

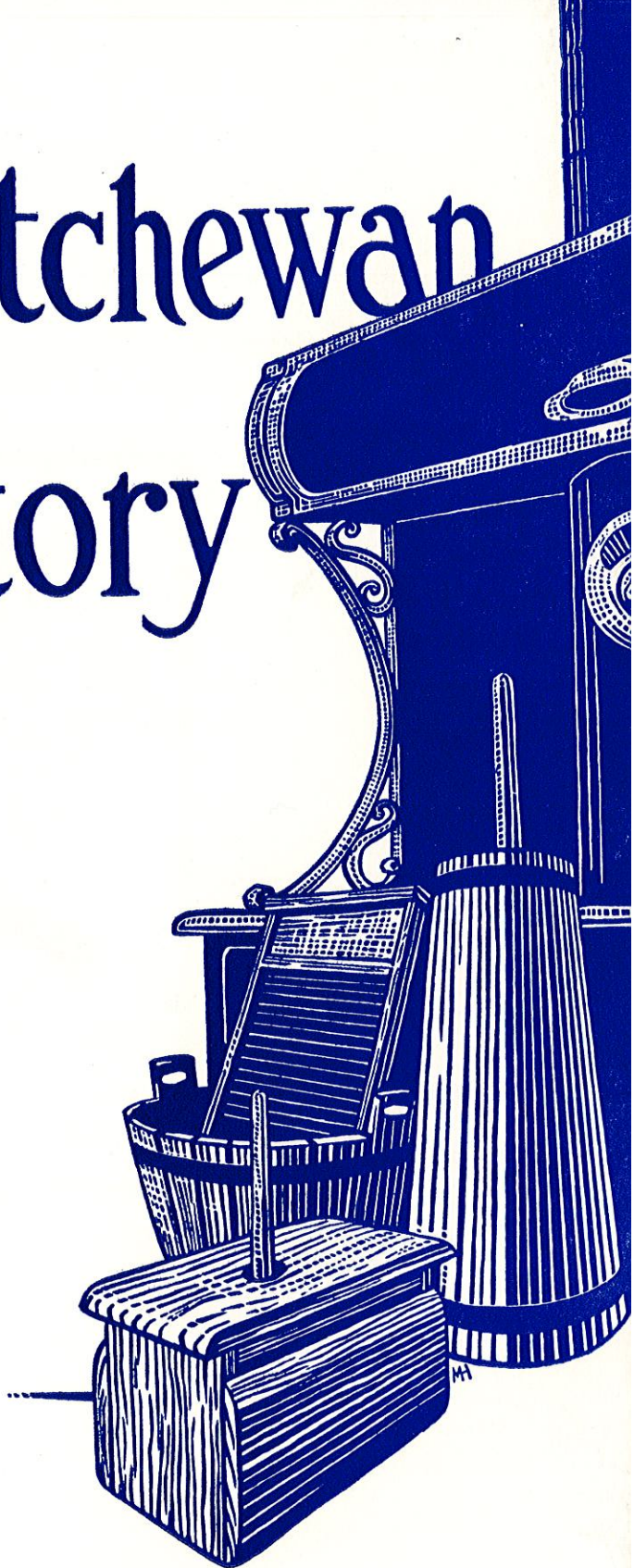
Saskatchewan History

★ CREE INDIANS
IN NORTH-EASTERN
SASKATCHEWAN

by
JUNE CUTT THOMPSON

★ JAMES HENDERSON
of the
QU'APPELLE VALLEY

by
ARTHUR HAYWORTH



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Cree Indians in North-Eastern Saskatchewan

Miss June Cutt, now Mrs. R. B. Thompson, served as a nurse on the staff of Indian Health Services from 1953 to 1956, except during the academic year 1954-55 when she took a post-graduate course in Public Health at the University of Saskatchewan. Stationed at Prince Albert, she worked from there among the Indians of the northern areas. The difficulty of getting into some of the reserves forced her quite literally, she states, to paddle her own canoe, when upon occasion it was necessary to paddle to the middle of a lake with a guide, to be picked up by airplane. In the following account of Indian life, written in 1955 while at the University, Miss Cutt deals specifically with Carlton Agency, which lies north and east of Prince Albert, stretching as far north as Reindeer Lake, and south to Pelican Narrows, Deschambeault, Cumberland House, Red Earth and Shoal Lake. She describes particularly the impact of the white man's civilization upon the Indian culture, and the changes which it has effected in their mode of living.

The Editor

ONE of the gravest problems which faced the government of Canada with the acquisition and settlement of the North-West was the impact of a more powerful civilization upon the native Indian tribes. Too often the advent of the white man into a new area has led to the moral and physical decline of the natives. In the North-West, while political and social assimilation remained the ultimate object of the native policy, the Canadian Government followed tradition by negotiating treaties with the Indians and by setting aside inalienable reserves for their use.

The Indians of the North-West were divided into three groups, the largest of these being the Crees. With the introduction of horses and firearms they spread out in all directions over the greater part of the North-West. Theirs was a purely nomadic existence, their culture essentially that of a race of hunters, existing wholly or largely by the chase. Simplicity was the central feature of their organization.

In each Indian community every man was his own master. At the head of the tribe was the civil chief. His position was, to a limited extent, hereditary; his authority was only advisory or influential. The Indians resented anything that savoured of absolute authority or assumption of superiority. Thus, while the head chief could influence the conduct of his tribe, his word was not necessarily regarded as a command. He was assisted by his councillors, the minor chiefs and headman. The Indian chiefs, in accordance with the principles of their savage democratic way of life, never set themselves in opposition to the will of the tribe. The war chief was independent of the civil chief and held his position by virtue of his physical prowess and military reputation. The strength of this simple society lay in the Indians' respect for, and inflexible adherence to, tradition and custom. The life of the Indian was full of inhibitions and ceremonies. Their world was peopled with spirits, voices, and mysterious influences. The essential Indian characteristic however,—a wild love of freedom, never became subordinated to their social organization. The passing of many years had done little to alter their mode of life, but with the coming of the white man, all this underwent a change.

The first Europeans to live in the North-West were the Hudson's Bay Company factors. Friendship and harmony marked their relationship with the Indians. The basis of this friendship lay in the policy of the Company toward the natives with whom they came in contact. Their dealings with the Indians were marked

by a sense of trusteeship and strict integrity. The Indian learned to respect the "kingchauch" man as the representative of a superior civilization and the embodiment of fair dealing, a fact which during the Indian rising of 1885 saved several white men from the horrors of an Indian massacre. The policy of the Hudson's Bay Company was not, however, an unmixed blessing to the Indian. Not only did the fur trade tend to draw the Indian away from his tribal organization and make him into a "Company Indian", but the introduction of the white man's manufactures destroyed the native's self-reliance and independence. Long before 1870 the white man's knives, blankets, guns and powder had displaced the skins, bows and arrows of an earlier period. The one time luxuries became necessities and the Indian, forgetting the weapons and usages of his father, henceforth became dependent upon the white man for his homely needs and even for life itself. It was not until after 1870 however that the full force of the white expansion was felt. White settlement then spread rapidly over the North-West plains, and the government was accordingly brought face to face with that problem of disorganization which is produced among a primitive people when they are suddenly brought into contact with a more complex civilization.

As long as the Hudson's Bay Company retained its trade monopoly and political status, the Indian was free to live as he wished. With the introduction of free traders in furs and the passing of the Company as the governing power of the North-West, however, the lot of the Indian became an unhappy one. Although criticism has been directed against the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company, such monopoly was essential for the preservation of the Indians' sense of value, and the maintenance of a policy of justice and integrity. The policy of the free trader was a short-sighted one. Unlike the Company, the free trader cared nothing for the future; the continuance and well-being of the natives was no concern of his so long as he could get possession of the furs which the Indian had to barter. New and reprehensible practices of trade were introduced. Competition was keen. Trader outbid trader and upset the century-old values fixed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Alcohol, discontinued by the Company for many years as an item of trade, now poured in from the Red River and from across the border. Along with the alcohol, wild rumours were fed to the natives by the evilly disposed traders. Threats, insubordination, and violence became common; serious crimes passed unpunished. The Hudson's Bay Company influence rapidly dwindled.

Debauchery and demoralization were the result of the contact of the native and the trader; starvation was the result of the advent of the settler. The coming of the white man resulted not only in the increasing scarcity of game but also in the occupation of the Indians' land. Immigration implied the occupation of the land for agricultural purposes, thus depriving the Indians of those means of livelihood which had been theirs and their forefathers for centuries. It is not surprising that the Indians, interrupted in the peaceful possession of those hunting grounds which they considered their own inalienable patrimony, regarded the white intruders with hostility. Unscrupulous traders and resentful half-breeds made no effort to reassure the Indians. Having everything to lose and nothing to gain by the establishment of a strong administration in the North-West, they

plied the Indians with rum and spread stories of faithlessness and probably extermination. The Canadian Government was fully aware of the danger which threatened both the Indian race and the people of the country. In August of 1873 the North-West Mounted Police was organized. With the arrival of the Force in 1874, no time was lost in rounding up the whiskey runners.

In the West, the natives felt the full pressure of the white expansion within the short space of two decades. Here was no gradual, imperceptible change, as there had been with the Eastern natives. The problem of readjustment was made all the more difficult by the mechanical progress and complexities of nineteenth century civilization. Treaties in the West were more formal, and contained not only the details of the cession but the expressed obligation of the Canadian Government to make provision for the instruction, health and civilization of the native tribes.

Treaty Six, which involved the surrender by the Wood Crees of the North Saskatchewan region, was one of the most important treaties negotiated. The area treated for was vast and extensive. The Indians were wild and warlike, and determined to allow no white invasion of a country to which immigration had already turned for settlement. As a result of the representations of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, the inhabitants of the settlement of Prince Albert, the North-West Council, and the Mounted Police, federal authorities took action. The treaty was signed at Fort Carlton on August 23rd, 1876. It contained, in addition to the usual terms, the concession of a horse, harness and wagon to each chief, additional agricultural tools, a medicine chest for the band, and a grant of one thousand dollars for three years for provisions for those Indians who settled down and actively engaged in agriculture. The most important clause was one providing for aid and rations to the Indians in the event of "any pestilence or general famine". Officials were aware of the implications of this clause for they felt it might cause the Indians to rely upon the Government instead of their own exertions for their sustenance, especially as their natural means of subsistence were likely to diminish with the settlement of the country.

The treaty system as a method of governing the relations between the Indians and civilized peoples, although it has not been an unqualified success, has continued to this day. The entire federal Indian service is essentially an educational undertaking built upon a foundation of respect for and a programme of gradual modification of the culture of the Indians. Much has been said in criticism of the methods employed in the past, but fifty or even fifteen years ago, the actions taken appeared to be the only sensible things to do.

The Indians attained a closely knit community life because of their loyalty to the tribe and obedience to their chiefs. This way of living suited a country that was thinly populated. There was little personal and no economic relationship between the bands. Each band had its own range but the limits were not clearly defined, and all members of a band lived in the same general territory. Kinship ties were operative in the transfer of band allegiance. A family which, for some reason, was dissatisfied with its neighbors, went to camp with relatives in another

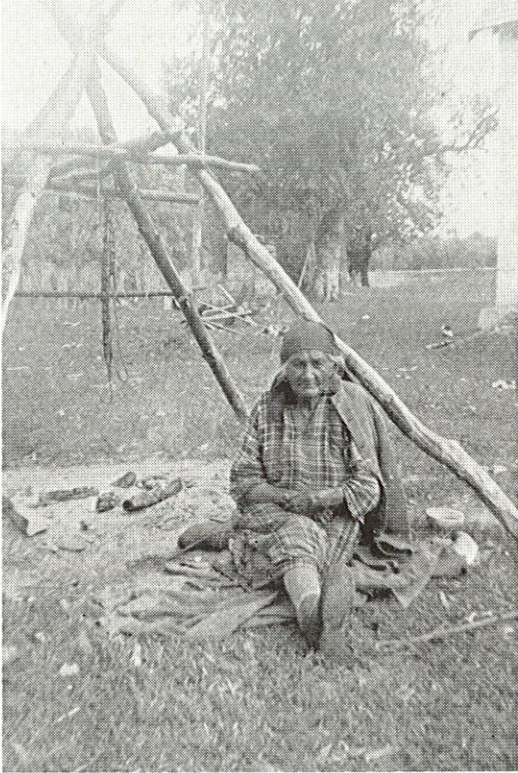
band. Newcomers were ordinarily able to trace kinship ties with several people in the band, and so established their ascribed status. If these kinship ties were non-existent, marriage into the band usually furnished an immigrant with the social alliances necessary for adjustment to the course of communal life.

Originally the Indians in this area were entirely dependent upon hunting and fishing for their food, alternating between periods of plenty in good game years and periods of privation and starvation when game was scarce. Wild meat such as caribou, moose, deer, elk, and fish was the contribution of the male members of the band to the diet. A man was recognized by his prowess as a hunter, and his status in the group depended upon this skill. However, if a man were a poor hunter, as long as he remained with the band he would not go hungry since the spoils of the kill were shared by all. When camp was established the women unloaded the travois and set up the tipis, then collected firewood and drew water. It was also the women's role to smoke the meat, tan the skins and gather the berries and rose hips which were part of their diet in season. The men occupied the superior role in their society; the women by tradition were subject to their husbands and did their bidding. Little thought was taken to provide for the future, and what came their way was accepted.

Today, the Indian, no longer independent, must rely upon civilized society for the necessities of life. Formerly living in isolated groups, the Indian now finds that his economic status is directly influenced by our market society. During the past year [1954], factors which had an adverse effect on the Indian economy were the declining fur prices, high commodity prices, and low production. In an effort to raise production, a fur rehabilitation and management program was initiated in co-operation with the provincial administration. Despite progress shown among the beaver and muskrat population, there are indications that the numbers of other fur-bearing animals are rapidly decreasing in many areas, owing to the heavy trapping and scarcity of food supply. A new industry which is rapidly developing and which will mean much to the future economy of these people is commercial fishing. However, this too has disadvantages, and the fluctuation of the market price has made the venture at times unprofitable for the Indian. Added to this is the cultural trait of these people, who were hunters first and foremost, and fishers only of necessity.

One might ask how these economic factors influence their culture today. Generally their economic status is considerably lower than that of the whites. Their clothes are shabbier and of inferior quality; their houses smaller and more ramshackle; they are looked down upon by the white populace in general. Of the overall group it is probably the status and role of the males which has been most seriously disrupted. Formerly it was enough that a man provided for his family through his hunting ability. Now he must secure sufficient fur to provide cash for necessary manufactured articles and food. With the increasing scarcity of wild game, this is posing more of a problem each year. Stripped of his one means of strengthening his ego and providing status, the Indian male has resorted to boasting and lying,—all in an effort to impress others with his superiority. Paul

Sicotte, a teacher in this area for more than twenty years, had this to say: "Twenty years ago, I thought them very nice and well-mannered—a first impression which faded gradually as I discovered they were only a sham. Anyone with a little education has proved the old proverb, 'A little knowledge is a dangerous thing.' They are very improvident, never think about tomorrows, boastful to a high degree, easily insulted. Arrogant if they have a little money, but very meek without it. They are dishonest when sure not to be detected. They will



"Widow McKay", at one time the midwife on the Red Earth reserve. Note the arrangements for outdoor cooking which the Indians use during summer months.

never give the right answer when asked for information. The more they come in contact with the whites, drunkenness becomes their favorite pastime, as then they think they are real men. Their opinions change with their moods." Mr. Sicotte goes on to suggest that in another generation they might improve and may be able to assimilate with the whites, if they are not always discriminated against as they are today.

Any attempt to bring these people around to our way of thinking must take into account the deep cultural ties of their past. We look down upon the Indian male for allowing his women to do all the manual chores such as sawing wood and carrying water, yet it would be more degrading for him if he did these tasks which traditionally belong to the woman, for he would "lose face" amongst his own people. The Indians are called lazy—yet for generations trapping and hunting

have been their only occupations, with other tasks belonging to the women. Confined as they are to reserves, the Indians have had little opportunity to acquire technical training or experience, or to diversify their activities to improve their economic position. Their main occupations of trapping and fishing offer little more than a bare subsistence. An appreciation of their culture is thus a significant factor in effecting necessary changes.

The concept of a single all powerful creator was dominant in Cree ideology and ceremonialism. Every prayer for supernatural aid, every ritual addressed to divine powers had to begin with an invocation to "kice-manitou"—Great Manitou. The Great Spirits of Good and Evil, both of which manifest themselves in mundane affairs, were considered to be under his control and everything was

created by his will. He was not personalized, nor given any definite abode other than an empyrean locale; he did not appear to men in visions. What we call Heaven and the future life was not uppermost in the Indian's mind. The present was too close at hand—too pressing to be relegated to any secondary place. Also, advantages that are definite, though only temporal, and that can be appreciated by experience far outweighed and completely overshadowed the dubious delight of a future existence. The intermediaries between the Creator and man were the spirit powers. Their number was legion, for they possessed every living thing. When a spirit power appeared to an individual in a vision, it became a person's "pawakan", his supernatural guardian, or better, his spirit helper. The power did not guard and protect a man against all contingencies, but rather aided him in definite, prescribed situations. Apart from the spirit power concept were the ideas concerning the life force in man. This force was present in all living things and was called "ahtcak"—which translated, we call soul. The soul which entered the body at birth and left at death resided along the nape of the neck. Only when danger threatened did a man feel the presence of his soul along the back of the neck. After death the soul wandered about aimlessly for four days, then transversed the Milky Way, and entered the land of the dead. In the Green Grass World men, women and children all lived a carefree life.

Families made a custom of keeping what was called "The Burden",—relics of the lost ones, wrapped in a bundle and enclosed in red or other colored shroud, the best they could afford. When a household lost one of its members by death everything belonging to the deceased was given away except small mementos which were preserved and treasured. This formed the Burden. It fell to the woman to take care of this, and it was faithfully carried with her whenever she made a journey or the camp was moved. If the death occurred in the evening, people gathered in the tipi where the corpse lay and they remained there throughout the night. Men did all the work connected with the burial, except that of preparing the corpse of a woman. The failure to provide a suitable funeral feast might cause a soul to linger until the feast was finally given.

With the influx of immigrants heading westward for settlement came the missionaries; Anglican ministers and Roman Catholic priests. Courageous, tireless, these men went into the hitherto unknown areas, their only hope to spread the Christian message to these primitive peoples. In the 1850's the church at Stanley Mission was built and still stands, its steeple tall and straight against the blue of the sky and the green of the pine—a fitting tribute to the Christian pioneers in this area. One might ask how the Indians reacted to this new religion. Primarily their own religion had been based on superstition and fear. The Indian's belief suited him and his circumstances. When brought face to face with the faith of the missionaries he did not ridicule it, but did not at first accept it. He considered the white man thoughtless and aggressive, and naturally weighed the Gospel he was asked to accept along with the white man as he saw him. The Indian permitted himself to be baptised—feeling that it could do no harm, but his private opinion remained unchanged. Throughout the following generations

the routines of professedly Christian behaviour have gradually supervened and now, with some exceptions, the Indians' religion is the same as the white man's.

The Indians in this area are of two faiths, Anglican and Roman Catholic. Every reserve has a mission or church. Some are lowly log structures, others are more elaborate. In some areas the minister or priest is able to hold services only once or twice a month, but these services are well attended, even though they often are held on a day other than Sunday. A very high percentage of the Indians attend the church services, but whether from a religious or social viewpoint is open to question. They carefully repeat the form of worship, but one wonders if they have fully accepted the Christian faith. Superstition, according to Paul Sicotte who also acts as a lay reader in the church, still plays a large part in their religion. They refer to God as "Manito," using their old terminology when they spoke of their supreme spirit. When a death occurs, it is still the practice to gather where the corpse lies and remain throughout the night. Neighbors help the woman of the house prepare her mourning clothes, and the garments of the deceased are given away. These people show very little emotion when one of their family dies, and one often wonders what thoughts lie behind their mask-like, expressionless countenances. Children educated in church residential schools become indoctrinated into the Christian faith at an early age, and for these the religion may perhaps become integrated into their way of life and thinking. However, one questions if among the older members acceptance of the white man's faith was only to keep in good grace with him and the authorities. On the other hand the number of young Indians who are in service in the ministry is noteworthy.

The term "Indian" is applied to any person who is registered as an Indian. The Indian Act designates specifically who is and who is not entitled to be so registered. For example, Indian women who marry non-Indians are excluded, as they take the status of their husbands; in the same way any woman married to an Indian is registered as an Indian regardless of her race. Thus, the Indian status is a legal rather than a racial concept. Apart from special provisions in the Indian Act, Indians are subject to federal, provincial, and municipal laws in the same manner as other Canadian citizens. Their real and personal property held on a reserve is exempt from taxation, and such property, except on a suit by another Indian, is also exempt from seizure. Being wards of the government, they are not ordinarily eligible to vote in federal elections. Now Indian veterans and their wives may vote, whether they live on or off reserves. Any Indian may become eligible to vote if he gives up his right to tax exemption on his personal property. From early times, as a protective measure, the use of intoxicants by Indians and the supplying of liquor to them was prohibited. This dates back to 1874 and the enforcement by the North-West Mounted Police of the trade in alcoholic spirits. Under the present Indian Act, the liquor provisions have been modified to permit Indians to purchase and consume intoxicants in public places in accordance with provincial law. The manufacture and consumption of liquor on reserves is prohibited. This law however does not deter the Indian, who makes his own "moose milk" or "soup"—terms referring to home brew. The "moose



Chief Anderson of the Sturgeon Lake Reserve wearing the chief's uniform. His wife wears the long dress still customary among many of the older women on the reserves. When the picture was taken, in 1954, Chief Anderson was 80 years of age and his wife 78.

milk" is consumed, scarcely allowing time for it to ferment, and the Indian is off on a drunk, without a care in the world.

Changes in the Indian way of life may be noted in his political organization, his clothing, food, health habits, housing, and education. The original political organization of the Indians varied considerably from band to band. It was usually very simple, involving only the recognition of the chief and head men or councillors, either hereditary or chosen for their prowess and ability. With the passing of the Indian Act of 1951 the position of the traditional hereditary chief disappeared, and the Indians now elect band councils consisting of a chief and councillors which correspond to local elected officers in rural municipalities, with voting carried on in a similar manner. Councillors are elected by all band members twenty-one years and over, and for the first time women now have a vote. The councils are concerned with local conditions affecting members of the band and work closely with the superintendents. The size of the council is determined by the number of band members, with one councillor elected for each 100 members. It is to consist however of never less than two councillors or more than twelve. The chief is provided with a uniform by the department, and this he wears to denote his rank. It is indeed an honor if, when the chief learns that one is to visit his reserve, he dons his full official dress. The council may make by-laws with respect to various matters of a local nature on the reserve and it also exercises control over the expenditure and management of its own funds and property. This is in accordance with the underlying principle of Indian legislation that the

protection and advancement of the Indian population may be furthered by giving them more self-government and responsibility. As at the time of treaty, there are still Indian Agents living on the reserves whose role today is to help the Indian to help himself.

Before the advent of the Hudson's Bay Company the Indian male dressed in skins; the full costume of a man comprised a shirt, breech cloth, and leggings—all of antelope skin, moccasins and a robe of moose or caribou hide for the cold weather. In the summer men generally discarded all their garments except the breech cloth and moccasins. The women wore much the same costume as the men, but their shirt was longer, reaching almost to the ankles. Hence, they needed no breech cloth and could make their leggings shorter. Except in winter, boys ran about naked until they were nine or ten years of age, and the girls until they were about six. Such clothes as they wore resembled their parents' in both style and decoration.

A visitor to the north today may clearly see the influence of white civilization in Indian dress. The men wear overalls or jeans, colored cotton shirts, and jackets, with brightly colored scarves tied about their necks. On their feet they wear moccasins, usually made by their women, and rubbers. A cap completes the outfit. The growing scarcity of wild animals is making it increasingly difficult for them to obtain sufficient hides for the making of moccasins. In some of the more marshy areas, high rubber boots are worn. The men take pride in a jacket which has been gaily beaded. In the northern areas these are still frequently seen, although the beading is now done on a manufactured item rather than the original moose or buffalo hide jackets—a combination of the old and new.

It is interesting to note that the women, in making their dresses, all follow a basic pattern which extends back into their culture. The long shirt of times past is still seen, only in a slightly modern version. Using bright materials, the woman makes a straight one-piece dress, plain at the neck, and with sleeves. Despite the frigid temperatures in winter, these women wear dresses and it is unusual to see one in slacks. On their feet they wear moccasins, with thick woolen stockings. For outer wear, their jackets, like their dresses, are bright colored, with tams or scarves on their heads. The women wear their tams indoors and out, and often sleep with them on. Children's clothes resemble the parents', and in summer they can be seen swimming and running about naked.

Infants normally are kept in a moss bag made by folding an oblong piece of hide or cloth lengthwise and sewing one end. The child is dressed in a shirt, the lower part of his body is packed in frequently renewed dry moss, perhaps a rabbit skin or lynx wrapped about his feet, tightly bundled in blankets, and then placed in the moss bag. Two perforated strips of hide are sewn on each side of the long opening, and laces are drawn through them. This method of caring for the child has been passed down from one generation to another, and is still popular today. The children are kept in the moss bag until they are able to toddle about. Cradleboards are also used, but came into use after the advent of the trader. These cradleboards are rectangular and have a forward projecting arc of wood at the

head. A U-shaped wooden rim sits upright on the face of the board some four inches from its margins, and this serves as a holder in which the moss bag containing the child is lashed. Some of these are very elaborately beaded and are handed down through the families. These cradleboards are still used extensively on Shoal Lake and Red Earth reserves. The sight of mothers arriving at the Health Clinic and leaning their infants in these cradleboards against the wall, while they went about their visiting, was a sight that never ceased to amaze me. Supplies of clean moss are gathered by the children, dried and kept on hand. Moss bags are an excellent means of transporting the infant and keeping him warm, but one finds, upon visiting the home, that the infant is confined to this bag for twenty-four hours a day until such time as he can walk. An effort has been made to teach the mothers to allow their infants some freedom from the restraint imposed by the constant use of this "moss bag," and there is now a tendency among some of the younger mothers to allow the child the normal amount of freedom and to use the moss bag only for travelling and outings. The moss bag is excellent for these purposes, and it is to be hoped that Indian mothers will cling to that part of their cultural tradition in the care of their children.

The early diet of the Indians was perhaps more nutritious than one would



Outdoor dentistry at Co-op point on Reindeer Lake.

suppose. Large quantities of wild meat provided adequate proteins and fat, and the use of berries and rose hips, both adequate in Vitamin A and C content, warded off scurvy and helped generally in the maintenance of health. The choice parts of the slain animal were the tongue, shoulder, and heart. The liver was often eaten raw. The first care of the women when meat was brought into camp was to dry it properly. It was then made into pemmican, which was highly relished. Lean dried meat was pounded with stone hammers to a soft mass, berries were added, and melted fat poured over the mixture. Fish pemmican was also made. The Indians used many kinds of soup. The base was prepared by splitting large bones and boiling in water, with meat, berries, and fat then added. Gradually, with the coming of the white man and settle-

ment in the area, the Indians began to obtain such foods as tea, flour, and lard from the Company. These foods, which were first luxuries, soon became necessities. It is unfortunate that the Indian bought with an eye to filling his stomach rather than nutrient content, but it is nevertheless understandable.

The food of the Cree today is a mixture of white man's food with a few items dating back in their culture. Because of the infiltration of the white man's produce and the diminishing of their natural sustenance, these people, although now using our civilized products extensively, do so without rhyme or reason. Their food patterns are poor, due partly perhaps to economic status, but perhaps more so to lack of knowledge and understanding of the value of adequate nutrition. Fish,



An Indian youngster receiving an immunization shot at one of the clinics.

boiled whole or fried, is a major item in their diet, as is moose, elk or deer meat when available. The scarcity of wild game is inadequately filled by other refined foods. Bannock, baked or fried, is a staple food, tea is drunk almost exclusively; the infants, after they are weaned, seldom receive further milk but are given tea. Milk—fresh milk—being unavailable on most reserves, and the high cost of canned milk would account for some of this. The basic cause however goes far back into Indian culture. These people have never been milk drinkers and, until such time as the importance and place of it in the diet can be interpreted to them they will make no attempt to secure it. Oatmeal porridge is a popular food and is found in nearly every home. This would date back to the advent of the Scotch "Company" factors. Potatoes are eaten where available, but on the whole they are not vegetable eaters. This is understandable, since much of the reserve land in this agency does not lend itself to garden produce, and in areas where all food is transported by plane or cat-train in the winter, fresh vegetables are not seen. They use some canned items such as pork and beans, tomatoes, and occasionally fruit. When the Family Allowance cheques arrive, mothers treat their children to "sewacheisje"—sweets or candy. This concentrated refined sugar is detrimental to dental health, as the teeth are already in an unhealthy state due to inadequate nutrition. Many of these people appear to suffer from a nutritional anemia. They are not to be blamed for their erratic food patterns, for we have imposed on them our own civilization and products, replacing their hereditary diet, without educating them to the foods required and their proper distribution. It is the infants and young children who perhaps suffer most in this respect. Until such time as they are able to chew and swallow fish and meats, with the exception of a little porridge, and occasional broth, they receive only the mother's milk.

Although very early records of the causes of death in this agency are not available we do know that, shortly after the beginning of the century, malnutrition and its accompanying ailments (tuberculosis, pyorrhoea, etc.) were epidemic in almost every district. Scabies was rife, trachoma was present on some of the reserves, while dental decay was so common everywhere, even in little children, that it seemed to be the rule rather than the exception. We also know that previously these people suffered the ravages of a smallpox epidemic which depleted their numbers. Infant mortality and morbidity rates were high, and the high death rate among the adult population left them with a young population and no old-age problem. Life expectancy of the Indian was shortened due to malnutrition, disease, and the hazards of their outdoor trapping and hunting existence. The problem was so grave that, on some reserves, the death rate and birth rates were equal and no increase took place at all during the year. The situation appeared to be progressing from bad to worse when a Health Service for the Indians was established across Canada. In an effort to improve the health of the people, field nurses providing treatment and preventive services make routine visits, even to those reserves accessible only by plane. On some of these trips the nurse may be accompanied by a doctor who is employed by the Indian Health Services and who is based in Prince Albert, or by a dentist, also employed by the Department.

Still a nomadic group, many of the health problems of the Indians today are those which have plagued them during past generations. Despite a great decrease in the last few years, tuberculosis is still too common. Yearly x-ray surveys at treaty time assist in locating new and suspected cases, but it is not the final answer. Adding to the difficulty in treatment of tuberculosis is the Indian's love of freedom, which makes him fear and distrust entering the sanatorium. The enforced rest and prolonged stay, despite the wonderful meals and clean environment, often prove too much for him, and he leaves the sanatorium on his own accord, via the window, and heads once more back to the north. Sometimes these AWOL'S are aided in leaving the sanatorium by members of their own families. One young girl, although she had an advanced case of tuberculosis, was so anxious to leave that she jumped out of a second storey window and fractured her hip. Those who repeatedly run away may be brought in under warrant by an R.C.M.P. constable. This is unfortunate, but only time will help orientate these people to the surroundings which, of necessity, many find themselves in today.

The need for health education, particularly in the field of nutrition, specifically infant nutrition, is high lighted by the fact that, although the birth rate is double the average for the whole country, the infant death rate is about three times as high. In Carlton Agency in 1953 the crude death rate was 230 per 1000 population. Resistance to certain diseases is low. For instance, epidemics of measles or of influenza are infinitely more serious than they are among the white population and cause many deaths, due mainly to the development of pneumonia. Diseases of old age are rare, as the life expectancy of the native is not yet as high as that of the white population, particularly of the Indians living in this northern area. It is clearly evident that nutrition is the important factor, and they need help not

only for education towards a higher standard, but also to enable them to produce additional foodstuffs as their location permits. The youth of the native patients, of whom more than half are under twenty, and their lack of caution in observing reasonable convalescence often leads to complications following minor illnesses. A few diseases which plague the Indian trappers are practically unknown among the white population. Two of these are tularemia (rabbit fever), transmitted usually by ticks, and hydatid disease, passed from moose or caribou to dog, to man.

The dwelling of the Indian formerly was a hide-covered tipi, constructed on a three-pole foundation. After the cover had been pinned together the woman went inside and shoved the tipi poles out until the cover was taut. The smoke-hole at the apex of the tipi was flanked by two projections of the cover, the tipi ears. A pole was inserted in each ear and was shifted about to regulate the size of the opening of the smoke-hole, and consequently the draught within the dwelling. Women made the tipi, set it up and owned it. Therefore, a man had to have his wife's consent to have a picture of his spirit helper drawn on the tipi cover. There are indications that, in winter, the Indians built some form of shack dwelling, using logs, moss for the roof, and packing the sides with mud. Refuse, garbage, and wastes were tossed outside the tipi door. When the stench became unbearable, the problem was simply solved by moving the tipi to another site, and the process was repeated again and again.

Housing conditions amongst the Indians today is improving but still leaves much room for advancement. Tents have replaced the tipi as a summer dwelling,



An Indian summer tent. The children's bottles of soft drinks were purchased when the Family Allowance cheques were cashed.

although the woman can still be seen entering the bush, swinging an axe, cutting and stripping young saplings for tent poles. Dwellings for the winter months are of log construction, the chinking being mud and moss, with a sod roof. On some of the reserves accessible by road, dwellings are of frame construction. Most of the homes are one room, but an increasing number contain two or more rooms. Furniture is a bare minimum—a few shelves for supplies and utensils, a stove which may be a small tin round-bellied one or a heavy kitchen range. Tables are hand-made or purchased second-hand from the whites, chairs are few. Bunk frames made of boards, without mattresses, serve as sleeping facilities. Often, when visiting these homes late at night or early in the morning, one finds the majority of the household asleep on the floor. Perhaps because of the extreme climate they usually sleep fully clothed. Lack of interest in improving their homes can be attributed to their mode of life. Still dependent upon the traditional pursuit of trapping, hunting and fishing, they spend only short periods of time in any one area.

Sanitation presents an acute problem. The use of a dwelling other than the tent now prevents the Indians from moving away from the stench and unfavourable sight of their garbage and refuse. Thousands of flies gather about the entrance to each dwelling, landing on all food, transmitting infection and disease in their wake. The building of latrines on the reserves still is not extensive and more encouragement, advice and assistance is needed to accomplish even the crudest sanitary system. Assistance can be obtained through the Band Funds and grants to assist in the construction of or the improvement of dwellings. Through this, it is eventually hoped to improve dwellings where residence is more or less permanent, but in the remote northern areas, such as some of the reserves in this Agency, it will continue to present a problem.

Indians traditionally paid little attention to cleanliness,—they had no word for it. They washed "Russian Fashion". A mouthful of water taken out of a cup was squirted on the hands which were rubbed together a few times, another mouthful on the washed palms to wet the face which was rubbed a little completed the process. When the camp site was near a river or lake, advantage was taken during the summer months to use this for bathing. Their clothes were never washed—indeed, they had none to wash. Their personal hygiene and health habits today, while vastly improved, still leave a great deal to be desired. The distances water must be carried, and in some areas the shortage of water, are factors inhibiting more progress. Their own nature, unlike that of our civilization, does not demand body cleanliness as a degree of respectability. Some of the progress made by the younger women is encouraging, and gradually with the passing of time cleanliness doubtless will become more integrated into their daily living.

Formal education as we know it is relatively recent for the Indians. Earlier, the young boy's education in the fields of trapping and hunting was gained by observation and experience. Similarly the young girl learned her duties from her mother and female relatives. Today the aim of the Department is to bring education within the reach of every Indian. In Carlton Agency all reserves, with one

exception, have day schools or arrangements are made to send children out to the residential school in Prince Albert.

The personality of the Indian child is formed in pre-school years, and later life on the reserve as an adult merely emphasizes the personality differences alien to the demands of the white society. Some school beginners understand a minimum of English while others have no knowledge of it at all. The concept of time and a set routine have little place in their idea of life and school. Adjusting to this presents a problem until such time as the youngster gradually becomes oriented to the novel idea. These children have never sat at a desk before or never have been required to be silent. Dislike of the work content might be due to the enforced attendance (compulsory for all Indian children under 16 years of age), and lack of energy due to malnutrition. One impression which has remained with me is the shyness of the children—shyness when singled out or confronted individually by the teacher or myself as the nurse. Alone, they hung their heads, shuffled their feet and mumbled words, but in a group, laughing naturally and saucily, they were at ease. Self-consciousness is marked when an individual is asked a question. There is also a very quick sense of embarrassment at the least hint of ridicule or imagined ridicule from either the teacher or the class, and they would be overcome physically and mentally with shame. The children are not accustomed to routine, nor are they urged by their families to read, to write, or to conform to the school schedules. The school ranking system has little relevance to their life outside the classroom, and to be singled out for either superior or inferior work is disturbing. The gulf between the world presupposed by those who plan the educational system and the world into which the child graduates appears to be enormous.

An educational system taught and directed by white men plays a large part in the disorientation of the individual and the disorganization of the Indian society. The children at school form a very cohesive group. This group is a protective agency to preserve the children against the insecurity of the white man's school and the white man's culture. Many of the children taken away from their familiar environment to that of the residential school return home with some education, but totally unprepared to earn their livelihood. The Indian population is increasing, yet the reserve land and the resources remain static. Many of the coming Indian generation will be forced to leave the reserves to live, or become pauper wards of the government on increasingly crowded reserve land. These children, as their mothers and fathers before them, are unprepared to meet the demands of white society, and the blame can be laid to a great degree on a vacillating and faulty educational system. Difference in language, background, and outlook encountered among the Indian children require supplementary training and reorientation of their teachers to ensure effective service. Assistance is given by the Department to those students who show the desire and the qualifications to further their education. Counselling, guidance and monetary aid is available to every older boy and girl whose occupational interest and choice indicates the desirability of a course of training at a business college, vocational school or technical institute. While some may take such a course, they receive little or no

encouragement from their families, they find that they are discriminated against in securing a position and find that they do not fit into, or are accepted in the white society, and because of their education, they no longer have a place in their own group. While the father must leave the reserve to earn the livelihood by hunting and trapping, the wife and family must remain behind so that the children can attend school. Because of compulsory school attendance the basic unit in the society, the family, is broken. This raises the question, "Which is the most detrimental?" Should one take the children from their families and give them some education,—but not quite enough for them to fit into white society, and all this time leave them without the closeness, the warmth and affection of the home surroundings, no matter how unfavourable we might think that they are; or should they be allowed to live at home, learn the ways of trapping and hunting and other such skills and have the security of their families and of belonging?

The age of industrialization and mechanization, which has made such a marked impact on our culture, has affected these people to a lesser degree. Granted, they now rely upon us for the necessary equipment for trapping, such as traps, guns and ammunition, motors for their canoes, etc., but on the whole those in the northern part of this area are only indirectly affected. The canoe, still the means of travel during the season of open water, is now manufactured and purchased by the native from one of the posts in the north. Motors expedite travel and the transporting of the fresh fish catch to the nearest fish plant, but the cost of the fuel to the native is extremely high—gasoline as much as ninety cents a gallon. It sometimes costs the Indian more for gas than the value of his catch. During the winter months travel is by dog team. The use of dog sleds or toboggans was introduced by the Company men. When travelling during the winter, visiting the bands to buy pemmican and robes, they used toboggans drawn by dogs. The Indians were quick to realize that a much larger load could be carried by a dog this way and they improvised sleds of their own. These were made of two or three flat boards with sticks lashed across them; the bottom of each board was grooved to hold the lashing.

The number of Indians who own dog teams is decreasing each year. The care and feeding of them during the summer months, especially now that commercial fishing is opening up, presents a problem. Those who do keep dogs place them on an island or some other secluded spot, where they are chained and fed once or twice a week. These dogs are part husky, and some resemble timber wolves. Overworked and underfed, they have very nasty dispositions; their howling can be heard during the night—at sundown, about midnight and towards dawn. For those who do not keep dogs there is little other means of transportation available and so it can be hoped that the Indians will take a greater pride in their teams and that the number will increase rather than decrease, as it presents an important factor in their economic potential.

The acquisition of horses by the Crees dates back at least to 1738 when de la Vèrendrye mentioned that he had seen horses among them. However the numbers were few and even at the turn of the present century they were still not very

plentiful. At that time the possession of a horse facilitated a rise in social status. Prestige could be acquired by the bountiful bestowal of gifts. A horse was the very best gift, and the most praise-worthy one that could be given. The attempts of the early traders and missionaries to establish peace were hampered by the function of the horse in the aboriginal social system. Among them, the horse was the criterion of wealth, by means of which status, prestige, and recognition for valor and liberality could best be realized. The legitimate way of procuring horses, in terms of their social system, was to steal them from another tribe. The care of the horses was entirely the work of the men. Each man tenderly cared for his horse and jealously guarded it. Horses were hobbled to keep them from wandering. In winter the hobbles were placed on their hind legs so the horses could more easily paw the snow, but in the summer the hobbles were placed on the fore legs.

Today, there are still quite a number of horses on some of the more accessible reserves. To prevent them from wandering they are still hobbled, although it is not uncommon to see both the fore legs and the hind legs hobbled. Where once they were a source of prestige and were given great care, they apparently have declined greatly in this respect for now the owner takes little care of them. Perhaps this is because, from his contact with our society, he realizes that the ownership of a horse does not give one the status that it once did, and that a car or truck would be more desirable.

The desire to wear ornaments dates back many generations to the days when they adorned themselves with necklaces of bear claws and bracelets of elk teeth. Then, too, they sewed ermine and other skins to their clothing. Both men and women wore feathers in their hair, but only a man who had killed a foe in battle might wear the feather of the golden eagle. It was the fur-trader who introduced the use of glass beads and the metal trinkets still so popular among the Indians today. Brooches, beads, hair clips and bright scarves are favoured by the Indians. Some of the women make beaded brooches which are worn by both sexes. There is a demand for Indian handicraft such as moccasins and birch bark baskets but, unfortunately, they do not seem inclined to make such items for sale. Traditionally these items, such as the moccasins, have been made by the women for use by the members of their families and, even though this could provide them with an extra cash income, they show indifference to any suggestion that they make a few pairs for sale. With the increasing scarcity of moose hide for the making of moccasins, there is danger that the younger generation will lose the art of beadwork, an art that the Indian women can justly take pride in.

Despite the adverse factors which make their economic income unstable and unpredictable, these people show little or no anxiety about their present circumstances, and appear to have no worries or cares about the future. This attitude can perhaps be understood by looking back a few generations to their traditional philosophy, and their manner of raising their children. Children were rarely reprimanded and never beaten. One informant related that as a child he habitually threw himself on his back and yelled if he disliked his food. The habit was broken when his parents placed a vessel full of water behind him. As he went over

on his back he got wet, and when everyone laughed he also laughed. Even during the most sacred rites children were accorded perfect liberty. Children spent a great deal of time with their grandparents and relatively little with their parents who were preoccupied with adult tasks and cares. This would explain why the Cree love their grandchildren even more than their own children.

The Indian children one meets today are a very happy, carefree group. They are easily amused, play their own games among themselves, and do not exhibit evidences of thumb sucking, temper tantrums and the like as is encountered so much in our society. While still an infant the child is placed in a hammock-like affair for sleeping, and there is always some member of the family rocking him. Usually the infant is not allowed to cry, and when he starts to do so, he will be picked up and fondled. His tears are quickly distracted by such devices as shaking a box of matches or tapping the fingers upon the wall or table. Once they are able to play outside, the other children in the family take care of them, for by that time there is usually another baby in the household.

The adult members of the band are steeped in the tradition that what was obtained by one was shared by all. Now they are left without that security. This perhaps accounts for the attitude in some areas that since the government took their land, and the white people by their infiltration have driven back the wild game, why shouldn't the government give them relief supplies and aid? It would appear not to matter to their pride that they have to ask for and accept help. They take it as their just due. They can and do retain their ancient pride and dignity, but the upheaval is so drastic that they accept with apathy whatever fate has set in their path. Today there is an atmosphere of mingled apathy and discontent on the reserves, and the apathy is dominant. One unshakeable feature of their make-up however is their loyalty to their country and the white Queen, whose picture may be found in every home, no matter how humble. The integration of these people is still far from complete and it will take capable and far-sighted leadership to improve the economic and social conditions among the Indians, and to integrate them gradually into the life of the country.

JUNE CUTT THOMPSON

James Henderson of the Qu'Appelle Valley

IT is now nearly seven years since the death of James Henderson, the artist of the Qu'Appelle Valley, and to date there is little written record of the man and his work. An artist's legacy to posterity consists of his pictures, but with Henderson's pictures hanging in the art galleries of a number of cities, in universities, libraries and other public buildings, and in many private homes, they cannot readily be viewed by many who wish to see them. It is hoped that some day a number of reproductions of his paintings, accompanied by an adequate biography, may be published in book form. The aim of this article is to provide some account of the painter and his work in a form less ephemeral than has been previously available.¹

James Henderson had a number of close friends, some of whom happily are still with us, and the testimony of one and all is that he was the most modest and self-effacing of men. He talked little about himself, and shunned publicity in every form. It is not surprising therefore that less is known about his life than about the lives of many people of lesser achievement and distinction.



James Henderson (1871-1951).

A native of Glasgow, Scotland, where he was born in 1871 (the son of a sea captain), Henderson set his feet very early in the path that was to lead him to success and fame as an artist. He served a long apprenticeship as a lithographic artist in Glasgow and thus acquired technical skill that assured him a livelihood. In his spare time he attended art classes, visited art galleries, and sketched from nature.

There was a wide range of subjects for an artist in and around Glasgow. It is safe to say that like so many other artists, he haunted the docks, where vessels

¹The writer has received much assistance from articles written by Walter J. Phillips, R.C.A., Banff; J. S. Wood, City Librarian, Saskatoon; and F. B. Bagshaw, Q.C., Regina, and has also made use of considerable information received from Mrs. W. W. Martin, Regina, and Miss R. Riess, Fort Qu'Appelle. To these and to the very obliging staffs of the Regina Public Library and the Saskatchewan Legislative Library he tenders his acknowledgments and thanks.

of every size and shape from scores of British and foreign ports were always to be seen. Down the river Clyde, or more correctly the "firth", or estuary, are the ship-building yards, offering many interesting subjects. Surrounding the great, sprawling, commercial and industrial city, yet within easy reach, are moorland, hills and valleys, mansions and farms, rivers and lochs,—a great diversity of landscape crying aloud for the brush of the painter.

In the 1880's and 1890's a group of artists arose in Scotland which became known as "the Glasgow school". Departing from the type of impressionism in vogue among their elders, they introduced their own ideas and new techniques, and their pictures aroused international interest. As a student of art in that period, Henderson cannot fail to have been influenced, for a time at least, by some of them. It is of interest to note that at the Glasgow School of Art, a widely known institution, he was contemporary with Frederick Niven, who later devoted himself mainly (and very successfully) to literature and spent many of his most fruitful years in Western Canada.

From Glasgow Henderson went to London, where in time he became chief engraver for his firm. He continued to sketch from nature in leisure hours and to visit galleries, and he is also known to have designed stage scenery. Essentially an artist, there is no doubt that he kept abreast of the current developments in British and European art.

In 1909, as part of the great flow of migration which was a phenomenon of the period, he came to Canada. Like many others, he and his wife, whom he married in Glasgow in 1900, came to better their position if possible, with the thought that they would return to Britain if they did not find prospects favorable. For a short time Henderson worked as a lithographic artist in Winnipeg, then moved to Regina. Here he engaged in various forms of commercial art, and also secured commissions to paint portraits. Among these was one of Mayor Robert Martin, a prominent citizen who had settled in Regina in the early 1880's.² The subject of another was the Hon. Hugh Richardson, who had presided at the trial of Louis Riel in 1885. This portrait now hangs in the main rotunda of the Legislative Building in Regina. Another was of Mr. Justice Brown, then of the Supreme Court of Saskatchewan, and later Chief Justice of the Courts of King's Bench and Queen's Bench from 1918 to 1957. There was little demand however for portraiture, and the field of commercial art was limited.

While living in Regina, Henderson had visited the Qu'Appelle Valley occasionally and had been much impressed by its variety and beauty, which contrasted sharply with the wide vista of level prairie surrounding the capital city of the province. In 1915 he and his wife made the decision, momentous so far as the artist's career was concerned, to move to the village of Fort Qu'Appelle, in the valley. In doing so he cut himself off almost entirely from the possibility of commercial work. But the move was fully justified by events. He lived the rest

²*Editor's Note:* The diary of Robert Martin, in which he describes his early experiences in the West, was published in *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. VI, Nos. 2 and 3 (Spring and Autumn, 1953).

of his life in the valley, with no desire to return to England, or Scotland, except as a visitor; and he painted the landscapes and portraits of Indians which brought him fame in Canada, recognition abroad, and eventually a modest competence.

The Qu'Appelle Valley is about a mile in width and for the most part 200 to 300 feet in depth, and it extends from a point near Elbow on the South Saskatchewan River to the eastern boundary of the province, where the Qu'Appelle River joins the Assiniboine. The valley appears to have been in ancient times the bed of a mighty river which later changed its course. It has been cut out of the level plains by deep flowing water. In the course of centuries the sides of the valley have been changed by the flow of streams from the plains; hence the numerous coulees, beautifully wooded, and the rounded hills which, with the lakes, are features of the valley landscape. The south side of the valley is especially beautiful, with an abundance of poplars and ash, and many birches, elms and maples, as well as numerous varieties of shrubs and bushes. The whole area is a veritable paradise for the artist.

The Qu'Appelle River of today is a modest one. The lakes it connects are seven in number, but it was in the vicinity of Pasqua, Echo, Mission and Katepwa lakes that most of Henderson's valley landscapes were painted. Fort Qu'Appelle is situated on the wide flats between Echo and Mission lakes.

There are a number of Indian reserves in the district surrounding Fort Qu'Appelle, and Indians were very frequently seen in the village; Crees, Sioux, Saulteaux and Assiniboines. From the time when he first settled at "the Fort", Henderson took a deep interest in the native people, and studied their habits and personalities. Though by nature averse to being painted or photographed, they trusted this man of kindly and patient disposition, and allowed him to paint their portraits. He painted the hunters and fighters, and also the older men, with wisdom, or cynicism, or tragedy in their faces. He portrayed the calm patience, the strength, the stoicism which characterize their race. He travelled to reserves in Alberta as well as Saskatchewan to find subjects.

The titles of Henderson's Indian portraits are sometimes of the briefest, as "Sioux Warrior", "Assiniboine Indian", "Blackfoot Indian", or "Head of Sarcee Chief". They are sometimes descriptive, as "Indian with Ear-rings", "Blackfoot Indian in Red Blanket", "The Aristocrat", or "The Philosopher". In other cases the subject is named, as "Chief Crowfoot, a Blackfoot", "Chief Heavy Shield, Blood Indian", or "Portrait of Jumping Horse". Painting his subjects in tribal costume, he was meticulous in his attention to correctness of detail, a fact attested to by those in the best position to judge. He has given us a record of the Indian appearance and character which has an important place in western history. His "Indian Madonnas" (portraits of mother and child) are very striking, and it is a matter for regret that he did not paint more of the native women and children.

The Indian portraits came to be in great demand, and eventually brought high prices. In the towns and growing cities it was a matter of pride to possess a "Henderson Indian". The striking portrait of Chief "Shot in Both Sides" was



Madonna and Child.

included in a carefully selected exhibit of Canadian art at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, London, in 1924, and was described as “masterly” by an art critic writing in an English paper. Later, in 1928, it was acquired by the National Gallery of Canada. In 1925, a Blackfoot portrait was also selected and exhibited at Wembley. A fine portrait of Sitting Bull from Henderson’s brush is hung in the main lounge of the Hotel Saskatchewan in Regina. There are also a number of the portraits at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, and at Regina College.

The Indians loved and respected James Henderson, and the Sioux honoured him by making him a chief under the name of Wiciteowapi Wicasa, meaning “The man who paints the old men”. The distinguished Canadian artist Walter J. Phillips,

R.C.A., who is also a writer of note on matters relating to art, has described Henderson's Indian portraits as "serious and thoughtful paintings", and has said of them, in an article in the *Winnipeg Tribune*:

His Indians are majestic creatures, austere, remote. Whether he flatters his sitters, endowing them with qualities with which Fenimore Cooper . . . credited them . . . I do not know, but his portraits are models of dignity



Chief "Shot in Both Sides" (Sioux)
(Photo credit to *National Gallery of Canada*).

and decorum, restraint and decency, both in the expression and bearing of the subject, and in colour and design.

Other artists have painted our Indians, but Henderson's portraits show a remarkable penetration into the minds of his subjects, and an unequalled skill in presenting them to us as living beings.

The versatility of James Henderson as an artist is proved by his success in landscape, no less than in portraiture. Painting from nature, he depicted the valley in all seasons, in every mood; winter with snow on the ground, spring and summer, above all the fall of the year, with its glowing ochres, golds, russets and reds. He has captured for us on canvas the blue lakes; trees and bush as they grow according to nature's laws, untrimmed and untended; the face of the valley and the coulees as they have been for thousands of years, and the beautiful Saskatchewan skies, whether of daytime or evening. He had a deep feeling for landscape,—"by far the most lovely department of painting", as Constable said. He was keenly observant, and with his unerring painting technique he preserved for all time, and for everyone to share, the joy of living with and understanding the great outdoor world.

A. Y. Jackson, R.C.A., the great Canadian landscape painter, who has painted in many parts of Canada and found beauty everywhere, once stated, "The place you live in is the most beautiful place in Canada if *you* believe it is." Henderson often said, "There's no place in the world like our valley," and there is no doubt he sincerely believed it. Being himself of a quiet and reflective disposition, he delighted in the quiet harmonies of nature, and liked to paint in the early morning and in the evening. His landscapes have been well described as "meditations on nature". His Saskatchewan landscapes have titles such as "The Promise of Spring", "Sunshine and Shower" and "Summer in the Valley"; "Autumn in the Valley", "Autumn Hillside" and "Sunset Glow, Autumn"; "Sunset Glow, Winter" and "Winter Landscape"; "Valley Road", "Trail from the Bluff", "Head of the Lake" and "The Close of Day". The winter scenes are reminiscent of a beautiful Quebec landscape by Frederick S. Coburn, R.C.A., in the National Gallery ("Winter Morning at Melbourne, P.Q.").

Two of Henderson's landscapes hang in the National Gallery—"Afternoon in the Coulee", acquired in 1930, and "The End of Winter", presented to the Gallery in 1932 by P. D. Ross, LL.D., of Ottawa. Five hang at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, and an equal or greater number are at Regina College. Several are in the Regina Public Library, and a very large number grace the homes of art-lovers in the cities and towns of Saskatchewan and other provinces. Like his portraits, they are seldom for sale, but when they are they command high prices. His paintings have been included in exhibitions of the New English Art Club, the Royal Canadian Academy, the Montreal Art Association and the Ontario Society of Artists, and also in exhibitions sent to the United States.

The artist's life at Fort Qu'Appelle was a quiet one and, when judged by externals, somewhat uneventful. Not infrequently he made the short journey to Regina or the longer journey to Winnipeg and, as has been mentioned, he visited



THE END OF WINTER

JAMES HENDERSON

CANADIAN SCHOOL

THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

Indian reserves in Saskatchewan and Alberta. He also paid visits to Ontario and British Columbia, and painted in each of these provinces. In 1935 he spent about a year revisiting Scotland with his wife, and there also he painted. His Scottish scenes include such titles as "The Clyde at Glasgow", "Sunset on the Clyde" and "The Mouth of the Clyde"; "A Wet Day at the Docks, Glasgow"; "Cumbrae Island" and "Ayrshire Coast from Cumbrae Island"; as well as "Stirling Castle" and "The Wallace Monument". Most of these are in the homes of old friends.

He had bought a small house and several acres of land in Fort Qu'Appelle, close to the river. He enlarged the house and built a studio a short distance from it. Here he entertained congenial friends, and received many visitors from near and far, who came to pay their respects or to buy pictures. He had no knack for pushing the sale of his pictures, and it was said, with scarcely any exaggeration, that if you wanted to buy a painting from him you had to go and fetch it. He was an excellent host, and a welcome guest in the homes of friends. He enjoyed music and the give-and-take of lively conversation.

His home, while unpretentious, was filled with cherished possessions, some handed down from Scottish forbears, others works of art which he loved. His studio was commodious, and while he worked on his portraits and landscapes he was surrounded by pictures and sketches, Indian accoutrements, ancient spinning wheels, photographs, and framed memorials of his family, such as the master mariner's certificate, granted to his father Captain James Henderson by the British Government in 1866.

Henderson enjoyed for many years the friendship of Norman Mackenzie, K.C., a prominent Regina lawyer who was also an art lover and a collector of works of art, and who bequeathed his collection to Regina College, where it is now housed in the Mackenzie Art Gallery. Another friend was Dr. Walter Murray, for many years the President of the University of Saskatchewan. These men admired Henderson's work and character and did much to encourage him and make his work known. Another friend was Professor A. F. Kenderdine, the first Professor of Art at the University and himself a painter of distinction.

It is perhaps regrettable that Henderson did not more often visit the main art centres in Canada and make acquaintance of the artists who were doing outstanding work there. By isolating himself in the valley he did not do full justice to himself. While he did exhibit in Eastern Canada, in England, and in the United States, he might unquestionably have been represented more frequently, and over a longer period, in the larger exhibitions if he had been able to establish and maintain connections in art circles in the major centres of population.

There is little more to record of his life. He was gratified when the University of Saskatchewan decided to confer on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, in recognition of his contribution to the cultural life of Canada. He was too frail to attend Convocation in May, 1951, and the degree was therefore conferred in absentia. His name was presented by Dr. Gordon W. Snelgrove, Head of the Art Department and Professor of Art, who referred to him as the "dean of Saskatchewan artists . . . esteemed throughout Canada as a painter of the first rank."

James Henderson was not, however, to enjoy for more than a very brief period the greatest honour the University could bestow upon him. He died in hospital at Regina on July 5, 1951, and was laid to rest at Fort Qu'Appelle. His wife had predeceased him in 1937. A memorial exhibition of his paintings was held in Regina College shortly after his death.

What is Henderson's place in Canadian art? His Indian portraits, as stated earlier, are an important part of Western history, and they are also of permanent interest as works of consummate skill. His landscapes, faithful interpretations of nature with more than a touch of magic, are in the great tradition of the Canadian as well as the British and European nature-painters. In a country such as ours, where the love of nature is so deeply embedded in the minds of young and old, they will always have hosts of admirers. It may safely be predicted that this artist's name will stand high in the annals of Canadian art for many years to come.

ARTHUR HAYWORTH

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

In this issue of *Saskatchewan History* we present the third and final installment of selections from the letters of Edwin Jackson Brooks of Indian Head, written to his wife during the period when he was establishing a business in the North-West. In 1884 Mrs. Brooks and her children came to their new home. Subsequently, members of the Brooks family were prominent in many phases of community life and activity.

The original letters have been copied by the Archives of Saskatchewan, and are published, in part, with the kind permission of Mr. Murray G. Brooks of Barrie, Ontario.

Lewis H. Thomas

Indian Head,
4th August, 1883.

My Dear Nellie:

I received your welcome letter of 25th July all right. Mr. Murray and I get along very well. I cannot say about his belonging to any church. His wife was down here this week and is a very nice looking and appearing lady. She is quite tall and real gray. I like her very much. They have two children. Both girls and very pretty ones too. Mrs. M. and the children are living up on the farm about 7 miles north of here. The C.P.R. are building a large reservoir here to hold water. They are tapping a lake that is about 6 miles south of here and bringing the water from there. I hope they will make a success of it. They intend grading up the track around here at once which will improve the road very much. The Bell farm have given up their well. They went down 380 feet, and it cost them all of \$2000—they intend now to dig a well and will get plenty of water at 25 feet but may go down 75 feet so as to have abundance. Mr. Crawford is putting up his new store, and Mr. Murray will probably give the job for ours next week. We are doing very well in the store and I cannot see why we cannot work into a good trade after awhile. Our trade seems small after what I used to do at home, but is much more satisfactory, as we give very little credit. We have about a quarter as much stock as our neighbors, and our expenses are very much lighter. If we have no bad luck we will get along first rate as our trade is increasing every day. I would like it very much better if you and the boys were here, and it would be a great deal cheaper for us, but never mind I shan't be satisfied to remain away from my dear ones more than another year. Wouldn't we have a great old talk if we were to see each other now? Mrs. Jeweth, the wife of the first man I ever became acquainted with here has arrived, and she says she is going to write to my wife not to come here. She lives a mile south of the town, and as she is alone all day and nothing to do feels very lonely. She will like it better after awhile. The weather as usual is beautiful. This country beats anything I ever saw for its splendid weather. Grain is looking better. We expect about 600 Indians here in a couple of days

Indian Head,
Aug. 13th, 1883.

I am afraid I have not been as faithful as I should have been about writing to you but I often find it quite difficult to sit down and write when the chances

are that I may be disturbed a good many times. This has been election day with us, and the agony is now over and Major Bell has been defeated by a majority of over 200. I think this was the only polling place that gave him a majority. I had intended not to vote, but Mr. Murray was bound to vote and I told him if he did so I should certainly vote against him and Mr. Bell, which I did. As an old squatter I could not see my way clear to vote for Mr. Bell, and at the same time I was very sorry to oppose an Indian Head man. We are getting along very nicely in our business and feel very much encouraged. Our sales are increasing and so far I think we have made well. The next time I write you I will send you some money which I am sure you need. Indians have been very plentiful around here during the last week and I have traded a good deal with them. They had a big pow wow in front of our store last Thursday and went through dances, etc., in their *usual good* style; they were all painted and rigged up. I wish you and the boys could have seen them, it would have been something new certainly and long to be remembered. I believe I get the larger part of their trade and hope when they receive their treaty money to make well by trading with them. I can hardly tell you how they were rigged up while dancing. Do you remember my writing to you last fall about trying to buy an Indian boy from his mother? She was here last week and I was just as much pleased to see her as she was me. She had her boy with her, a fine little fellow but awfully dirty. She seemed very much pleased to think that I remembered her and her boy. Yesterday was Sunday and we had two Services—Presbyterian and Methodist, and I enjoyed both of them very much indeed. Everyone near here goes to church and all seem to enjoy it. One of the subjects was on prayer, and the power of a praying man and his influence with God. The other subject was on the ascension of Christ and the advantages to be derived from it to man

Indian Head,
August 18th, 1883.

. . . . The Bell Co. expected to commence harvesting their wheat to-day but will probably leave it for a day or two longer. It looks very well and is very plump in the kernel. The straw is short and also the head but the wonder is that they have any crop at all on such breaking and such seeding as they did, besides the dryness of the season Yesterday was a very cold day but it is as bright as ever today. Prairie Chickens and ducks are ten times as plentiful this year as they were last. The prairie seems literally alive with them. I have not heard from Edward for a very long time. I think when he returns from the survey that he will be able to send you the money to pay Sime. I was over to see Mr. and Mrs. Jeweth yesterday and had tea with them. I think she is getting better contented. She is a nice woman and I like her first rate. I fall in love with all the women here but don't love any of them a quarter as much as I do my wife.

Indian Head,
August 31, 1883.

. . . . I was up on the Bell farm a couple of days ago watching the self-binders at work, and think they do their business well. The wheat crop will be much

better than anyone ever thought possible. Lords, Earls, etc., were here this week, two of them are cousin to the Queen. * They remained several hours looking over the Bell farm. I expect now to go to Winnipeg next week to purchase fall stock. We are doing very well so far. We have a tailoring business in connection with the store. We furnish the goods and the tailor makes what he can. He is a splendid tailor, a young man and so far has done well. We get samples of tweeds, etc., from Winnipeg, and order just the quantity we want for our customers so that we do not have to keep a big stock on hand. I bought a couple of barrels of apples which arrived yesterday. They come expensive, but we sell them at five cents each, which makes them pay all right enough. Mr. Murray is busy getting the foundation into the store. The carpenters are making the doors, etc., and next week will go at the building itself. We are getting up a few stoves. I have sold a couple already and think we can sell a good many more

Indian Head,
14th Sept., 1883.

Mr. Murray and wife and children as well as a great many of the people from here have gone to a picnic over in the Valley, and I am left comparatively alone. I arrived home from Winnipeg last Thursday night. Our goods soon came to hand and so far we have done well with them. Our trade last Saturday was \$228.00, of this there must have been at least sixty-five dollars profit. We have averaged about one hundred and twenty-five dollars a day since this month came in. Our sales for last month averaged a little over \$80 a day, and this is very much better than we had any reason to expect. We do not expect our trade to be very large this winter, but we will do what we can and do it safe. I cannot but think of my returning home to my darlings, and will anxiously count the days until I can see my way clear to go East. We think we have done very well since commencing and hope it will continue. Our Presbyterian Minister leaves here next Monday for his home in Ontario, where he intends remaining a couple of weeks and then goes to Scotland to finish his studies. We will miss him very much. He is a very nice young man, full of fun and not like what one would expect of a clergyman. There is some talk of giving him a social Monday night. The people here intend giving him a purse of money, and have collected I think over a hundred dollars. I send you a tin type picture of myself and others. The Squaws would look rather more natural if they were painted but they look well and natural as it is. We have been having cold and wet weather but it has cleared off once more and is now bright and windy. There seems to be a good many horse thieves around here just now, as several horses have been stolen or cannot be found. Anyway, a party here wants to buy my farm. I don't suppose I could get very

*The occasion for this visit was an excursion arranged by the Canadian Pacific Railway to celebrate the opening of the line from Winnipeg to Calgary. Aboard the special train were President George Stephen, Mr. Donald A. Smith and other directors, Mr. Wm. Van Horne, General Manager, and a number of distinguished guests including H. S. H. Prince Hohenlohe of Prussia, Count Gleichen, the Earl of Lathom, Lord Elphinstone, and Lord Castletown. See *The Regina Leader*, September 6, 1883.

much for it as they would have to run the risk of buying it from the government as well. If I could live on it I would not think of selling until I could get a patent of it, but I cannot see how I can live on it. With love to all.

Indian Head,
October 5, 1883.

It is quite late in the week for me to write you but I have been very busy most all of the time and could not very well do it before. I attend to the books and a good deal besides and am kept quite busy. The Indians have been in this week spending their treaty money and we have done very well. Our sales for September were \$2841.00 being an average of \$114 a day. This we think very good indeed, considering that we have but \$3000 capital, and have been careful not to buy very much ahead. Our sales Wednesday of this week were \$230, the biggest day yet. I have sold more guns and ammunition since I came here than I ever did at home in ten times the length of time. We make from \$10 to \$12 on each double barrelled breech loading gun and have already sold 5, besides four of other kinds. Prairie fires have been raging all around us this week and have done a good deal of damage. A good many houses have been burned and lots of hay. We had a heavy rain yesterday, the heaviest of the season. It will help the farmers about breaking and stop the danger for the present from fires. Chickens and ducks are awfully plentiful. Two were shot one day this week right near our store, and one roosted on our tent at night. I attended Episcopal service last Sunday but did not particularly fall in love with it. Perhaps I would have liked it better had the Minister appeared more in earnest. Afterwards I went over to see Mr. and Mrs. Jewell and had dinner and tea with them. Mr. Jewell is quite sick with Typhoid Fever. I send you a photograph of Pie-a-Pot, his two wives and children (part of them)

Indian Head,
October 10, 1883.

We have been having to-day the first snow storm of the season. It did not amount to very much but made things generally disagreeable, besides being cold. It makes one think of winter anyway but we will no doubt have lots of bright warm weather yet. We are selling a good many goods now. Dry goods and other kinds. Our sales last week amounted to \$894. The best week yet. We have been quite busy to-day. We got hold of a Methodist Colony man and sold him over \$60 worth. Our new store is getting along slowly but surely. Building operations are booming on the new site, two hotels are going up besides the three stores. Walsh is going up there but he never will be able to do much business here excepting to halfbreeds. We get a good deal of trade from them and the Indians and buy lots of furs from them. When we get moved up to our new place I hope to get a better chance for sleeping than what a counter offers

Indian Head,
October 24, 1883.

. . . . I have not written myself for a couple of weeks and may not write again for another two weeks as we expect to move the first of next week into our new quarters. We keep pretty busy and our sales are increasing steadily and surely. We are getting in a carload of flour this week, and as we bought it when it was low, we should make a good thing on it. We are just going to have as pretty a town here as any on the line of the C.P.R. Buildings are going ahead very rapidly and good ones too. I shall have to draw you a plan of the new town after a little. Indians are plentiful and we do a good trade with them. They bring in lots of furs and we hope to make a good profit in them. Four of us had a grand feast last night. We bought 4 ducks and got them roasted with potatoes and had a big dinner about eleven o'clock at night. They agreed with us all right and we will probably repeat the operation again soon

Indian Head,
Nov. 19th, 1883.

I received your welcome letter last week all right and was very glad to hear from you and the boys. We are having nice weather—bright and not too cold. It was but 4 degrees below zero this morning and so bright and nice. We have had a great lot of Indians around to-day. Had 13 in the store for tea to-night. We made tea for them and gave them biscuits so that they enjoyed themselves well. One poor fellow last week lost eight dollars somewhere around the store, he was feeling pretty badly over it so we took up a subscription for him and in a few minutes we presented him with \$8.50. The old chap was indeed grateful. I explained to him as well as I could who gave it to him, etc. (I am interpreter for our crowd). Our neighbours tried to get him to spend the money in there but he wouldn't do that so that I got the money all right, and will have his trade hereafter. We had preaching here yesterday by an Episcopal clergyman. He preached without notes and did very well indeed. I like my new boarding place very much indeed. We have a splendid cook and she looks after us in good shape. I have had a very bad cold for about a week. I used turpentine pretty freely and Mrs. Murray made me some linseed tea which helped me a good deal. I have not got entirely rid of the cough yet but I think it will be all right soon. A good many of the young farmers in this vicinity are going east for the winter. I expect it will be pretty quiet here after Xmas. Mr. Murray says I am either to go home after New Year's or go onto the reserve and learn the Indian language. I cannot say what I will do at present

Indian Head,
Dec. 11th, 1883.

My dear Robbie:

I was indeed very glad to receive a letter from you and to see that you could write so nicely. Mrs. Murray has two little girls, one seven years old and the other

five. They wanted me to read your letter to them and I did so. They were very much amused at what you said about one of your teeth being out and a big hole left, and one of them said she was going to write you a letter but I hardly expect her to do this. They have been outdoors most all day playing, this makes them rosy-cheeked and hungry. They don't have such nice hills to slide down here as you have at home, and I think if my boys were to come out here they would miss their hills very much. Papa wants to see his boys very much but cannot go home just now. You must learn all you can and be a real good boy at school as I am sure my Robbie will be. We see lots of little Indian boys here and the poor little fellows don't have much clothing on and often very little to eat and no school to go to. I tell their Papas sometimes about my boys far away from here. With love for all my boys, Robbie, Harry, Allan and Ned.

Indian Head, Assa.,
1st January, 1884.

My Dear Nellie:

. . . . Our prospects although not as bright as a month ago are still bright enough to convince us that with care we will be able to do a good trade in the spring and I am sure we will eventually do the best business of anyone here. I don't say this because I wish to brag or anything of the kind but the steady increase of our business and the class of customers that we have leads me to this conclusion. Now let me tell you how we spent the closing hours of 1883 and the advent of 1884. We had some fifteen or twenty Indians camped around the stove in the store. They were squatted down on all fours and we made them lots of good tea, and strong enough, as they say in this country, to float a stove. This along with biscuits made them a good meal and one which they enjoyed, and we enjoyed it as well seeing them happy and contented. I have a warm place in my heart for these poor half starved people but at times find them a regular nuisance; still I try and treat them kindly and take no liberties with them which could not be approved of by my wife at home. Mrs. Murray was down to see them, and I wished my wife could have been here and enjoyed the sight as we did. They are very much pleased at our trying to learn the language, and we hope eventually to be able to converse with them without trouble. The weather is quite mild to-day although cold enough early in the morning (20 degrees below). We have been buying a good many furs lately and we hope to make well on them. We will be able to get a good many more by spring. I am now sleeping in my old bed on top of the counter and very much prefer it to the feather bed I slept in while sick. We intend taking stock at once and probably will make a start to-morrow. It will not be a very long job but I shall be pleased when it is over. There is a ball at Fort Qu'Appelle to-night and one here next week. Of course I will have to attend the Indian Head one but am considerably puzzled to find a lady. However, I won't fret about this part of the programme. We bought a quarter of venison last week and found it just splendid eating. With very much love for yourself and the boys.

Indian Head,
January 15th, 1884.

. . . . You ask about girls' wages. Well, cooks get twenty-five dollars a month, and I expect ordinary girls receive about fifteen dollars, but they are like hen's teeth, scarce. Mrs. Murray keeps no girl and does her own work. She has two rooms, one about 10 x 15, the other 10 x 25. I will let you know before I come home, but it will probably be sometime before I will have the pleasure of writing you such news. I am very sorry to hear of Aunt Nancy's sickness and hope she will soon be better. I paid one dollar for the mink skin sent you. We have bought a great many for fifty and seventy-five cents each and very nice ones too, but have sold all of them. Should you want some I will try and procure them for you and if you wish them to be tanned it can be done here by the halfbreeds

Indian Head,
January 22nd, 1884.

As I write this letter I am surrounded by Indians of both sexes, good and bad looking, small and big. They are in for supplies, but as these have not yet arrived there is no telling how soon they will get away home. There are about seventy-five of them in town and belong to Pie-a-Pot's band. Pie-a-Pot is in with them and I had the honor to-day of having my dinner with him. Mr. Murray invited him up to dinner and as he accepted the invitation we had the pleasure of his company. I like the old fellow first-rate. He has a pretty hard name in this country, but I believe Governor Dewdney and such rascals have done their best to cheat him and lied to him so often that he is suspicious of white men. If the Governor would use him half decently I don't doubt but what he would be as good a citizen as anyone could desire. He is a shrewd business fellow and not very easily cheated, and a good worker too. His band are in now to receive pay for chopping eight hundred cords of wood. Mr. Murray was very well pleased with his appearance and manner. I wish I was artist enough to sketch their encampment and trappings; it would be an interesting picture for you to look at and contemplate. We are having very mild weather indeed for this country, not much like a year ago now when I was on the railroad doing navvie's work. We do have the most beautiful weather in winter that you could well imagine. Continuous sunshine and no thaws. I like the winters so far much better than the summers, and Quebec winters are not to be compared with those experienced here

Thursday. Indians have been around thicker than ever the last few days and we have got enough of them to last us for some time. We had fourteen sleeping with us in the store last night. One of them had a rooster in a box and the rascal was crowing half the night. They were baking *bannocks* for tea last night on our stove and making tea by the pailful. They are a dandy lot to have anything to do with. I expect they will leave for home to-day as their flour has arrived. We had the worst storm last evening and night that I ever saw. It was about 20 degrees below zero and blew a regular hurricane. One could not see at all in front of them. It

was a terror. I was out for about 3 minutes and I can tell you I was glad enough to get back into the house. To-day it is much milder but still rough. I have not received any letter from you this week, and don't expect to now that it is getting so late

Indian Head,
26th Feb., 1884.

I don't know that I have anything in particular to write to you this week but must try and write a little. We have been having a regular January thaw for three days. The weather has been very mild indeed but is now much colder. We prefer the cold to the wet. The latter is too much like Quebec weather. We receive but two mails a week now and the mail this morning brought me no letters from anybody. A lady named Mrs. McClary working for the Bell Farming Co. gave birth to a little girl about ten days ago. Her husband was away down in Winnipeg and she did not receive very good care. The nurse allowed the fire to go out when the baby was but four days old, and the mother got a chill from which she never recovered. She died on Sunday. Her husband arrived last night and expects to take her remains to Ontario. I believe she leaves two children. I think Mrs. Bell expects to adopt one of them (the oldest one) as she has no children of her own. Indians are around thick enough. They had a big pow-wow here yesterday, and of all the fancy rigs you ever saw some of these were ahead. There are lots of them dying on the reserve. They are really in a good many cases starving to death through the neglect of the Government to furnish them supplies. The Indians say they are going West next summer even if they have to fight for it, as they say it is better to die fighting than to be starved. Fifty miles east of here the Indians are giving a good deal of trouble through hunger. Here they are quiet enough as yet. Manitoba settlers are red-hot and unless the Ottawa Government treats them differently at once you may expect to hear either of a rebellion down there this spring or a withdrawal from the Confederation. They have got their backs *clear up* and are determined to have their rights or fight. I don't think there would be much fighting—but they would scare the Dominion Government pretty badly. I hope to hear favorable news from you about your negotiations with Dr. Powers. If you should come out here could you get a girl to come with you? It would be much better if you could do this There is to be another ball here the first of February but I do not expect to go. We have a very nice lot of mink skins in just now which I purchased last week. They are not very large but of good quality and prime skins. I bought a couple of wolf skins. Very nice ones indeed. One of them I sold since to a young Englishman who is getting it tanned and intends sending it to England. Perhaps you would prefer a beaver cape or jacket to a mink one. Mink fades badly and I don't think beaver does. I think I might be able to get you some beaver skins here in the spring and could get them tanned and plucked. They would it seems to me be cheaper and better than mink. Mrs. Jewett has five skins and intends sometime getting a jacket made. Otter fur is very nice too. They cost about fifteen dollars each but are very large and are much darker than beaver but not so soft. If you want any of these or any other kind let me know, and when I have a chance I will procure them for you.

Indian Head,
March 4, 1884.

. . . . Trade is picking up a good deal lately and I hardly know whether I can go home at all this spring, even if it was necessary. You may be sure I would go quickly enough if I could but I don't want you to be expecting me when it may be that I cannot possibly leave. Trade here stops quick and commences just as quickly and I can get along better with the customers and sell more than the others from being so much more accustomed to business This is the time of year that immigrants begin to come in and of course we want to capture as many of them as possible and secure their trade from now out We expect an early spring and I hope we will not be disappointed. The weather has been colder for the last two days but still is not very sharp. Mrs. Murray likes this country better every day and says she would not return to Cape Breton. Mrs. Jewett is determined to go to Minneapolis this summer and will be very foolish if she does so. We have but two mails a week now and are disgusted. Indians are quiet again

Indian Head,
March 7, 1884.

Your letter of 25th February came to hand to-day and it was welcome indeed as I had not heard from you for nearly three weeks and almost begun to think the Indians had got you instead of me. I am very sorry that you should have been so badly scared over the Indian *revolt*. It might have been pretty serious but fortunately the danger was warded off without any blood being shed. We were not nervous in the least but don't blame outsiders from being so. The Indians will probably get better grub and more of it from this time forward. I cannot say at present what it would be best to do about going for you and the children but think perhaps if I can possibly leave it would be better for me to go sometime next month. Mr. Murray is on his farm just at present. When he returns and I have received another letter from you, I may be able to come to some decision. It would not be best for you to come until the weather was warmer, as we would have no very warm place to live in, still, Mrs. Murray intends going out on to the farm the first of April and we could live in her place

Indian Head,
March 11, 1884.

We have been having two regular blizzard days and a good deal of snow as well. Fortunately it is not very cold. I did not receive a letter from you to-day as I expected. I leave here *to-night for home* along with this letter but the letter will probably arrive several days before I do as I expect to remain in Winnipeg at least one day and possibly two. I will also remain in Chicago a couple of days, and you may therefore expect to have the pleasure of my company the last of March week. I will telegraph you from Montreal so that you may know when to expect me, and be prepared to give me a warm reception

Book Reviews

LONDON CORRESPONDENCE INWARD FROM EDEN COLVILE, 1849-1852. *Edited by E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson with an introduction by W. L. Morton.* London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956. Pp. cxv, 300. Issued to subscribers.

EDEN COLVILE, a son of the Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, was appointed associate Governor of Rupert's Land in 1849 to deputize for Sir George Simpson, whose extensive responsibilities did not permit him to provide all the "on the spot" supervision which the affairs of the Company required at this period in its history. At the same time Colvile was also appointed a member of the Council of Assiniboia, the governing body for the Red River Settlement, where a crisis had developed in the relations of the Company with the métis and other elements of the community. The letters published in this volume cover Colvile's period of residence at Red River, during which he succeeded in establishing what Professor W. L. Morton in his masterly editorial introduction describes as a just equilibrium between the rights of the Company and the needs of the colony.

By the end of the 1840's the Red River Settlement was entering a new stage of development, arising from economic and social pressures within the colony and the near approach of the American frontier. There was discontent over the lack of markets for the slowly maturing agricultural industry, over the lack of alternative economic opportunities for the growing population, and over the trade monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company. The system of government was under attack. Since 1848 the Governor of Assiniboia had been a military man rather than a Company employee; the incumbent, Major W. B. Caldwell, was personally unsuited to his position, and the advantages of separating commercial and governmental interests had not materialized. Moreover the Company-appointed head of the judicial system, Adam Thom, was a Francophobe who was becoming more and more unpopular with the large métis group in the community. Finally, and as a consequence of the foregoing, demands for a more representative Council were being heard. "The métis," writes Professor Morton, "excluded from public office like the English half-breeds, were . . . demanding that the institutions of the Colony should reflect its ethnic composition." Had it not been for Colvile, who "embodied the full prestige of the Company and [who] proceeded to act moderately and decisively," it is possible that the existing government might have been replaced by a provisional and representative government under métis auspices.

During Colvile's residence in the Settlement (1850-52) métis were admitted to the magistracy; this was the only innovation of the period, but by temporarily suspending Caldwell and by excusing Thom from his judicial duties Colvile was able to dampen the ominous agitation. Governor-in-Chief Simpson and the Governor and Committee in London were also prepared to be conciliatory, and by 1856 the colony "enjoyed a share in the local fur trade and an informally representative government." The developments of this period enable us to under-

stand the vigor of the response which the Settlement made in 1869-70 to what seemed to be a threat to its major vested interests.

The volume under review contains Colvile's correspondence with the London head office of the Company, and also his private correspondence with Sir George Simpson at Lachine. The two complement each other admirably. Professor Morton's 115 page introduction is a major contribution to the historiography of the West. It provides the first thorough treatment of a crucial period in the development of the Red River Settlement. The Hudson's Bay Record Society is to be congratulated on this notable addition to its series of publications.

LEWIS H. THOMAS

THE NATIONAL POLICY AND THE WHEAT ECONOMY. By V. C. Fowke. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1957. Pp. vii, 312. \$5.50.

THIS book is the seventh in a series of ten studies sponsored by the Canadian Social Science Research Council on the background and development of the Social Credit party in Alberta. The previously published works covered such diverse topics as *The Winnipeg General Strike*, and *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*. They have all been related to the central theme of the series and they can all stand on their own as scholarly works. However, readers of this series have been waiting for a study providing an adequate description of the economic and political history of the prairie region where three important political movements developed since 1900.

Professor Fowke's careful analysis of the framework of western development fulfills the need in this regard more than adequately. This is no laboured attempt to gather bits of historical evidence to buttress a particular theory regarding the emergence of social credit as a political force in Alberta. Fowke never mentions by name any of the western protest parties but he does trace the economic development of the prairies particularly in relation to "National Policy", and thereby provides a base from which a political scientist could venture to speculate as to the real causes of western political unrest and to the form that protest took in the province of Alberta.

Fowke defines "National Policy" as comprising the group of policies and instruments which transformed the British North American territories until the mid-nineteenth century into a political and economic unit. In the period immediately prior to and following Confederation, the urgent political requirement of national policy was the retention of British Columbia in the Canadian nation. To achieve this objective it was necessary to retain and occupy the western plains area. On the economic side, the main requirement was the creation of a new investment frontier which would be attached commercially and financially to the eastern provinces. The occupation of the western plains resulted in the establishment of the wheat economy which, in turn, provided the new investment frontier. While the underlying economic philosophy was essentially *laissez-faire* in character, it did allow governmental enterprise and assistance for development

projects, for regulatory purposes, and for research in the production area. Actual production and marketing was considered best served by the free enterprise system. The Dominion Government did not concern itself with removing inequalities of bargaining power associated with the existence of monopolies. As a result there was a very high concentration of output in the hands of few producers in most industries in Canada. Agriculture, of course, provided a great contrast—many producers operating independently.

In the creation of the wheat economy, policies regarding railways, land and immigration were interrelated. Prairie lands were used to finance railway development and to attract settlers. Although the free homestead ideal was always subordinated to the demands of the railways, Fowke asserts that the land policy was as successful as any apparent alternative line of action. Tariff policy was designed to ensure that the Canadian rail lines linking central Canada with the West and the Maritimes would move goods manufactured in the central provinces to supply the outlying regions. The manufacturers constantly insisted they could not compete with the highly efficient U.S. industries. This basic policy of tariff protection has been maintained to the present day.

By 1920, the development of the wheat economy was essentially complete. The increasing importance of non-agricultural industries as an alternative investment opportunity was apparent by the end of World War I. The transfer of natural resources from Canada to the western provinces may be regarded as the symbol of "the practical if temporary disappearance of Dominion economic purpose." The stature of provincial governments was steadily increasing and at the expense of that of Ottawa. It took an economic depression and another world war to reverse this trend.

Fowke's examination of western agitation about grain marketing and the official Dominion reception accorded this unrest is one of the best accounts ever published. He indicates that western demands for closer regulation of grain handling standards always received sympathetic attention. On the other hand, there was "a persistent disregard of the competitive inferiority of agriculture within the price system." Not until the compulsory Wheat Board was established on a permanent basis in 1950 was there a clear change in the basic economic conviction underlying national policy. The Prices Support Act was another example of what Fowke considers "a new element" among the goals of Dominion agricultural policy.

Fowke concludes, however, that Dominion agricultural policy is inconsistent and lacks "theoretical or conceptional content" and that it will not be consistent until there is a "clear recognition of the competitive disabilities of agriculture within the price system and a clear decision as to whether these disabilities are to be tolerated or removed." The developments over the next few years will likely clarify this situation. It would be well if the designers of our future farm policy take time out to study this excellent book.

GRANT C. MITCHELL

THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS, A HISTORY OF THE UNITED GRAIN GROWERS LIMITED.
By R. C. Colquette. Winnipeg: Public Press, 1957. Pp. viii, 309, illus. \$2.00.

THIS book's avowed purpose is to chronicle the saga of achievement from the time when the first farmers' grain company was formally organized in a midway tent at the Winnipeg Exhibition in 1906 as the Grain Growers Grain Company, to a period a half century later with the growth and maturity of the United Grain Growers Limited.

However, Mr. Colquette has actually a much broader purpose in writing this book. In essence what the reader will find here is a chronology of the western farm movement, which runs the gamut from the colonist or settler's car leaving for the west upon the completion of the C.P.R. in 1886, through the political and economic manifestations of the farm struggle of the intervening years, to the accomplishments and problems of the present time. The reader will relive the tumult, the excitement, the frustrations, and the ultimate triumphs of the successive farm struggles against the monoliths of the day: the Grain Exchange, the monopolies of the railways, the elevator companies and others. Not surprisingly, the leaders in the farm movement emerge as flesh and blood figures complete with human frailties against the shadowy, impersonal ever-present menace of the "monopolies". In the course of writing the story of achievement of a commercial co-operative farm organization, the author has managed to convey the impression that for a period of some fifty years the story of the western farm movement and that of the United Grain Growers Limited are inextricably intertwined.

If the reader is looking for a "success formula" to explain the achievements of the early farm struggle against seemingly overwhelming odds, he will not find it here. The story which unfolds is that of a farm movement spurred on by persons of diverse interests, temperaments and abilities, banding together at a moment in time against the common enemy, unsure of the ultimate objective, but united in opposition. The achievements are all the more remarkable because with the exception of a few "giants" such as E. A. Partridge of Sinaluta, the farm movement was best served by ordinary farm people united together for a common purpose.

This book makes a most welcome contribution to the too scant literature of the western farm movement. The vantage point is less in terms of great events and ideas, than in personalities of the day who helped shape and mold them. However it also has some demerits as a history of the times, especially from a more technical point of view. Mr. Colquette's training in the newspaper field may explain why sources are not cited to back up statements, impressions, or opinions. No distinction is made between primary and secondary sources, and no bibliography is included. There is almost no reference to statistical data whatever, as the author suggests that "tables do not belong in a book." The illustrations, while interesting, are not especially well placed in the text. Despite these shortcomings, or perhaps because of it, it is essentially a very readable volume.

CHARLES SCHWARTZ

Notes and Correspondence

Readers will learn with regret that Dr. Lewis H. Thomas has relinquished his duties as editor of *Saskatchewan History*. Dr. Thomas resigned as Provincial Archivist effective last June 30th to accept a position as associate professor of history at Regina College, but he continued as editor of the magazine until the last issue. His scholarly direction of *Saskatchewan History* will be missed, but good wishes go with him in his new position, and subscribers will look forward to further contributions from him in future issues of the magazine.

At the annual meeting of the Wolverine Hobby and Historical Society on January 20th Mr. Gilbert Johnson of Marchwell was elected president, and tribute was paid to the retiring president, Mrs. F. C. Dafoe of Spy Hill, who had held the position since 1955. The question of a regional library was discussed, and the convener of the committee on Fort Esperance reported on information received in connection with the preservation of that site. Consideration was given also to the Harmony Colony site, with further action decided upon at the following meeting on February 17. As a part of their February meeting, the Society sponsored a public meeting at which Traffic Officers M. Kulcheski and T. E. Gibson of Yorkton were guest speakers.

Colonel J. B. Mitchell, For Whom a Winnipeg School is Named, a 32-page booklet published in 1957 by Mrs. J. B. Mitchell of Winnipeg, is of interest to students of western Canadian history. Written by K. M. Haig, the biographer of E. Cora Hind (*Brave Harvest*, 1945), the story is concerned principally with Mitchell's career as a member of the North-West Mounted Police, 1874-77. The reminiscences of Mitchell's experiences during the historic march of the police across the western plains in 1874 are particularly vivid. Colonel Mitchell subsequently occupied the position of architect and commissioner of school buildings in Winnipeg for 36 years. Mrs. Mitchell has presented copies of the booklet to the pupils of the junior high school in Winnipeg which has been named in memory of her husband.

Contributors

JUNE CUTT THOMPSON (Mrs. Robert B. Thompson) is now engaged in special duty nursing in London, Ontario, where her husband is a doctor.

ARTHUR HAYWORTH, Regina, is a member of the Bar of Saskatchewan, now retired from practice.

LEWIS H. THOMAS is associate professor of history at Regina College.

GRANT C. MITCHELL is an agricultural advisor of the Economic Advisory and Planning Board, Government of Saskatchewan.

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