

# SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY

Vol. XIII No. 3

Autumn 1960

Price 35c



★ **Premier Walter Scott:  
His Early Career**

by D. H. Bocking

★ **The Campaign of 1885:  
A Contemporary Account**

by G. F. G. Stanley

# Saskatchewan History

Volume XIII

Autumn 1960

Number 3

PREMIER WALTER SCOTT: HIS EARLY CAREER.....	D. H. Bocking	81
THE CAMPAIGN OF 1885: A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT.....	G. F. G. Stanley	100
RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES		
Steamboating on Last Mountain Lake.....	B. Elderton	108
PRAIRIE PEOPLE		
The Texas Ranchers.....	Freda Smith Mudiman	111
NEWSPAPER SCRAPBOOK.....		113
BOOK REVIEWS.....		116
McLEOD, <i>Songs of Old Manitoba</i> : by Barbara Cass-Beggs.		
SAUNDERS, <i>Something of A Young World's Dying</i> : RASHLEY, <i>Moon Lake and Other Poems</i> : by E. A. McCourt.		
MONTURE, <i>Canadian Portraits: Famous Indians</i> : by H. A. Dempsey.		
NOTES AND CORRESPONDENCE.....		119

Cover by Mary Lou Florian; see inside back cover for descriptive note.



*Acting Editor*: D. H. BOCKING

Advisory Board: JOHN H. ARCHER (*ex officio*), EVERETT BAKER,  
A. J. FRIESEN, RUPERT RAMSAY.

*Business Manager*: D. H. BOCKING

Correspondence should be addressed to *Saskatchewan History*,  
Saskatchewan Archives Office, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Published three times a year under the auspices of the Saskatchewan Archives Board.

The articles in this magazine are indexed in the CANADIAN INDEX.

Yearly subscription, \$1.00; junior subscription (for students), 50c;  
sustaining subscription, \$5.00 per year;  
special 3 year rate, \$2.75.

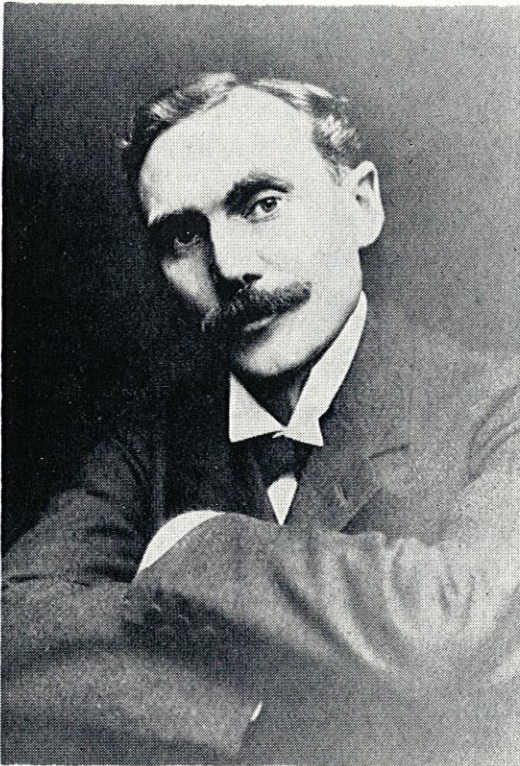
The Advisory Board and the Saskatchewan Archives Board assume no responsibility for  
statements made by contributors.

Copyright 1960.

THE SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD

## Premier Walter Scott: His Early Career<sup>1</sup>

THE history of the prairie provinces is replete with stories of those who came from comparative obscurity in eastern Canada to rise to positions of prominence in the West. Walter Scott was an outstanding member of this group. Able, ambitious and industrious he possessed the attributes necessary for success in most fields of endeavor. The fact that he



*Archives of Saskatchewan*

Hon. Walter Scott, 1867-1938.

seemed to thrive on competition made his success in journalism and politics even more logical. In the twenty years after he left his Ontario farm home, Scott learned the newspaper business, acquired control of two newspapers, was twice elected to parliament, and, in 1905, became the first Premier of the Province of Saskatchewan. He held the post of Premier for eleven years until forced to retire in 1916 because of ill health. When he first went West his primary goal was to achieve some measure of prosperity and economic security. Once he had become a successful journalist, a political career opened up for him.

Walter Scott was born on his grandfather's farm near Strathroy, Ontario, on October 27, 1867.<sup>2</sup> His father, George Scott, died before his son was born. His mother, Isabella Telfer Scott, remarried when her son was about three years old.<sup>3</sup> Scott's stepfather was John Macdonald, who, apparently, worked as a farm

labourer. The family was Presbyterian and Scott was in the habit of regularly attending church and Sunday school. Scott was sent to the local public school which was near the farm where the family lived. After he was eleven years of

<sup>1</sup> This article is based in part on an unpublished master's thesis by the author entitled "Premier Walter Scott: A Study of His Rise to Political Power."

<sup>2</sup> Archives of Saskatchewan (hereafter cited as AS), Scott Papers, "Autobiography of T. Walter Scott". This account covers the period of Scott's life to June 1894 and unless otherwise stated is the source of information on Scott's early life. His full name was Thomas Walter Scott but the Thomas was rarely used.

<sup>3</sup> As a result of the second marriage Scott had two brothers and two sisters. They were Minnie, John, Maggie and Willie. A third sister Lizzie died in infancy.

age he attended school during the winter months only. His formal education ended when he passed his high school entrance exams at the age of fifteen.

Scott seems to have been a fairly good student although he recalled that he came in for his share of thrashings, most of which he admitted were probably well-deserved. However, he did not like to accept punishment he did not deserve. On one occasion when he was about to be punished for something he had not done he took definite steps to avoid the punishment. As he recalled the event:

. . . I bolted for the door making lightning tracks homeward. I'll never forget the scene in the school lobby as I looked around when passing through the gate and beheld the teacher surrounded by scholars who were quite confounded by my bold move . . . . At noon the teacher called and I was sent back to school but I did not get the punishment.<sup>4</sup>

His mother, believing in her son's innocence, insisted that he was not to be punished over this particular incident.

Scott began working, on a part-time basis, when he was just eleven years old. During the summer vacation he "worked for McNeil, haying and harvesting making 15 cents a day."<sup>5</sup> After this he appears to have spent little of his time at home. When he was fourteen he stayed during the winter with an uncle who was a storekeeper, local postmaster and school teacher. Scott's duties involved driving his uncle eight miles to school on Monday morning and calling for him Friday after school. During the week he helped his aunt look after the store and post office and went to school occasionally. When he was fifteen he went to work for the same uncle who had then moved to a farm some distance from Scott's home.

Scott probably had little time for games. When he was fourteen or fifteen he got his first taste of baseball—a sport that became for him a lifetime love both as participant and spectator. His cousin Tom Telfer introduced him to baseball by, as Scott recalled,

. . . placing me at the end of the stable and pelting the ball at me, and I had to catch or do my best to catch every one to build my reputation, for I was proud that Tom, who was the best pitcher in the neighborhood should think there was something in me.<sup>6</sup>

It was a fairly strenuous introduction to the game, but it is illustrative of Scott's determination to succeed in what he set out to do and his desire to please those who had faith in him.

From the time he was eight years old Scott was troubled every summer with asthma. Scott's mother felt that these attacks made him unfit for hard work and she wanted him to become a school teacher. He did not want to become a teacher but instead wanted to go West. Using the excuse of asthma he managed to get his mother's consent to his plans. His original idea was to go farming with his uncle James Telfer at Portage la Prairie. On March 17, 1885, when he was seventeen years old, Scott set out for the West. He was provided with a large

<sup>4</sup> Scott Papers, "Autobiography of T. Walter Scott".

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

basket of food—enough to last a considerable period in case the train should be caught in a snow storm—and a copy of *Robinson Crusoe* for his journey. His ticket from London to Portage via Detroit and Chicago cost \$20.85 leaving him only three or four dollars from the money he had saved for an emergency.

The Riel rebellion changed Scott's plans. His uncle joined the forces going to suppress the rebellion and thus put an end to Scott's farming plans. However, with his uncle's help, he got a job as a delivery boy for Strome and Henderson's general store in Portage at a salary of \$20.00 a month. Scott liked the job, but in the fall, compelled to do considerable driving in the evenings, he caught a severe cold which brought on an attack of asthma. He decided he would have to find other work. Two job opportunities presented themselves. One was as a clerk in the post office and the other was as a printer's apprentice in the office of the *Portage la Prairie Liberal* which was owned by C. J. Atkinson. Scott chose the printing office and entered upon his duties as "devil" in the fall of 1885.

Atkinson started his apprentices at \$3.00 a week and their pay was raised 50 cents a week every quarter until they completed their apprenticeship after four years of service. As "devil" Scott's duties consisted of lighting the fires by 7.30 a.m., cleaning up the offices, running all errands, collecting accounts, feeding the press and in his spare time learning how to set type. After five months as "devil" he was promoted to working steadily on type setting. He enjoyed the work and was proud to be recognized as a printer.

During the fall of 1886 the printing office was short of staff. This meant extra work for those available particularly when it came to getting out the weekly paper on Friday morning. Everyone worked Thursday until the paper was ready to be printed which usually took until after midnight. Then Scott and another printer ran off the paper. This usually took five or six hours by which time the printers were ready for an early breakfast. The next day was a regular working day for everyone. Scott later commented that "these all-night and steady work all next day were not much fun after a few weeks when the novelty had worn off . . ." and he was not sorry when a change came and he was relieved from this duty.<sup>7</sup>

While retaining his business interests in Manitoba, Atkinson had moved to Regina where on October 8, 1886 he began publishing a newspaper called *The Journal*. Shortly after he started the new enterprise, Atkinson found that he was in need of a person who could combine the duties of a printer and a reporter. Scott, who had some limited experience as a reporter, was the only one of his employees who met the requirements. Hence Scott was transferred to Regina on December 13, 1886. Although still only an apprentice, Scott was responsible at the Regina office for all the job printing as well as most of the reporting for the newspapers. A minor difficulty presented itself in the transfer. Scott's pay was only \$5.50 a week and board in Regina was \$5.00 a week. In order to alleviate the financial difficulty Atkinson gave Scott a raise of \$1.00 a week and got him the job of Regina correspondent for the Winnipeg *Free Press* which paid \$2.00 a week.

---

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*



A ball game at a picnic in the Qu'Appelle valley. Walter Scott is the pitcher.

Archives of Saskatchewan

The office of *The Journal* was not very pretentious in appearance. Scott's first impression was not favorable:

When we went around to the office the first morning I remember I was rather taken aback by the diminutiveness of the place. It would not have been a respectable wood shed for the Liberal office, but in it was stowed a paper cutter, a Washington hand press, an old Liberty jobber, two imposing stones, five frames, a stove, and the editor's desk,—a rickety deal table about 3 feet long—which I sometimes shared. When both at the table, things were so cramped that one sat on each side of the stove and neither six inches from it.<sup>8</sup>

One February morning Scott arrived to find an addition to the already congested office. During the night the front door had blown open and the office was partially filled with snow—the stove was completely buried in a snow drift.<sup>9</sup> Despite these shortcomings in equipment there was plenty of work to do.

One of the reasons for the rush of activity was the approaching Dominion elections. The 1887 general election was the first in which the North-West Territories was represented. Atkinson's newspaper was an ardent supporter of the Liberal party. The only other paper published in Regina was *The Leader* edited by Nicholas Flood Davin, a colorful Irish lawyer and a strong supporter of the Conservative party. Davin was nominated to represent the Conservatives in the constituency of West Assiniboia which stretched from Medicine Hat to Regina. The Liberals nominated James H. Ross, a rancher and member of the North-West Territories Legislative Council from Moose Jaw. *The Journal* gave its full support to Ross and waged a spirited campaign against Davin. Despite its efforts Davin won the seat. The chief value of the campaign for Scott was that he came to know J. H. Ross who became a life-long friend and advisor.

After the election campaign life settled into a more routine pattern for Scott. In the summer a baseball team was organized in Regina and Scott took an active role pitching for the team on several occasions. There were other activities to keep him busy in his spare time including picnics:

It was at a picnic at Wascana in '87 that I met Miss Jessie Read, a Regina young lady, and during the following winter I was permitted to be her escort to several assemblies, and occasionally to the skating rink, and toboggan slide.<sup>10</sup>

Jessie Read was the youngest daughter of E. B. Read who operated a tinsmith shop in Regina. On May 14, 1890 Walter Scott and Jessie Read were married at St. Paul's Church by the Reverend Leonard Dawson. The wedding was a small one with only the necessary witnesses and a brother of the bride present. The newly married couple immediately set up housekeeping in a small house on Rose Street.

Meanwhile Scott continued to progress in his chosen work. In January, 1899, he left Atkinson's employ, probably over a salary difference, and took employment with *The Leader*. By changing jobs his salary was raised by \$2.50 a week and he was able to earn up to \$10.00 a week in overtime pay. Scott needed

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Scott Papers, Personal Correspondence, Scott to C. J. Atkinson, Jan. 18, 1916.

<sup>10</sup> Scott Papers, "Autobiography of T. Walter Scott".

the money as he had debts amounting to \$200.00 which he wanted to clear up. Shortly after his marriage, Scott left *The Leader* staff and went back to work for *The Journal* for a \$2.00 a week increase in pay. Early in 1891 Atkinson sold *The Journal* to a Regina syndicate and Scott joined the staff of *The Standard*, which replaced *The Journal*, as printing foreman at a salary of \$17.00 a week.

Unlike its predecessor, *The Standard*, under the editorship of J. K. McInnis, supported the Conservative party. For a time it even supported Davin. However, it soon withdrew its support from Davin but continued to follow an independent pro-Conservative policy.

Scott remained with *The Standard* until January, 1892, when he went to Winnipeg. His object in leaving Regina is not clear, but perhaps he felt

that he had exhausted the resources of the Regina newspapers and that he needed an opportunity to improve himself. While in Winnipeg he worked for various printing firms and, for a time, acted as Winnipeg correspondent for *The Standard* which had started publishing a daily newspaper. The Winnipeg venture does not appear to have been successful as he did not secure regular employment and was almost penniless when he returned to Regina in the spring of 1892 to accept employment on *The Standard* as printing foreman this time at a salary of \$20.00 a week.

On September 17, 1892, J. K. McInnis and Walter Scott combined to purchase *The Standard*. In announcing the change, the new owners stated that the paper, freed from outside ownership would be able to "wield a freer lance."<sup>11</sup> In order to purchase the paper Scott and McInnis borrowed \$1,000.00, gave a note for \$125.00 and a mortgage for \$4,000. A partnership agreement was drawn up and operations commenced under the name of The Standard Printing Company. The partnership was to run for a three year term and it gave the partners an equal

<sup>11</sup> *The Standard* (Regina), "Announcement", Sept. 23, 1892.



Archives of Saskatchewan

Walter Scott (about 21 years old).



share in the profits or losses of the company.<sup>12</sup> The new company by reverting to the publication of a weekly newspaper and seeking more printing contracts met all of its obligations and even showed a profit.

In June, 1894, at the instigation of J. H. Ross and A. Hitchcock, a Moose Jaw banker, Scott attended a bailiff's sale and purchased a bankrupt newspaper and printing office for about \$600.00. The newspaper he purchased was *The Moose Jaw Times*. As a result of Scott's purchase, changes had to be made in the organization of The Standard Printing Company. In an addition to the original contract of partnership, signed on July 14, 1894, it was agreed that McInnis would run *The Standard* and Scott would run *The Moose Jaw Times* but that ". . . in all respects the partnership shall remain as before until regularly dissolved by lapse of time or mutual consent."<sup>13</sup>

When Scott began publishing *The Times* it was a four page weekly, but shortly after he increased its size to eight pages. His circulation at first was 600 copies a week but a year later he was able to report that circulation had increased 143 percent.<sup>14</sup> The newspaper, as was to be expected, dealt mainly with western topics. It carried very little world or even Dominion news but concentrated on local events and reported the deliberations of the Territorial Assembly. Editorially, it stressed western issues. For example, when drought conditions struck the area in 1894, Scott called for a public works program and financial aid for the farmers, to be financed by the Dominion government.<sup>15</sup> The editor used the fact that the Territorial government was dependent on Dominion government grants as a reason to seek early provincial autonomy.<sup>16</sup> He opposed tax exemptions on Crown lands, particularly those granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.<sup>17</sup> Tariffs raised the price of the goods that the farmer had to buy and therefore were bad.<sup>18</sup> The paper also commented on the need for drastic legislation to deal with the perennial problem of prairie fires and noxious weeds and advocated aid to the farmer so that a creamery industry could be established which would help to diversify the farm economy.<sup>19</sup>

While party allegiance had been clearly rejected by Scott in his opening editorial in *The Times*,<sup>20</sup> his newspaper came to be recognized as a supporter of the Patrons of Industry, a new party which spread rapidly throughout the west during 1892-95. The Patron platform, while varying in emphasis in different parts of Canada, included such things as tariff for revenue, anti-monopoly legislation, economy in government, prohibition, opposition to land grants for railways and opposition to the restoration of the separate school system in

<sup>12</sup> Scott Papers, "Partnership Deed Between J. K. McInnis and Walter Scott, Sept. 17, 1892".

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *The Moose Jaw Times*, "A Mile-Post Past", June 28, 1895

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, "Crisis", July 20, 1894 and "Shifting Responsibility", Aug. 3, 1894.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, "The North-West Bill", July 20, 1894.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, "An Unjust Exemption", Jan. 11, 1895.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, "An Example of Protection", June 14, 1895.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, for illustrations see "Wake Up! Wake Up!", May 17, 1895, "Inexcusable Apathy", July 19, 1895; "The Creamery Gaining Ground", July 19, 1895.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, "Volume VI, No. 1" June 29, 1894.

Manitoba.<sup>21</sup> However, Scott did oppose the Patron candidate in the Moose Jaw constituency during the Territorial elections of 1894. The Patrons had nominated George Annable to run against J. H. Ross who had been the member at dissolution. Scott strongly supported Ross while attacking the Patrons for attempting to introduce party politics into the Assembly elections which had always been non-partisan.<sup>22</sup> Ross won the election.

During the winter of 1895 candidates representing the major parties in West Assiniboia were nominated in preparation for an anticipated federal election. N. F. Davin was renominated by the Conservatives, J. K. McInnis by the Patrons of Industry, and A. Hitchcock, who later withdrew, by the Liberals. Hitchcock's brief candidacy created a problem for Scott. He was a personal friend as well as the local candidate but he represented the Liberal party while Scott was a recognized supporter of the Patrons. Scott resolved the problem by announcing that he would support the Patron candidate. In doing so he was careful to point out that his selection had not been made on the basis of the individual merits of the candidates but rather on the principles they stood for as indicated by the parties they represented.<sup>23</sup> Following the example of Atkinson in *The Journal* he supported the Patron candidate largely by attacking Davin. For example, he showed mock alarm when it was suggested that Members of Parliament should vote secretly. If this suggestion were carried out he thought it would mean the end of Davin's career.

Now we submit to all reasonable readers, is it not plain as plain can be, if the ballot were introduced that Mr. Davin's tongue would be tied? If he talked tariff reform then the Government would think he also voted tariff reform, and, as he says himself, his prodigious influence— where, oh, where, would it be?<sup>24</sup>

He also attacked Davin for his failure to advance the cause of prohibition in accordance with promises he had made as far back as 1891.<sup>25</sup> According to the accounts in the *Times* Davin replied in like manner to these attacks.

While Davin and Scott were carrying on this spirited editorial battle, they were actually meeting privately to try and reach an agreement for the sale of *The Leader* to Scott. Negotiations for the sale began as early as 1894.<sup>26</sup> An agreement was signed on April 8, 1895 according to which Scott was to pay \$4,000.00 for the newspaper and Davin agreed not to run, publish or edit another newspaper in Regina for five years.<sup>27</sup> However, Davin refused to honor this agreement claiming that the Board of Directors of The Leader Company Limited

<sup>21</sup> See L. A. Wood, *A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada*, (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1924) p. 128. The Patron party failed to make any important gains in the 1896 federal election and gradually ceased to be a political force of any significance.

<sup>22</sup> *The Moose Jaw Times*, "The Moose Jaw Candidature", Oct. 19, 1894. The Territorial Assembly did not divide on federal party lines. There was a Government and Opposition but their division was on the basis of local policy.

<sup>23</sup> *The Moose Jaw Times*, "The Patron Candidate", Mar. 1, 1895.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, "We Urgently Protest", Mar. 29, 1895.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, "An Explanation in Order", Apr. 5, 1895.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, "Open Letter to N. F. Davin", Nov. 9, 1899. In this letter Scott states that Davin offered to sell him *The Leader* for \$4,000.00.

<sup>27</sup> Scott Papers, Contract between Scott and The Leader Company Limited, Apr. 8, 1895.

would not give him the power to complete the sale.<sup>28</sup> Scott instituted legal proceedings to force Davin to fulfil the agreement or pay damages.<sup>29</sup> Before the case reached the court, Scott agreed to drop legal proceedings and signed a new agreement with Davin and The Leader Company Limited on August 20, 1895.<sup>30</sup>

Under the new agreement for sale Scott was required to pay an extra \$1,000.00 for the newspaper, and he accepted the addition of a new clause. Under the terms of this clause, Scott agreed to support Davin and the Conservative party until the next general federal election and, if Davin was successful, for a further period to make in all three years from the date the agreement was signed. Davin was to have control of the first two editorial columns of the paper and he was to supply enough political material for this space.

It was a bad contract for Scott to have signed. By it he gave up his political independence to become Davin's editor on a paper he himself owned. Why did Scott agree to such a contract? The answer seems to be that he wanted the paper badly enough to accept Davin's terms. In his own defense he claimed that he had accepted an important printing contract which he could not fulfil without *The Leader's* printing presses. Moreover, he stated that he had been assured by Davin that the only purpose of the new clause was to satisfy Davin's business associates and that it would not be binding.<sup>31</sup> This explanation was of dubious merit because it is an admission that he was willing to be party to an agreement partly designed to deceive some of Davin's business associates.

Davin's strategy was quite apparent. By selling the newspaper he was relieved of the responsibilities of running the newspaper while at the same time he was assured of its support. It was a brilliant move on Davin's part, but it had one dangerous weakness. It was based on the assumption that he could continue to keep under his control an able, ambitious young man who had on many occasions publicly disagreed with his policies and actions. However, Scott had agreed to Davin's terms in order to gain control of what was probably the most important newspaper in the Territories and there was every indication that Scott intended to abide by the terms of the contract.

From the correspondence it appears that Davin did not actually write the editorials but provided Scott with the ideas and material. Scott seems to have followed closely the directions Davin gave him. When Davin gave a series of speeches in Winnipeg he wrote Scott telling him they had been well received and suggesting editorial comment.<sup>32</sup> Shortly after, an editorial appeared in *The Leader* commenting on the success of Davin's speeches and suggesting that "in essential particulars, he is a man among a thousand."<sup>33</sup>

As was to be expected, *The Leader* attacked the Patron party and its candidate J. K. McInnis but not as frequently or as vigorously as the *Times* had

<sup>28</sup> Scott Papers, Davin to Scott, Apr. 11, 1895.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, H. A. Robson to Scott, Apr. 16, 1895.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, "Memorandum of Agreement", Aug. 20, 1895.

<sup>31</sup> *The Leader*, "Open Letter to N. F. Davin", Nov. 9, 1899, *op. cit.*

<sup>32</sup> Scott Papers, Davin to Scott, from Winnipeg, Dec. 31, 1895.

<sup>33</sup> *The Leader*, "Not Without Honour Except", Jan. 2, 1896.

previously attacked Davin. However, Scott did call McInnis a "hide bound Patron,"<sup>34</sup> and even tried to prove that the best principles of the Patron party were also those of the Conservative party.<sup>35</sup> On another occasion he implied that McInnis had no principles and acted in a chaotic fashion.<sup>36</sup> About the time this editorial appeared, Davin wrote warning his editor not to attack McInnis too much for fear he might goad him into activity.<sup>37</sup> Scott remembered this advice but at the time his interest was probably drawn away from McInnis by the growing importance of the Manitoba School question.

The Manitoba school question originated in 1890 when the Province of Manitoba passed an act abolishing separate schools and establishing a uniform non-sectarian school system. The provincial legislation immediately raised the perennial federal problem of the relative powers of the Provincial and Dominion governments. In this particular case the question was whether the Dominion government had the right or the duty to interfere with Provincial legislation in order to protect the rights of the minority. It was a dangerous political issue and the Dominion government preferred not to interfere. But the Privy Council ruled that the Manitoba law was valid and then, in another action, ruled that the Dominion government could intervene. In December, 1895, the Greenway government of Manitoba, which had passed the legislation, was returned to power in an overwhelming victory. It definitely refused to re-establish separate schools. The Dominion government, with its last escape closed, now prepared to introduce remedial legislation in the last session of Parliament which was to meet on January 2, 1896.<sup>38</sup>

Early in 1895 Davin had definitely expressed himself as being in favour of a non-sectarian school system.<sup>39</sup> *The Leader*, under the Scott-Davin editorship, continued to support this policy and to oppose any interference by the Dominion government in the Manitoba school question. They indicated that, had Laurier come out in favour of non-interference with Manitoba, they could have praised him, but he was being "evasive and contradictory."<sup>40</sup> Several editorials stressed Laurier's indecision,<sup>41</sup> in an attempt to strengthen the Conservative stand.

Soon after Parliament assembled the Conservative government faced a crisis with the resignation of seven ministers,<sup>42</sup> but the crisis was patched up with Sir Charles Tupper replacing Bowell as Prime Minister. During the Cabinet shake-up there was apparently some suggestion that Davin might be asked to join the Cabinet, but *The Leader* expressed the opinion that it would be better for the

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, "A Somewhat Ruffled Calm", Sept. 19, 1896.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, "Facts vs. Attitudes", Feb. 27, 1896.

<sup>37</sup> Scott Papers, Davin to Scott, Feb. 27, 1896.

<sup>38</sup> O. D. Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (New York: Century Company, 1922), I, p. 463-4.

<sup>39</sup> *The Moose Jaw Times*, "His Mouth Was Closed", Mar. 28, 1895.

<sup>40</sup> *The Leader*, "Mr. Laurier Behind Torres Vedras", Oct. 17, 1895.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, "Laurier's Last Ontario Visit", Oct. 17, 1895; "A Mistaken Standpoint", Nov. 28, 1895; "Resignation of Clarke Wallace", Dec. 19, 1895.

<sup>42</sup> Skelton, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

West to remain united than to have representation in the Cabinet.<sup>43</sup> Davin wrote Scott informing him that he had told Bowell he would not go into a Cabinet pledged to remedial legislation,<sup>44</sup> and an editorial in *The Leader* stressed this position.<sup>45</sup> However, a postscript to this letter is significant. In it Davin expressed doubt as to whether he or anyone could possibly fight to maintain the position adopted by Greenway's government because of Greenway's willingness to use the school question to secure political advantage.<sup>46</sup> Surely this letter must have given Scott some indication that in a crisis Davin might not support non-interference.

In February the Conservative government introduced a Remedial Bill. The Bill provided for the establishment of separate schools in Manitoba supervised by a Roman Catholic board of education and supported by Catholic ratepayers who could declare whether they wished to support the public or separate schools. The Bill recommended the payment of a provincial grant but did not "specifically command the province to make it."<sup>47</sup> Laurier was pleased with the terms of the bill because, while it exercised coercion on the province for the benefit of the minority, the fact that no provincial aid for the separate schools was specified meant, in effect, that the schools could not operate efficiently, leaving the Liberals free to oppose it on these grounds. This they did, asking for a six month's delay.<sup>48</sup> Davin thought Laurier should be praised for his stand against remedial legislation but pointed out that those who asked for delay were as much remedial legislationists as the government.<sup>49</sup> Scott followed instructions by praising Laurier but pointing out that his own opposition to any interference whatsoever prevented him from wholly supporting Laurier's stand.<sup>50</sup>

Meanwhile the debate on the second reading of the remedial bill was proceeding in Parliament. It is not surprising that on such a critical issue there was talk of employing party whips and other methods to get the members of the Conservative party to vote with the government. *The Leader* commented:

We know that in this riding Ministers have used influence to have meetings of Conservatives called to pass resolutions threatening pains and penalties to the Member if he voted against the Bill. It is needless to say that no such meeting was held in West Assiniboia. No representative meeting in this riding could be gathered that would not endorse Mr. Davin's opposition to the Bill.<sup>51</sup>

On the same day the editorial page of *The Leader* had occasion to state that Davin had "on many occasions disregarded and braved the tyranny of his party,"<sup>52</sup> and there was no indication that he would give in this time. Then came

<sup>43</sup> *The Leader*, "A United West or a Minister?", Jan. 9, 1896.

<sup>44</sup> Scott Papers, Davin to Scott, Jan. 25, 1896.

<sup>45</sup> *The Leader*, "Rumors", Feb. 13, 1896.

<sup>46</sup> Scott Papers, Davin to Scott, Jan. 25, 1896, Postscript.

<sup>47</sup> Skelton, *op. cit.*, p. 468.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 471.

<sup>49</sup> Scott Papers, Davin to Scott, Mar. 5, 1896.

<sup>50</sup> *The Leader*, "The Liberal Leader and the Remedial Bill", Mar. 12, 1896.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, "Treacherous Coercion", Mar. 19, 1896.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, "Strangling the Life of Canada", Mar. 19, 1896.

the vote on the second reading of the Bill and both Scott and Davin found themselves re-appraising their positions.

Davin voted with the government for the Bill. In a letter to Scott he explained that he was convinced that it would have been impossible to defeat the Bill and that most of the Members of Parliament were now convinced that some interference was necessary. Despite his vote, Davin said he was convinced that "this bill will never be put into operation."<sup>53</sup> It is, perhaps, significant that in this letter he made no mention of what Scott should say in the newspaper about his change of mind. Scott was apparently unconvinced by Davin's arguments.

Scott's answer to Davin's reversal of policy was a strongly worded editorial which clearly placed him in opposition to Davin. The editorial stated, in part:

To say that a majority of the people of Western Assiniboia felt amazement, chagrin and humiliation when the report came that Mr. Davin had voted with the Government on the second reading of the Remedial Bill is to express no more than the truth. To say that *The Leader* was humiliated, chagrined and amazed at the circumstances is to put the case mildly . . . . If Mr. Davin voted under coercion we have no words to designate his conduct. If he voted honestly and honorably according to an altered conviction, we say he knowingly cast a vote which he had no warrant from his constituents to cast, and he occupied the role of a usurper in casting it . . . . If public opinion was a factor, then it was important that public opinion should have been truly represented by the Members; a higher duty devolved upon him than voting on his private convictions. In this case he could properly have followed the example of Messrs. McIsaac and Angus, whose own opinions were against the Bill, but who, because their constituents wished the Bill to pass voted for it.<sup>54</sup>

The editor added that in view of Davin's vote on the remedial legislation he could not continue to support him. This editorial was probably intended to win popular support for Scott's action in turning against Davin but it failed to present a logical analysis of the situation. Scott attacked Davin for voting at the dictation of his party and not according to his beliefs. Then he attacked him for not voting according to the wishes of the majority of his constituents. There is no evidence to suggest that, in this attack on Davin, Scott was justified in applying the delegate theory of representation, which holds that a parliamentarian should vote according to the wishes of his constituents, as this theory does not appear to have been generally accepted in the Territories at that time. In his desire to present a strong case against Davin and to justify his own actions, Scott fell victim to a faulty line of argument. Davin had reversed his position, and Scott either could not or would not change his own views and he therefore could no longer support Davin.

In the weeks that followed the publication of the "For or Against" editorial, Davin tried to persuade Scott to support him again. In a letter headed "Without Prejudice" he told Scott he had not voted under pressure but because he was convinced that his action was right. He suggested that Scott had "jumped at

<sup>53</sup> Scott Papers, Davin to Scott, Mar. 21, 1896.

<sup>54</sup> *The Leader*, "For Or Against", Mar. 26, 1896.

conclusions" and assured him that he preferred friendship to legal technicalities.<sup>55</sup> In another letter Davin remarked: "Some of your sanguine friends may take roseate views about the prospects of the reform party, but I tell you that Mr. Laurier is in a desperate position."<sup>56</sup>

The relationship between Davin and Scott continued to deteriorate. Scott consulted a lawyer to determine his exact legal position under the agreement for sale he had signed when he had purchased *The Leader*. He was assured that the clause requiring him to support Davin was not legally binding. Davin disagreed with this interpretation, stating:

I find it difficult to understand the view you take on the agreement. Putting myself aside altogether but looking just at the transaction, you deliberately undertake to do a certain thing and you say the undertaking does not bind you either legally or morally . . . . Your view of the legal question or rather your lawyer's view is entirely mistaken.<sup>57</sup>

In this letter Davin continued to defend his vote on the remedial bill and assured Scott that despite this vote he would be re-elected by a large majority. He ended on a note of optimism expressing the hope that "in conversation we may be able to understand each other better."<sup>58</sup>

Before Davin got back to Regina, Scott indicated that there was very little chance of a reconciliation when he editorialized:

. . . if he returns from Ottawa and tries to convince us by delicate arguments and fine-spun reasoning that both his vote for remedial legislation and his speech against it, were right, there is extreme likelihood that weariness may overtake us . . . .<sup>59</sup>

But Scott's strongest attack on Davin came after Davin had returned to Regina and had made some attempt to defend his actions:

Mr. Davin blandly tells those of us who fail to endorse his vote on the second reading of the Remedial Bill, that we are palpably, blindly ignorant,—that we have fed on rhetorical sow thistles,—that our stomachs are distended with the east wind—that we are deluded with the veriest balderdash of demagoguery. We verily think he believes it of us. Of a certainty he takes us for unmitigated fools.<sup>60</sup>

All hope of reconciliation had gone and it was clear that Scott was not going to continue to support Davin in *The Leader*.

On May 14, 1896, Scott published a long letter to the readers of *The Leader* in which he explained the terms of his contract with Davin and his version of subsequent events. He quoted from a Conservative circular which claimed that Scott was acting under the direction of Davin's political opponents, and from a letter he said he had written to Davin on May 9th in which he said:

<sup>55</sup> Scott Papers, Davin to Scott, Apr. 7, 1896.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, Davin to Scott, Apr. 11, 1896.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, Davin to Scott, Apr. 18, 1896. Davin's usual salutatory opening had been "My Dear Scott" but this letter opened with "Dear Mr. Scott".

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *The Leader*, "An Incomprehensible Course", Apr. 23, 1896.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, "Fools All of Us", May 7, 1896.

I will again appeal to you to buy back the paper, place me in the position in which I stood in relation to you before I made the purchase and relieve me from an extremely awkward situation. Fair play demands that you adopt either this or some other course that will relieve me of a bond, which, under the conditions it was made, did not bind; but which to observe to the letter now that your action on the Remedial Bill has so entirely changed the conditions, would be to flagrantly violate my conscience.<sup>61</sup>

He went on to explain to the readers that Davin had refused to buy back *The Leader* but that an alternative arrangement had been worked out. He had agreed to lease *The Leader* to Davin's friends for the remaining five weeks of the election campaign. At the end of the five weeks the newspaper would be returned to his control and he would then be free to follow whatever political course he wished.

Scott had deliberately broken the letter of the agreement he had signed when he purchased *The Leader* to support Davin. According to the terms of the agreement Scott was not justified in breaking the agreement because Davin did not promise that he would follow any particular policy. However, Scott was responsible in the public mind for the policies of the newspaper and he had a right to expect a reasonable amount of consistency on Davin's part. The school question was an important issue and Scott, an Ontario Presbyterian, probably held fairly strong views on the matter. It is perhaps true that Ross and McInnis helped him reach the decision that he could not accept Davin's reversal of policy on the school question, but there is no indication that Scott's actions were dictated by political considerations. If Davin had continued to follow a consistent policy on the major issues, Scott would probably have continued to support him. The agreement was a bad one and by its very nature and the personalities involved was likely to cause trouble. Davin should not have tried to impose it on Scott and Scott should never have signed it.

Scott emerged from his conflict with Davin as editor and owner of *The Leader*. He was not committed to the support of any political party but, having publicly abandoned the Conservatives and Patrons, it was logical to expect Scott to support the Liberal party which he did. While the Liberals under Laurier won the 1896 general election in West Assiniboia, Davin retained his seat as a Conservative by a narrow margin.<sup>62</sup> The public quarrel which had begun between Davin and Scott continued unabated.

Perhaps on the mistaken assumption that Scott would like to be on the winning side in West Assiniboia, Davin wrote an editorial for *The Leader*. According to Scott's report,<sup>63</sup> this editorial would have had him say that he was pleased at Davin's election and that, as the election fight was over, peace and harmony were restored. Scott used two columns of his editorial page to make certain Davin and the public knew that he would never again support Davin. Later he accused

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, "A Letter", May 14, 1896, *op. cit.*

<sup>62</sup> *Directory of Members of Parliament and Federal Elections for the North-West Territories and Saskatchewan, 1887-1953*. Sask. Archives, 1956, p. 24. The official count gave McInnis and Davin each 1,502 votes. Davin was elected by the casting vote of the returning officer.

<sup>63</sup> *The Leader*, "Mr. Davin and his Present Position in Western Assiniboia", July 23, 1896. See also *The Standard*, "Rejected Manuscript", July 30, 1896.



Davin of organizing a business boycott of *The Leader* in order to force Scott to make peace with him.<sup>64</sup>

In comment on Davin's narrow election victory, Scott had stated that there would be a petition which would upset the results. A petition was presented and then withdrawn.<sup>65</sup> According to one report, the leaders of the two major parties had arranged a "saw-off" of election protests—that is, they agreed to withdraw all protests. The case in West Assiniboia was particularly difficult as McInnis had run as a Patron candidate with Liberal support. In view of the overall election results the local Liberals were anxious to have Davin's election overthrown as they felt certain they could defeat him in a by-election. Clifford Sifton, who was responsible for the arrangement in the West, had difficulty in persuading them to withdraw their protest and ". . . probably would have failed if Walter Scott, destined to defeat Davin at the next election, had not brought his influence to bear."<sup>66</sup> Sifton wrote to thank Scott for his help and to explain that sometimes it was necessary to let a man like Davin hold his seat because of a general agreement and the honour of the Government. Apparently Scott had already won the friendship and sympathy of the most important Liberal in the west.

The Davin-Scott feud finally reached the law courts. On December 14, 1896, Davin charged Scott with criminal libel.<sup>67</sup> The charge cited an editorial published in *The Leader* on October 15, 1896, as the libelous action. Probably Scott deliberately published the editorial in order to provoke Davin into legal action. According to a report in *The Leader*, during a debate in Parliament on the North-West dairy interests, Davin had referred to its editor as being guilty of "one of the most dishonorable acts in the history of human infamy." Scott replied editorially:

Had we smashed some of his lies, with his false teeth and slandering tongue, down his treacherous throat, that would have been, when viewed in the light of all the circumstances, bare and simple justice to him and the Editor of *The Leader*.<sup>68</sup>

A week later, on October 15, he wrote:

The Leader Co. (Ltd.), which was Mr. Davin's name as a contracting printer stooped to that truckling to a Government which would enable us, like that cheat, to play the part of a boodler and get our clutches, like it, on public moneys without giving value. If the inference in the foregoing sentence is disregarded by Mr. Davin on the plea that he would be unable to collect damages, the pleas might pass in Parliament, but we have

<sup>64</sup> *The Leader*, "Some Shop Talk", Aug. 6, 1896.

<sup>65</sup> Scott Papers, Statutory Declaration by H. A. Robson made at Winnipeg, July 13, 1900. According to this statement the petition against Davin's election was withdrawn on Aug. 14, 1897. Against Scott's wishes one condition of withdrawal was that Davin drop a civil libel suit against Scott. This was done but criminal charges were not dropped.

<sup>66</sup> J. W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to his Times* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1931), p. 197. See also Scott Papers, McInnis Libel Trial, 1906. An unsigned memorandum implies that McInnis withdrew the election protest when the Liberals agreed to pay his election expenses.

<sup>67</sup> Scott Papers, *The Queen vs. Scott*, Supreme Court of the North-West Territories, Judicial District West Assiniboia, Dec. 14, 1896.

<sup>68</sup> *The Leader*, "Mr. Davin's Peculiar Style", Oct. 8, 1896.

sufficient confidence in our own credit to believe that the plea will not pass with the people of West Assiniboia, whose "independent" representative Mr. Davin, the political hedger, has long pretended to be.<sup>69</sup>

These were harsh words but Scott wanted the whole matter of his relations with Davin aired in the courts in order to clear himself of any imputation of wrongdoing. Davin accepted the challenge and laid the charges.

Scott appointed F. W. G. Haultain his attorney and entered a long written defense to Davin's charge on February 8, 1897. The defense sought to establish that no libel had been committed because what had been published was true and "that it was for the public benefit that the matters charged should be published in the manner and at the time they were published . . ." <sup>70</sup> To support this claim the Plea set out thirty-four cases of wrongful acts or false statements made by Davin. Among these were false accusations Davin had made against a former Mayor of Regina, W. C. Hamilton, in 1889, an editorial published by Davin in 1889 which cast reflections on the religious views of C. J. Atkinson, various other promises and actions on the part of Davin, as well as a number of statements which cast aspersions on Scott's character. Just before the case was to be tried Davin submitted a written apology to Scott for having used the phrase "most dishonorable action in the history of human infamy"<sup>71</sup> to describe Scott's action in refusing to support Davin on his vote on the Remedial Bill and withdrew the criminal charge.<sup>72</sup>

It was really an incredible performance. Scott had denounced Davin in the strongest terms, yet he forced Davin to apologize and to withdraw the criminal charges. Possibly Davin withdrew the charges because he felt he had a poor case, but it is more likely that he dropped them because of the defense Scott presented. It meant that if Davin proceeded with the charges he would have had to face a full public examination of his conduct over the past ten years. Such an examination would not help his political career, particularly with his opponents in control of the important newspapers. Whatever the reasons, Davin's failure to face Scott in court further weakened his position. This made Scott the logical person to challenge Davin in the next election.

It was becoming increasingly obvious that *The Leader* was a strong supporter of the Liberal government. Its editor had, from the first, rejoiced at the defeat of the Conservative hierarchy<sup>73</sup> and within a year he was praising the Laurier government for its effectiveness in dealing with the Manitoba school question and various administrative problems.<sup>74</sup> Scott was recognized as a party stalwart when he was appointed by the Central Liberal Association, on January 11, 1898, to distribute the patronage for West Assiniboia.<sup>75</sup> In answer to attacks by *The*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, "The Cowardly Slanders of a Pretended Honorable Man", Oct. 15, 1896.

<sup>70</sup> Scott Papers, Queen vs. Scott, Plea, Feb. 8, 1897.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, Davin to Scott, Dec. 23, 1897.

<sup>72</sup> *The Leader*, "Open Letter to N. F. Davin", Nov. 9, 1899, *op. cit.* See also *Ibid.*, "Mr. Scott and the 'Protest'", Oct. 4, 1900.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, "Defeat of the Hierarchy", July 2, 1896.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, "Plenty of Action", Apr. 8, 1897.

<sup>75</sup> Scott Papers, W. W. Bole to Scott, Jan. 11, 1898.

*Winnipeg Tribune*, Scott publicly revealed his appointment and stated that he had succeeded J. H. Ross who gave up the post when he was appointed to the Executive Council of the North-West Territories.<sup>76</sup> Scott had become, through his newspaper and the party organization, an active Liberal supporter.

During 1899 a division serious enough to interest Sifton<sup>77</sup> developed within the Regina Liberal party. The chief cause of the difficulty seems to have been that some of the older Liberals strongly objected to Scott's administration of the patronage.<sup>78</sup> The exact cause of their objection is not clear but Scott claimed that he had angered some Liberals because he refused to have Conservatives who were doing a good job fired from civil service positions to make room for Liberals.<sup>79</sup> There seems also to have been some objection to Sifton among the older Liberals, who felt he was not doing all he should for the West.<sup>80</sup> Eventually a new Liberal group called the Junior Liberal Association of Regina and District was organized with Scott as its first President.<sup>81</sup> It was intended to replace the old Liberal organization known as the Regina and District Reform Association, but this group continued to hold meetings.

In an effort to end the dispute Scott resigned as patronage distributor for the Liberal party in West Assiniboia. A party convention, called to choose his successor,<sup>82</sup> met on December 11, 1899, but if the members of the older Regina Liberal organization attended they had little effect on the proceedings as Scott was asked to continue distributing patronage and the Convention went on record as strongly endorsing the leadership of Laurier and Sifton. The Convention also prepared for a nominating convention to be held at a later date, appointing a committee to make all the necessary arrangements.

Scott did not attend the nominating Convention. During the spring of 1900 he had to make a trip to Ottawa to testify at hearings before the Public Accounts Committee concerning printing contracts granted *The Leader* while Davin owned it. He left Regina on April 19 and did not return until May 25.<sup>83</sup> Previous commitments required him to join a press excursion at St. Paul, Minnesota, for a journey to Detroit, Quebec and Ontario.<sup>84</sup> For this purpose he left Regina on May 28, the day the nominating Convention met.<sup>85</sup> However, before he left, he met with some Regina Liberals<sup>86</sup> and saw some of the delegations that came to attend the Convention.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *The Leader*, "The Winnipeg Traitor", Nov. 30, 1899. Ross was appointed to the Public Works portfolio on Oct. 14, 1897, and since the Territorial government was non-partisan he felt he had to give up his post as patronage distributor for the Liberals.

<sup>77</sup> Scott Papers, Sifton to Scott, Oct. 30, 1899 and Oct. 31, 1899. Sifton planned to meet all the Liberals in Regina on Nov. 11, 1899, but whether he was able to get a unified meeting is not clear.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Sifton to Scott, Jan. 11, 1899.

<sup>79</sup> *The Leader*, "Regina Liberals", Oct. 19, 1899.

<sup>80</sup> Scott Papers, Scott to Hon. William Harty, July 20, 1909.

<sup>81</sup> *The Leader*, "Junior Liberal Association", Oct. 12, 1899, p. 8.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, "Regina Liberals", Oct. 19, 1899, *op. cit.*

<sup>83</sup> Scott Papers, Pocket Notebook for 1900. See entries for days mentioned.

<sup>84</sup> *The Leader*, Reports of the Excursion, June 7, 14 and 21, 1900.

<sup>85</sup> Scott Papers, Pocket Notebook for 1900, May 28.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, May 25.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, May 26. He states, "Met Western delegates to Convention (Liberal)."

About thirty delegates from all parts of the constituency attended. According to the rules established by the planning executive set up at the December Convention, all delegates had to be selected as a result of open Liberal meetings and to be officially accredited.<sup>88</sup> On the ground that they had not been selected according to the Convention regulations, eight delegates from the Regina and District Reform Association were refused admission. The eight delegates from the Regina Junior Liberal Association were admitted.<sup>89</sup> The spokesman for the senior Liberal group stated that his group had refused to attend the open meeting of the Junior Liberal Association as long as Scott continued to distribute the patronage.<sup>90</sup> An attempt was made to have the Reform Association delegates admitted but it was defeated when Ross opposed the motion on the grounds that they did not represent true Liberal ideas. The Convention then proceeded to nominate a candidate.

Ross was offered the nomination but he refused because he wanted to complete work he had started in the North-West Territories. Then, according to the editorial comment, with "enthusiasm and unanimity" the nomination was offered to Walter Scott.<sup>91</sup> Scott had probably already agreed to accept the nomination but he was wired by the Convention chairman and telegraphed his acceptance. The Convention was clearly a triumph for the Ross-Sifton-Scott brand of Liberalism.

In a letter dated June 18, 1900, addressed to the Chairman of the Liberal Convention, but published on the front page of *The Leader*, Scott stated his political creed:

I feel justified in taking it for granted that I will be expected to act as a supporter of the present Government, but independent and untrammelled by any consideration other than the best interests of this region and the Territories as a whole in particular and the Dominion of Canada in general . . . . It was with confidence, which I am sure was not mistaken, that your convention would expect this nominee to be a truly independent Member of Parliament, perfectly free to oppose by word and vote any action of the Liberal party or a Liberal government that might be inimical to the North-West that I accepted this nomination without hesitation or parley.<sup>92</sup>

He went on to review briefly and with approval the Liberal program and to state that he felt more had to be done on tariff reduction, transportation and grain marketing. Scott also stated that he deeply appreciated the honour bestowed on him—"an honor unasked and unsought, as you know, but none the less appreciated."<sup>93</sup> The theory of representation Scott outlined in accepting the Liberal nomination in 1900 was exactly opposite to the one he claimed Davin should have followed in 1896, but it is probably much closer to Scott's own real opinion and

<sup>88</sup> Scott Papers, List of Delegates Attending Liberal Convention, May 28, 1900.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, and *The Leader*, "Liberal Convention", June 7, 1900.

<sup>90</sup> *The Leader*, "Liberal Convention", June 7, 1900.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, "Liberal Convention at Regina", May 31, 1900.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, "Mr. Scott Writes the Liberal Convention Chairman", June 28, 1900, front page.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

the popularly accepted theory of representation than the one he had expressed in 1896. Scott's program was designed to appeal to a wide cross-section of the Territorial electorate but he realized that with Davin as his opponent a hard contest lay ahead.

Scott actually began campaigning in the middle of August.<sup>94</sup> He recalled it as a time of learning:

Perhaps you do not know that I was never on a platform attempting a speech until a candidate against Nicholas Flood who was a master of oratory if nothing else. The debt I owe John Hawkes has to do with that campaign. John followed me at meetings in Davin's interest, and he was decent always, even generous sometimes. Before the end of it, along with John, I had learned to control myself.<sup>95</sup>

According to the newspaper reports of Scott's speeches, his strategy was to avoid personal issues on the campaign platform. Instead he concentrated on the Liberal party record as compared with that of the Conservatives.<sup>96</sup> In support of Scott *The Leader* kept up a steady stream of editorials which attacked Davin or Conservative policies and invariably praised the Liberals. The news accounts of meetings always reported a good reception for Scott, but usually added that Davin was not doing very well.<sup>97</sup> In addition to *The Leader*, Scott had the support of *The Standard* owned by J. K. McInnis, his former business partner.<sup>98</sup>

When the votes were counted after November 7, 1900, Scott was found to be the winner and the new Member of Parliament for West Assiniboia.<sup>99</sup> In a card of thanks to the electors he analyzed the reasons for his victory as follows:

The victory is one for the North-West Territories, for the principle of low tariff, for the principle of public control of railways, for honest administration and it is a victory against and rebuke to those who think it no shame to misrepresent and slander the public and private character of public men.<sup>100</sup>

The election result was a personal victory for Scott in his four years of conflict with Davin. It marked the beginning of a distinguished public career which lasted for 16 years. Scott had achieved a great deal since leaving his home in 1885, and 1900 found him on the threshold of a career which was to carry him rapidly to a leading place in western politics.

D. H. BOCKING.

<sup>94</sup> *The Leader*, "Getting Into Harness", Aug. 23, 1900.

<sup>95</sup> AS, Haslam Papers, Scott to J. H. Haslam, July 12, 1918.

<sup>96</sup> For examples see *The Leader*, "Getting Into Harness", Aug. 23, 1900, and "Scott Speaks for Two Hours and Talks Business From the Word Go", Oct. 11, 1900.

<sup>97</sup> See *The Leader*, August to November, 1900.

<sup>98</sup> *The Standard*, "Sifton-Davin", Sept. 12, 1900, and "Candidates of the Parties", Oct. 17, 1900.

<sup>99</sup> *Directory of Members of Parliament and Federal Elections for the North-West Territories and Saskatchewan, 1887-1953. op. cit.*, p. 25. Scott received 2,093 votes. Davin received 1,861 votes.

<sup>100</sup> *The Leader*, "Card to Electors", Nov. 8, 1900.

## The Campaign of 1885: A Contemporary Account

By GEORGE F. G. STANLEY

The pictures accompanying this article were taken by Captain J. Peters, who served during the rebellion with "A" Battery, Canadian Artillery. His unit saw action at Fish Creek and Batoche, and accompanied General Middleton's column to Prince Albert and Battleford. The pictures taken by Captain Peters are among the earliest photographic records of battle scenes and they are the only pictures known to have been taken during rebellion battles. Most of the pictures had to be taken under adverse conditions and many were taken under fire. The album of Captain Peters' rebellion photographs is now in the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa.

*The Editor.*

### INTRODUCTION

ON March 27th, 1885, late at night, word was flashed to various cities across Canada that serious trouble had broken out on the banks of the Saskatchewan River in the North-West Territories. Word that Canadian troops had suffered a defeat at the hands of the Métis, and that the Permanent Force units, including the batteries at Kingston and Quebec, and the Infantry School Corps were under orders to move to the west, and that units of the Canadian Militia would be mobilized.

There was truth in these reports. On March 23rd the General Officer Commanding the Canadian Militia, Major General Frederick Middleton had been closeted with the Minister of Militia and Defence, Honourable Adolphe Caron, and had received his instructions to start as early as possible for Winnipeg. The railway had not yet been completed between central Ontario and the prairies, but the General reached Winnipeg within three days. Here he learned the news of Duck Lake. Taking with him the 90th Rifles of Winnipeg he set out at once for Qu'Appelle in the District of Assiniboia. Meanwhile the excitement of war spread throughout the length and breadth of the country and hundreds of volunteers offered their services to carry the obsolescent Snider-Enfield rifles with which the majority of the Canadian Militia units were equipped, and use them against Louis Riel, his Métis adherents and his Indian sympathizers. In the end over 7,000 men were mobilized; of these no fewer than 5,330 were volunteer militiamen.

With this largely militia force, General Middleton, Major-General T. B. Strange and Colonel W. D. Otter succeeded in suppressing the Saskatchewan rebellion. The principal battles were those fought at Fish Creek and Batoche between the Métis and General Middleton's men. Other engagements of significance were fought at Cut Knife and Frenchman Butte between the Indians and the militia under Otter and Strange. Batoche, in particular, was a stiff encounter. Here the Métis under Gabriel Dumont succeeded in holding out from the 9th to the 12th of May against a force superior in numbers and equipment. They yielded only after they had run out of ammunition and the militia out of patience.

Among the militia battalions which served directly under Middleton was a composite unit called the Midland Battalion (the other units included the 90th Battalion, Winnipeg; the 10th Royal Grenadiers, Toronto; "A" Battery, Quebec; part of the Winnipeg Field Battery; part of the Infantry School Corps; and three *ad hoc* cavalry units, Boulton's Scouts, French's Scouts and Dennis's Surveyors' Scouts). The Midlanders comprised contingents from the 15th (Belleville), 40th (Cobourg), 45th (Lindsay), 46th (Port Hope), 47th (Kingston), 49th (Stirling) and 57th (Peterborough) Battalions and from The Royal Military College of Canada. The unit was commanded by Lieut. Colonel A. T. H. Williams of Port Hope.<sup>1</sup> It played a notable part at Batoche; for it was Williams and the Midlanders who led the charge on May 12th that brought the fighting at Batoche to an end. In his Order of the Day Lieut. Colonel Williams wrote, with obvious pride and without distortion of the truth:

That flank movement entrusted to us was so rapidly and determinedly made that it is admitted that by it the tide of victory was turned. Amid a shower of lead from the front and left flank, the red line of the Midland pressed steadily on with British cheer and pluck, through the entangled brush on the river slope, until the proper time arrived for the rush across the open prairie front to the houses, the capital of the rebels, a distance of about five hundred yards. The response to this was a noble one, and would have done credit to the most experienced soldiers, as amid a shower of bullets the charge was made and the cheers went up. The Midland had the honour of having been in front of the advance, and the gratitude of the prisoners who were held by the rebels, as they emerged from the cellars of these houses, seemed to be a reward for the noble effort of the day, which was ours.

One of the volunteers who took part in this charge was William Thomas Wrighton of Belleville, Ontario. Wrighton served as a colour sergeant with the Midland Battalion and was slightly wounded in the left arm during the fighting. While in the North-West he wrote several letters to his friends in Belleville telling them of his experiences. After all, the Saskatchewan rebellion was the great adventure of his life. The three of Wrighton's letters, printed below, do not, perhaps, add anything essentially new to the story of the North-West campaign of 1885. They are, however, simple, straightforward accounts by a reasonably observant man who knew as much and as little of what was going on as the average soldier; more significantly they reveal the normal reaction of the man in the ranks to a military operation which, small as it may appear to those who have taken part in the two world wars, was important both in the history of the Canadian Militia and in the history of the Canadian West.

<sup>1</sup> The other officers included Majors H. R. Smith and J. Deacon; Adjutant, E. G. Ponton; Paymaster J. L. Reid; Quartermaster, J. P. Cledes; Surgeons Horsey and J. Might; Company officers, 15th—Capt. T. C. Lazier, Lieuts. J. E. Halliwell and C. G. E. Kenny; 40th—Capt. R. H. Bonnycastle and Lieut. J. E. Givan; 45th—Capts. J. Hughes and J. C. Grace; 46th—Capts. R. Dingwal, C. H. Winslow and Lieuts. R. W. Smart and J. V. Preston; 47th—Capt. T. Kelly, and Lieuts. Sharp and Hubbell; 49th—Capt. E. Harrison and Lieuts. H. A. Yeomans and R. J. Bell; 57th—Capts. J. A. Howard, T. Burke and Lieuts. F. H. Brennan and J. L. Weller; R.M.C.—2nd Lieuts. R. J. Cartwright, C. F. Cartwright, G. E. Laidlaw, H. C. Ponton, A. T. Tomlinson and D. C. F. Bliss.

WRIGHTON'S LETTERS<sup>2</sup>

Savanee per Railway,  
13th April, 1885.

My dear Newton

I dare say you have been expecting a letter from me before this, but I have not had any chance to write before. We have now been 8 days on the march since leaving Kingston, and most days have been very severe, there having been such high winds blowing and blinding snow storms when marching across Lake Superior, as we have had to march some times, other times in sleighs, well packed and again riding in open cars, until we reached this Station at 1 o'clock this morning then took rail, which goes right through to Winnipeg, where we will arrive at or about 2 o'clock tomorrow morning. Our further journey I will let you know of in my next. I am pleased to let you know that we have been very well fed on the journey, and the Transport (after making every allowance for the unfinished state of the Railway) has been carried out in a splendid way for which the Government deserves the greatest praise for, in fact there is no fault to be found anywhere. I am getting on nicely with the Company and the Captain is greatly pleased with my work. It was whispered in my ear yesterday the Colonel intends making me Sergeant Major of the Battalion, as the one he has got is not able to do his duty, but the fact is he knows nothing about his work at all. Captain Lazier says he will be very sorry to part with me, but he will not stand in my way. As it will be a benefit to me. Give my very best respects to Dan Coyle. I very often think about him, and I hope he has got a man to suit him in my place, also give my respects to your Inspector and all the Constables, also Bill Raine, Davis and Lockerby, Vermillyea, and all the other enquiring friends, and let them know that I am in the best of health, hoping this will find both yourself and family in the enjoyment of the very best of health I will now conclude with my very best wishes hoping to hear from you soon,

I remain

Yours sincerely and fraternally  
W. T. Wrighton

P.S. The Belleville boys are all well.

---

Swift Current,  
Manitoba,  
20th April, 1885.

My dear Newton

I dare say you have been thinking about how I have been getting on. I would have written you before, but I have been so very busy that I have barely had a minute to myself since leaving, as the work of a Color Sergeant is so great everybody appears to be continually wanting of him, however I believe according to all accounts I have given satisfaction. We had a terrible hard march of it to

<sup>2</sup> I acknowledge with thanks the permission of J. A. Smith of Trenton, Ontario, to make copies of these letters from the originals in his possession.





"Asleep in the Trenches" Peters' Album.

*Public Archives of Canada*

Swift Current, some part of the way on Sleighs and others by Marches and then on open flat cars and the weather has been extremely cold with Storms of Sleet and Snow and a strong wind blowing which nearly blinded us, in fact on some occasions we barely could see two yards in front of us, it tried the men severely, and I am very glad to say that they bore the journey splendidly, and there was not one Man fell out in our Company altho' we had to spend one night in the open with the Thermometer standing 20 below Zero, which was not very comfortable I assure you, also it was a pleasure to find so little grumbling amongst the Belleville Boys. We are now waiting orders here to proceed on relief of the Garrison at Battleford. Our first march will be a distance of 30 miles, and from there we have to go up the Saskatchewan River by Boats with a large supply of Stores. I am told it will be a very dangerous journey as the Banks of the River are very high and in some parts narrow, also the whole country along its Banks are occupied by the Rebels, so there is every chance of having some sharp work. The men all appear very anxious to proceed. We are, in a manner, almost out of the world here. We get no news of anything that is going on at all, we received a few Belleville papers yesterday dated the 11th inst. and they were eagerly read by the Boys, altho' the news was very old.

My dear Newton give my very best wishes to Dan Coyle and Mrs. Coyle, and that I sincerely hope he has got a Man to suit him in my place and that I hope they are in the best of health. Also give my respects to Davis, Bill Raine, Mr. McKinnon and all the constables. Mr. Vermillyea, Lt. Lockerby and all en-

quiring friends, and my dear friend not forgetting you and Family I give my very best wishes to hoping this will find you all in the very best of Health as this leaves me. I will now conclude hoping to hear from you soon and often, and as soon as I have an opportunity I will write you again, so believe me to remain

Yours sincerely & fraternally,  
W. T. Wrighton

To be forwarded

Saskatoon,  
22nd May, 1885.

My dear Newton

I dare say you have heard about our Battle of the 12th May and how that I am amongst those who are wounded. We arrived near Batoche's at about Mid day on the 9th, when operations were commenced by the Artillery shelling some houses which were occupied by the Rebels, they were (the houses) soon on fire, and burnt to the ground. We then advanced in Skirmishing Order and found the Rebels well entrenched in a large ravine by the River Banks and not far from a Roman Catholic Chapel and Vestry. After a deal of Firing it was found the enemy could not be removed from their position, and our Company with the Lindsay Company was formed up to charge down the ravine upon them, however the charge was overruled, as I believe it was considered a too dangerous enterprise to carry out. Night drawing on, we retired a short way from them and formed a "koral" (which is a large square formed by the Transport Wagons and banked up with earth) and our Company, the 15th formed an outlying Piquet that night, which I assure you was not a very enviable job as the most of us had been up on duty the night before, and felt tired after the March and fighting, however, we managed to pull through alright, but it was bitter cold, and the most of us had no great Coats or Blankets. However morning came at last after this dreary night, and the Sun shone out warm and clear and the dawn of the 10th May commenced. The Troops were fell in at an early hour, when the operations commenced again. We were formed up in much of a similar order to the previous day excepting our Companies which were on the extreme left which was in line with the river and facing a direct front with the Rebels. We laid here all day long with a continual fall of the Rebel Bullets round about us, but we could very rarely get a shot at them, because, as soon as they fired they bobbed down in their pits again, and the Woods being so thick we seldom got a chance to see them, but whenever we did, we generally left our mark among them.

On the 11th similar tactics were carried out, with this exception, our Company remained in Camp near the Kraal protecting the side near the river from any sudden attack, also to answer a fire from a few Rebels who were entrenched on a spur abutting the river, who were sending a very deliberate fire against our Trenches, but we could not shift them from their position, owing to the manner of their entrenchments. About 3 o'clock P.M. news was brought us that our other Coy (the 45th Lindsay Boys, C Company) had attacked and taken the enemy's



"Opening the ball at Batoche" Peters' Album.

*Public Archives of Canada*



"Our First Check" Batoche. Peters' Album.

*Public Archives of Canada*

Trenches in the Ravine, and that we were to hurry out to their assistance and support them. We were only a very few minutes before we were on the road and feeling very proud that our Boys had done such a glorious deed of Bravery, the position of the Rebels being so strong. On our arrival at their position our spirits were slightly damped as we learned that they had to retire again, owing to the very heavy fire maintained against them. However, they brought away a couple of dummy Men which we had been firing at also a few shovels, etc. Night coming on we retired again to our Trenches where we remained all night.

The morning of the 12th rose bright and clear, and we soon learnt that matters were to be decided this day, and I am sure every man was glad to know that such was the case. The Troops were divided, the Scouts, 90th, part of the 10th with the Artillery and Gatling Gun were sent out early to drive the enemy round to the river banks, and into their former position in the Ravines, and the Midland Battn. (which was composed of "A" and "C" Coys. only) were to attack them, and charge out into the open, we were supported on our right by a portion of the 10th Grenadiers. We advanced to the attack at about 11 o'clock A.M. and as we entered the thick Brush the men gave forth a good ringing cheer and went forward steadily to perform the arduous duty they had to perform. I have seen a good deal in my time, but I never saw Troops behave better than our Boys of Belleville and Bowmanville did on that most memorable day. The Bullets fell thick and fast around us, and they appeared to come from every direction. Still we advanced steadily making use of whatever cover we could get. We had got well forward and had entered their Trenches when I was informed that Lieut. Halliwell and Corpl. Halliwell (Brother of the former) were wounded. I at once went to their assistance and sent away for an Ambulance. But we had to wait a very long time for it. The Bullets were continually dropping around us and I was unable to move him for fear of another striking him, also we were right under the nose of the Rebels, and it was very dangerous to move, although we had acted as a Target for them for a very long time. At last the Ambulance arrived and I saw him into it, and then followed after my men. I had just got up and had a few shots when I heard Lieut. Laidlaw say he was shot. I continued to advance with the Men to within a short distance of the Ferry; when we found there was some Rebels entrenched about 50 yards in front of us, who had to be removed from that position (this was nearly in line with Batoche's House 50 to 60 Feet above us). I advanced about 15 to 20 yards in the open urging the Men on when I received a Ball right through the muscles of the Fore-arm. Sergt. Christie of ours was on my left. I had to leave the ground then as I was losing a deal of Blood. I scrambled up the Bank and was making my way to Batoche's House when a Sergt. of the 10th came to my help and assisted me there. I have felt a great deal of surprise since to know however I reached there as the Bullets fell round me all the way as thick as Hail Stones. I had to wait a very long time before I could get dressed, but I got it done at last, and was sent to Hospital in an Ambulance. I learnt afterwards the Battle was ended an hour after I was shot and that the General had given the Midlands the credit of being the cause of such a glorious Victory. The names of those who were shot are: Lieut. Halliwell thro' Shoulder;

Corpl. Halliwell thro' Wrist; Lieut. Laidlaw, thro' Leg; Pte. Daly thro' Hand; Sergt. Christie, Muscles of Fore-arm; Cr. Sergt. Wrighton, do. do.; Pte. Barton, thro' Hip bad.

I am glad to inform you that we are all doing well. We were all sent on Board the Northcote on the 13th and brought up to a place on the Banks of the River called Saskatoon, where we all are at present, but expect to be moved down to Moose Jaw in the course of 10 or 12 days, and I am told we are all going to be sent home as we get well, and I expect we will be back again in the course of a month.

My Dear Newton the reason I have given this long account of the Battle is that I thought it might be of some interest to you and others connected with the welfare of the Belleville Boys. Let them know we are all in one room together, and are excellently well attended by the Medical Officers, especially Drs. Bell and Wright. Their attendance has been unremitting, and most cheerfully given, also the Female Nurses have been a great boon to us, and everything has been of the best except the food which is not appreciated by any of us. I think that it is chiefly due to the Bad Cooking more than the want of Provisions.

I will now conclude with my very best regards to Dan and Mrs. Coyle hoping they are well, and also that he has forgiven my hurried departure by this time. Also the same to Mr. McKinnon and all the Constables, Bill Raine, Mr. Davis, Lockerby, Vermillyea, Hayes, and all enquiring friends, and my very best regards to yourself, Wife and Family, hoping this will find you all in the very best health, is the sincere wish of

Yours sincerely and f.

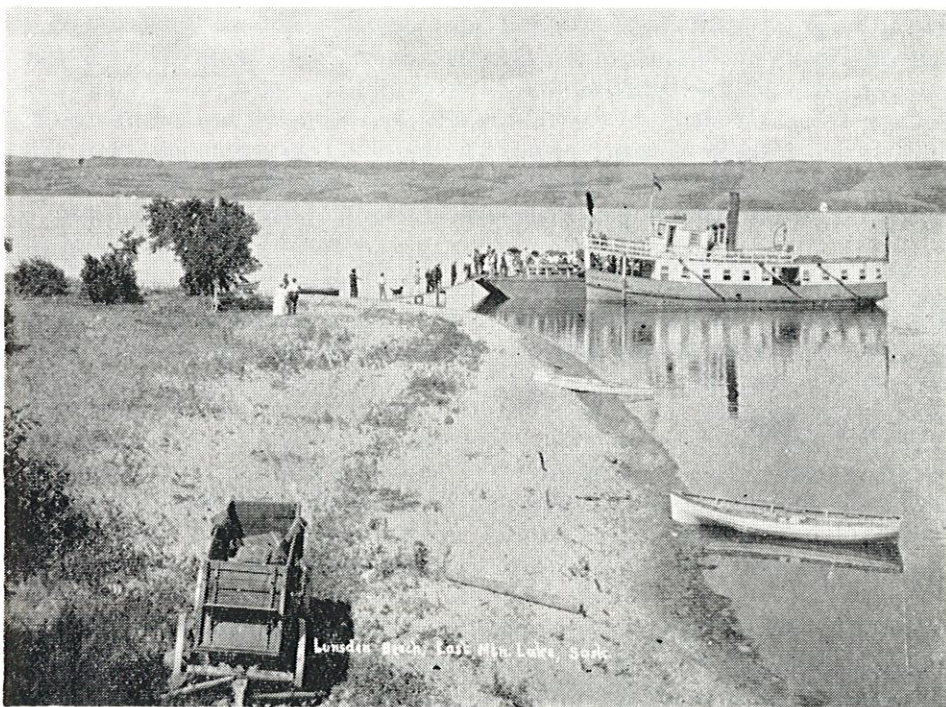
Cr Sergt. W. T. Wrighton  
A Company,  
Midland Battn.,  
Hospital Saskatoon,  
Temperance Colony,  
N.W.

RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES

## Steamboating on Last Mountain Lake

By BERT ELDERTON

I WAS fireman on the "Qu'Appelle" on Last Mountain Lake for the season of 1909. Previous to that I had been a fireman on boats on Lake Winnipeg, Manitoba, since 1904, which was the year I had come to Canada from Surrey, England, at the age of nineteen years. We fired the furnaces with cordwood in those boats. The chief engineer I fired for, Dave Keillor, lived in Winnipeg during



The Qu'Appelle at Lumsden Beach.

*Archives of Saskatchewan*

the winter of 1908-09. While there he got in touch with a Mr. Pearson and arranged to operate the "Qu'Appelle," which Mr. Pearson's company owned at Last Mountain Lake, for the 1909 season.\*

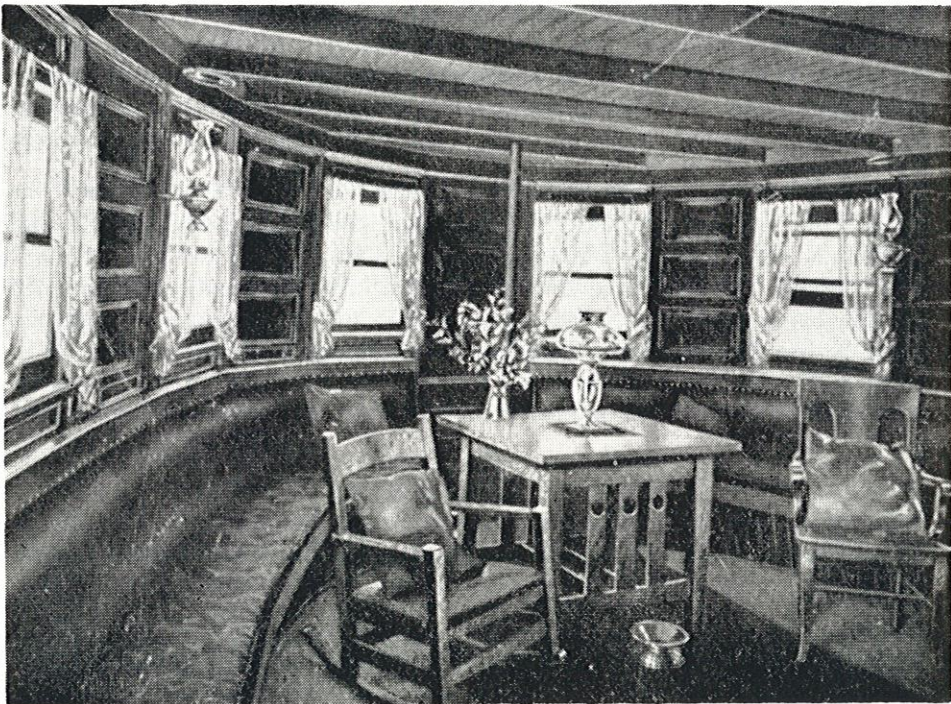
*\* Editor's Note:*

William Pearson, an Englishman, arrived in the area of Last Mountain Lake from Winnipeg in 1902, and formed the William Pearson Land Company, buying a large amount of valley land to re-sell to settlers. Great plans were envisaged at that time to use the lake as a natural waterway for transportation, and the Pearson Land Company operated barges and steamboats, of which the two best known were the "Lady of the Lake," built in 1905, and the "Qu'Appelle," built in 1906. The Qu'Appelle was a luxury craft, with a lounge panelled in oak, red velvet cushions, and a handsome dining room. It made a tri-weekly run, calling at ports up and down the lake, with a stage connection to Lumsden. As roads and railways were built they displaced water transportation on the lake and the steamboating era came to an end in 1913 when the Qu'Appelle was pulled up on the beach.

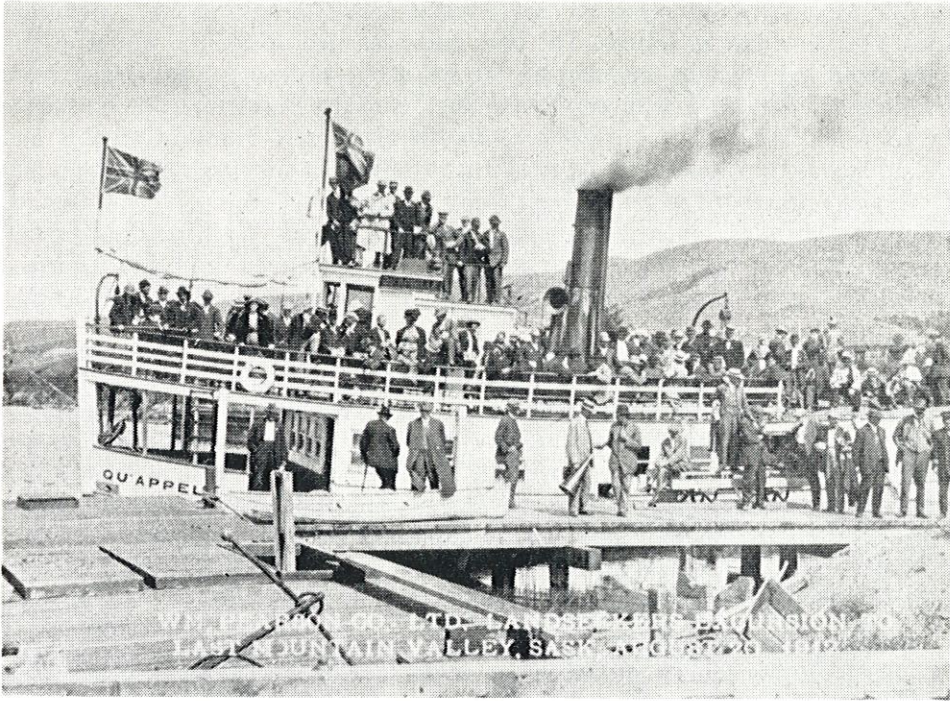
We went from Winnipeg to the company headquarters on Last Mountain Lake sometime late in March. The boat had been tied up for the winter at Big Arm about half way up the lake. We were met by two young Englishmen, from Bridlington, Yorkshire, who were to conduct us to the Big Arm, going on the ice by team and sleigh. One was the cook for the boat crew, Harold Gatenby, and the other was the office clerk. At Big Arm we unloaded our sleigh of supplies and Dave and I proceeded to get the boat ready for spring "break-up." The Captain's name was Huggins, and the Mate was Theodore Clarke. We fired the "Apple" (as we called the little boat) with coal, and she had forced draft and a surface condenser. I doubt if the "little old lady" was much more than fifty feet in length.

At that time Mr. Pearson owned a lot of land in the Lake district. He organized home or land seekers excursions from the United States and sold a lot of the land to American settlers. He would take the land seekers on the boat for trips on the lake. At various points around the lake they disembarked and climbed aboard buggies and democats to drive over his holdings for miles around, from which they selected the land they wished. In this way substantial settlements of Americans grew up around the Lake. Ammunition and guns were provided for those who had none of their own, for duck hunting in season, and fishing facilities also were provided, as the lake was teeming with fish in those days.

The boat also took freight and passengers to and from the various ports. I remember on one trip we had the Hon. William Pugsley, a federal cabinet min-



Cabin of the Qu'Appelle.



*Archives of Saskatchewan*

The Qu'Appelle preparing to leave Valeport on an excursion, 1912.

ister, with us to look the situation over with a view to some dredging and harbour improvement work. Our job included as well the servicing of Mr. Pearson's lumber yards at various points on the lake shore to supply settlers' lumber needs.

Fish were unbelievably plentiful. Harold could throw a little bit of net overboard any old time and get plenty of fish for our meal in just a few minutes. And we sure liked fish—the way Harold cooked it! I have seen the fish so thick in Big Arm in spawning time that we could wade into the water and catch them with scoop shovels and pitchforks. The water looked full of a wriggling, squirming mass of fish, so that it almost seemed as if we could walk on their backs.



PRAIRIE PEOPLE

## The Texas Ranchers

By FRED A SMITH MUDIMAN

**A**ROUND the turn of this century, a number of Texans settled in what is now Southeastern Alberta and Southwestern Saskatchewan. Who were these people and why had they come so far from home? They were cattle ranchers and like the herdsmen of Biblical times they had certain problems. It will be recalled that Isaac had some trouble with his neighbors over water rights and that his son quarrelled with Laban over their "spotted and speckled" cattle. Now, like Abraham when he left Ur of the Chaldees for the Land of Canaan, these men were "following the grass".

And what grass it was. One of the men reporting on the matter said, "I have followed the cattle trails of America for forty-five years and, man and boy, I have never seen such fine grass." The cattle soon settled down to enjoy their new pasture, some forty varieties of native grass that cured on its stem into nutritious hay, affording good fodder the year round. The cattle were principally Texas long-horns, a strong, rangy breed, inclined to be short-tempered, with an unbelievably wide horn spread and colors as varied as those in a prairie sunset.

One of the ranchers, Mr. A. J. Day, settled on 65,000 acres south of Medicine Hat with 20,000 cattle but his was a big outfit. Most of the spreads were much smaller, just family size. The ranchers took up land along the Milk River, in the shadow of the Cypress Hills, along the South Saskatchewan and beside lakes and creeks. Here at "bees" they erected stout log houses that were warm in winter, cool in summer.

The men's work was much the same as on the plains of Texas but the women had to make many adjustments, some of them being to the colder climate. They would sometimes have to keep small children in bed until noon, to keep them warm; the cover of the well often froze down; and there was the ever present problem of fuel, for wood was scarce and all coal had to be freighted in. The winter of 1903 was especially long and severe and stocks of fuel ran low. In desperation, some of the men went to the banks of the Milk River and scratched away the snow where, to their relief, they found an out-cropping of coal. It was of rather poor quality but it burned.

Two or three times a year the men went to the nearest town for supplies consisting of ranch needs and groceries. Among the latter were: chicken feed, for the women insisted on raising poultry; canned milk, for no self-respecting Texas long-horn would submit to being milked; and bacon, for no self-respecting Texan would be seen "feedin' a hawg."

The women had brought with them a few carefully hoarded flower and vegetable seeds which were planted amidst much scoffing from the males who claimed that this country would grow nothing but grass. Despite the men, the flowers and

vegetables grew. The vegetables provided an addition to the staple diet of good fat beef. A few kernels of corn, carefully screened from the chicken feed, when planted, grew yielding succulent "roastin' " ears.

At first these new settlers were too busy for social life, but as conditions eased a number of house parties were held at the ranches in turn. On the previous day, the women gathered to lend a hand—in true Southern fashion. A four-horse team with a big sled went about the district picking up the neighbors. Everbody went and after the small children were "bedded down" in a safe place, dancing began. Music was supplied by a violin, a mouth organ and a "squeeze box." The festivities went on until sun up when beefsteak was fried and breakfast eaten before the guests departed. There was no liquor at the dances in the early days.

At first mail was picked up only on the infrequent trips to town. Letters from friends and relatives in Texas were eagerly read and re-read. In their replies the ranchers reported that the grass was good, the life a bit hard but that the cattle and the children were "all a-doin' well." In time a few local Post Offices were established about the range and, with better communication and better diet for their families, the mothers' thoughts turned to education. At the first mention of school protesting wails arose not only from the children but from the bachelor neighbors who feared an increase in their taxes. They were somewhat consoled by the suggestion that schools meant teachers and sometimes teachers became wives.

The evil day was postponed for one group of children when the Department of Education decreed there were not enough of them to warrant a school. But the next Spring Providence sent a new neighbor with eleven offspring, so the matter was re-opened. The Department provided building materials and one carpenter, the balance of the labor had to be supplied locally. While faithful fathers shovelled gravel and mixed cement, the bachelors hauled water and languidly handed up nails and lumber. With schools and Post Offices, civilization had finally caught up with the Texans.

Practically every one of these people was a rugged individual and stories about them are fast becoming legendary. One, when he felt his end approaching, requested that he be interred on the highest point of land in the district so that he might "watch the goin's on of the neighbors." When he was gathered to his fathers, it was found that his will provided money to be used for an annual picnic in this spot on his birthday. This event was actually observed as late as 1938.

The Texans brought the successful ranching methods of Southwest America to this country. They were good ranchers, good riders, good ropers and always good company. They enriched the vocabulary of their adopted land with the words of their trade and it was always a joy to hear their soft voices, dry humour and delightful turn of phrase.

That was over half a century ago and most of them are gone—some to other fields of endeavor, most of them to their eternal rest. But the wind that wanders over the southern plains still murmurs with a Texas drawl.

## Newspaper Scrapbook

### A STORY ABOUT HARNESS

A WESTERN man who was in Toronto this week told a story that illustrates the growth taking place in that country. The village he lives in is a new one—but two years old—and a store there handles saddlery. The store-keeper had ordered from a wholesaler in Winnipeg two sets of harness at a time, but when the rush of settlers began this spring he sent along an order for fifty sets. The Winnipeg firm thought this a mistake, and wrote inquiring if fifty sets of harness were needed, and if so it would have to be a cash transaction. The money was sent. Two weeks later the saddler sent in an order for a hundred sets of harness, and the Winnipeg firm promptly concluded that the man had gone insane, but as the money accompanied the order the goods were shipped. Three weeks later the saddler sent in an order for five hundred sets, and the Winnipeg firm decided that the man ought to be put in the asylum; or, if he were really disposing of such quantities of harness, a representative of the house should go away out and see him. It was learned that the harness was being sold to incoming settlers, of whom during the season no less than eight thousand passed north and west through that one village. Later on another thousand sets of harness were ordered by the saddler, and the resources of the wholesale house taxed to the utmost. It seems like a lot of harness, but the Western man asserts that similar experiences were had in other lines of trade along the path of the incoming settlers.

It is difficult for an Eastern man to realize how the West is opening up—a village erected in a week and a township peopled in a month. In eleven months of the past year there were one hundred and ten new post-offices established west of Winnipeg, and one can imagine what a broadened population is indicated by this statement.

Out West it is fully expected that, great as has been the growth of population and expansion of the wheat-growing area during the past year, next season will see an invasion of settlers much greater.

—*Star* (Toronto)  
January 2, 1904.

---

### A SPORTING NOTE

Four redoubtable Regina sportsmen—Messrs. Dr. Parent, John Dawson, T. E. Martin and J. W. Smith—went down on Thursday to the McLean bushes for a two day hunt. Game panned out badly, but fun was plentiful. The principal item of game was what Ted Martin called “a high-bush rabbit.” The beast had the body of a rabbit, but its wonderful feature was a well-formed, full-grown pair of wings which appeared to have grown out immediately behind the shoulders. Coming home on the train the “high-bush rabbit” was the wonder of passengers, most of whom were from the sweetly innocent east and inclined to credit the tale related by the wicked conductor as he exhibited the article in each car—that it

had been shot flying by one of the Regina quartette. The remains are now in Mr. J. W. Smith's possession and would puzzle the head of any naturalist, were he not acquainted with the simple fact that Mr. Martin had deftly sewn on the wings with white thread.

— *The Leader* (Regina)  
December 20, 1887.

---

#### DELIGHTED WITH THE NORTH-WEST

Mr. Clarke Wallace, M.P., recently returned to Toronto from a trip to York Colony, N.W.T., and an exchange has the following remarks attributed to him.

He is perfectly delighted with the results of this year's harvest in the North-West, and says the threshing proves that the grain crop is from 25 to 35 per cent better than at first announced. To use Mr. Wallace's own words: "There never were such crops on the face of the earth before, I believe." Last Friday he was at a threshing on the line of the Manitoba & Northwestern Railway, and the settler grumbled to Mr. Wallace at the ill luck he had. His grain, he complained, having been ruined by the gophers. When his old horse-power threshing machine got to work the farmer was thunderstruck to find the grain running out at the rate of a bushel and a half per minute. A farmer named Manly, reaped 1070 bushels of oats from ten measured acres a phenomenal crop, but by no means an exceptional one. The Russian wheat sent out from the experimental farm was tested at the Colony and proved to be at least fourteen days earlier than the Red Fyfe.

— *The Leader* (Regina)  
October 11, 1887.

---

#### PRAIRIE FIRES

Prairie fires have been doing considerable damage in western Canada this fall. In some districts the losses mount up to very large proportions. The Dauphin district has been a heavy loser it is said, and several other districts too have been made to feel the destructive power of a prairie fire.

The fire last Friday to the east of this town and north of the railway track was a lively one while it lasted. The Mounted Police here soon had a large force of people on the scene whom they ordered out for duty in the emergency and a good strong vigorous fight between men and fire resulted in a victory for the men. Such a fire is no mean foe. It has at this season of the year a good supply of suitable and well prepared material to depend on. It has also at its back the obedient prairie breezes which are generally ready to stimulate the creeping fires and if they are a little slow at the start, as the fires gain headway they are compelled through force of circumstances to assist the fires in spreading dismay. Such were the conditions last Friday as this fire headed eastward north of the track. The rushing and leaping flames strove hard to make a clean sweep of grass, stubble, buildings and stacks but they were prevented from getting in their best

licks by the determined opposition of the property saving men. The section men joined the police and men from the town and although the fight was a severe one danger was warded off and the farmers threatened were allowed to breath freely once again. For a time as the dense smoke rolled onward and the lively flames leaped forward it seemed impossible to save the wheat stacks and buildings in the track of the fire but the loss is trivial.

A fire the next or the same day to the north-west destroyed some stacks belonging to one of the Thompson Bros. We have not heard of any other losses in that direction.

On the day of the Cannington show a fire started to the east of Cannington some seven or eight miles and before evening had travelled well northwards, but in this case too there were few losses. As far as can be learned wherever proper guards were ploughed they formed a sufficient protection for the buildings or stacks so guarded.

On Wednesday of last week a fire started well to the west of the Carlyle district and ran through the settlement eastward. The wind was high and the fire made rapid progress. As the fire was seen approaching the settlers got quickly to work to prepare for its coming. Extra fire guards were quickly ploughed and here too the losses were not general. It is a little short of miraculous how property escapes in such a fire. The wind was high the grass dry and the fire seemed to go forward by leaps as if eager to destroy everything destroyable in its path.

— *The Moosomin Spectator*  
October 12, 1899.

---

#### HUNT CLUB DINNER

The first dinner of the Moosomin Hunt Club which is intended to inaugurate an annual celebration of fox hunting was held at the Queen's Hotel under the management of Mr. and Mrs. Cavanagh on Thursday, October 26th.

It is hardly necessary to state that the bill of fare was excellent. The evening was garnished with songs and speeches and in regard to the former Mr. Manuers' rendering of old hunting songs and Mr. Brown's comics were very highly appreciated. Mr. Bell and Mr. J. Love, of Winnipeg, who were present, responded to the toast of "The Visitors," in an appropriate manner and Mr. Jack Hill's dissertation upon "huntin' " was warmly appreciated. The gathering broke up in the wee sma' hours.

— *The Moosomin Spectator*  
November 2, 1899.

## Book Reviews

SONGS OF OLD MANITOBA. *Chosen and Edited by Margaret Arnett MacLeod. Foreword by W. L. Morton.* Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959. Pp. x, 93. \$3.95.

THIS is a small volume containing only sixteen songs but it is nevertheless a valuable contribution to Canadian folklore. It makes available songs of the Métis and Red River settlers which serve as a valuable commentary on a portion of Canada's history. The notes on the songs show careful research, and are presented in an interesting manner. The introduction describes the nature of these particular folk songs as follows:

"In this volume the words are local to Red River and Manitoba but the music is mainly the music of Quebec, Ontario, Scotland, or the American frontier. These songs are indigenous songs, composed mainly by known individuals, and made popular through constant use. It is this popular usage which makes one think of them as folk songs although strictly speaking they are not such."

Of the songs themselves eight are of Métis origin and eight come from English-speaking settlers. The four songs by Pierre Falcon, "The Bard of the Prairie Métis," seem the most significant of the Métis section. They tell the story of incidents such as the massacre at Seven Oaks "La Bataille des Sept Chênes," the taking over of Fort William by Lord Selkirk, "La Danse des Bois Brûlés" and the plight of Governor McDougall stranded at the American border "The Misfortunes of an Unlucky King," as well as the lesser known incident of an American "General Dickson" who attempted to recruit the Métis for his army which was first to liberate the Indians of Santa Fé and then found a kingdom in California, of which he was to be the head. There is one further song that might belong in this group and that is "The Buffalo Hunt." Although it is written by Agnes Laut in rather ornate English, it is thought that she obtained from some old Métis a song written by Falcon.

The other four French-Canadian songs date from the period of 1869-77. These are "The Song of the Métis," "Le Dieu due Libéral," "Dialogue between two Métis" and, perhaps the most interesting one of the group, Louis Riel's "La Métisse" which tells of a Métis maiden's pride in her hero.

Of the eight English-Canadian songs there are two rather delightful parodies on the old Scottish Ballad, "Johnny Cope," written by Alexander Hunter Murray, a Hudson's Bay Company man. These are "A Marching Song" and "Riel's Retreat." "O Prairie Land," a song of the homesteading period adopts the Methodist hymn Beulah Land of 1876 for its melody. "Manitoba," "Harvest," "Tragedy of Meadow Lea" and "The Homesteaders" seem of less value. Their style suggests that they were, and are unlikely to be, part of a folk song oral tradition and their melodies (two of which are borrowed from a dance melody and an Irish folk tune) are not of any great significance.

To those who are not acquainted with the previous works of Margaret Arnett MacLeod, *The Bells of Red River* and *Lower Fort Garry* and perhaps her best

known work, the editing of the *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, one must add that she is one of Canada's foremost folklore historians, a meticulous researcher and a dedicated writer. In 1947 Mrs. MacLeod received the honour of election to the Council of the Champlain Society of Canada. This volume of songs with their historical commentary should be of interest to all folklore enthusiasts.

BARBARA CASS-BEGGS

SOMETHING OF A YOUNG WORLD'S DYING. By *Thomas Saunders*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1958. Pp. 20. \$1.00.

MOON LAKE AND OTHER POEMS. By *R. E. Rashley*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959. Pp. 10. \$1.00.

MR. Saunders sketches his scenes in muted tones; his verse is suffused by a melancholy light. At times his own description of a prairie landscape, "flat . . . two-dimensional" seems appropriate to his poetry. There is a certain monotony, too, about his subject-matter; he writes mostly of the old who live in memory, ill-at-ease in a world they made and possessed and have now lost; of grave-tenders and misfits and coyotes howling in the night-time. His techniques are perhaps too studiously disciplined; but there are moments when imagination and art unite in the near-perfect metaphor:

A town with all vitality wrung out  
Of it, old in its youth, in plenty poor,  
In a new land a pale parenthesis,  
The first sad dissolution of a dream.

Mr. Rashley is a poet living in Western Canada, but he is not a "western" poet. Wisely, he draws his themes and landscapes from his familiar environment, but his verse is in no sense regional. In "Marianne" he portrays with exquisite irony a woman who is a creature of all times and all places, and yet uniquely his own creation. At times Mr. Rashley indulges himself in an almost Frostian reflection in order to make a point—

A wind can uncover things better buried,  
Things that are better contained in sleep—

but for the most part he avoids overt didacticism. His range of mood and subject is surprisingly wide, and the apt and original image—the hallmark of true poetry—seems always ready to his hand. A familiar bird becomes something new and strange and beautiful—

It seems to me I do remember the blossoms,  
The banks of bloom, and the floating through scent  
Like a fish curling sensuously round the lip of a hill,  
Turning here, turning there, in languid pursuance.

These little volumes make it clear that both Mr. Saunders and Mr. Rashley have escaped from that domination by physical environment which for so long has cast a blight on writing in Western Canada. They place man where he belongs—at the centre of things.

E. A. McCOURT

CANADIAN PORTRAITS: FAMOUS INDIANS. By *Ethel Brant Monture*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1960. Pp vii, 160. \$2.50.

Mrs. Monture, co-author of *Joseph Brant: Mohawk*, and descendent of this great chief, has done a considerable amount of research and writing about the Six Nations tribes. In her latest book, a part of the *Canadian Portraits* series, she has departed from her usual area in one of her three "Portraits" to tell the life of Crowfoot, head chief of the Blackfoot tribe. As this reviewer is not qualified to deal with the historical accuracy of her two eastern Canadian biographies, these comments shall deal primarily with Crowfoot.

Mrs. Monture made a trip west during her research into the life of the Blackfoot chief and has undoubtedly done some study on the subject. However, her unfamiliarity in the field of western Canadian history is readily evident in the Crowfoot biography. For example, Hon. Edgar Dewdney, British Columbia-born Indian Commissioner and Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories is referred to as "an Englishman" and is reduced to the role of "Indian Agent." The battle of Three Ponds in which Crowfoot rescued Father Lacombe is placed on the present site of Lethbridge while it was really some 250 miles north of that point. Confusion over the multiplicity of Indian names has made her conclude that "Natous" or "The Sun," whose camp was attacked at Three Ponds, was the same as "Natosapi" or "Old Sun," who was a fellow head chief with Crowfoot at the Blackfoot treaty in 1877. Actually these were entirely different men, the first dying in the 1869-70 smallpox epidemic and the latter surviving until the post-nomadic period.

Saskatchewan historians should be particularly interested in the statement that "In 1868 Sitting Bull with about twelve hundred of his people went to Fort Qu'Appelle and asked Superintendent Samuel Steele of the Mounted Police, who was in charge there, for permanent territory in Canada." This was five years before the Mounted Police was organized and Sam Steele came west.

This unfamiliarity with her background history has made it difficult for the author to comprehend fully some of the events which shaped Crowfoot's career. However, the main biographical information, drawn primarily from the writings of Father Albert Lacombe, does not deviate too far from the facts of Crowfoot's life. But because her sources were limited, her biography is sketchy and does not bring forth much which has not already been written or published. Also, one does not get a clear picture of the significance of Crowfoot's role in western Canadian history, his personal strength and influence, and his deep trust and friendship for Col. Macleod of the North-West Mounted Police. This is unfortunate, as Mrs. Monture is doubtlessly a competent historian in her own field.

I found the Brant and Oronhyatekha biographies to be most fascinating from a literary standpoint and was left with the impression that she has made accurate and useful appraisals of these two men. Oronhyatekha, founder of the Foresters, in particular is a man who has not been properly recognized as an outstanding Canadian Indian.

HUGH A. DEMPSEY



## Notes and Correspondence

Dr. Evelyn Eager, Assistant Provincial Archivist and Editor of *Saskatchewan History* has been granted a year's sabbatical leave by the Saskatchewan Archives Board. During her leave Dr. Eager plans to work on the manuscript for a book on the government of Saskatchewan. In her absence, D. H. Bocking, Archival Assistant, has been appointed Acting Editor of *Saskatchewan History*.

---

The Honourable J. H. Sturdy, upon his retirement from public life, has resigned from the Saskatchewan Archives Board. Mr. Sturdy was the first chairman of the Board and a member of it from 1945 to 1960. Best wishes are extended to Mr. and Mrs. Sturdy.

---

The Honourable A. E. Blakeney, Minister of Education, has been appointed a member of the Saskatchewan Archives Board.

---

Following the article on "Swabian Folk Ways", Mr. A. W. Garratt of Milestone wrote to tell of some of his experiences as a teacher in the Swabian school district of Hednesford, near Edenwold. When Mr. Garratt arrived at his school in the fall of 1892, he found that his 15 pupils, ranging in age from 5 to 13 years old, could not speak English. Mr. Garratt did not know any German so, in order to communicate with his students, he had to teach them English. He adopted the method of pointing to objects or holding up objects and having the children repeat after him the English word for the object. This method was so successful that by the end of the first year all of the students could read and understand the first reader. Mr. Garratt said that he found the Swabian people much as they were described in the article.

---

The June meeting of the Wolverine Hobby and Historical Society was held at the site of Fort Ellice. The guest speaker was Mr. Carl Pearen, Vice-President of the Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society. In the course of his talk Mr. Pearen showed some of the special aluminum plaques which the Society are having made to mark the North-West Mounted Police trail from Wood Mountain to Fort Walsh. The meeting was informed that Fort Ellice would be re-constructed. The July meeting was held at the site of Fort Esperance. Mr. A. G. Kelly, Convener of the Society's Fort Esperance Committee, gave a talk on the history of the fort. The Society decided to try and have a road built to the site and to see if arrangements could be made to have the area set aside as an historic park.

---

Mr. W. H. Cranston, Chairman, Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario, has invited representatives of all provincial governments responsible

for historical conservation or museum programs to attend a two-day conference (October 17, 18, 1960) at Toronto. The proposed agenda includes the following: discussion of existing and proposed federal legislation affecting historic sites, museums and archaeological research; a review of the agencies or departments of government in each province concerned with historical matters and recent trends in administration; discussion of the operation of historical conservation programs currently being undertaken; relationship of local museum programs to provincial and federal historical agencies; and a proposal for the study of provincial and federal historical conservation programs.

---

The Canadian Historical Association, at its annual meeting in Kingston on June 11, 1960, awarded certificates to honour a number of individuals and associations for outstanding achievements in furthering the study of local history. The selections for the awards are made by the Local History section of the Association. We were pleased to learn that *The Western Producer* was among the organizations receiving awards. *The Western Producer* received the award in recognition of its policy of publishing frequent articles in the field of local history.

## Contributors

G. F. G. STANLEY is Professor, Head of the History Department and Chairman of the Faculty of Arts, Royal Military College, Kingston, Ont.

A. E. ELDERTON, now retired, lives at Kyle, Saskatchewan.

BARBARA CASS-BEGGS is a Regina housewife and Chairman of the Folk Song and Music Committee of the Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society.

E. A. McCOURT is Professor of English, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

H. A. DEMPSEY is Archivist, Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, Alberta.

FREDA SMITH MUDIMAN lives at Balcarres, Saskatchewan.

### THE COVER

The cover design by Mary Lou Florian is of Indian petroglyphs, or rock carvings, on the large rock near Roche Percee in southeastern Saskatchewan, from which the town was named.

Because of its characteristic shape, with a large hole eroded through it, the rock became a well-known landmark from the time of the earliest explorers, and was called "La Roche Percee," or more commonly, the Pierced Rock. The Indians regarded the rock with superstitious awe and periodically left offerings to it during their spring and autumn treks through the area. On the walls and around the arches are hundreds of Indian carvings.

The origin of the carvings remains a mystery. They attracted widespread attention from early explorers and scientists, but with no knowledge available as to who was responsible for them. The Assiniboines occupied the area at least 150 years ago, and because of the gradual erosion of the rock it is considered very unlikely that the carvings could be older than that. The Assiniboines however disclaim any knowledge of them, and are convinced that they are not the work of their ancestors. Thus the mystery remains unsolved, with the carvings in the meantime continuing to erode.

