24 by 36 inches. It is in five striking colours, and was drawn by A. W. Davey, illustrator of *Saskatchewan: The History of a Province*. Based on extensive research, this map depicts many places and events in the history of the province from the time of Henry Kelsey to the era of oil wells and uranium.

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