

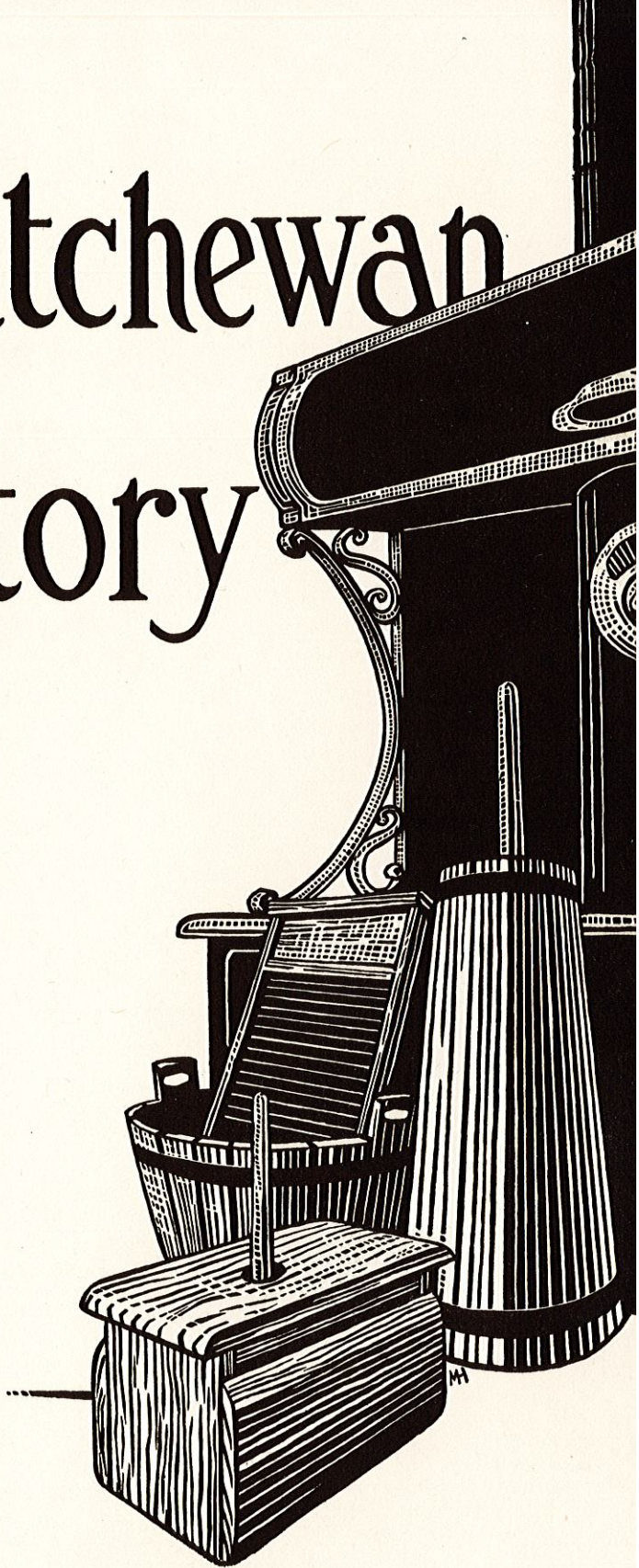
Saskatchewan History

★ REV. THOMAS JOHNSON
and the
INSINGER EXPERIMENT

by
MABEL R. NEBEL

★ ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE,
Qu'Appelle, 1885-1894

by
LUCY H. MURRAY



Saskatchewan History

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THE SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD

Rev. Thomas Johnson and the Insinger Experiment

THE station house at Minnedosa, Manitoba, was crowded with new settlers to Saskatchewan. Most of them were Ukrainians who were taking up homesteads in the Insinger area, thirty-five miles west of Yorkton, on the new extension of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Yorkton west which would eventually connect with Saskatoon. One lone Canadian woman and her four daughters, of whom I was one, huddled on a bench near the window. That October day the snow beat against the station walls, covered the window, swished against the door, then swirled fiercely around the building and across the platform. It piled deeply on the tracks. The west bound train was in a drift some miles out of Minnedosa. Even the snow ploughs could not break through. The ferocity and time of the storm, October 30, 1906, had caught the incoming settlers unprepared.

The station house itself was hot and drafty. Men were continuously coming in or going out. Blasts of snow and cold swept in each time the door was opened. Each who entered shook out his snow-encrusted garments on to the already sodden floor which steamed and squashed. The air reeked with tobacco smoke, the smell of garlic and stale bread, the odor of unwashed clothes drying and unkempt human bodies. The forlorn wails of unchanged babies added to the general confusion. Even at noon day the kerosene lamps along the walls still flickered, their feeble rays trying to penetrate the haze of smoke and steam and the darkness caused by the storm. Ukrainian men, in what seemed to the Canadian passenger, outlandish costumes, gabbled incessantly in a strange language, heaped more coals into the already glowing stove, spat on the floor and on the stove itself which hissed and smoked with each new splash. They joked and guffawed, all the time pulling their fur caps deeper over their ears. In rough voices, they called orders to their wives and mute children. Their wives, also wearing costumes the like of which she had never before seen, openly nursed their babies, dragged around heavy bundles of luggage, and handed out pieces of hard black bread to their men folk and children. Their tired and weather-worn faces showed little but mute submission.

The Canadian woman and her four young daughters had never before seen people whose language, manners and customs were so different from their own. They could understand only one word of the conversation, "Yorkton, Yorkton." While the four girls regarded the immigrants with mere curiosity, their mother felt a wave of revulsion and homesickness sweeping over her which would not soon lift. The men seemed to have no regard for their wives and children. Were these to be her new neighbors at Yorkton, Saskatchewan, where she and her family were settling? Was it for this she had worked so hard, always striving to lift her family from poverty into the opportunity for a better education, sobriety and good living? She knew how to meet the evils behind because she knew and understood the people. But how could she know that these women were more

tired and strange and lost than she? How could she at that moment imagine that in a mere generation or two their children would with hers assume positions of responsibility in the new province?

Many other English-speaking settlers, both new-comers and old-timers, like this Canadian woman, had difficulty in accepting the immigrants arriving in such large numbers from Eastern Europe. "Why open the land in such a hurry?" they asked. Why not choose the immigrants more carefully? Why not accept only those from Northern Europe whose manners and customs are least different from our own?

An "open door" policy had been, however, established. The old Canadians had to "willy-nilly" adapt themselves to the presence of the immigrants. New attitudes had to be developed. No one had experience in such matters. A harmonious composite in which each group could contribute freely and effectively to the welfare of the province needed not absolute conformity in manners and customs, as some tended to think, but mutual respect, understanding and good will on the part of all. This important consideration was understood by only a few at the time. Also all settlers, both English-speaking and non-English speaking, were so busy building new houses, breaking new land, making roads, organizing school districts and churches that special problems received attention only when they tended to become acute. The whole province was new, in fact, it had been a province for only a year.

Another factor which hindered assimilation was World War I, which occurred before many of the foreign-born immigrants had been long enough in Saskatchewan to feel "at home." In the long years of peace prior to the war, feelings of nationalism had been submerged to the building of a new country with freedom and land for all. After the war intense national sentiments emerged everywhere. This tended to make the native Canadian and British settlers less patient with those who still yearned for their old homes and traditions. This impatience tended to drive the least accepted new-comers to the support of each other. The Ukrainian immigrants, led in some cases by honest men who wished to help them and in other cases by propagandists who wished to further their own ends, now formed nationalist movements which in some cases tended to delay the forming of an integrated society, with consequent detriment to all groups and the province as a whole.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty at this early time was the scarcity of well-trained teachers for all schools. In addition, the teachers did not know how to teach English to the non-English-speaking children in their schools and often taught them at the level of those whose native speech was English. The teacher visited frequently in the homes of the English-speaking children, occasionally in the homes of the German and Scandinavian-speaking children, but seldom, if ever, in the homes of the Ukrainian-speaking children. She did not know or understand the special problems of the Ukrainian children; she did not ask if they liked school, nor caress their trowsled heads. They repressed all tears, and remained stolidly silent. At recess and noon they stood forlornly in a group against the

school wall while the English, German and Scandinavian children played games together and on Sundays often attended the same church.

Gradually, it became recognized that if there was to be a healthy wholesome province in the future an educational system must be devised capable of teaching and inspiring all children. Among those who recognized this most clearly was Dr. J. T. M. Anderson. As teacher, writer, school inspector at Yorkton, and from 1918-1922, Director of Education among the New Canadians, he threw his efforts into improving attitudes towards an education for all children whose parents could not speak English. He showed that what is generally thought of as superiority and inferiority can usually be spelled out in terms of opportunity. Under his direction the teacher who formerly had no idea how to teach English to non-English-speaking children was given "know-how," and inspired with eagerness to use it. She acquired a new respect for the foreign-born of all nationalities, a respect for them as persons, for their problems and special needs. They were no longer queer or amusing or distasteful to her but simply human beings who needed help, understanding and education.

In spite of these difficulties in city and rural districts of mixed nationality, assimilation in all groups was proceeding steadily. The greatest lag and suffering lay in areas such as at Insinger in which large numbers of a single nationality had congregated.

To assist in such areas far-sighted leaders of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches of Canada (after 1925 the United Church of Canada) decided to finance a unique approach. At this time these churches regularly financed missions among the new English-speaking settlers. These missions soon became self-supporting and in turn helped finance other missions. Now these churches, after a careful survey, selected areas for community work where the Ukrainian settlers were having the greatest financial difficulty such as at Insinger, Calder, Hafford, Buchanan, and Blaine Lake. These were not to be missions in the usual sense of the word, since the men selected for the positions in these communities would render Christian service without attempting to make converts to the church which supplied funds for the project. Behind this church program was a new feeling of responsibility for the foreign-born, especially for those who had little opportunity to get a view of the best side of Canadian life. Their children were growing up losing the culture of their home land and not acquiring that of Canada.

The men selected for this work by the church would each according to his training and ability present education in the light of a privilege, bring the comfort of medicine, the spirit of neighborliness, the benefits of fair dealing, good fellowship and friendly counsel to the people of an area. They would try to prevent their victimization either by unprincipled Canadians or people of their own nationality. It was hoped thereby that these Ukrainian families would get a better view of Canadian life, and that some of the bitterness and suspicion which had accumulated over the past fifteen years might be dissipated. Canada might then cease to represent to them a country where votes are sold, where there is no medical help unless you have money to pay for it, where education is forced, where snob-

bery excludes neighborliness, but would represent a country in which kindness and co-operation are building blocks in its structure.

Among those who took these church-created community-service positions were Mr. Peter Yemen who was stationed at Insinger, 1916-1918, and his successor Rev. Thomas W. Johnson, 1919-1928; Rev. G. G. Heffelfinger at Buchanan; Dr. A. O. Rose at Hafford; Mr. J. T. Stevens at Calder; Rev. J. M. Singleton at Blaine Lake, and others. All were inspiring men with a real desire to help those among whom they worked. All gave their utmost to this end, Peter Yemen his life.

The village of Insinger, itself, contained only the families of those men who ran the two stores, the two grain elevators, and the railway station. The clerk for the municipality also lived in the village. But it was the centre of an almost solid farming community of four hundred families of Ukrainians who had come to Canada from Little Russia, Bukowina, and Galicia, five to fifteen years earlier. Their poverty and suffering was still acute. The majority owned not more than their original homestead of 160 acres, which was now mortgaged to pay for the three or four horses and meager farm implements required to work it. Much of their land was stony and poorly drained, so that the ten to thirty-five acres they had managed to get under cultivation yielded comparatively little. A couple of cows, a pig or two, a dozen or so mongrel chickens, a small patch of potatoes and a garden, with a little grain supplied the family table with all necessities and



A Ukrainian Wedding, Insinger District.

luxuries. A sheep or two supplied wool which the women sheared, spun into yarn and wove into cloth. Some of the men worked on the road or on a section or harvesting gang and earned a little extra.

Their two-roomed houses were crudely constructed of poplar logs chinked with clay or cow dung and straw. They were white-washed outside and in. The first thatched roofs, owing to constant danger of fire, were replaced as soon as possible by shingle roofs. A ceiling was then put in to conserve heat in winter. In the better homes the ceilings were often painted a clear sky blue which contrasted handsomely with the white walls adorned with hand woven rugs of bright red. Hand made benches along the walls served for sleeping and sitting, and prevented the small rooms from being cluttered. They were replaced by beds and chairs as soon as means were secured to add other rooms. Often outside the house door stood a pole with arms where pots were hung to dry and sterilize in the sun. A wood-burning cook stove replaced the clay oven for baking and cooking in most homes. In addition, it served for heating in winter. Only a few houses in 1920 still had mud floors, a wooden floor being a first step in comfort and cleanliness.

Many of the women still worked in the fields and thought Canadian women who did not were lazy. Often they did work in the most awkward way and regarded sparing of themselves almost as a sin. For example, the galvanized or wooden tub in which they washed their clothing was always placed on the floor or ground, never on a stool. The women stooped over it.

While Canadians tended to lump all these Ukrainian families into one social category, they varied considerably in their European backgrounds. A few of the men could read and write Ukrainian and even one or two other languages. Others could read no language. Many could speak three or four different languages. To these it seemed queer that most Canadian teachers could speak only English and would make no attempt whatever to learn another language. Many of the parents were eager and anxious to have their children attend school; others did not wish their children to attend school at all. These latter felt that compulsory attendance was a definite interference with their rights as parents.

Each rural school district was approximately four miles square with the school located as near the centre as possible. In 1920 each school in the Insinger area had in attendance from thirty to sixty pupils in the grades. The teacher usually lived in a scantily furnished two-roomed house on the school grounds. The teachers were either Ukrainians who had had some education in Canadian schools, or Canadians or English immigrants who were willing to spend a year or two or just their college summers in these districts. For many of the teachers their nearest English-speaking neighbor was the teacher in the next school.

The church-sponsored Social Centre at Insinger consisted of a comparatively large frame dwelling house for the community leader and his family, a barn, and a frame building called the Community Centre which was for a time used as a school. Later, after the school was erected, this building was used for entertainments. At no time was it used for religious services. The residence had a wood-

burning furnace but did not have electricity or running water. In summer, drinking water had to be hauled a half-mile. In winter, it was obtained by melting snow from the drifts about the house in a copper clothes boiler kept on the back of the kitchen range.

I was a teacher at Insinger for four summers, and it is always a pleasure to review in my mind the social work done there by Mr. Yemen and Mr. Johnson. In remembering the men one may not forget their wives, who also gave without stint of their strength and endured without complaint the loneliness and isolation and lack of medical facilities in order that the work be done.

Mr. Yemen was Canadian born and trained. Mr. Johnson was born in Manchester, England, in 1879, and emigrated to Saskatchewan in 1905. In physical characteristics they were opposites—Mr. Yemen being tall, strong and dark, Mr. Johnson short, slight and fair. But their ideals were the same: to help the people of the area through the schools, medical aid, and friendly counsel, and ever to maintain an attitude of tolerance, respect and understanding. Each believed that Christianity speaks louder in action than in words from any pulpit. Each put his ideals into practice.

Mr. Yemen began all kinds of community work. The children learned to work early, but they did not know how to play organized games until Mr. Yemen taught them. Social gatherings were weddings, funerals and christenings. Heavy drinking at these led to violent quarrels which often required police intervention. Mr. Yemen started having social gatherings centered around the school program. Children, who at the beginning of the year spoke no English, recited and sang in English by the end of the year. The parents became proud of their children's progress. Mr. Yemen became counsellor and friend of the people. Suspicion was allayed. Those who could not in the beginning believe that anyone would give help from unselfish motives were finally convinced that what Mr. Yemen gave was genuine. They soon came to him for advice. They developed faith in him in spite of differences in ways of thinking, of tradition, religion and even in spite of organized resistance.

When the flu epidemic of 1918 swept the country there was a period when no medical help was available for a distance of seventy miles. Mr. Yemen learned from doctors how to treat the disease, visited homes, gave advice and medicine furnished by the doctors and saved many lives. When later in the epidemic he himself contracted the disease, he died crying from his delirium, "The foreign problem can be solved."

The Rev. Thomas William Johnson, who succeeded Mr. Yemen in 1919, was equally sincere and capable. As a birthright he inherited the spirit of Manchester which has produced so many liberal thinkers and great democrats. His parents were of that honest hard-working artisan group who have sent their sons in service to all corners of the globe. Those sons have done their bit as they saw it and have become warp and woof of their adopted countries. Mr. Johnson came to Saskatchewan with the immigration wave of 1905 and proceeded directly to a

mission field at Birch Hills. He entered on his new work with characteristic vigor and embarked on his first project—that of having a church built. He saw in Saskatchewan not a land of opportunity for making money but a land of opportunity for service to humanity. He decided in 1907 to enter the University of Manitoba and study for the ministry. He received his B.A. in 1911 and was ordained to the ministry in 1914. Between college terms he taught school near Prince Albert with success, and during the college year added to his means by work at the college. While a student he was placed in charge of a new settlement home in the foreign district of North Winnipeg. There, students of the University and affiliated colleges studied the conditions and gave aid. Mr. Johnson soon realized that while in the city various organizations were rendering quite effective aid to the foreign-born, in the rural districts there were no organizations to render comparable service.

After ordination in 1914 Mr. Johnson went to Beverley, Sask. In 1916 he enlisted as a private in the 209th Battalion. He served overseas with the 102nd Battalion, received a shattered arm at Vimy Ridge. While in training in Nova Scotia he had met his future wife, Miss Winifred Louise Croft, known to us as Lulu. She was assisting her father, a Methodist minister, in giving the soldiers the home-like atmosphere they needed. She had graduated in 1913 from Mt. Allison Conservatory of Music and was a particularly fine accompanist. Small, near-sighted and tending to overweight, she had unexpected physical endurance and mental poise, accompanied by immense drive. These qualities, together with her dedication to service and selflessness gave Mr. Johnson not only a sympathetic helpmate but an able assistant. On Mr. Johnson's return to Canada in 1918 they were married and went directly to their first pastoral charge at Sutherland, Floral and Clavet, Saskatchewan. From here, in 1919, Mr. Johnson volunteered for the work at Insinger. Mr. Johnson's salary while at Insinger was paid until 1925 by the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, after which it was paid by the Board of Missions of the United Church of Canada. The salary he earned as a teacher was turned back to the Board.

His aims were to work for the best interests of all the people and their children, even though this might mean disagreement with some particular faction. This to him meant representing Christianity in action, presenting democracy at its best, helping children and adults become acquainted with the language and customs of the country which was to be their permanent home. To this end he assisted them in making friends outside their national circle, in obtaining adequate medical care, in securing capable and understanding teachers. The church supported him in his firm stand that he would not make converts to the Methodist or any other Protestant Church, an attitude which made possible the good will which attended his work in those nine years.

Mr. and Mrs. Johnson arrived at the Social Centre in 1919. The "grape vine" had, in spite of the non-sectarian and consecrated work of Mr. Yemen, sent word around that Mr. Johnson would attempt to bring the Ukrainians into the Methodist Church. Doubtless this new approach was as difficult for certain Ukrainian leaders to understand as it also was for certain supporters of the centre. The

propaganda loosed against Mr. Johnson was bitter. For a time it seemed that his work might be thwarted even before it had begun. Owing however to the consistency and steadfastness of his character and the direct honesty of his approach to the people and their problems, even the most biased eventually conceded that he had their interests at heart. The priests of the Ukrainian churches, themselves feeling their way in a new land, soon realized that Mr. Johnson represented Christianity in Service, not in Theology. They liked, respected and co-operated with him.

In the first weeks after Mr. Johnson's arrival, Miss Alma Motherwell taught the Insinger school. Classes at that time were held in the Community Centre—the district school being still under construction. When Miss Motherwell resigned to attend college, Mr. Johnson, feeling that he could render more direct service as a teacher, applied for the position. His application was met by determined opposition. Finally, on the special recommendation of Dr. Anderson, the school board consented to allow Mr. Johnson to fill the position for a year. Almost immediately the parents realized that their children were happy and learning. There was no further difficulty.

It was still very difficult to recruit enough well-trained and sympathetic teachers for the district schools in such areas. The Masons raised funds and offered scholarships for the training of teachers who would be especially interested in and informed about the problems of the non-English speaking parents and children in their districts. In 1921-22 Mr. Johnson completed his teacher's training at Saskatoon on one of the Masonic scholarships, continuing as a teacher on his return to Insinger.

One of Mr. Johnson's first steps in district work was to make the acquaintance of the teachers in the dozen or so surrounding districts and invite them to his home on week ends. It was in this manner I first met the Johnsons. A Teacher's Club was organized. District events were planned at these meetings. A free and easy discussion often evolved as to the correct approach to the people when differences and misunderstandings arose, and how to handle situations so that such would not arise. As a result all of us returned to our schools refreshed in spirit and with greater insight into our problems. We began to comprehend that even more important than the teaching itself was the spirit in which the teaching was presented. Instead of being just teachers earning our way to something else, the teaching itself became paramount. Our personalities became adapted to the needs of our respective districts. A fine spirit of co-operation developed so that it became possible to carry forward many projects and district activities.

As teachers we were learning to try to understand and be patient with differences in point of view. Especially when we were frustrated by misunderstandings of our best intentions and negativism, we wanted to drive rather than educate. "Make them do——" was a phrase too often heard, as if we were driving a fractious horse. At such times Mr. Johnson always said, "No, remember you are leading." "You must learn English," we said to the children but we did not realize that our attitude was making them antagonistic and negative. We did not

show them how necessary English was to all and inspire them to learn it by making lessons happy. "You must send your child to school," we said, but often did not do enough to make school so attractive that the child pleaded to come.

Mr. Johnson firmly believed that democracy, to be successful, has to be learned by doing. His students were given self-government. All matters governing school policy were briefly debated, a motion was made and seconded, and the majority vote ruled. This was true even for captains of the teams on the school grounds. Not only were the children taught to vote, but also to elect to office those who would obtain the co-operation of the other children in matters of discipline, sports and other activities. Responsibility was placed both on the voters and the officials they elected to office. The children soon learned that a cheat is an undesirable fellow. So, too, is one who accepts office for the sake of the authority and prestige it gives, but who refuses to share in the work and responsibility. The system in Mr. Johnson's hands became practical and efficient. As a method of school management in that area it was also unique.

Mr. Johnson, together with the Teacher's Club, organized a school fair for the area which was held each fall. Such fairs were being held in the larger centres throughout the province but had not been organized in areas such as at Insinger. The village and surrounding schools competed for prizes for their garden products, sewing, cooking, writing, drawing and composition. The schools sang choruses and above all there was a parade. Every child who entered a competition received a medal for trying, the winners received in addition red, blue and white ribbons.

The children in all the area were encouraged to make gardens of their own at home or on the school grounds. Their best produce competed for ribbons at the school fair. The flower section of the school fair was Mr. Johnson's special pride. He believed that lives profit by every touch of beauty. In 1919 many still believed that nice flowers could not be satisfactorily grown in such a cold climate. But in Mr. Johnson's garden there was an array of flowers all summer—sweet peas, gladioli, marigolds and other annuals and perennials.

Mrs. Johnson taught the girls at Insinger cooking and sewing four afternoons a week, at her home. The wood-fire burned hot as the girls mixed and stirred, baked and boiled. At the end of the afternoon the girls were thrilled to eat their wares or pack them up to take home.

Many of the girls had been taught by their mothers to crochet and to embroider the intricate designs worn on their costumes. This work made beautiful displays at the school fair. But more important was the pleasure the girls took in laying a pattern on a piece of calico, snipping carefully around it and making a simple neat cotton dress, such as Mrs. Johnson wore. Some of the mothers were, at first, much disappointed when their daughters refused to wear the embroidered costumes and insisted on making their dresses from patterns. Later the mothers became reconciled, helped their daughters sew and a few even made such dresses for themselves. In the surrounding districts, also, the teachers often gave the girls help with their first dresses.

In both cooking and sewing, learning was often a two-way process, which brought about good will and increased co-operation. What delicious loaves of bread came from the clay bake ovens as well as from those of the iron cook stoves, now present in most kitchens. Good bread was the women's pride. The children learned from the teacher how to make cocoa, current cake, pumpkin pie, and simple casserole dishes. Teachers learned how to serve cucumbers with sour cream, how to make beet soup (Borsch) and how to collect, dry and cook the many varieties of edible mushrooms which grew in their pastures.

Special sports events were held in Insinger on certain Saturdays throughout the summer. At first, it was difficult to get the children interested in organized games. At recess, in summer, they leaned bleakly against the school wall, in winter huddled beside the stove. In order to arouse interest Mr. Johnson took a group of children to Yorkton on the train to see a real hockey game. With wide eyes and pent up stillness they watched the puck and skimming players. On the way home they talked eagerly. After that he had almost no difficulty getting a game of baseball or football under way. Little fellows no bigger than a peanut stood up to bat. The ball was hit, a player struck out, the game went on and no one skulked by the school wall.

On a Saturday when there was a sport's day at Insinger all the area children gathered on the sports ground. Some walked in five or six miles, others were driven in by their parents or a trustee. Usually, the parents did a little shopping, then gathered to watch the children and to visit. Some became bored but others seemed to enjoy themselves as much as the children. On such a day Mr. Johnson seemed to be everywhere at the same time. He greeted the parents, thanked them for bringing the children in, asked them about their health and welfare, welcomed all the children, called most of them by name. His blue eyes shone with enthusiasm, or became steely when mischief brewed. Teachers were at the starting and finishing lines; in later years parents and trustees helped. Boys and girls, tots and teen-agers all raced. The little prizes won seemed big to them. The great events were the football and baseball games. Mr. Johnson usually refereed as so many of the teachers were women, or if men, did not know the rules.

The summer week-ends were busy ones for Mrs. Johnson also. Usually some of the teachers stayed over at the Johnson's for dinner on Saturday evening, overnight, and often for dinner again on Sunday. How Mrs. Johnson managed with two and later three, and four small children, I cannot now imagine! She washed with a hand machine, ironed with irons heated on the kitchen range, cleaned the house and canned vegetables from the garden and fruit from the market. This was in addition to the sewing and cooking classes four afternoons a week and music lessons. The summers were too busy, the winters too long and lonely. Yet through all she preserved a sense of calm and humor, greeted us each week-end with a welcoming smile and made of us lifelong friends.

In 1919 most of the Ukrainian men could speak a little English, many of the women almost none. Misunderstandings of words and consequently of meaning were frequent. Attitudes were therefore of the utmost importance. They had not

only to hear but above all to feel that the teacher was sympathetic. All were glad to have the teacher visit their homes, share a simple meal, attend their church services, see their weddings, go to their funerals and christenings and visit their sick child. Mr. Johnson and his family did this frequently, and encouraged all teachers to do likewise. The warm embrace the mothers gave us on leaving indicated their appreciation of our sympathy. In going into their homes Mr. Johnson taught us to look at all we saw, not as something queer and therefore wrong because it was different but, as the manners and customs of a people who came from a different cultural environment. "Try to understand," was his constant admonition both to himself and us. "Put yourself in their place."

Our customs seemed as queer and wrong to the priests and Ukrainian parents as theirs to us, often simply because of their difference. In a foreign country the priest naturally wishes to retain the religious attitudes and customs of the homeland even more staunchly than at home because he feels them slipping and cannot see where the new ways lead. The parents, too, were often dismayed. An interpreter was needed. Mr. Johnson through his understanding of church spirit became interpreter of our culture to the priests; through his understanding of the children interpreter to the parents; and through his understanding of the Ukrainians interpreter to us teachers.

Music, to both Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, is the common denominator between all nationalities and contains emotional and cultural beauty which unifies and enriches all. Each year Mrs. Johnson taught the children of the Insinger District school an opera. Two of the operas were, "The Cross Patch Fairies" and the "Pied Piper of Hamelin." What a lot of practice went into these operas! The words were first accurately memorized, that took a long time. Then the words were put to music and both to actions. The costumes had to be made. At the last minute the inevitable mix-ups, all parts of the performance, went unnoticed. The parents, some of whom had considerable musical ability and a few some training in Europe, were very pleased to hear their children sing and to see them act. Parents in other schools began to wish for better musical training for their children.

Most of the area schools closed before Christmas because of the weather. At the village school, however, the Christmas Concert was the grand winter and end of the year event. The program was carefully planned and practiced. The children even made programs of the events and on the folders pasted a Christmas picture. Mr. Vickers came from Saskatoon to represent the Insinger Club, the school inspector came from Yorkton, and a professor came from the University. The Christmas Tree and its decorations dominated the room. Santa Claus with snow and bells was greeted with cheers. How different from the silent days! Every child received a gift sent by other schools or churches throughout the province. "I am too full," said little Doris to Mrs. Johnson as she hugged her new dolly, and she didn't mean with food.

Another great need of the Insinger area was better medical care. The death rate from preventable causes was much higher than the provincial average. The birth rate was high but as a rule the families were not large owing to the very high

infant mortality. Diphtheria was always present and at times became epidemic. During the 1923 epidemic Mrs. Johnson contracted it and nearly lost her life. In the distant past, some allergic child may have died from the administration of diphtheria anti-toxin which is made up in horse serum. At any rate, fantastic stories went the rounds describing in impossible detail the terrible effects of anti-toxin. As a result of these stories the anti-toxin injections were considered more deadly than the disease. Resistance to the administration of it to prevent or allay the disease was so great that some cases were lost which otherwise might have been saved.

Mr. Johnson insisted that a well-trained nurse working with medical men even at a distance could do much to allay suffering and teach hygiene. As a result the municipality hired a nurse, Miss Busch, for one year. Then the following year the Mission Board supplied a nurse whose salary was paid by the Board and whose small receipts for care were returned to the Board. Miss Vera Cramer and Miss Laura Parkinson were so supported. All three women were capable and devoted.

In Insinger, Community Meetings organized around the Community Centre became very popular. The young people came in from the surrounding country, played games and sang, the singing led by Mrs. Johnson. Then Mr. Johnson showed a reel on the pathoscope. The reels, rented from Strains in Winnipeg, covered such subjects as: How to Raise Chickens. What Are the Advantages of Thoroughbred Stock? How to Make Grade A Butter; besides comics and serious drama. Most popular with the young people were the comics, at which they nudged each other and laughed. Mr. Johnson always appealed to the sense of humor in all, knowing that where there is good-natured laughter, misunderstandings fade.

The pathoscope films were also shown in the neighboring schools, where they were equally enjoyed. Often the film showing was preceded by a school picnic. All gathered at the school, children, parents and trustees. The adults watched the children run races, and play ball. Even though they understood few words they listened while the children recited simple poems or acted out the mother goose rhymes. The young adults often had a game of baseball of their own. A picnic lunch, dancing and the pathoscope reels finished the day. Those were prohibition days. An occasional surreptitious bottle of home-brew appeared at picnics but was frowned upon by the trustees who, when it came to the school, maintained remarkable order and were anxious to help the teacher do likewise. In fact, in my district, the trustees strictly forbade any man to even drive down the road past the school if he had been drinking lest he frighten the "Miss Teacher." On festive occasions it also made a difference that Mr. Johnson was strictly anti-alcohol.

In his last two years at Insinger Mr. Johnson was, in addition to his other duties, appointed Justice of the Peace. The people had come to trust his fairness, firmness, and reasonableness. As Justice of the Peace he became counsellor to many in their quarrels and troubles. Ninety percent of the cases brought to him either by the police or by direct complaint were settled out of court without conviction.

The Lumsden Beach Camping Expedition was another unique and important yearly event inaugurated by Mr. Johnson. The teacher and four selected pupils of each of the ten districts co-operating in the Insinger program took part. The one-week holiday was made possible through the efforts of the Insinger Club of Saskatoon. Mr. Johnson saw that school picnics, sports and the school fair did not give the children any contacts with Anglo-Saxon children or their parents. He felt that much good could be accomplished by giving even a few children a glimpse of wider horizons and friendly people. The teachers also needed support and companionship in their lonely work. He suggested to Dr. Charles Endicott, Superintendent of the Board of Missions, Mr. A. L. Vickers of Saskatoon, Prof. E. A. Hardy of the University of Saskatchewan and others, that a camping expedition to Lumsden Beach would be helpful. As a result, the Insinger Club of Saskatoon was formed to raise funds for the project. Mr. Vickers made an able and dedicated President. Members were business men of the city, the mayor, professional men, University professors, and a few students who had taught in Ukrainian districts and understood the need. Grace Church, Saskatoon, was the central body where most meetings were held, but membership (\$10.00 a year for individuals and \$12.00 for couples) was limited to no particular church or denomination.

Each fall a dinner meeting was held at Grace Church to review the work of the year and raise funds for the following year. Mr. Johnson gave a clear, concise account of the year's activities and accomplishments, and his aims for the future. Some of the teachers also spoke telling about their respective districts, about the camp, and what it meant to the children and themselves. Enthusiasm was always such that the amount needed for the Lumsden Beach Expedition was over-



Insinger campers

(Left to right: Rev. T. Johnson, unknown teacher, Dr. J. T. M. Anderson)

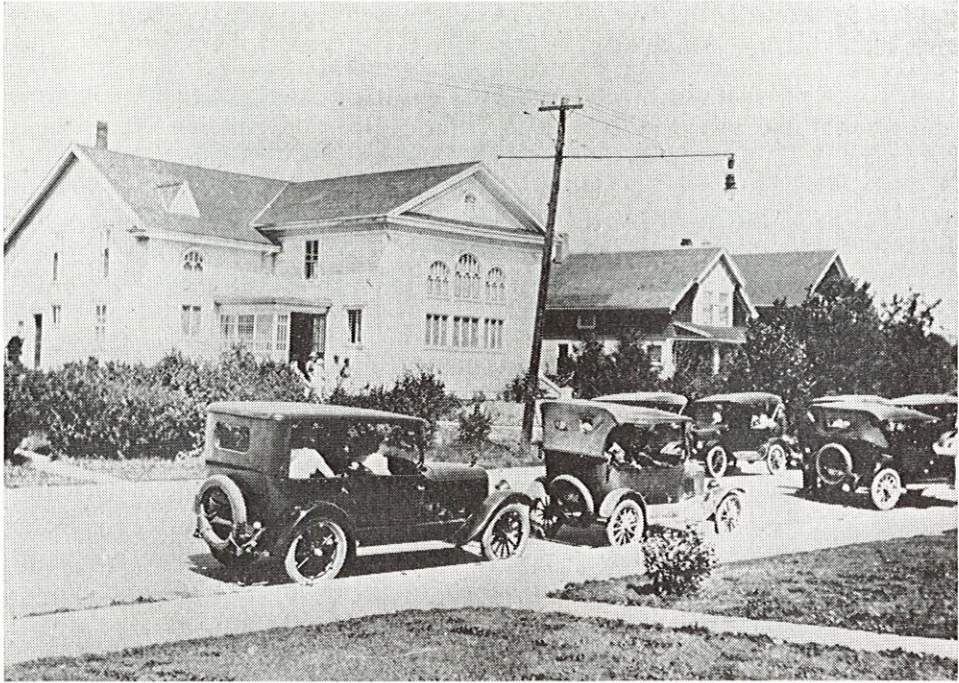
subscribed. Additional funds, so obtained, were used for the hospital at Hafford, under Dr. Rose.

Camping, since those days, has become an important factor in social work, but at that time in Saskatchewan it was a new venture. On take-off day forty-odd children from the ten districts assembled on the station platform. Each child carried a blanket roll, a sack or suitcase for necessary clothing, and a lunch. The parents brought their children to the station, and with few demonstrations turned them over to their respective teachers and Mr. Johnson. The parents seemed unconcerned about differences in language, culture and religion. They had complete faith that their children would be safe, well cared for and happy. No child was late. All were eager to meet the new experiences ahead. Mr. Johnson listed all the children by name, lined them up and called the roll just before the train was due. The roll call dominated the trip, but no child was ever lost or injured in all eight years of camping.

One day of the week at Lumsden Beach was given over to a sight-seeing trip to Regina. Men who were holidaying volunteered their cars and drove a load of children and teachers from Lumsden Beach to Regina. Many of the children had not even ridden in a car, let alone seen the capital of the province. One of the drivers said to a teacher, "What, you surely are not the grand-daughter of old Tobias Larkin who lived down by the Ottawa? I didn't think any good could come from that family." She laughed. "Yes. He was my grandfather. Funny what a generation or two does, isn't it? There will be surprises among these children, too."

The week ended too soon for all. Who profited more—the children or the teachers, is hard to say. The teachers certainly drew necessary inspiration from knowing that there were kind and able people who were watching their work and supporting their endeavors. The children had entered a strange and new environment where there were many people whose manners and customs were different from those they had so far known. Yet they had been kindly treated and found nothing to fear. They had played with English-speaking children, from these other homes, and found that in sports all were alike. The report they brought home to their parents must have been favorable, as all were ready to go another year.

In 1928, Mr. Johnson left Insinger, took extra courses at the University of Chicago in church history, and accepted a pastorate at Riceton, Saskatchewan. With characteristic modesty he believed that another to succeed him could readily be found. Although he left regretfully he realized that his older children needed a teacher other than their father, and that Mrs. Johnson, whose health was less good than formerly, needed a location where the physical demands on her strength were less exacting. In all his nine years at Insinger Mr. Johnson had not preached a single sermon nor made a single convert to the church which supported his work. Yet his memory is rich in Christian service well performed. The church, too, in supporting such work showed more than ordinary insight and understanding into the long-term needs of the province.



Wesley Methodist Church, Regina, and cars with Insinger campers.

The wisdom and high ethical standard with which Mr. Johnson's work had been conducted left its mark, both at Insinger and in other areas of influence.* His emphasis on attitude, that the spirit in which the teaching was presented was of even greater importance than the teaching, permeated all district activities, the school fair, the summer sports program, the community meetings, the Christmas concert, the Lumsden Beach vacation, the medical work through the nurse, and even the teacher's visit to a home. It became the force which brought about the co-operation between teachers, parents and children without which the progress obtained would have been impossible.

In the early days the Insinger settlement was marked by much infringement of the law. Violent quarrels with violent aftermaths were common. Mr. Johnson's firmness, coupled with his understanding, brought about greater co-operation

*In 1930 when Dr. Anderson became Premier of Saskatchewan he found the Industrial School in Regina was in need of more progressive leadership. Remembering the work Mr. Johnson had done at Insinger, his ability as a teacher, organizer and disciplinarian and his influence with boys, Dr. Anderson offered him the position of Superintendent. Mr. Johnson accepted the position, believing it to be non-political in nature. He gave himself to this work from 1930-1935 as completely as he had to that at Insinger. He studied newer methods and incorporated them into his program. The boys became his boys, their interests his. He taught the boys the importance of self-discipline. They felt his encouragement, and his ability to understand, and developed new pride in accomplishment. When after five years the government changed leadership Mr. Johnson returned to the ministry. He accepted a pastorate at Wilcox where he remained until 1941. After a brief sojourn at Liberty he was transferred to Murrayville, British Columbia, where he remained until his retirement in 1946. One more year he gave to missionary work among the Indians at Bella Bella. Then for reasons of health he left active service. He now lives in White Rock, B.C.

and less resentment. By 1928 few criminal acts were committed. The citizens in general had become law-abiding.

The efficiency of the schools had greatly increased, although Mr. Johnson still saw that much was yet to be done. Before 1918 most children left school at the age of 14, having attained only Grade III or IV; in 1928 many children had reached Grade VI, VII or VIII and a few had entered High School. This represented a tremendous difference. At the higher level the children could continue reading when they left school, and so through newspapers and farm magazines continue their education into adulthood. At the lower level what little had been learned could usually not be used and was hence soon forgotten.

An endeavor had been made to place good English-speaking teachers in the area schools, as it was believed that progress would be more rapid. However, the urge to have teachers of the nationality of the parents increased with the increased activity of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement. In 1928, almost all teachers in the district schools were again of Ukrainian origin. These, however, were better trained than their pre-1918 Ukrainian predecessors, and had a better command of the English language. They co-operated ably with Mr. Johnson. They made the Teacher's Club into one of the strongest in the province. They had the interests of the communities at heart and assisted in district organization. They stayed longer in the schools than the English-speaking teachers of 1918-1924 had done, and equally regarded their work with pride, although progress in speaking English was sometimes less rapid, and assimilation was possibly slowed.

New values had also been placed on the work of teachers in the area. But the conditions still did not insure rural teaching becoming a permanent profession with ranking equal to that of the city schools, as Mr. Johnson desired. He realized always that the whole Insinger experiment rested on the quality and permanency of the teachers. The Masonic Fellowships had trained teachers to teach in the schools in the non-English speaking districts, but had not continued to support the morale of the teachers so trained. The teachers' positions were impermanent, the salaries too small to support a family, the teacherages too small to house a family. Neither schools nor teacherages were warm enough to keep open during the coldest winter months, nor could the children have reached school had it been open. Hence the teacher in these schools had a long winter vacation of three, four or even five months instead of the usual two months. This isolated him still further from the city members of his profession. Under these circumstances, if a teacher were capable and ambitious, he tended to seek a city or town school where advancement was possible, where salaries were higher and the physical handicaps not so great; if a teacher were contented to stay he tended to degenerate.

Mr. Johnson, as head of the Teacher's Association of the province, repeatedly emphasized that nowhere is the good teacher so important as in the rural school, and nowhere is it so hard to maintain efficient and devoted teachers. He also emphasized that in the city school the less effective teacher through adequate assistance and supervision tends to improve, whereas in the rural school this same teacher tends to become totally discouraged and disinterested. Under such

teachers the natural enthusiasm of the children for education becomes dulled, and little progress is made. In the Insinger area schools this was even more striking because of the additional handicap of language and culture.

Discouragements are part of any worthwhile project. At Insinger the difficult physical circumstances augmented the lack of mutual comprehension of both parents and teachers of each other's language, customs and aims. Sometimes these misunderstandings were magnified by propagandists who wished to accomplish selfish ends. Honest differences of opinion, which can with time and patience be resolved, thus tended to become insurmountable. Educators, Mr. Johnson among them, believed that an integrated society in which each individual can contribute equally and freely can best be obtained by resolving national differences and by giving equal opportunity and education to all. The Nationalist Movement did encourage the interest of the people in political matters, in the local wheat pool and in the development of better live stock. Was the sense of separateness necessary for these accomplishments? Even today it can be asked of all National Movements among all immigrant groups, "Is the sense of separateness they tend to foster a good thing in the long run for the people they serve? Is it necessary? And when is their work accomplished?"

MABEL RUTTLE NEBEL.

St. John's College, Qu'Appelle, 1885-1894

A CONSPICUOUS landmark near Qu'Appelle in 1885 was St. John's College, the Anglican theological training school established by Bishop Anson, the first bishop of Qu'Appelle. When a school for boys and a bishop's residence were added in 1886, the group of buildings, perched on a knoll in the middle of rolling prairie, so surprised and delighted one traveller that he compared it to "a beacon on the prairie—a city set on a hill."¹ The trail from the town of Qu'Appelle to the college was a lonely one winding for two miles between bluffs, past sloughs, and through an Indian reservation until it came to the white gates of the college. For one visitor the sight of the buildings did not dispel a sense of loneliness, for the prairie seemed to stretch interminably on all sides.² The establishment of a college at Qu'Appelle and its subsequent failure aroused much controversy. Many questioned the wisdom of opening a college in a newly settled diocese; others felt that during the economic depression, 1884-1891, the people could not give adequate support to the venture; and yet others believed that the college and school were founded upon principles unsuited to the country.

Bishop Anson, the third son of the Earl of Lichfield, was educated at Eton, Oxford, and Lichfield Theological College. While a canon at Woolwich in 1883, he read the appeal of the Bishop of Rupert's Land for volunteers for the missions in the Canadian north-west. A flood of immigrants was pouring into Rupert's Land and the C.P.R., advancing at the rate of three miles a day, was carrying them farther and farther west. In the District of Assiniboia, the western part of the diocese, the situation of the Anglican church was desperate. There was a CMS missionary at Touchwood Hills but not another Anglican clergyman in that vast area of 96,000 square miles. The bishop felt that unless something was done immediately the church would lose its position in the north-west.³ Canon Anson, stirred by this urgent appeal, volunteered for the work, and in his farewell sermon to his parishioners, said:

It seemed to me to be an emergency which those clergy, who like myself had no home ties . . . and who might be able to support themselves by their private means, might do something to alleviate by volunteering for the work . . . I do not in the least consider it as of necessity a life long work. In a few years, say ten, the pressure will probably have passed away, the land will have been brought into cultivation, and the inhabitants will be able to provide the ministrations of religion for themselves in the usual way.⁴

Shortly after Canon Anson made this decision he was offered the bishopric of Central Africa but he refused it because his heart was in a plan which he had devised for the missions in the Canadian north-west. He wished to establish one

¹Rev. F. A. Eichbaum, "Diocese of Qu'Appelle," *Occasional Paper* (quarterly magazine of the Qu'Appelle Association in England), No. 16 (Jan. 1889), p. 12.

²C. Laura Johnstone, *Winter and Summer Excursions in Canada* (London, [1894]), p. 8.

³Lambeth Palace Library, Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Foreign, 1882, R.25, "Statement of the Bishop of Rupert's Land," Sept. 12, 1882 (leaflet).

⁴Rev. A. J. R. Anson, *Our Colonies and Our Church* (Woolwich, 1883), p.9.

or more centres from which missionaries in pairs (a priest and a layman) would work and return to the centre every six weeks. Men with private means who could go without stipends were sought as the number of clergy needed to minister to the diocese was great.⁵ When Canon Anson arrived in Winnipeg in August, 1883, he found that a new diocese, Assiniboia, had been formed which was coterminous with the civil district of Assiniboia. He was appointed Bishop Machray's commissary to organize the missions there and after visiting a few of the settlements in the diocese, he hurried back to England to raise money and recruit men for the work.

He campaigned so vigorously that by December he had raised £1000⁶ but not without opposition from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. In the past this society had generously supported the missions in the Canadian north-west and now they felt that Canon Anson's private campaign would weaken the response to their appeal for funds.⁷ Bishop Machray shared the society's view and protested strongly to Canon Anson.⁸ In the spring of 1884 a compromise was reached. Canon Anson turned over the £2000 he had raised to the SPG and they in turn voted funds for the maintenance of the clergy and gave £1000 for the endowment of the bishopric of Assiniboia. This gift, together with the £2000 each, which the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and the Colonial Bishopric Fund had donated, made up half the sum necessary for the endowment. On the understanding that the future bishop would raise the other half by 1889,⁹ the fund was assured and the way was clear for the appointment of the new bishop. Canon Anson was consecrated Bishop of Assiniboia on June 27, 1884.

One of the first things that the bishop did was to change the name of the diocese from Assiniboia to Qu'Appelle. The second was to establish a theological training school and church farm in the diocese. His first plan of recruiting English laymen to help in the missions had had to be abandoned as too expensive. When he visited Assiniboia in 1883 he found that people in the district were willing to act as lay readers and that the number of clergy needed was much greater than he had anticipated.¹⁰ A new scheme of establishing a college and farm, he hoped, would give the young men who had not the means to enter a theological college in England an opportunity to earn their livelihood by working on the farm and also to pursue their studies. While this was not an original plan but one that had been used in some of the Woodward Schools in England,¹¹

⁵ *Church Work in North West Canada* (Woolwich, 1883), [p. 3]; Lambeth Palace Library, Letters to the Archbishop, Foreign, 1883, A 4, Canon Anson to the Archbishop, July 6, 1883; *ibid.*, July 7, 1883.

⁶ Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (hereafter cited as SPGFP), Letters Received, series D, Vol. 70, 1884, "Note before the Standing Committee," Jan. 24, 1884.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 66, 1883, H. S. Tucker to Bishop Machray, Aug. 14, 1883.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Bishop Machray to H. S. Tucker, Sept. 17, 1883.

⁹ *Report of the First Synod of Assiniboia*, 1884, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰ *Church Work in North West Canada*, [Woolwich, 1884], p. [I].; *Church Times*, Jan. 15, 1886, in Collection of Letters, Pamphlets and Press Reports on Bishop Anson, II, 126, in Bishops Court Library, Regina.

¹¹ [Mr. Bateman], *Woodward Schools* (London, 1868), pp. 5-6.

the bishop realized it could be applied with advantage to his diocesan college. Students could work on the farm in the summer and spend the long Canadian winters studying. Young men who did not wish to enter the church could, by working on the farm, help in the support of the missions. Furthermore the farm could be used as a temporary home for a few young English immigrants who wished instruction in Canadian methods of farming. Parents, he felt, would welcome a chance to send their sons to a church farm where, under the supervision of a clergyman, all had to observe a few simple rules of religious life.¹²

In 1884 the bishop purchased a section of land near Qu'Appelle¹³ and in 1885 appointed Rev. F. W. Pelly principal of the college and W. S. Redpath manager of the farm. The appeals for money to equip the farm and to start the college met with good response, £2800 being sent out from England.¹⁴ When the decision to make the college the diocesan headquarters was made public Regina protested. The bishop had made his temporary headquarters in Regina and had been offered land for the college and farm at Long Lake, twenty miles from Regina.¹⁵ The bishop explained that he had chosen Qu'Appelle because it was nearer to the mass of the population which was still in the eastern part of Assiniboia. He also believed that it was better for the college to be forty miles from Regina and on the main line of the C.P.R. rather than to be twenty miles from that city, on a branch line.¹⁶

The college and the farm were formally opened on October 28, 1885, with three theological students, three agricultural students, and three brothers in residence.¹⁷ The theological students took a three-year course and were expected to work on the farm during that period. The agricultural students were instructed by the farm manager and paid £50 a year for their maintenance. The young men who wished to dedicate their manual labour to the service of the church were referred to as a Brotherhood of Labour and fellow workers in the mission. Because the work in the fields could not be carried on during the winter, strict rules were set down governing all members of the household. All must work part of the time at an occupation other than farming for the benefit of the mission. All hours of study (for the students), for employment, and even for relaxation were fixed by the Visitor (the bishop) and the Principal.¹⁸ On November 21, 1885, the Brotherhood of Labour was inaugurated in a ceremony held in the college chapel and three brothers were admitted to the order. The rules of this lay order were simple. Members entered as probationers for a year and if accepted pledged

¹² Canon Anson, *A Church Farm in Assiniboia, North West Canada* [Woolwich, 1884], pp. [2-4]; Sidney Phillips, *Witnesses to Jesus*, (London, 1884), p. 16; *The Guardian*, Jan. 28, 1885.

¹³ *Church Times* [October, 1884]; *Occasional Paper*, No. I (Jan. 1885), p. 17.

¹⁴ *Report of the Synod of Qu'Appelle for the years 1885 and 1886*, p. 8.

¹⁵ *Regina Leader*, June 9, 1885; *ibid.*, July 16, 1885.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1885.

¹⁷ *Qu'Appelle Progress*, Dec. 4, 1885; SPGFP, Letters Received, D, Vol. 74, Bishop Anson to H. S. Tucker, Nov. 10, 1885.

¹⁸ *St. John's Collegiate Farm* [1885], pp. 1-2 in Letters, Pamphlets, and Press Reports on Bishop Anson, II, 91. This circular is also quoted in R. Sykes, "Description of Qu'Appelle and Neighborhood," *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* reprinted in *Qu'Appelle Progress*, April 30, 1886.

themselves to a term of three years and then for such a term as might be decided upon. No vows were taken, the men merely staying in the order as long as they desired.¹⁹ At the end of the first year the bishop reported that the college gave every promise of fulfilling the purposes for which it was built.²⁰

By 1888 the three-year theological course had attracted ten students from England as well as a few Canadians, and the bishop had ordained ten deacons and six priests.²¹ After 1890 the number of theological students dwindled. There were always a few, however, who studied for ordination while acting as masters at the boys' school and, as soon as they were ordained, left for their mission fields. By 1892 twelve of the sixteen clergy working in the diocese of Qu'Appelle had been trained at St. John's College and this the bishop felt justified the establishment of a diocesan institution.²²

The agricultural students followed a very practical course of instruction for one or two years. Henry Greig, whose son was one of the first students, visited the college in 1888 and described the life there as follows:

The Mission Farm on which the college stands, is 640 acres fenced; cattle—*viz.*, cows, horses, sheep, pigs, etc., are kept, and the grain and vegetables common to the country are grown. I may briefly state that the training is thorough. The transition from the comfortable home in these islands to the rough life of a North-West Canadian is often found trying by the young men. The change is too sudden, but at the College the transition is gradual, and this is an important point. There is some home life at the College; the students have for comrades young gentlemen; there are the daily services and the personal influence of the Bishop which is always a prominent feature in the life led there . . . There is always—except in mid-winter—plenty of work to do; experience to be gained as to treatment of cattle, if the student eventually prefers ranching, and during the winter the cattle require special attention. Owing to the scarcity and dearth of labour, machinery is extensively used in the North-West, and here again experience is gained. Carpentering, etc., is necessary to be learned against the time when the novitiate becomes the farmer. Cooking is equally necessary, and in this the student has to take his turn—aye, even to the making of beds and household duties also, a knowledge of which will enable a man to keep his homestead in good order and comfortable.²³

For such instruction the fee in 1888 was £60 for the first year, £50 for the second year, and £25 for six months. After taking this course the student was apprenticed to a farmer for about two years and was then ready to take up his own homestead. If he wished he could consult the bishop and the manager of the college farm about his choice of land and farm equipment. Parents of the youth could be assured that their son had the best of care while at the college and good counsel and instruction when setting out on the new venture.

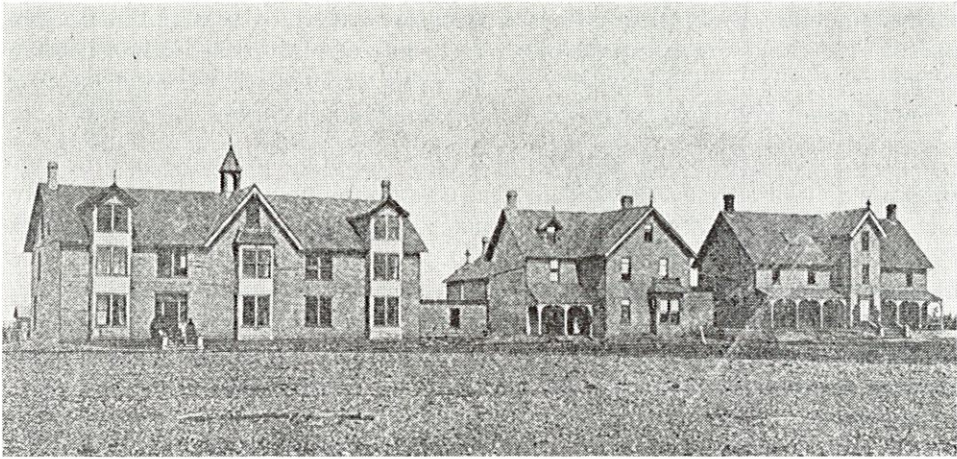
¹⁹ *Church Guardian*, Dec. 24, 1885; *Church Times*, Jan. 15, 1886.

²⁰ *Report of the Synod of Qu'Appelle*, 1885 and 1886, p. 8.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 3.

²² *Ibid.*, 1892, p. 10.

²³ Henry Greig, "St. John's Mission, Qu'Appelle," *The Scottish Standard Bearer*, reprinted in *Western World*, Aug. 1892, p. 199.



St. John's College, Qu'Appelle, 1890
(Left to right: Boy's School, Bishop's House, The College)

In 1889 there were several vacancies for agricultural students at the college and in the following year there was a rumor that the farm would have to be sold for debt. Since this debt had been accumulated during a series of crop failures and since he still had faith in the venture, the bishop and some of his friends in England advanced a loan of £1000 to keep the farm going for another year.²⁴ In 1890 Henry Greig, the new secretary of the Qu'Appelle Association in England, was concerned about the future of the agricultural college and put on a drive for students. This was so successful that he was able to send a quota of ten students each year and to keep a waiting list of three to fill any vacancies that might occur.²⁵ A new farm manager, Mr. Clarke, was appointed and under his direction the farm and the agricultural school became almost self-supporting.

The Brotherhood of Labour did not prosper. Bishop Anson wished the brothers to follow the *active* rather than the contemplative life. At first they were to work on the college farm and later they were to go out into the settlements to teach, to nurse, or to follow their former trades. By going out to work in pairs the bishop hoped that they would be able to combat "the unbearable loneliness which drives the spirit out of men and compels them to give up."²⁶ No vows were required on entering the order and later when the Brotherhood of Labour failed, Bishop Anson admitted that some vows might have been advisable.²⁷

There were three brothers in the order when it was started in 1885 but two years later there were three vacancies. One brother had left because of illness and another because his three-year term of service was up. The bishop hoped

²⁴ *Occasional Paper*, No. 22 (July, 1890), p. 4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 24 (Jan., 1891), p. 14; *ibid.*, No. 26 (Oct., 1891), p. 7; *ibid.*, No. 27 (Jan., 1892), p. 14; *Report of Synod of Qu'Appelle*, 1892, pp. 14-15.

²⁶ Rt. Rev. A. J. R. Anson, *The Need of Brotherhoods for the Mission Work of the Church* (London, 1893), p. 11; Ven. Archdeacon G. N. Dobie, "Life of Bishop Anson, in *Leaders in the Canadian Church*, Second Series (ed. by W. B. Heeney; Toronto, 1920), pp. 291-92.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 14, 19.

their places would be taken by teachers who were to be ready to take the examinations set by the Board of Education for the Territories.²⁸ In 1888 the brotherhood had some very promising recruits among them a German school master who was given charge of a school in a German colony near Balgonie.²⁹ In 1887 Henry Dee joined the order as Brother Superior and was put in charge of the farm which had formerly been managed by a practical farmer.³⁰ In spite of this change in management the brothers continued to leave the order. In announcing that there were three vacancies in 1889 the bishop warned applicants:

All at the college are expected to *work hard* and to live in a similar manner to that of the ordinary farmers in respect of food, etc. The Bishop does not wish the Brotherhood to be in any way looked on as a stepping-stone to Holy Orders. It was as a working Lay Brotherhood that he founded it, in the hope that those might be found who desired to live a religious life together and to give their manual labour for the good of the Church.³¹

The chief cause of discontent, the desire of the brothers to become priests, was often encountered by those who organized lay orders,³² and was to be expected in the North-West where there was a shortage of clergymen. Bishop Anson absolutely refused to permit members of the brotherhood to study for Holy Orders in his diocese but welcomed all who entered the order on the understanding that their work was to be manual and educational only.³³ Nevertheless the brothers continued to leave one by one, some to study for ordination elsewhere, and others to take up work which was more to their liking.³⁴ By 1890 the brothers had dispersed and the Brother Superior left the college to begin work as a lay missionary at Fort Pelly.³⁵

Concerned as the bishop was with the success of the order, he had to be away from the college for months at a time while visiting the missions in the diocese. In 1888-1889 he spent over half a year in England raising money for the bishopric fund. In his absence the full responsibility for running the order fell on the shoulders of Henry Dee, a young man of twenty-three,³⁶ whose training at the Woodward School at Ardingly with its college farm fitted him only for managing the household and the farm of St. John's College. Bishop Anson realized this in 1893 when he commented on the failure of the brotherhood as follows:

That experiment failed simply because I was unable to obtain any one experienced in the life of religious communities to manage it and to place it on a sound basis, and because men offered themselves and came to it who had no real vocation for the work at all.³⁷

²⁸ *Occasional Paper*, No. 12, Oct., 1887, p. 15.

²⁹ Rev. F. A. Eichbaum, *Occasional Paper*, No. 16 (Jan., 1889), p. 13.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; see account of Henry Dee in *Church Messenger*, III, 10 (Oct. 1890), p. 160.

³¹ *Occasional Paper*, No. 18 (July, 1889), p. 12.

³² Anson, *Need of Brotherhoods*, p. 13.

³³ *Occasional Paper*, No. 21 (April, 1890), p. 12.

³⁴ Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Anson, *Need of Brotherhoods*, p. 20.

³⁵ *Qu'Appelle Progress*, Sept. 26, 1890.

³⁶ SPGFP, Letters Received, D, [99], 1891, W. Nicolls to H. S. Tucker, June 1, 1891.

³⁷ Anson, *Need of Brotherhoods*, p. 20.

A boys' school had always been part of the bishop's plan for religious education in the diocese. As early as 1885 he had canvassed the diocese and found that thirty parents were ready to support a church school.³⁸ He decided to start the school at once by housing the boys temporarily in the college building but when he found that the college students and staff filled the building to capacity he had to cancel these arrangements.³⁹ The same anonymous donor who had given money for the college sent a similar gift for a school building and the bishop announced that "a wooden structure capable of housing forty boys"⁴⁰ would be completed in 1886. It was a three-story building containing two large classrooms, a library, dining-room, kitchen, two dormitories for the boys and rooms for the headmaster and his assistant masters. The school was allotted four acres of land so that provision could be made for playing fields for cricket and football and even for a bathing place. There were plans for a gymnasium to be built in 1891.⁴¹

The school building stood empty for three years because the bishop could not secure a suitable headmaster. The Rev. F. W. Pelly, principal of the college, was appointed the first headmaster in 1886 but when he became ill and retired to England the opening of the school had to be postponed.⁴² The bishop could not offer the salary needed to attract the type of headmaster he wanted, and had to announce that he would wait for some clergyman to volunteer for the work.⁴³ In 1887 he was disappointed a second time when an Englishman who had volunteered was unable to come.⁴⁴ However in 1889 he secured T. A. Owens, who had some experience in Canadian schools, to open the school in September.⁴⁵ When Owens left in December, the Rev. William Nicolls, a graduate of Manitoba, was appointed principal of the college and headmaster of the school.⁴⁶

The course to be given at the school was advertised in 1887 as one "intended to furnish a high class of education suitable for Commercial or Professional Life."⁴⁷ In 1889 the classes given at the school were listed as English, Latin, French, with Greek, or German, as electives.⁴⁸ Boys in the sixth form were prepared for the university matriculation, the teachers' and the professional examinations. "To meet modern requirements"⁴⁹ a commercial course was added in 1891 and such subjects as telegraphy, typewriting and book-keeping were taught. The classical course was expanded then to include science, mathematics, singing and one

³⁸ *Occasional Paper*, No. 33 (July, 1893), p. 11; see also *ibid.*, No. 5 (Jan. 1886), p. 1.

³⁹ *Regina Leader*, Nov. 5, 1885; *Qu' Appelle Progress*, Dec. 4, 1885.

⁴⁰ *Occasional Paper*, No. 7 (July, 1886), p. 6.

⁴¹ *Church Messenger*, IV, 4 (April, 1891), pp. [i-ii]; *ibid.*, IV, 2 (Feb. 1891), p. 37.

⁴² *Report of Synod of Qu' Appelle*, 1886, p. 8.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 6.

⁴⁴ *Qu' Appelle Progress*, Aug. 11, 1887; *ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1887.

⁴⁵ *Church Messenger*, II, 6 (June, 1889), p. 86; *Qu' Appelle Progress*, Aug. 23, 1889, *Occasional Paper*, No. 18 (July, 1889), p. 11.

⁴⁶ *Church Messenger*, III, 1 (Jan. 1890), p. 7.

⁴⁷ *Qu' Appelle Progress*, Aug. 11, 1887.

⁴⁸ *Church Messenger*, II, 12 (Dec. 1889), p. [i].

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 4 (April, 1891), p. [ii], cf. *ibid.*, IV, 6 (June, 1891) p. 106; *ibid.*, IV, 2 (Feb. 1891), p. 32.

commercial subject as an elective.⁵⁰ The fees were the same as those of St. John's College School, Winnipeg, namely \$80 for each of the three terms, and were considered moderate. During the depression the fees were reduced to \$65 a term but even with low fees the school failed to attract more than ten boys a year.⁵¹ At least twenty to twenty-five students were needed to make the school a financial success⁵² and efforts had to be made to increase the enrollment. The bishop urged his clergy to preach on the advantages of a religious education and on the duty of parishioners to support the church school.⁵³ Principal Nicolls campaigned for money in 1890 to tide the school over the next four years. He suggested affiliation with the University of Manitoba so that the students of St. John's College could enter that university without taking the Preliminary Examinations. This privilege had not been granted to any other school in the North-West Territories and would, he hoped, attract great numbers of students to St. John's, Qu'Appelle. To qualify for affiliation two more teachers, both university graduates, would have to be employed and more scientific apparatus would have to be purchased.⁵⁴ The bishop realized that this was financially impossible and in 1891 he announced that unless more pupils could be found the school would have to be closed.⁵⁵ In the meantime he shouldered the school deficit himself.

There were many reasons for the failure of the school. Laura Johnstone, the matron of the school in 1890, believed that the principles of the English boarding school system were not suited to the country.

To plant a Church school on the system of our public ones in the North-West, and to give the boys cricket and football in their leisure hours, instead of the usual occupations to which they are accustomed, to keep hired people to wait on them is introducing an old-world institution into a country hardly ripe for it.⁵⁶

She observed that the Canadian schoolboy had superabundant energy but that he was not interested in his studies or in sports. This she blamed on the extremely cold winters which made hard study and the playing of games impossible. Furthermore, she said that Canadian boys rebelled so openly against the strict discipline of the boarding school that the good instructors left. She concluded that the American system of day schools was better suited to conditions in the North-West and that "a boarding school founded with English money might only turn into a reformatory for troublesome youths."⁵⁷

When in 1892 Bishop Machray was consulted by the Archbishop of Canterbury about the financial difficulties of the school at Qu'Appelle he gave this

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*; *Regina Leader*, Jan. 6, 1891; *Qu'Appelle Progress*, Oct. 14, 1891.

⁵¹ *Occasional Paper*, No. 25 (April, 1891), p. 8; *Regina Leader*, Sept. 29, 1891; *ibid.*, Feb. 2, 1892; *Report of Synod of Qu'Appelle*, 1892, p. 16.

⁵² *Church Messenger*, VI, 2 (Feb. 1893), p. 31.

⁵³ *Report of Synod of Qu'Appelle*, 1890, p. 3.

⁵⁴ *Occasional Paper*, No. 23, (Oct. 1890), pp. 12-13.

⁵⁵ *Church Messenger*, IV, 4 (April, 1891), p. 66.

⁵⁶ Johnstone, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 188; see also *ibid.*, pp. 184-187.

opinion. His college, St. John's College, Winnipeg, still had to struggle to keep going although it had been started long before there was another school within 1200 miles of Winnipeg. Bishop Anson, on the other hand, had started a private school when there were free government high schools in every town of 1500 to 2000. Moreover only a few families in the diocese of Qu'Appelle could afford to pay fees and some of these would not pay until they felt financially secure. The burden of finding the money for salaries, Bishop Machray felt, was not justified for a school with a weak staff and only a few pupils.⁵⁸

However, St. John's College and School did contribute much to the social life of that pioneer district. Plays were a popular form of entertainment and were included in the programs given at the college from time to time.⁵⁹ In the fall of 1885, before the college was formally opened, the students and staff took part in a dramatic skit put on by the townspeople.⁶⁰ Later in the year the "B Battery" Drama Club put on a play to which the Lieutenant Governor was invited as a special guest.⁶¹ Even the cricket club one winter ventured to produce a play.⁶² In 1886 the students organized a debating society which was to hold weekly meetings. They also formed a cricket team and chose the college colors, orange and blue.⁶³ So many cricket matches were played that one reporter sarcastically referred to the enthusiasm for the sport as a "cricket boom."⁶⁴ By 1887 St. John's College had enough players for two teams, one of students and one of graduates. On occasion a brass band played on the town field and the day ended with a grand ball.⁶⁵ In 1891 tennis was the favorite sport. Because of the increase in the number of agricultural students at the college, new tennis courts were added and a Lawn Tennis and Cricket Club was formed. Only the students and the clergy were eligible to play on the tennis courts but any gentleman might join the club to play cricket. Tennis matches were played with the town club each Saturday and sometimes a band was in attendance.⁶⁶ To encourage cricket, exhibition matches were played between the college students and the school boys and the townspeople were invited as guests.⁶⁷

In April, 1889, a meeting was held at St. John's College to organize a Hunt Club. Early in January five members had paid five dollars each to get the club started and twenty-eight had joined at a fee of ten dollars a year. Five couples of hounds were purchased from the Toronto Hunt Club⁶⁸ and meets were held

⁵⁸ Lambeth Palace Library, Letters of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Foreign, Q1, Bishop Machray to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Aug. 5, 1892.

⁵⁹ *Qu'Appelle Progress*, Jan. 6, 1891; *Church Messenger*, V, 2 (Feb. 1892), p. 29.

⁶⁰ *Regina Leader*, Sept. 24, 1885.

⁶¹ *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, March 11, 1886.

⁶² *Qu'Appelle Progress*, Nov. 29, 1889.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, May 7, 1886.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, July 2, 1886.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 11, 1887.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, April 23, 1891; *Regina Leader*, Sept. 17, 1893.

⁶⁷ *Occasional Paper*, No. 26 (Oct. 1891), p. 18, c.f. *Church Messenger*, IV, 8 (Aug. 1891), p. 148, *ibid.*, IV, 6 (June, 1891), p. 106.

⁶⁸ *Qu'Appelle Progress*, Jan. 25, 1889, *Regina Leader*, April 9, 1889.

in the traditional fashion beginning with the hunt breakfast. The chase was often exciting when the scent was found on the plowed ground⁶⁹ and usually foxes and wolves were plentiful. In the late spring of 1893 newspapers warned hunters that these animals were scarce and that the condition of snow and water in the ravines made hunting disagreeable to those "who, from force of circumstances take a tumble."⁷⁰

The programs given by the students and staff at college banquets and on anniversaries were reported in the papers in full detail. On various occasions the school invited the friends and relatives of the boys to their entertainments and sometimes asked the guests to contribute to the program. The students celebrated Dominion Day in 1886 by driving to Regina for the day. In spite of bad roads and broken springs, all seemed to enjoy the excursion. Sometimes when guests at the college left on the long two-mile drive into town to take the train, they found many friends waiting to accompany them. Thus one visitor wrote:

A large party of us left at 1.15 a.m. for the train for the East, driven in a large waggon by the Brother Superior. Unfortunately, the train was two and a half hours late, so one's night's rest was finished on the floor of the waiting room in the station.⁷¹

To English visitors the wilderness must have seemed very close when wolves were to be seen from the college windows. To Canadian visitors the traditional after-dinner speeches made even on informal occasions at the college must have seemed very formal and English. Dancing, however, was enjoyed by all. Weekly Assemblies were held by the townspeople and an annual ball was given in the Immigration Hall by the agricultural students.⁷² Occasionally surprise parties were organized such as the one made up by forty couples from town and country who drove out to the college and danced until three in the morning to the music of Major Nesbitt's violin and the organ played by Mr. Jagger and the Brother Superior.⁷³

In the midst of this pleasant life came, in 1890, the rumour of the bishop's impending resignation. The clergy were greatly concerned and begged him to stay. They suggested ways of lightening his heavy load but the bishop refused all help. He pointed out that the emergency for which he had volunteered was over. Immigration had been at a standstill since 1889; the clergy were no longer travelling missionaries but had permanent charges and were working for stipends; the parishes, with a good crop or two, would soon be self-supporting; and the work of the diocese had become routine. The bishop had given warning of his resignation because it meant the withdrawal of the bishop's income from the diocesan funds.⁷⁴ This was not his only financial contribution to the work of the diocese.

⁶⁹ *Qu'Appelle Progress*, May 17, 1889.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1893.

⁷¹ *Occasional Paper*, No. 16 (Jan. 1889), p. 13.

⁷² *Qu'Appelle Progress*, Sept. 2, 1886.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1889.

⁷⁴ *Church Messenger*, III, 12 (Dec. 1890), p. 192.

There were many ventures to which he had given his personal support. When the diocesan magazine, *The Church Messenger*, had a deficit of \$100 he had paid half of the debt himself rather than see the magazine shut down.⁷⁵ He had advanced loans to keep the college farm going⁷⁶ and from 1889-1892 he had contributed £1000 for the maintenance of the college and school.⁷⁷ He had done all this because he believed firmly in the future of these religious institutions and wished only to tide them over their early difficulties. On his retirement he felt that the agricultural school which was now secular should be closed and that the synod should take over the full responsibility for the theological college, the farm and the boys' school. The synod did not wish to do this and left the matter for the new bishop to settle.⁷⁸ Realizing that the fate of the college depended on him, Bishop Anson decided to raise a Guarantee Fund of \$500 to enable it to remain open until the new bishop arrived.⁷⁹ He succeeded in raising \$350 in the diocese and \$500 in England.⁸⁰ The Rev. J. P. Sargent was made bishop's commissary and treasurer of the college and school. Thus when Bishop Anson left in October, 1892, he had made ample provision for the care of the three agricultural students and the few schoolboys still left in the college residence for the winter.

In March, 1893, word came that the bishop designate, the Rev. W. J. Burn, wished to keep the college going and that he was working in England to obtain support for it. Bishop Burn arrived in Qu'Appelle in May, bringing ten new agricultural students with him.⁸¹ That summer the synod investigated the financial standing of the college and reported that the college and school had been run at a loss each year, that the school building needed extensive repairs, and that the college farm was heavily burdened with debt. The synod therefore decided to close the school immediately and to run the college with its one divinity student and nine agricultural students, for another year.⁸² The fact that the agricultural branch of the college was flourishing moved the editor of the *Vidette* to suggest that the government should take over this secular work of the college which apparently filled a definite need for agricultural instruction in the country. He proposed that the government might issue, to the students, certificates of standing which might be accepted in lieu of the first year spent proving a new homestead. Although this suggestion appeared in the *Vidette* at a time when F. W. G. Haultain was visiting in Qu'Appelle, nothing came of it.⁸³ In 1894 the theological department of the college was closed and the whole question of continuing the college was raised again in synod. After a long debate the members of synod decided to accept Anson's gift of the college property, including his own house, and to accept part of the debt on it as a mortgage.⁸⁴ Two farmers in the

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 5, (May, 1889), p. 66.

⁷⁶ *Occasional Paper*, No. 29 (July, 1892), p. 9.

⁷⁷ *Report of Synod of Qu'Appelle*, 1892, p. 15.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷⁹ "Report of Executive Committee for 1892-1893," *Report of Synod of Qu'Appelle*, 1893, p. 10.

⁸⁰ *Church Messenger*, V, 10 (Oct. 1892), p. 193.

⁸¹ *Qu'Appelle Progress*, May 18, 1893.

⁸² *Occasional Paper*, No. 33 (July, 1893), pp. 6-8.

⁸³ *Qu'Appelle Progress*, July 13, 1893; *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, July 20, 1893.

⁸⁴ *Report of Synod of Qu'Appelle*, 1894, pp. 4-6.

district, H. F. Boyce and E. S. Evans, rented the college and farm and continued to run it as a temporary home for young immigrants, giving them the same practical instruction in farming at a slightly higher fee.⁸⁵ With the sale of its effects on September 20, 1894, St. John's College and Farm ceased to exist as a diocesan institution.⁸⁶

Bishop Anson's attempt to establish higher education in the diocese of Qu'Appelle had been premature. In 1885 few settlers had been on the land for more than two or three years and in the depression few of them could support such a venture. Without an endowment the college and the farm could not support the students and the brothers. Moreover a boarding school, especially in a depression, could not compete successfully with the free government schools. As Henry Legge, Bishop of Lichfield, and a friend of Bishop Anson, pointed out the college with its farm "suffered from having been begun on principles not suited to the country, but on ideas formed elsewhere, which have either failed, or had to be considerably modified."⁸⁷ Like the Woodward Schools, St. John's College had been based on the voluntary service of young men who wished to dedicate their work to the church and it too failed because there were not enough young recruits who, as teachers or tradesmen, were willing to accept conditions analogous to those of entry into a religious community.⁸⁸

Bishop Anson, however, never lost faith in these religious ideals and continued to preach on the need of brotherhoods in mission work. Throughout his life he worked for the missions of his former diocese through the Qu'Appelle Association in England. He took an active part in the plans which were made in 1908 to start another theological college, this time in Regina, and even selected its name, St. Chad's. After his death in 1909, money raised in his name was given to St. Chad's as an endowment fund.⁸⁹ It was fitting that in this way the future of the new college was made more secure and that at least a part of Bishop Anson's early plan, the establishment of a theological college in the diocese of Qu'Appelle, was fulfilled.

LUCY H. MURRAY

⁸⁵ *Western World*, Aug. 1894, pp. 215-217. The property was now called "The College Farm."

⁸⁶ *Regina Leader*, Sept. 20, 1894.

⁸⁷ *Church Messenger*, VI, 2 (Feb. 1893), p. 31.

⁸⁸ K. E. Kirk, *Story of the Woodward Schools* (London, 1937), p. 101.

⁸⁹ *In Memoriam. Adelbert John Robert Anson* (London, [1909]), pp. 3-5.

DOCUMENTS OF WESTERN HISTORY**The Edwin J. Brooks Letters: Part II**

In this issue of *Saskatchewan History* we are privileged to present the second installment of selections from the letters of Edwin Jackson Brooks, a distinguished pioneer of Indian Head. Readers will please note the error in the title of the first installment, in which Mr. Brooks' name was incorrectly given as Edward. The original letters are owned by his son, Mr. Murray G. Brooks of Barrie, Ontario, who made them available to the Archives of Saskatchewan for copying, and with whose permission they are being published, in part, at this time. The third and final installment will appear in the spring issue.

The Editor.

Indian Head,
7th March, 1883.

My dear Nellie:

I wrote to you last week from Broadview and I believe I told you that I thought of coming up here. I left there Wednesday night and on arriving here found most of the boys away. From all I can learn the squatters intend to remain on their claims and defy the government. I am trying to find another section, that is, I am asking questions but not travelling around the country which would be useless at this time of the year. I cannot say at present if I will be able to find anything. I hired out as carpenter the day I came up and am working on the Bell farm. We are putting up fifteen or twenty buildings. I have been working since Friday morning and like the job very well; it is not nearly as hard work as on the Railroad and I can get rather better pay. I start at \$2.00 a day. Will probably get more later on; if not, I may get a better chance on the Railroad as carpenter. There are three of us together boarding ourselves. We live in a little portable house 6 feet by 14 feet—with 2 double bunks across the end to sleep in. We have 2 little dogs in the outfit as well. One of my companions is a cook so that we can have good victuals and well cooked. It will cost us very much less than boarding at the farm house where they charge \$4.50 a week and besides we are right close to our work all the time as our little house is carted wherever we are required to work. We work from 7 to 6. There was a regular blizzard here this morning so that we could not get to work until noon. I was up to my tent last Sunday and brought down my blankets which were all right excepting a hole or two where the mice got at them. We had no light last night and had to make bread in the dark. It wasn't a very easy job but we managed it all right. We take turns about getting up and making the fires. I had to buy a saw and hammer and a pair of shoes, my boots were too cold at times and my moccasins were worn out. With very much love for yourself and the boys.

Indian Head,
14th March, 1883.

I suppose you will feel anxious to know how I am getting along in my new place and I must try and tell you all about it. We live about 3 miles from Indian Head on the Bell farm, and we move our house on a pair of sleds with 2 horses

as often as our place of work gets too far away to walk conveniently back and forth for meals. I have got along nicely so far and find the work very much easier and more interesting than working on the Railroad. We are able to buy bread but sometimes make it, as well as biscuits, and use baking powder instead of yeast. We have oatmeal, rice, prunes, dried apples, bacon, beans, etc. For the last 2 days we have eaten beans at every meal and I am cooking some more to-night. They taste better here than at home but are very much more expensive (\$6.00 a bushel). I get up first every other morning to prepare breakfast, and generally get up about quarter past five which does not agree with me very well. I have not been down to the city but once since I left Broadview so that you can see I am quite steady; if my wife was there *perhaps* I would go oftener. There are but two of us now, the other chap was quite sick with a bad cold and went down to the city and has not yet returned. Four of us can get out, and put up easily two house frames in a day, the houses are 23 x 26, one story high with a roof like the Hawse's. Our object is to put them up strong, cheap and speedily. We had a couple of blizzards last week, half day Thursday, all Friday night and all day Friday; the last day was a caution, we worked all that day most of the time inside and got along first rate. I expect we will have some more of the same kind before April. If there is no loose snow it is not nearly as bad—snow is going quite rapidly under the influence of the wind and sun. You would hardly know me now that I have got so black. I must try and send you a rough sketch of our home inside and outside

(18th). Haven't rec'd a letter from you for 3 weeks. Down town to-day squatters say they are going to stay on their land.

Indian Head,
23rd March, 1883.

It is just twenty minutes of eight and supper for four and two to eat it is hardly over, dishes not washed and not liable to be for a day or two. My partner and I are both writing. The fire burns brightly by my side and the wind howls outside but we are happy and snug. I am busy thinking of my *frau* and little lads far away, and expect they are in the land of dreams and happy too. The weather has been quite mild all this week. Yesterday it was very warm indeed, to-day it has been windy but very soft. Did you ever see a mirage? I never did until yesterday, when I saw in the sky the country 40 miles north of here; it was a beautiful sight. I am told this kind of thing is very common here but never happened to take any notice of them before. A good many of the squatters who went north on a freighting expedition have returned. They do not like the country at all; they say that nearly all of it is very poor land and very rough. Sloughs and bluffs mostly. I was down town last Sunday the first time for two weeks and mailed a letter to you. I had dinner and tea with some of my old chums. They tell me that the squatters are bound to stick to their land and that most of those who went to Ontario during the winter are either on their way back or will be so very soon. We are writing to Mr. Watson, M.P. for Manitoba, who is at present in Ottawa

giving him our experience as well as sundry statements regarding Mr. Bell and the agents sent up here by the government. Mr. Watson is trying to find out all about the Bell Co. and their relation to the government, and we write him so that he can be thoroughly posted. . . . You must not believe all you see in the papers or hear, good or bad about this country. A good many people have suffered from the cold this winter I do not doubt, but I have not heard of any woman and 3 children freezing to death. Most but not all of the houses here are made one story high so that the wind does not have very much effect on them. You think you would be afraid of Indians, do you? They are the most harmless of the populations in this country There is plenty of water at the city—the C.P.R. dug a well 53 feet deep and have 18 feet of water. The water is very hard, even snow water is hardly soft My partner and I were figuring up to-night how much our board cost us each for a week for the last 3 weeks. It comes to \$1.96. Not very much that for a country where oatmeal and cornmeal are 8 cts a lb—rice 10c, sugar 15c, ham or bacon 25, fresh pork by the quarter 15c, beef 15c, etc. If we had a cow and a place to keep her, we could live well and cheaply. Of course we have a lot of stuff on hand but all good and necessary. I am getting along very well as far as I can judge and like the work well. I have been helping at barn building lately and am now boss on a small one and have *one* man under my eye besides myself. Would you like to live in Chicago with your boys? Immigrants are arriving here daily. The Bell Farming Co. have imported a blooming lot of English Cockneys. Ah! the blawsted country ye know

Indian Head,
28th April, 1883.

Saturday night has come again. Work is done for this week and supper eaten and I must tell you my appetite does not go back on me in the least. I changed my boarding place this week. The fellow I have been camped with I never liked. He was a dreadfully foul mouthed chap and seemed to delight in talking smutty stuff just to aggravate me. I often told him what I thought about it, but as the house we lived in belonged to him I put up with a great deal than I otherwise would have. The chap I now live with is very much nicer. I have been working with him ever since I came here, and of course know him well. I received your letter of 17th this week and enjoy hearing from you and the boys. The papers say that there is an agent on the way to look over our claims to the land here and we hope he will either let us have the land or pay us for our trouble and expenses. Surveyors are at work laying out the town. They experienced some trouble in surveying part of it and had a squatter arrested for pulling up stakes, etc. The *trial* came off a couple of days ago and was postponed until August since then they have not surveyed on that part of the land. We put up a barn yesterday on the new site and a house to-day. The latter is all finished and ready for occupation. That is the way we do things here. This makes a very pretty townsite. Bell is selling the lots. I received a letter from Allan to-night and must try and write him soon. If I leave here it will be because I do not get my land. I never expect to be a farmer, still I would like to own a farm here and if I was in

business could attend to both. I would like the farm for you and the boys, for I do not want to bring them up in a city and don't expect to either. If I went to Chicago I should try and get a place out of town, one easily reached by horse cars. I prefer the States if I am to do business, as I think a man if he is steady and industrious has a better chance of getting along there than in Ontario or at home. As far as Lennoxville is concerned I feel completely weened from any desire to return there to live

Indian Head, Assa.
21st May, 1883.

I did not write to you last week but will write early this week to make up for it. Neither did I receive my usual letter from you but recd. both packages of papers all right and am much obliged for them. We had some little excitement here last week when Bell tried to prevent Daley (who owns half of the town) from plowing. Mr. Bell did not succeed however. I have never been so disgusted with anything as I have been of late with the Ottawa Government. Our squatters rights are hardly to be compared with some poor fellows who settled last year, early, south of the R.R. but south of the track, that is outside of 24 miles south of the track—last week the govt. sold at Winnipeg all even numbered sections there to the highest bidder; it did not matter to them whether the settler had any improvements or how much, he was obliged to buy the land, or else lose it, and in many cases in order to buy had to travel from 50 to 100 miles by team and then ride in the cars for perhaps a couple of hundred miles. It is no wonder so many settlers are leaving here and going to the States. It makes a fellow's blood fairly boil with rage to know of the treatment squatters are subject to in this country by a rotten Dominion Govt. Conservatives here are just as bitter as they can be, and denounce their actions in more forcible than polite language. We had a nice little shower this afternoon and nature generally looks improved for it. You have probably noticed in the papers the burning of Troy or Qu'Appelle a week ago yesterday. The Station, Emigrant Shed, and all of the principal places of business were burned down and very little saved. The buildings were all good ones and large; some of the merchants lost everything—and no insurance. I had to move out of my late domicile last Saturday as the owner rented it for a bakery. I have a good comfortable place and am all right for the present. I find it lonesome enough living all alone but will probably live through it all right. We have preaching now every Sabbath, by a young Presbyterian minister. He is quite young but preaches first rate and I enjoy the service very much. He preached a week ago from the text "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul" and yesterday from John XV. 2nd verse. The congregation is quite large and very attentive. (22nd). I recd. this morning your very welcome letter and also the March Witnesses and postal card Mosquitoes are getting plentiful, they will soon be a terror to man and beast. A good many (not mosquitoes) are going from here to Fort Qu'Appelle on the 24th to celebrate. I do not expect to go, neither do I wish to. I had supper last Saturday night with my boss and his lady. They have always been very kind to me and I like them very

much. The youngest of their two boys is with me a good deal. He is a dear little fellow and I enjoy having him around. The Bell farm are boring a well on the townsite and intend putting up a hotel near by. So far they are down 145 feet and no water . . . Bread and milk isn't bad, but I don't fancy rice. I use a great deal of cracked wheat and cook it the same as oatmeal—eat it warm and cold, but prefer it the latter way. Mrs. Walsh gave me a quart of real genuine milk last week and I felt like hugging her to pay for it. It was the first milk excepting once that I have had since last June. I expect it wouldn't be much of a treat to you, but to me it was I can tell you. I can buy it now for ten cents a quart, and sometimes get extravagant and buy a quart . . .

Indian Head,
29th May, 1883.

Your very kind and welcome letter of the 21st inst. arrived this morning. When I wrote you last week I did not tell you that I was no longer working at the carpenter business. My boss was all out of lumber and nearly all the hands were off for several days. I had a pretty easy time of it most of this week but managed to earn six dollars. I hardly knew what to do. Still I did not feel discouraged at all. I intended disposing of my few little traps on Monday of this week and going East, but a good and kind providence ordered that it should be otherwise for the present at least. Mr. Crawford who keeps store here sent word to me Sunday night that he wanted me to help him Monday morning. Monday night he told me he wanted me to remain with them and here I am still and at my old trade and it really seems good to be behind the counter again. Neither Mr. C. or Mr. Robertson his partner know very much about business although the former was with the Hudson Bay Co. for 25 years. He is a very jolly old coon and I can tell you not much like my former boss Mr. Walsh. I did not make any bargain with him about salary but I told Mr. Osment, my carpenter boss, how much I wanted and asked him to speak to Mr. C. for me, which he did. I told him I would work for \$50 a month and my board. I board at the Hotel and enjoy my meals rather better than when I cooked them myself. I cannot tell if he will want me for a short or long time. The young man that has been with him for some time goes west to-night and accompanies Govr. Dewdney to the Rockies, Edmonton, and all the principal points North, and will be away until Sept. . . .

Indian Head,
3rd June, 1883.

I have now finished one week's work in the store and so far like it first rate! My bosses are very kind and allow me to do about as I like. I have been very busy all the week cleaning up and putting things to rights, and the store is now looking very much better. We do a good business and mostly for cash. I cannot say how long I will remain with them, but it looks now as if it would be a permanent job if I so wish it . . . We are going to have great sports here on Dominion day. The people here have raised over five hundred dollars to be given

in prizes; horse-racing, running, jumping, etc., will be in order. Great preparations are being made. They had great times at the Fort on the Queen's Birthday. I did not go, but those who did enjoyed themselves first rate. It seems strange now to look out of doors or to go around the country here and to think that only one year ago there were no buildings of any kind here; one would almost think this place had been settled for years. The weather is very dry indeed so far. We must have rains soon or no crops will be the result. We have had very little rain as yet, but June is the rainy month in this country so that we may expect wet weather to set in at most any time. I have a good chance now to see the late papers as we have the post office. Mr. Crawford may decide to open another store either here or at some other point and give me the position of manager. I believe he thinks some of doing this. I am willing as long as it will pay me to do so. Mosquitoes are not very bad yet, but no doubt will be so soon. I went into the hotel last night where they were having a *stag* dance, and it was comical enough to see all men dancing in their every-day working clothes. They were having a good time anyway. There are lots of women here now. I often have my meals quite late, and the hotel girls eat with me. I enjoy it tip-top. I wrote to Pa a couple of days ago and I hope he will go to Chicago. The Presbyterian Minister here has raised \$550 and has the promise of two lots of land from Mr. Bell. He will probably get about a thousand dollars and then build a church. The Presbyterians have a great many young men preaching in this country and all I think have good congregations

Indian Head,
18th June, 1883.

I am late in writing to you this week, it seems as if I had no time to write excepting on Sunday, and I just made up my mind I would not write any more letters on that day. We keep this store open until eleven and twelve o'clock every night and I am up every morning by half past six. During the day I am kept busy enough so that I cannot write a letter without being bothered a good deal. It is now eleven o'clock and a beautiful night. We are having real nice weather, not too warm but bright and pleasant. The prairie looks just splendid. I never saw it so beautiful before. Mr. Crawford expects his wife and daughter to-night. The daughter I believe is about 18 or 20. We have had quite a trade the last week or two with the Indians—a good many of them were here last year. To tell you the truth I was real glad to see some of them although they are a hard lot; it seemed like meeting old friends. I received a letter from Pa a couple of days ago. He wrote that he expected to go to Chicago this week. I hope he will do so even if he does not remain there. The presbyterian minister here is starting a day school this week, and I am sure will have all the scholars he can attend to. I like him very much and find him clever, and a first rate preacher. Dr. Edwards of Fort Qu'Appelle is building a house here and will probably move down very soon. The Railroad men are on a strike for higher pay; they are receiving at present but 1.50 per day and now demand 2.00 which is quite little enough. Mr. Walsh has built a store at Sintulata, ten miles east of here, and will probably move

down there very soon. I think it was built with Mrs. Walsh's funds. *Tuesday*. Mrs. and Miss Crawford did not arrive last night after all our fuss to get ready for them—and I did not receive my usual letter from my girl but probably that will come all right. I sent you the *bill of fare* for the sports here on July 2nd. The boys are busy getting everything in shape to make it a success. I send the boys to-day 3 books. Perhaps they will like the pictures and besides they may be useful to them

Indian Head,
25th June, 1883.

All have gone to supper and I must try and write you a letter while they are away. I have not heard from you for two *long* weeks and often wonder what my old lady is about. We are having very warm weather after the rain and crops are growing like everything. The man I wrote you about sometime ago who asked me about going into business with him was here this morning and offered to put \$2000 into the business and from what he said I believe he would put in \$4000. I told him I could not give him a decided answer at present, as I had made a proposition to another party away from here and if that was accepted I preferred not going into business here, but if I cannot make my plans work I will accept his offer. He has agreed to wait until I hear from the party. If it works I will tell you all about it, and will go home to see my wife and boys, and if it does not I will remain here, as there is a first class opening here and I know I can do well. Bell has the townsite and some first class buildings are going up

Indian Head,
6th July, 1883.

. . . . Our celebrations have come and gone, and they were a decided success all through, and everybody seems perfectly satisfied. I had no chance whatever of seeing any part of it. Mr. Robertson was over there until after eight o'clock at night, and Mr. Crawford and I were kept very busy all day. I never had a thing to eat from breakfast time until after nine o'clock at night. We did not close the store until after one o'clock Tuesday morning, and I was tired enough. We traded some six or seven hundred dollars. The day was just beautiful. We have the finest weather in this country that I ever saw anywhere Now let me tell you about my own affairs here. I saw the man I wrote you about. His name is George Murray and he will put in from \$3000 to \$4000, at say 6 per cent interest, and give me half the profits. The Company to pay the interest on the money. At present we are trying to make arrangements to purchase the stock that Mr. Walsh had Mr. Murray wanted me to engage for several years but I refused to do so for more than one year. If we do well I may continue the partnership. I am to draw say \$40 a month out of the business, besides my board account here. I do not see but what we can do well. Will try hard enough anyway. Perhaps if Mr. Crawford would offer me a hundred dollars a month I might remain with them. I wish you could be here for a couple of weeks just to see what

kind of place we live in. We have just as pretty a town site as there is on the line and I am sure we will have a good town. You would enjoy being here I am sure, and I would enjoy having you along with me. The mosquitoes are bad, but they don't bother us very much. I sent a paper to you yesterday and enclosed a little h'd'k'f for my little Nell. I hope you will receive it all right

Winnipeg, Man.,
16th July, 1883.

I arrived here Saturday night and have been trying to purchase Walsh's stock but did not succeed. Perhaps it is just as well. We will now have all new stock, and that will be better than a lot of old stuff My partner is here and the firm is to be Murray & Brooks. He looks at least 10 years older than me and I was a good deal surprised to find that he is 3 months younger. He expects his wife up in a few days. I wish mine would be here as soon as that. You ask about a creek at Indian Head. There are two of them, one on each side of the town but are dry during the summer. Wells are being dug all over the town and good water found at twenty feet. You asked me several other questions but I have forgotten them. Will try and answer them in my next. The country between Indian Head and here is looking very fine. The crops look just splendid around High Bluff. The land is the very best in the whole country and houses seem to be springing up like mushrooms. The growth of the country between here and Indian Head is something wonderful. A year ago there was hardly a house along the whole line, now towns and villages are on every hand—everything changed and looking prosperous.

(*To be continued*)

Book Reviews

MANITOBA, A HISTORY. By *W. L. Morton*. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1957. Pp. 519. illus., maps. \$4.00.

IT IS not enough to say that Professor Morton has produced the best history that has been written of any Canadian province. That would be too faint praise for a book that stands as a major contribution not only to the history of the Canadian West but also to the national history of Canada.

Manitoba has been fortunate in her historian for Morton plainly loves his native province. Yet affection does not blind him to her defects and there is nothing parochial or provincial in his view of her history. He does full justice to Manitoba's place as the keystone of Canadian federation, as the most Canadian of Canadian provinces.

No previous writer has described more eloquently or offered a more persuasive explanation of the events that attended the entry of Manitoba into Confederation. To Morton the Red River settlements could offer little in the way of opportunity to its able youngsters except the excellent education in its remarkably good schools that only further stirred their discontents. These frustrations were felt quite as much by the English-speaking youths of the settlement as by the French-speaking *métis* who found a leader in Louis Riel. The mood of the people of the Red River before, during and after the "rising" has nowhere else been so successfully portrayed.

Morton plainly regrets that the Northwest was not made a crown colony well before 1867. Then she could have entered Confederation without the second-class status that so long tied the hands of Manitoba's government and which was shared only by Alberta and Saskatchewan. He is sharply critical of the Canadian "statesmanship" that saw the Northwest simply as a potential field of exploitation, as a useful hinterland for the Laurentian provinces.

Accustomed as we are in Canada to history written by Liberals—with a large, rather than a small "l"—it is refreshing to encounter a reversal of judgements on individuals that have had a wide and easy acceptance. Sir Rodmond Roblin, for example, that villain of so much partisan propaganda, emerges from the notorious Kelly scandal surrounding the contracts for Manitoba's handsome legislative buildings as "a man of great energy, simplicity and directness of mind . . . possessed of a trenchant grasp of principle," who deserved a better fate than to be swept away with a system of "coarse and completely immoral party politics." That respectable if easily dominated figure of Liberal writing, Thomas Greenway, is on the other hand dismissed as a "shrewd mediocrity."

In his account of Manitoba's political history, Morton stresses the reluctance of the province to accept the party politics of eastern Canada with its traditional division of all men into the categories of Grit and Tory. The first governments were non-partisan, representing the various elements in the life of the Red River rather than a particular political position. From these shifting combinations

there soon arose the attractive figure of John Norquay, a son of the old Red River and, although a conservative by temperament, by no means a dedicated Tory partisan. But the newcomers from Ontario triumphed and there followed, under the Greenway and Roblin administrations, a period when party strife was as crude and bitter as anywhere in Canada. Yet even Roblin had begun his political career as a Liberal and Clifford Sifton, most distinguished of Greenway's "grey eminences," was to move very close to the Tories. The Norris government, nominally Liberal, was able to accommodate itself to the growing strength of the organized farmers, while the Bracken government came into being on the crest of the wave of western and agrarian revulsion against the traditional parties of Canadian politics. The continuators of that government, which might, one suspects, be more accurately characterized as an administration, are still in power. One is left in some doubt as to the writer's final verdict on the political course that Manitoba has followed in common with the other western provinces. Though he clearly has no sympathy with the extremes of partisanship, the reader may detect a certain impatience with the uninspired "negative democracy," based upon an unjustifiable weighting of the rural vote, practiced by the successors of the Bracken administration. Morton would, one feels, be very pleased to see "the grey pall of pragmatism" swept aside by some fresh breeze blowing through the political life of his province.

Although it does not make the usual concessions to what Canadian writers and publishers often appear to regard as the popular taste, *Manitoba, a History*, is likely to have a wide appeal. It is the work of a scholar, but fortunately of a scholar who is conscious that history is none the worse for being well written. Morton has the gift of words; he can not only sense the peculiar qualities of Winnipeg, in some ways the duller and in other ways the most interesting of great Canadian cities, but he can convey his perception to his reader. He does not hesitate to say harsh things when harshness is justified; he speaks for example of Winnipeg's waterfront as "the neglected backyard of a too busy city which had sprung from the traffic of its rivers and now left in slattern neglect the streams which were its sole natural adornment." If his writing has a weakness it is a too lavish use of adjectives. Perhaps here his editors might have been more helpful. They could also have eliminated a few halting sentences such as that on page 460: "It was with this spirit . . . that the business community of Winnipeg had challenged." No doubt Professor Morton regrets as much as did this reader that his notes appear at the end of the book, rather than at the foot of the page to which they properly belong.

These are minor defects in a book which will give pleasure and instruction to many readers and which sets a wholly new and very high standard for the writers of provincial history.

L. G. THOMAS

Notes and Correspondence

THE Wolverine Hobby and Historical Society has had three meetings since the report published in our last issue, held in the Spy Hill School. The October meeting was addressed by Mr. B. F. Tether, Conservation Officer of the Department of Natural Resources at Moosomin. On November 18, two members of the staff of the provincial Museum of Natural History, Dr. R. W. Nero, Assistant Director, and Mr. Richard Fyfe, Education Officer, discussed archaeology in Saskatchewan, with special reference to recent excavations on Long Creek, near Estevan. Dr. Nero reported that under the direction of a professional archaeologist nine levels of occupancy had been unearthed. Some 1700 articles, including pottery, arrowheads, and bone tools, were found. The specimens are now being subjected to laboratory tests to establish their age more exactly. At the meeting on December 16, Miss Donaldta Putnam of the Provincial Library discussed the benefits of setting up a regional library.

A committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice E. M. Culliton has been set up "to make and carry out arrangements for a suitable and effective celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the University of Saskatchewan." Four occasions in 1959 will be highlights of the observation: University Farm and Home Week in January, Convocation in May, the Conference of the Learned Societies of Canada in June, and celebrations of the actual anniversary dates of registration and first lectures in September, 1909. It is expected that three new buildings, Arts, Biology, and Animal Husbandry, will be completed for the latter occasion. Associated with Mr. Justice Culliton on the Jubilee Committee are Dr. W. P. Thompson, vice-chairman, F. Lovell, secretary, and J. A. Pringle, treasurer. Sub-committee chairmen include Dr. J. F. Leddy, program planning; F. Lovell, home-coming and reception; Dr. Carlyle King, history and publications; John Archer, community program and jubilee film; Eric Knowles, publicity; and Duane Berezowski, student activities.

Contributors

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