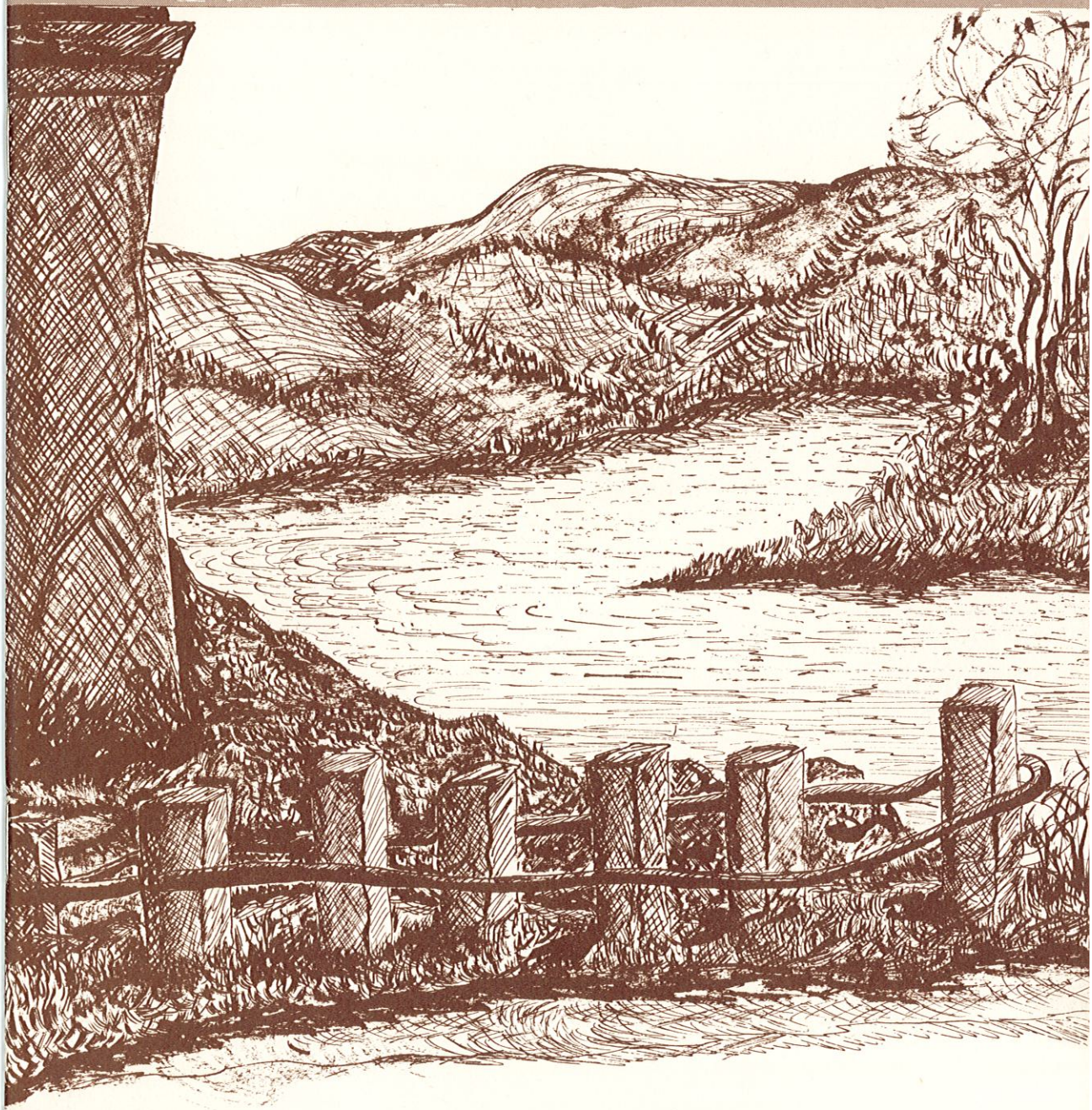


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● LIQUOR CONTROL IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES:

THE PERMIT SYSTEM—by *D. M. McLeod*

● THE PATAGONIA WELSH—by *Gilbert Johnson*

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Editor: D. H. BOCKING

Advisory Board:

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Business Manager: L. W. Rodwell

Correspondence should be addressed to *Saskatchewan History*,
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Liquor Control in the North-West Territories: The Permit System, 1870-1891

CONTROL of the use of alcohol as a beverage is an age-old problem. From the earliest times men have recognized the evils of intemperance and have taken steps to combat this menace to the social order and to individual well being. However, the approach and the methods of control have varied considerably with time and place. No one method of control has been universally acceptable, and new communities have followed the empirical method of dealing with the question. One of the most interesting of these experiments occurred in the area which now includes the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in the early part of the Territorial period.

When the North-West Territories became part of Canada in 1870, one of the most urgent problems facing the Dominion Government was the prevention of the sale of liquor to the Indians.¹ The whiskey trade had to be suppressed and smuggling of liquor into the Territories from the United States and Red River had to be stopped. To accomplish this the Act of Parliament of 1867 forbidding the sale of liquor to the Indians had to be enforced; but additional legislation was needed to prohibit manufacture and importation. Furthermore, a military police force of some kind was needed to deal with American whiskey traders, to stop smuggling, and to prevent sale of liquor to Indians. Organization of the North-West Mounted Police in 1873 provided the law enforcement body needed to deal with the latter problem.

The new Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories and his appointed Council attempted to establish prohibition in the Territories by an Ordinance passed on October 21, 1870. However, six days later the Lieutenant-Governor learned that he was not empowered to appoint a Council and that the Ordinance was not valid.² This legislation was re-enacted on March 10, 1873³ but it was superseded by a Dominion Act assented to on May 23, 1873.⁴ This act, primarily intended to protect the Indian population by keeping liquor out of the Territories, had a permissive feature embodied in the statute to take care of the white population. It provided that by special permission of the Lieutenant-Governor settlers could import liquors for their own personal use. Settlers, who wanted liquor, applied to the Lieutenant-Governor to grant them permission to import it for their own personal use. At first permits were issued sparingly to persons known to the Governor or those around him. Eventually what was originally intended as an exception to the prohibitory feature became a rule. Permits were issued systematically and the so-called permit system came into existence.

¹ 30 Vic., c.42, Sec. 12.

² L. H. Thomas. *The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories, 1870-97.* (University of Toronto Press, 1956). p. 47.

³ *Ibid.* p. 59.

⁴ 36 Vic., c. 39.

Section seventy-five of the North-West Territories Act of 1875⁵ replaced the prohibitory law of 1873 and laid the legal basis for the permit system. The Act of 1873 had prohibited the importation and manufacture of liquor in the Territories except by special permission of the Lieutenant-Governor. The Act of 1875 prohibited the manufacture of intoxicating liquor in the Territories except by special permission of the Governor-General-in-Council. Liquor could not be imported, sold, exchanged or bartered in the Territories without special permission, in writing from the Lieutenant-Governor. The addition of the phrase referring to sale enlarged the powers of the Lieutenant-Governor under the permit system.

Administration of the system was left entirely to the discretion of the Lieutenant-Governor. No rules were laid down, and no instructions were issued by the Canadian Government to guide him in granting permits.

The policy to be adopted, and the regulations to be made were his sole responsibility. If he chose to issue no permits, or to issue them for specified purpose, such as for instance, medicinal and sacramental, the law would become a total prohibition measure. He made provision to deal with them in his office: an application in writing was to be made, stating the kind and quantity of liquor required. If the applicant was unknown to the Governor, a recommendation by a well-known person was required. The permit entitled the applicant to import and have possession of a specified quantity of liquor for an unlimited time. The quantity was generally limited to two gallons, but occasionally, to persons whom he knew, the Lieutenant-Governor would allow five gallons or even more. There was no limit by law, the quantity being left to the discretion of the Lieutenant-Governor. An effort was made to prevent persons who were believed to have sold liquor from getting permits, and they were refused to people known to have sold liquor.⁶ Governor Dewdney made it a rule to refuse anyone he knew to be incapable of using liquor properly.

Express companies were not allowed to bring in liquor except under permit, and the procedure was to send the permit to the firm outside the Territories from whom the liquor was ordered, to be returned with the consignment when it was shipped into the Territories. The permit was intended to cover only a single shipment and was not to be used a second time. It was the duty of the police to watch the shipment of liquor by rail, and cancel the permit for the supply sent in when it reached the express office at its destination. The purchaser retained the counterfoil of the permit as a certificate that he was entitled to have liquor in his possession. Occasionally the police missed a permit and it was used a second time.⁷

Administration of the permit system became very difficult as the population increased. In a small community, the Governor could investigate promptly any

⁵ 38 Vic., c.49.

⁶ *Canada, Sessional Papers* 1894, No. 21, p. 230. Minutes of Evidence, Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic.

⁷ *Ibid.*

application for a permit when the person was not known to him. But personal investigation became impossible when the white population increased to twenty or thirty thousand, scattered over a vast area. The practice was adopted of requiring the recommendation of a member of the North-West Council if the applicant was unknown to the Lieutenant-Governor, or of referring the application to the police superintendent of the district where the applicant resided.⁸ These methods were not altogether satisfactory, however, for the elected members of the Council disliked having to refuse a constituent. Some members avoided the difficulty by endorsing all applications regardless of the character of the applicant. As for referring applications to the police, people resented the police investigating and reporting on their worthiness to have a permit.⁹ The Lieutenant-Governor could not avoid making enemies, for many who were refused permits harbored a feeling of personal grievance, and charged him with discriminating against them.

The Lieutenant-Governor's task of administering the system was rendered more difficult by division of opinion in the Territories as to the original intention and the current purpose of the 1875 Act. The prohibitionists argued that the intention of the Act was to give the country virtually a system of prohibition. If people did not enjoy the full benefits of prohibition, it was attributed to the perversity of the Lieutenant-Governor in ignoring what they declared was the purpose of the law. It was intended, they said, that prohibition should be the rule and permission the exception, and that permits should be issued only for medicinal and sacramental purposes.¹⁰ The anti-prohibitionists, on the other hand, argued that parliament had no intention of imposing prohibition on the white inhabitants, but that the purpose of the Act was simply to give the Indians protection against the sale of liquor imported into the Territories.

Enforcement of the law proved even more difficult than administration. Semi-legal abuses crept into the system, and fraud in the use of permits became a common occurrence.¹¹ One of these practices was to arrange with the company supplying the liquor to disguise the shipment by enclosing it, along with the permit, in a container ordinarily used for other goods such as soap or candles. If police officers responsible for cancelling liquor permits, happened to open the package, the permit protected the liquor, but if the true contents were undetected, the permit would be used a second time. In spite of the precautions, persons actually dealers in liquor got permits. The Lieutenant-Governor tried to prevent the transfer of permits, but his efforts were nullified by a ruling of Judge Rouleau at Calgary, the effect of which was to make permit counterfoils transferable. Transference of permit counterfoils enabled persons to protect a large quantity of liquor actually being held for sale.

Smuggling constituted an almost insuperable obstacle to the effective enforcement of prohibitory law. From the south and west smuggling reached enor-

⁸ *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1895, No. 21, p. 184.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

mous proportions. By the southern route, whiskey of the poorest quality purchased in Montana was carried across the prairie in wagons to Regina, Calgary and Macleod. The whiskey smugglers travelled by night and hid out during the daytime in bluffs. From the west, liquor entered by Donald and other outposts in British Columbia where a license system prevailed, so liquor could be procured at border points and smuggled into the Territories by rail.¹² Even the wide powers given to the police to stop and search any vehicle and to destroy on the spot any liquor found,¹³ and to seize and hold any horses and vehicles used in smuggling for confiscation by the Crown, was not sufficient to halt the illegal traffic.¹⁴ The magnitude of the task facing the police in dealing with smugglers from the south may be judged by the fact that Inspector Norman's detachment patrolled a district extending for nine hundred miles along the American boundary. Profits were so high that men engaged in the illegal traffic were ready to take the risks involved. It was reported, for instance, that whiskey could be purchased at Benton, Montana, for four dollars a gallon, and retailed at Calgary and Macleod at ten dollars a bottle.¹⁵

The coming of the railway in 1883 increased the difficulty of dealing with smuggling.¹⁶ Smugglers showed considerable ingenuity in concealing liquor about the trains. Kegs of liquor were attached to cars or suspended before the locomotive, to be dropped off at a convenient place where confederates picked it up. Freight trains from the west brought liquor in carloads of lumber and logs. From the east, it came in barrels of sugar and salt. Barrels arrived with bottles of soft drinks at each end and whiskey in the centre. Liquor masqueraded under the labels of fruit, jam and pickles. It was concealed in the staterooms of sleeping cars or hidden in pullman berths. The police had to search every train at the first stopping point inside the Territories. Complaints from through travellers regarding police search of pullman cars became so numerous that the officers were deprived of this particular right. Frequently large seizures of liquor were made, but a great deal of liquor got through the police cordon.

Liquor was sold illegally in hotels and refreshment places along the line of the railroad.¹⁷ The police, it is true, had the power upon information or upon reasonable grounds of suspicion, to enter any premises including a private dwelling and search for liquor. Any liquor not covered by permit could be seized and destroyed on the spot. Nevertheless, the police found it very difficult to enforce the law against sale because of abuse of permits. An hotelkeeper with a circle of friends could procure enough permit counterfoils to protect the liquor kept for sale, if the police should search his premises.¹⁸

The permit system had some unfortunate social consequences. Since people found it difficult and inconvenient to get permits, liquor of high alcoholic content

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 196-198.

¹³ 38 Vic., c. 49, Sec. 74.

¹⁴ 51 Vic., c. 19, Sec. 18.

¹⁵ *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1895, p. 197.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

was imported. Spirits were more commonly used because of the high shipping rate on beer, and the difficulty of shipment in the winter months. In many prairie communities, the unfortunate custom developed of making the periodic arrival of a quantity of liquor on permit the occasion for a drinking bout. Friends of the permit holder would gather to consume the liquor at a single sitting. Drunkenness and disorders were the outcome of these periodic carousals. When permit or smuggled liquor was not available, the confirmed drinkers used compounds in which alcohol and drugs were the principal ingredients. Red ink, eau de cologne, florida water, and other concoctions were consumed with unfortunate results. It was generally acknowledged that the quantity of poor quality liquor smuggled into the country greatly exceeded the amount of liquor brought in under permit.¹⁹ The inconvenience of procuring liquor legally, and the large quantities of smuggled raw whiskey consumed, caused a greater abuse of liquor than likely would have occurred under a different system.

After administering the permit system for a considerable number of years, Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney concluded that the system was a thoroughly obnoxious one. He found it impossible to prevent persons who abused them from being recommended for permits. Furthermore, he freely admitted that the prohibitory law and the permit system had failed to keep illegal liquor out of the country, despite the utmost exertion by the police.

When Joseph Royal succeeded Dewdney as Lieutenant-Governor in July, 1888, he strove to check the abuses of the permit system by new regulations. Notwithstanding these regulations, the number of permits issued during Royal's regime increased considerably. It appears that it was Royal's policy to issue more permits deliberately, in an effort to reduce the use of smuggled liquor. By making it easier to procure liquor legally, he hoped to limit the sale of liquor in the Territories. His practice was to grant permits to applicants properly recommended, and not to withhold permission merely as a prohibition measure. Royal agreed with Dewdney that the permit system was highly unsatisfactory, being difficult to administer and almost impossible to enforce. He hoped that the Dominion Government would amend the law, and introduce a more satisfactory system of control.

The most radical departure in Royal's policy was the introduction of a license system for the sale of beer. The policy of all Lieutenant-Governors before Dewdney had been to refuse all applications for licenses to sell intoxicants. In 1884, Dewdney had issued permits to refreshment places to sell "temperance beer" with an alcoholic content below that regarded as intoxicating. In addition to this "near" beer, they had been selling a hop beer manufactured in the Territories, which by Inland Revenue regulations was not to exceed a minimum alcoholic content. Thus Dewdney had established the rudiments of a licensing system, but no beverages classified as intoxicating were legally sold. Royal decided to go a step further and issue permits to hotelkeepers to import and sell a four per cent beer.²⁰

¹⁹ *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1894, No. 21, p. 464-465.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

Royal's decision to license the sale of beer appears to have been connected with his efforts to check the abuses of the permit system and obviate some of its disadvantages. In response to a public demand for relaxation of prohibition of sale, Royal was prepared to make a concession to the extent of permitting the sale of light beer. By licensing its sale, he hoped not only to promote the sale of beer as a substitute for spirits, but to encourage the opening of good hotels. The new policy was intended to reduce the demand for permits to import spirits and to curtail smuggling.²¹

Royal's plan was carried through with the approval of the Dominion Government. In July, 1888, he drew up the details of the plan even to the extent of the form of application, the permit and the regulations. These he forwarded to Ottawa, and then followed himself to arrange with the Department of Inland Revenue for permits to import beer into the Territories.²² On August 2, 1888, Sir John A. Macdonald wrote to Royal expressing his approval of the plan. The plan adopted was to issue permits to hotel-keepers allowing them to import four per cent beer for sale on their premises. The regulations, designed to prevent abuses, covered such matters as the character of the applicant, the days and hours of sale, the accommodation required in the hotel, etc. Permits had to be renewed frequently, and if disorders or breaches of the regulations occurred, permits could be cancelled.

Royal's four per cent beer policy caused a furor throughout the Territories. The prohibitionists were particularly bitter in their protests, for in licensing the sale of beer, they saw another breach in the prohibitory system. Others, while not opposed to the sale of beer, believed that Royal had exceeded his powers and that the matter of licensing should have been left to the people to decide at the election of July, 1888, or to the newly elected Legislative Assembly.²³ However, among the majority of the drinking public the policy was popular.

There is no conclusive evidence that the licensed sale of beer had the effect Royal anticipated of reducing the amount of spirits consumed or of curtailing smuggling. Official returns show that the quantity of spirits imported on permit took a sudden jump in 1889, and continued to increase after that date.²⁴ There is evidence too that plenty of liquor was being sold, frequently in the hotels licensed to sell four per cent beer. The beneficial effects of the beer plan was a debatable question between prohibitionists and easy liquor men. All we can safely say is that there was a tremendous increase in the amount of beer imported, and that the drinking public in general welcomed the system.

In spite of Royal's efforts to make the permit system work, people in general were thoroughly disgusted with it by 1889. The Permit system had failed not only because of administrative difficulties, but because of the impossibility of effective enforcement of the prohibitive feature. The vast extent of frontier to be patrolled, the great expanse of thinly populated territory to be policed, made it physically

²¹ *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1895, No. 21, p. 194-195.

²² *Canada, Department of the Interior*, 1891, File No. 265213.

²³ *Saskatchewan Herald*, Aug. 18, 1888.

²⁴ *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1895, No. 21, p. 206.

impossible to prevent smuggling. While smuggled liquor was available and the transfer of permit counterfoils was legal, it was very difficult for the police to check the sale of liquor. The smuggler and the saloon-keeper did a flourishing business, in which they were screened by the drinking public. The police found it difficult to secure evidence in liquor cases. Citizens would not give evidence unless compelled to do so.²⁵ Even the subpoenaing of witnesses in cases against hotel-keepers for sale of liquor resulted in public meetings of protest in some communities.²⁶ Local justices of the peace were reluctant to convict, and wherever possible the verdict was in favor of the accused. In some communities public feeling was so strongly against the law that a man was regarded as a martyr if arrested for a breach of the Act. In the long run, the police failed to enforce a law in which many of them did not believe, and which apparently was against majority public opinion in the Territories.

The anti-prohibitionists in the Territories resented being treated differently from the people in the Canadian provinces. They asked why the Lieutenant-Governor should have the power to discriminate between them and decide who was entitled to liquor.²⁷ Many considered that the people of the Territories should have the right to determine for themselves whether or not liquor should be imported and sold in the Territories. Because they disapproved of the law and considered it unwarranted, people who were normally law-abiding citizens, broke the liquor law with little compunction. The police power of domiciliary search, without a warrant, was resented by respectable people who for some reason came under suspicion. Everywhere the police found themselves unpopular, and their efforts to enforce the law obstructed. A law that cannot be enforced with reasonable effectiveness soon falls into disrepute. Such was the fate of the prohibitory law under the permit system.

It was generally agreed that the permit system was a failure, the majority wanted a change, but there was a division of opinion in the Territories as to what should replace it. Prohibitionists wanted the permissive feature suspended and the issue of all permits except for medicinal and sacramental purposes discontinued.²⁸ The drinking people and the moderate temperance people wanted the prohibitory law repealed and a regular license system for all liquors introduced. However, neither group could procure the change desired without appealing to the Dominion Government.

The Dominion Government was reluctant to tamper with the prohibition law of 1875. The strong temperance and prohibition movement which had culminated in the Canada Temperance Act of 1878²⁹ was still a powerful force in Eastern Canada. Prohibitionists there tended to regard the North-West Territories as an experimental ground for prohibition legislation, and were anxious to keep the license system out of the Territories and preserve what remained of the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

²⁶ J. Hawkes, *Saskatchewan and Its People* (Regina: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1924). I, p. 659.

²⁷ *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1895, No. 21, p. 190.

²⁸ *Saskatchewan Herald*, Feb. 11, 1888.

²⁹ 41 Vic., c. 19. This Act gave cities and counties the power by vote of the electors, to prohibit the sale of liquor within their limits.

prohibitory system. They aided the prohibition group in the Territories, and kept up the pressure on the Dominion Government to continue the prohibition of manufacture, importation and sale in the North-West Territories.

In 1888 Sir John A. Macdonald told a Calgary delegate requesting a plebiscite on the liquor question in the North-West Territories that the temperance element in the House of Commons was so strong that he did not think such a measure would pass.³⁰ The fact was that prohibition was a controversial issue, which the Macdonald administration preferred to avoid. Politically the safer policy would be to let the law stand, and have the Lieutenant-Governor assume responsibility for relaxing the prohibitive features. He would incur the hostility of prohibitionists and the license group alike, but it would prevent the Macdonald government from becoming too unpopular with eastern prohibitionists.

Prohibitionists in the Territories relied upon their friends in eastern Canada to maintain the pressure for retention of the prohibitory law whilst they strove to secure a complete measure of prohibition. On the other hand the opponents of prohibition demanded for the Territories jurisdiction over liquor legislation, so that they might repeal the prohibitory law and introduce licensing. F. W. G. Haultain³¹ was leader of the majority group working for the repeal of the prohibitory law and requesting for the Council powers over liquor legislation similar to those of the Canadian provinces.³² Another prominent member, Frank Oliver, was associated with the North-West Prohibitory Alliance whose objective was to secure complete prohibition of intoxicants in the Territories and to provide adequate machinery for enforcing the prohibitory law.

In the spring of 1888, the agitation for provincial powers over liquor legislation received a new impetus as the result of an important political development in the North-West Territories. In that year the Territories reached a new stage in their evolution. The Council had twenty-one elected members, and in accordance with the North-West Territories Act of 1875, became a Legislative Assembly. Many members felt, more strongly than ever, that the time had arrived for the Territorial Assembly to control its own affairs, including liquor legislation. Agitation for provincial powers was accompanied by a demand for the end of the permit system and adoption of the licensed sale of liquor. During the election of members of the first Legislative Assembly in the summer of 1888, the majority of candidates pledged themselves to have the question submitted to the people by referendum. However, both Lieutenant-Governor Royal and Sir John A. Macdonald were opposed to a plebiscite, and believed that the Assembly should decide the issue when granted the necessary powers.

By 1891 the Dominion Government was willing to be relieved of the troublesome Territorial liquor problem. During the Parliamentary session of 1891 an act was passed giving the Assembly power to repeal all the provisions of the

³⁰ *Saskatchewan Herald*, April 14, 1888.

³¹ Later Sir Frederick, president of the Executive Council of the North-West Territories from 1897 to 1905 and Chief Justice of Saskatchewan.

³² *Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories*, 1887, pp. 68-69.

North-West Territories Act relating to the prohibition of intoxicants.³³ The people of the Territories no sooner acquired the constitutional power to determine their own liquor policy than they resolved to try an experiment with licensing. In spite of the heroic efforts of the prohibitionists, the exponents of license had a majority in the Assembly of 1891. With little real opposition they put through the Liquor License Ordinance giving the Territories a licensing system similar to that of the Canadian provinces.³⁴

Thus ended the permit system and Canada's first large-scale prohibition experiment. The essence of this experiment was the attempt to impose upon the white population of the Territories partial prohibition by entrusting to one individual absolute power to control the liquor supply. The prohibitory feature of the law was designed mainly to protect the Indians, while the permissive feature was intended to mitigate its effect upon the white population. The Lieutenant-Governor obviously had to discriminate between individuals, and decide who should, and who should not have permits. If he failed to discriminate the system would have no purpose. The obvious purpose of the Act, to prohibit liquor being brought in for sale, would have been defeated. No satisfactory system was devised, however, for ensuring that only the proper individuals got permits or of preventing discontent. Furthermore, the attempt to exclude all but permit liquor failed. The system became fundamentally unsound as soon as the population increased beyond a few thousand.

The experiment demonstrated the difficulties inherent in any prohibitory system which does not have strong support of a substantial majority of citizens. People would not co-operate in the enforcement of a law that they considered unwarranted and unworkable, imposed upon them by a government at Ottawa. It is interesting to note, however, that twenty-five years later, the people of Alberta and Saskatchewan were willing to try an even more thorough-going prohibition experiment during the period from 1917 to 1925.

D. M. McLEOD.

³³ 54 Vic., C. 22, Sec. 19.

³⁴ *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1891-92, No. 18.*

PRAIRIE PEOPLE

The Patagonia-Welsh

By GILBERT JOHNSON

FROM their homes in Wales to the shores of Patagonia, then by way of Liverpool to the prairies of Western Canada, thirty-seven years later; such was the path followed by the Welsh settlers who established themselves in 1902 near what is now Bangor, Saskatchewan. Available documentary data pertaining to these migrations are meagre but when the fragments are combined with the recollections of surviving pioneers they reveal another colorful chapter in the history of prairie settlement.

The causes which led to the original emigration are to be found in the economic, social and political situation in Wales a century ago. There was much poverty in Wales a hundred years ago, and there seems to have been some oppression as well. Thousands of Welshmen emigrated to the industrial cities of England as well as to the United States and to other parts of the world. In most cases this meant the eventual loss to the emigrants of their language and of their cultural heritage.¹ Hence, many Welshmen with nationalistic sentiments cast about for some unclaimed region where they could achieve economic security, and still retain their language, culture and racial identity.²

In 1865, South America was the only continent where these conditions could be found with a climate not too different from their own. At that time Patagonia was "an unmapped and unexplored region of conjectural geography."³ To further the project of emigration a small committee of Welshmen was set up in Liverpool.⁴ Although Argentina had no legal claim to Patagonia at that time, the committee sent two representatives to negotiate with the Argentine government, and some sort of contract seems to have been drawn up.⁵ The two men sailed down the dangerous coast of Patagonia in a cutter manned by a crew of convicts, to the mouth of the Chubut River, about 900 miles south of Buenos Aires. They brought back a favorable report, and 153 people, including women and children, were persuaded to emigrate.⁶

The leader of the movement was a clergyman, Professor Michael D. Jones, of the Congregationalist college at Bala. A man named Lewis Jones also took an active part in organizing the migration. A tea clipper, the *Mimosa* was chartered, and a few crude fixtures were installed in the hold of the vessel to accommodate the 153 passengers who made up the first contingent. In May, 1865, the ship sailed from Liverpool, ". . . with the Red Dragon flying bravely from her masthead."⁷ After a voyage of two months, during which the passengers suffered great hardship due to overcrowding and poor food, they sailed into a bay 40 miles

¹ B. Williams, "Wales in Patagonia," *The Geographical Magazine*, (London), October, 1961.

² *Ibid.*

³ T. H. Holdich, *Countries of the King's Award*, (London: Hurst and Blackett Ltd., 1904), p. 1.

⁴ B. Williams, "Wales in Patagonia."

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

north of the Chubut valley. This harbour they named Port Madryn, which later became the seaport of the colony. The nearest white settlement was 400 miles to the north.

Two men had preceded the colonists to prepare for their arrival, but little had been done to provide either food or shelter. The women and children found refuge in caves where they lived during the first six weeks. In one of these caves a child was born—the first to the Welsh settlers in Patagonia. After suffering great privation, the colonists finally established themselves in the valley of the Chubut River, where they founded the town of Rawson, which became the capital of the settlement.

While the Welsh colonists endured great material hardship during the early years of settlement, their dream of a new Wales beyond the sea, with a large measure of “home rule” seemed well on its way to realization. They owned their farms, there were no burdensome tithes and rents, and their children attended Welsh schools. Welsh was the only language spoken in the Chubut valley, and “was the official language in local government and law; in education and commerce.”⁸

In time their economic condition improved, but their political and cultural privileges diminished. In 1881, Patagonia passed definitely under the rule of Argentina, and the Welsh colonists were forced to become Argentine subjects. “Taxes were imposed and government officials controlled the colony and enforced the laws for compulsory military service in the National Guard, selecting Sunday as the regular day for parade.”⁹ Spanish was taught in high schools, and later, the Welsh schools were taken over by the Argentine Government, and Spanish became their first language.¹⁰ About the turn of the century, a series of disastrous floods destroyed irrigation works, ruined crops and paralyzed industry. These calamities, together with overcrowding on the arable land in the valley, added to the general discontent, with the result that a number of families decided to emigrate to Western Canada.

The plight of the Welsh colonists in Patagonia appears to have created considerable sympathy in Wales as well as in certain British Government circles; but as available reports on the matter are somewhat sketchy, it is difficult to form a clear picture of the exact procedure followed in arranging the migration to Canada. Although the proposal was made as early as 1892,¹¹ it was not until 1901 that W. L. Griffith, Canadian Government Immigration Agent in Wales, accompanied by Mr. W. J. Rees, J.P. of Swansea, went to Patagonia to investigate conditions there, and to arrange for the removal of the settlers to Canada.¹² Griffith reported that Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of the Colonies, had approached a committee of “eminent men”, and that it was hoped to secure about \$30,000.00 to charter a transport. Eventually, arrangements were made with

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ T. H. Holdich, *Countries of the King's Award*, pp. 241-42.

¹⁰ B. Williams, “Wales in Patagonia.”

¹¹ Public Archives of Canada, Department of the Interior, Dominion Lands Branch File No. 302507.

¹² *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1903 (10), No. 25. Part II, p. 20.

the Pacific Steam Navigation Company to transport the settlers to Liverpool. The vessel left Port Madryn, Patagonia, on May 14, 1902, and arrived in Liverpool on June 10. The arrival of the emigrants created wide interest, and a luncheon was given in their honor at the Liberal Club by Welshmen of Liverpool. A day or two later, the Welshmen sailed for Quebec on board the Allan Liner *Numidian*, on which a portion of the vessel had been set aside for the sole use of the settlers.¹³

The reason for selecting the area south of Saltcoats as their place of settlement may have been due, in part, to the fact that a Welshman had established himself there some ten years earlier. On February 15, 1892, Evan Jenkins filed homestead entry on the northeast quarter of section 28-22-2 W2.¹⁴ According to a statement by Thomas MacNutt, M.L.A. for Saltcoats, Jenkins "built a comfortable house of adobe, for which he found the yellow clay subsoil suitable; put up log stables and outbuildings, there being at that time plenty of timber in the adjoining Thompson Bush."¹⁵ Jenkins had lived in Patagonia before coming to Canada, had kept up correspondence with relatives there, and consequently knew of the intended emigration to Canada. Jenkins passed this information on to MacNutt, who wrote to the Commissioner of Immigration in Winnipeg regarding the prospective settlers.¹⁶ Sir John Talbot Dillwyn Llewlyn of Penllangaer, Swansea, may also have been instrumental in procuring the land for the settlement.¹⁷

The Welsh settlers, 234 in number, arrived at Saltcoats at midnight, June 27-28, 1902. The group was in charge of an Anglican Medical Missionary, the Rev. Dr. D. G. Davies. Other leaders mentioned as having accompanied the settlers from Patagonia are Robert Morris and Gwyllyn Lewis. A Mr. Thompson, Immigration Agent of Winnipeg, also accompanied the colonists to assist in locating their homesteads.¹⁸

While they were erecting their buildings on their respective homesteads, the colonists lived in tents on the farm of Evan Jenkins. MacNutt stated that "Some of them had means and built pretty good houses; others put up adobe or sod buildings."¹⁹ W. L. Griffith testified to the adaptability of the settlers: "The Welsh settlers are splendidly adapted for life in a new country; they can put up their own buildings; they are splendid stockmen, and are thoroughly acquainted with what roughing it in a new country means."²⁰

Three religious denominations were predominant in the settlement: the Anglicans, the Methodists and the Congregationalists. The majority of the Anglicans and Methodists established themselves on the eastern side of the settlement in what was to be known as the Llewelyn district, while most of the

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Archives of Saskatchewan, Department of the Interior, (Canada), Homestead File No. 505-36.

¹⁵ J. Hawkes, *Saskatchewan and its People*, (Regina: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1924), II, 735.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Llewelyn Colony Saskatchewan*. Undated and anonymous pamphlet issued by the Anglican congregation of St. Asoph Church, Llewelyn.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ J. Hawkes, *Saskatchewan and its People*, II, 735.

²⁰ *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1903(10), No. 25, Part II, p. 21.

Congregationalists formed a community called Glyn Dwr. Each of these contiguous settlements formed school districts called by their respective names.

The first divine services in the Llewelyn district were conducted by Dr. Davies in a tent, and later, in his house. These services seem to have been attended by settlers of the other denominations as well. When Dr. Davies left for England in 1904, the foundation of a church had been laid, and he had secured subscriptions from friends in England and Wales, and grants from religious organizations to an amount sufficient to complete the building, which was dedicated as St. Asoph Church, Llewelyn, by Rt. Rev. Bishop Grisdale on August 6, 1906.²¹

In 1910, the Methodists built a church at Llewelyn, while the Congregationalists held their services in the Glyn Dwr school house until the union of the two denominations. The latter congregation was served by the Rev. Wm. T. Morris, who also homesteaded in the district.

The churches were not only centres of spiritual life among the colonists, but were instrumental in preserving much of their cultural heritage as well. All services were held in the Welsh language and Welsh was taught in the Sunday Schools.

Like most Welsh people, they loved singing, and this propensity for song must have done much to alleviate the loneliness and monotony of their early years in Canada. Of their singing, a clergyman who served a congregation in the settlement had this to say:

They could sing like birds. The old tradition of the men sitting on one side of the church while the women sat on the other, goes back to the days when they sang in all four part harmony. A Mr. Griffith led in the singing at Bangor. He marched up and down the centre aisle to make sure everyone kept in tune and kept the tempo properly . . . with only 28 people in the congregation, they could carry *Cwn Rhonda* or *Aberystwyth*, with a volume comparable to that of a congregation six or seven times their size.²²

In the earlier days, a local *eisteddfod* (a song and music festival) was held annually in the settlement.

The experiences of the Welsh colonists at Bangor do not appear to have been much different from those of other settlers of that period, and, on the whole, they seem to have adjusted themselves very well to their new surroundings. Not many of the original settlers seem to have had an extensive knowledge of the Spanish language, although Spanish names flow easily from the lips of the older people. Some articles of South American origin were brought to Canada by the settlers, but many of them have disappeared. Mr. J. M. Thomas has part of a Gaucho saddle called a *bastos*; two leather covered pads, resembling somewhat the halves of a horse collar which had been cut in two. Over these pads was placed a blanket strapped down by means of a girth with stirrups attached. Gaucho whips and *ponchoes* were also brought over, and, in the early days, some

²¹ *Llewelyn Colony Saskatchewan.*

²² Letter of Rev. N. S. Dingwall, United Church, Carlyle, Sask., to G. Johnson, Jan. 29, 1963.

of this equipment from the pampas was put to use on the prairies of Saskatchewan. In the T. T. Evans home may be seen a *mate* cup, a beautiful calabash the size of an orange, but somewhat more elongated in shape. This was used for preparing *mate*, a beverage made from the leaves of the Paraguat tree. The cup is equipped with a *bombilla*, a metal tube with a spoon shaped perforated bulb at one end, which is inserted in the cup, and the tea sucked through the tube from the other end.

Most of the older people can still speak Welsh, and the musical intonation of their English speech may identify the racial origin of some. A few of the younger people understand the language, but its use in daily intercourse is fast disappearing. The process of assimilation is practically complete. While the early dream of a new Wales beyond the sea has not been realized, the finer qualities of the Welsh spirit survive among these Canadian settlers. The ethnic complex of Saskatchewan has been enriched by this minute infusion of Cymric blood from far off Patagonia.

DOCUMENTS OF WESTERN HISTORY

The Journal of The Reverend J. A. Mackay Stanley Mission, 1870-72

INTRODUCTION

THE Reverend John Alexander Mackay was a distinguished Anglican missionary and Cree scholar. Born in 1838 he was ordained a Deacon in St. Peters Church Red River settlement in 1862. Two years later he was sent to take charge of the Stanley mission on the Churchill River north of Lac La Ronge. This mission, which is still in operation, was founded by the Church of England in 1845. The Reverend Mackay left Stanley in 1877 and went on to serve his church in other places including Battleford and Prince Albert. In 1883 he was made the first Archdeacon of the Saskatchewan Diocese and a year later he was placed in charge of all Indian missions in the Diocese. Archdeacon Mackay also served for a time as Warden, Professor of Divinity and Cree tutor at Emmanuel College, Prince Albert. During his career he carried out a complete revision of the Cree translation of the Bible, revised a Cree grammar and translated a number of religious work into the Cree language. He died at the age of 85 in 1923 and is buried in St. Mary's Anglican Cemetery at Prince Albert.

The Journal from which selections have been made for publication covers only a portion of the Reverend Mackay's period of service at Stanley. It is interesting not only for the insight it gives into the character of this distinguished churchman but also for the view it gives of the life of a pioneer missionary. The Reverend Mackay was not only a Priest and missionary concerned with ministering to his people and trying to convert the pagan Indians, but he was also a printer, carpenter, miller, farmer, and expert woodsman. It was a life which required courage, physical stamina and above all a great religious faith.

Except where insertions are indicated the dates and spelling are as they appear in the original Journal.

THE EDITOR

THE JOURNAL OF THE REVEREND J. A. MACKAY

Wednesday, Nov. 9th, 1870.—Engaged nearly all day in outdoor labours. Service in the Schoolroom at 7 P.M.

Saturday 12th.—In the afternoon I crossed the river to visit my people at the Company's Post.

Sunday 13th.—The usual attendance at church. Nine at Sunday School.

Monday 14th.—Away all day on a visit to a sick woman at Lac La Ronge about eight miles away from the station. The sick woman is a young widow with three children. She is paralytic in her lower limbs.

Saturday 19th.—Since last entry I have been mostly occupied chopping fire-wood and bringing it home with the horses. This day visiting my people and preparing for tomorrow's duties. I had a long conversation with a young man from the Saccatchewan who arrived yesterday. He professes to be a Christian and visits occasionally the station occupied by Mr. Nisbet a missionary connected with the Presbetyrian Church of Canada.

Monday, Nov. 21st.—The young man mentioned above came to take leave as he is going away. I gave him a Cree Testament with two hymn books and two copies of the Manual of Family Prayer.

Wednesday 23rd.—I am mostly occupied at present thrashing wheat. Conducted the usual weekday service this evening.

Tuesday, [Dec.] 6th.—Away all day chopping timber for additional mill wheels as I find that the works which I have already completed do not afford sufficient power.

Saturday 17th.—The past week has been spent as usual. When not occupied with the school or with my proper duties I have been chiefly occupied bringing home hay with our two horses.

Sunday, Dec. 18th.—My congregation is increased by the addition of a few of our people who have arrived for Christmas.

Saturday 24th.—This week has been more occupied in ministerial duties than usual at other times. Daily evening Prayers with lecture or sermon. The school has also occupied part of my time. This day has been wholly occupied with the Communicants and preparing for to-morrow's duties. A short service with lecture morning and evening.

Sunday 25th.—Being Christmas Day the Holy Communion was celebrated. Sixty-six partook, which is the largest number that I have ever seen here at Christmas. For the first time at this season we had service in the Church and it is well that we were prepared to do so as the schoolroom would not have contained more than half the congregation.

Monday 26th Dec.—Morning and evening services in the schoolroom. Conducting school to-day.

Saturday 31st.—When not occupied with ministerial duties or with the school during the past week I have been chiefly occupied writing for the express which will leave this next week.

Monday [Jan.] 2nd [1871].—Early in the morning the Indians came to our house to tend their New Year greetings. I supplied them with the material for a plentiful feast consisting of flour, barley, potatoes, butter, venisen and beaver tails everything being Stanley produce.

Sunday 8th, Jan.—Congregation again at the usual number as all our Indians who came in for Christmas have left with the exception of two families.

Saturday 14th.—Throughout this week I have conducted school daily and out of school hours I have been as usual employed in manual labour. This afternoon visited my people at the fort. Had reading and prayer in one house where

there was a sick child. On going into another house a Romanist requested me to have prayer with them.



The Venerable Archdeacon Mackay ready for winter travel.

Saturday 21st. — My time has been occupied during the past week in the same duties as before. Conducting school daily. Part of my time has also been occupied binding prayer books and hymn books. This afternoon I went the round of my people as usual. Reading and prayer in three of the cottages.

Monday Jan. 30th.— Left Stanley this morning before day-break for Isle-a-la-Crosse with an Indian and a train of dogs. We proceeded as far as the fishery but beyond the fishery we left the well beaten track and our dogs made very slow progress through the soft and deep snow.

Tuesday 31st. — We were moving on again about two hours before day-break and a little before sunrise reached the mouth of a river where an old man of my

congregation with his large family had established himself for the winter. Here we stopped for breakfast and before leaving I held a short service.

Wednesday Feb. 1st.—The weather is unusually severe this winter and this morning particularly the weather was bitterly cold a strong westerly wind blowing in our faces. After we had encamped in the evening one of my people Old James Ross and his son came to us. They had been unsuccessful in hunting that day and having left their tent a long way off in pursuit of a herd of deer were about to encamp with nothing to eat when they observed our fire on an island in a large lake and came to see us.

Thursday 2nd.—We had a heavy fall of snow last night which made our bivouac anything but comfortable and made the snow deeper for our poor dogs. We made only a short day's journey although we were travelling long before daybreak.

Friday 3rd Feb.—We made better progress this day as our road mostly lay through woods where an old track afforded firm footing for our dogs notwithstanding the depth of the snow.

Saturday 4th.—We rested only three hours last evening as we had a long day's march to accomplish in order to reach Isle-a-la-Crosse before Sunday. A heavy storm of wind and snow commenced soon after we started which made it extremely difficult to keep the track as all traces of it were soon obliterated. A little after sunrise we found ourselves out of the road and on account of the depth of the snow we did not reach the fort until after midnight having walked on snow shoes for over twenty-four hours with the exception of three short stoppages to take some refreshment. Arrived at the Isle I was warmly welcomed as usual by Mr. Mackenzie the officer in charge.

Sunday 5th.—Two full services in Cree and a short English service in the evening. There are only nine adult Protestants here at present connected with the Company's establishment. The Romanists keep aloof from us.

Monday, 6th Feb.—Held a short service with exposition of a portion of God's word morning and evening. Part of the day writing letters for the Express which is expected here daily.

Tuesday 7th.—The same duties as yesterday. The express arrived this afternoon and only those who have it can form an adequate idea of the excitement which such an event causes out here where there is only one regular mail in the course of the whole winter.

Wednesday 8th.—Dr. Mackay a medical officer in the Company's service arrived yesterday with the express. He has been on a professional tour from Mackenzie River through parts of the Athabasca, English River, and Saskatchewan Districts to introduce vaccination at the different forts as the small pox has been raging in the Saskatchewan District last year and there is danger of its spreading to other parts of the country next summer. I was glad to obtain from him the means of introducing vaccination among my people at Stanley. At morning Prayer I baptized Mr. Mackenzie's infant daughter and in the evening as this is the last day of my stay I administered the Holy Communion to the few communicants here at present being only four on this occasion.

Thursday 9th Feb.—Left Isle-à-la-Crosse before daybreak to return homewards. Although only four days have elapsed since we passed over the road on our way up it is already covered to such a depth that our progress is as slow as before.

Wednesday 15th.—I reached home this evening after a tedious journey of seven days from Isle-à-la-Crosse. Two years ago I accomplished the journey in four days with much more comfort. I have sometimes seen illustrations of winter travelling in this country. The traveller generally represented comfortably wrapped up in his sledge with his dogs going at full speed over the snow. A more

truthful picture would represent the dogs floundering through the snow and the unfortunate driver with a long pole behind the sledge pushing to assist the dogs. At all events such has generally been my experience and particularly throughout this journey. I was thankful on arriving home to find all safe and well.

Friday March 17th.—Since my return from Isle-à-la-Crosse my time has been as usual fully occupied in various ways. Day school and S. sc. is regularly conducted the average attendance being twelve. I have also a regular service on Wednesday evenings. My secular work is chiefly preparing timber for a new house, and for additional mill works also printing and various other work. This day three families of Indians arrived being the first for Easter.

Sunday 19th.—The congregation is increased by the arrivals of last week and there is also a larger attendance at school.

Saturday 25th.—My time has been occupied during the past week conducting school daily and during part of the day and out of school hours bringing home timber for building with two horses and a bull. The attendance at school just now is generally about twenty.

Saturday April 1st.—A good number of my Indians have come in during the past week for Easter. They have been in general well off for food since they left after Christmas as the snow is deep which is favourable for hunting moose and deer but they have made very poor fur hunts which is their chief means of procuring clothing. My own duties have been much the same as during the preceding week. The attendance at school is now large.

Sunday, April 2nd.—We held services in the church for the first time since Christmas. A large congregation at both services and a large attendance at Sunday School.

Thursday 5th.—This week I have not spent much time in strictly secular work beyond such as I could not absolutely avoid. I have conducted school daily and as the number of children at present is large I have had the assistance of one of our young Indians who know enough to be of great assistance. Daily morning and evening prayers in the church with exposition of a portion of God's word. The attendance is always good in fact quite as large numbers as the Sunday Services and great attention manifested. After services this evening I read the Lieutenant Governor's Proclamation respecting the transfer of the North West to Canada and explained to the people the altered prospects of the country and the necessity of being prepared for any changes that might be coming. I endeavoured to impress upon them that Christianity alone could preserve the remnants of their race from extinction.

Good Friday, April 7th.—The usual service in the forenoon. In the afternoon I delivered a lecture on Missionary subjects. Particularly I urged upon my people the duty of making known to the heathen whom they sometimes meet with in their wandering the gospel which they have embraced. I trust that there is a little missionary spirit manifested among them.

Saturday, 8th.—Occupied part of the day preparing for tomorrow's duties

also receiving such of the Communicants as desired spiritual advice. After lecture in the evening all who wished to partake gave in their names as usual.

Easter Sunday 9th.—Large congregation at both services and I feel sure that many entered with soul and spirit into the services at Holy Communion several were in tears. 67 partook and the offertory amount to £10-11. I feel often discouraged at seeing the empty pews Sunday after Sunday while my people are away at their hunting grounds but a Sabbath like this day makes up for many discouragements.

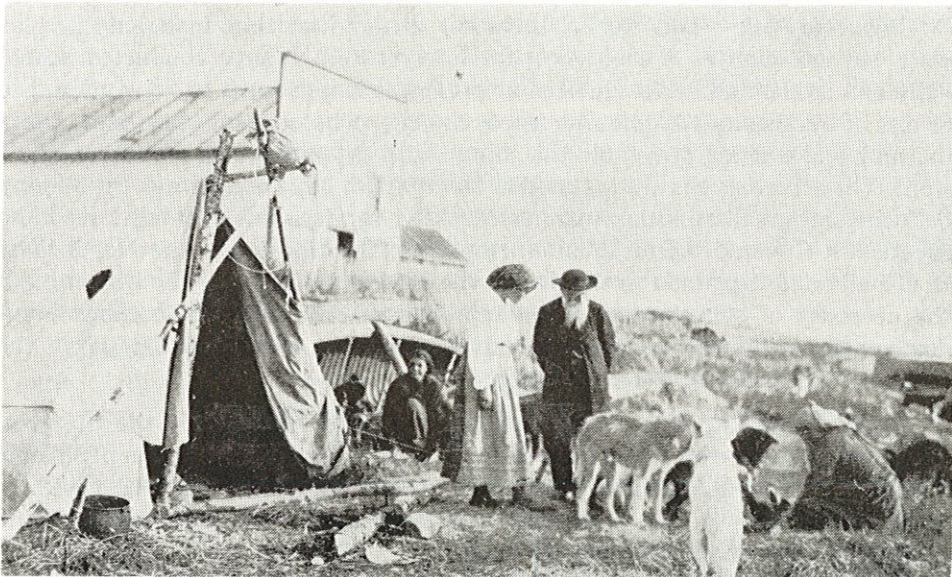
Monday, April 10th.—After evening prayer a meeting was held in the schoolroom to elect church wardens for another year. Several other matters of local interest were also discussed. It is very encouraging to notice the growing interest which is manifested in church matters.

Tuesday, 11th.—The greater part of the day occupied with my people who are nearly all beginning to move off again.

Saturday 15th.—I have discontinued day school for the present as I am busily occupied chiefly at the mill works. I have continued daily prayers as there are still a few families of my people at the station. There are two children very ill one from the effects of falling into a kettle of hot water. A young man is also very ill. These sick I visit daily endeavouring to do what I can for them both temporally and spiritually.

Sunday 16th.—I have still a tolerably large congregation and Sunday School. In the evening I visited all the sick.

Saturday 22nd.—During the past week I have been occupied as before chiefly at the mill works and superintending the man at work at the kitchen.



The Venerable Archdeacon Mackay at an Indian encampment.

Nearly all my people have left and I have discontinued daily prayers in the church but held service on Wednesday evening as usual. The child which was scalded is still in a precarious state. The other sick are recovering.

Sunday 23rd April.—Very few at church today and only thirteen at school. There is scarcely anyone here now except the usual residents.

Saturday, 29th.—My work during the past week has been much the same as before. Working hard every day either at the new kitchen or at the mill. My only ministerial work during the past week has been the usual service on Wednesday evening and frequent visits to the sick child who is now in a fair way of recovery.

Sunday 30th.—The usual congregation between about thirty at church which is the usual number when we have only the residents at the forts and at the Mission.

Saturday May 5th.—I have been engaged this week chiefly in farming operations. Yesterday and today commenced sowing wheat.

Saturday May 13th.—I have been hard at work every day this week ploughing, sowing, and harrowing with a pair of horses. I have put down this week ten bushels of grain without any assistance. I have three men at work breaking out new ground with hoes.

Sunday 14th.—I have a larger congregation than last Sunday as a few of my Indians have returned to attend to the gardens.

Saturday 27th.—I have succeeded in getting our new mill in running order and this week I have been occupied mostly grinding. The mill is turned by a horse. I do not yet understand its working sufficient to be able to run it to the utmost of its capabilities but I hope to be able to do so before long. Even as it is it is a valuable acquisition and is the first grist mill that has even been in operation in this part of the country. In fact when I first took charge of Stanley judging from the experience of my predecessors I had no hope of ever being able to raise wheat at Stanley but now after six years' experience I am able to feel confident that wheat will come to perfection in ordinary seasons.

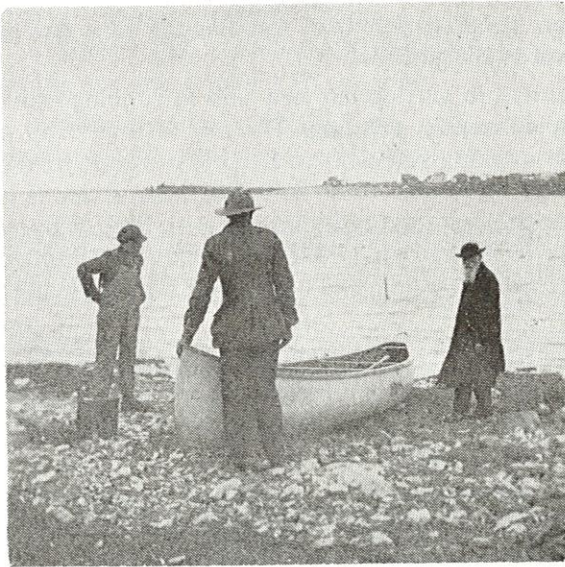
Sunday May 28th.—All my people are here now so that we have a large congregation and nearly sixty at school. We had a meeting for singing in the schoolroom which closed the day's occupations.

Monday 29th.—Performed two marriages this morning also conducting school. Instructed a chap for admission to Holy Communion and one candidate for baptism, a young woman who has been a candidate for the last two years.

Tuesday 30th.—A family of Deer Lake Indians arrived. The head of the family an elderly man, has been a candidate for baptism for some time but I have never had sufficient confidence in the stability of his convictions to admit him. Nearly two years ago he sent for me to come and baptize him at the Frog Portage. I went immediately and gave him and his family some instruction but at the time I told him that although I was willing to visit him as often as I could to give him instruction but I felt sure that when he understood and valued the truths of the Gospel sufficiently he would be quite willing to come up to Stanley

for baptism. Since then I have had two opportunities of instructing him at the Frog Portage and now he has come up to be baptized in the church at Stanley.

Wednesday May 31st.—I had a long conversation with the man mentioned above. He has two wives and he came up prepared to give up one of them but here a little difficulty occurs. Only one of his wives is here at present and one would like to see both as well as the husband in a case of this kind. However I put the matter to him saying, you have waited now for some years. You have learnt more and more of Christianity and so far as your knowledge is concerned I feel fully prepared to admit you. You have also given proof of your sincerity by coming up to see me and by resolving to give up one of your wives. I shall therefore if you wish it baptize you next Sunday and I shall see you all together at the Frog Portage in about two weeks from this. After consideration he said that he was willing to wait a little longer and towards autumn they would all come to Stanley together. I have no reason now to doubt his sincerity and I rejoice at his conversion as he has been a noted conjuror and he has been brought to a knowledge of Christianity by the voluntary efforts of David Mackenzie and Solomon Cook two of our Stanley Indians who have gone repeatedly to instruct the Deer Lake Indians.



On the Saskatchewan.

Saturday, June 3rd—I have instructed daily this week ten candidates for admission to the Lord's table the largest number that I have ever had at one time all being young people. Nearly all have been confirmed I always give such a course of instruction as opportunity offers as many of my people have so few opportunities of receiving instruction. I intend to baptize the young woman mentioned in a former entry. She is one of the most interesting cases that I have become acquainted with, an artless child of nature, and I trust sincerely in earnest.

Saturday June 4th.—Large congregations as all my people are at the station. Holy Communion 88 present. There were ten fresh communicants chiefly young people.

Saturday 10th.—Throughout the past week I have been chiefly occupied making preparations for my approaching departure I intend to visit the settle-

ments in order to make arrangements for starting a boarding school on a self supporting basis. This week I have been setting things in order as I shall have to leave the secular work of the station under the charge on one of my Indians. I have also ground a quantity of wheat in our new mill for provisions for my journey and for the use of my household during my absence. Daily prayers. Also vaccinated the entire population.

Sunday June 11th.—A very good attendance still both at church and school.

Thursday 15th.—After morning prayer I bade adieu to my dear wife and children and left for my visit to Red River. Travelling in a canoe with two men. Another canoe with four men going to Red River to trade a strong contrary wind and our canoe is rather heavy I shall have hard work and I should have engaged a third man for the trip but cannot afford the expense.

Friday, 16th.—Reached the Frog portage. There are a few people here whom I have seen frequently before. The wind being fair we did not make a long stay but pushed off after I had distributed a few books and tracts.

Sunday 18th.—Rested all day and had full services. We number seven in all. The quiet of a sabbath in the wilds is very grateful after days and weeks of unceasing toil.

Tuesday 20th.—We reached an encampment of two families of Indians this evening. They belong to Cumberland, have few opportunities of hearing the Gospel but profess Christianity and in fact nearly all have been baptized. Read and expounded a portion of God's word to them at evening prayers which they all attended.

Wednesday, June 21st.—Before starting I held a service and baptized an infant. In the evening we reached the Cumberland fishery where we encamped. We were supplied with some delicious sturgeon. The fishermen and their families attended evening prayers where as usual a portion of God's word was expounded.

Thursday 22nd.—Baptized the infant son of one of the fishermen and proceeded to the fort. Was greeted with the usual hospitality by the officer in charge. There is as usual a good number of Indians here. I visited them in their tents and invited them to a service in the afternoon. After service I distributed copies of the Manual of Family Prayer and some tracts and first books which were gladly received. Proceeded on our way in the evening.

Friday 23rd.—Reached Devon station in the evening and was warmly welcomed by Mr. Budd. The appearance of the station has improved greatly since I saw it three years ago. The Indians appear to be improving in industry. I believe this is chiefly owing to them being called upon to do something for themselves and not to depend too much on the Missionary for secular help as was the case formerly.

Saturday 24th.—Started from Devon after breakfast and proceeded on our way.

Sunday 25th.—Spent quiet Sabbath on the Saskatchewan.

Wednesday 28th.—Reached the Grand Rapids this evening. As usual there is a good number of people here. A few were with us at evening prayer. Gave notice for a service tomorrow evening.

Thursday, [June], 29th.—Held Divine Service this morning. Three children were brought for baptism. Started soon after service and proceeded on our way in Lake Winnipeg.

Thursday July 13th.—This evening we reached the mouth of the Red River. We have been two weeks in the Lake on account of detention by wind as our canoes are too small to stand a heavy swell. We should have been short of food but providentially I shot three deer in the course of the voyage.

Friday, July 14th.—Reached St. Peter's in the forenoon and was kindly received by our good Archdeacon Cowley, who kindly favoured me with his conveyance and company to St. Andrew's.

Saturday 15th.—Proceeded to St. John's to pay my respects to our good Bishop.

Sunday 16th.—Preached at St. John's in the forenoon for the Bishop in English and in the afternoon at St. Paul's in Cree.

Saturday 29th.—Reached Archdeacon Cowley's this evening on my way out. My stay of two weeks in the Settlements or as it is now called the Province of Manitoba has been fully occupied chiefly attending to various matters of secular business and making arrangements for my homeward voyage. I leave my canoe and return home in a boat, taking out with me John Sinclair, a native of Stanley who has been for a short time at St. John's College. His course of preparation has been interrupted by failure of health but I trust he will be of some use to the work at Stanley and he will have still a chance of improving. I have not been able to succeed in all my plans. My chief want a matron I cannot obtain but yet I am thankful for the results of my visit and especially for the countenance of our good Bishop and Archdeacon Cowley to my schemes. Great changes are in process here which will meet a visitor on every hand and in a few years we shall no doubt be affected by them more or less even in the more remoter parts of the country.

Sunday July 23rd.—Assisted in the Sunday school at St. Andrew's in the morning and gave the scholars a short missionary address. Read prayers in the forenoon and heard Mr. Boyd an English Clergyman who is travelling for the benefit of his health. Preached at Mapleton in the afternoon and at St. Andrew's in the evening.

Tuesday 30th.—Spend this day at the Indian Settlement church where I read prayers in the morning and preached in the afternoon. The congregation was not very large as many of the people had not returned from the Lower Fort where they had been assembled by government to arrange the terms of the Indian treaty.

Monday July 31st.—Started from St. Peter's with a fair wind and were out of the river about mid-day.

Saturday, Aug. 12th.—We have been exactly two weeks on the passage through the Lake Winnipeg. Detained the greater part of the time by contrary winds. With a fair wind a boat will run the distance from the Grand Rapid at the mouth of the Saskatchewan to the mouth of the Red River in three days. I heard that the Cumberland brigade of ten boats was at the upper end of the Portage.

Sunday Aug. 13th.—The people at this place had expressed a strong desire on my way down to partake of the Holy Communion. Several had been Communicants at the Indian Settlement Red River but having removed to the Grand Rapids they had been for several years without the privilege. I promised on my way down to accede to their request and at evening service partook. In the morning I walked to the upper end of the portage where the Cumberland brigade was encamped and had service with the boat men most of whom were Indians from Devon. A brigade of ten boats is manned by at least eighty men.

Monday Aug. 14th.—Started from the foot of the Grand Rapid and encamped at the upper end of the Portage.

Wednesday 16th.—Overtook the Cumberland boats where they were detained by a contrary wind.

Sunday 20th.—The wind being fair we sailed all day having a short service on shore after breakfast. We arrive at Devon in the evening just as a storm came on accompanied with a heavy shower of rain and I was thankful to take shelter under the hospitable roof of Mr. Budd's parsonage.

Wednesday 23rd.—A strong head wind compelled me to remain until the afternoon of this day at Devon. It's a great pleasure to see the flourishing state of the Mission establishment. The mission premises are in excellent order, the crops are not large but look well and Mr. Budd has a large number of cattle, horses and pigs. The Indians also are improving in industry. In the commencement of their mission they were accustomed to look too much to the missionary for temporal help. Now they are being taught to depend upon their exertions and there is in consequence manifest improvements.

Saturday, Aug. 26th.—We reached Cumberland House today. As I have been long on the voyage I am anxious to get back to my work at Stanley. I assembled the people for Divine Service and obtained some provisions which were supplied by the kindness of the officer in charge of the Company's fort we took our departure.

Sunday 27th.—The wind being fair we sailed through Cumberland Lake and encamped in the entrance of Sturgeon River.

Friday, Sept. 1st.—We have made good progress since last entry and reached Pelican Lake this evening where we found an encampment of Indians. These Indians live between Cumberland and Stanley and they are favourably inclined to Christianity and in fact some are professedly Christians. They attended evening prayers and I baptized a child of one man who although not himself baptized is I believe seeking for light and I received his child telling him that I did so in the hope that he would also earnestly seek admittance. I conversed with this

man until a late hour at night and promised to send one of my Stanley Indians to instruct him.

Sept. 6th Wednesday.—I reached Stanley this day after an absence of nearly three months. I found my dear wife and children all well. Truly the Lord is gracious to us. How often I have left my family out here in the wilderness without one human friend near except our poor Indians and His mercy has never failed us. I was thankful again to meet my people at evening prayers in the church. During my absence one of my Indians has been in charge and he has endeavoured to do his best, both in attending to the farm and the Sunday services which have been regularly conducted.

Thursday 7th.—Occupied the greater part of the day supplying the men who I hired at Devon. Afterwards opening our supplies for another twelve months. Among these were four bales of gifts from friends of missions in England. We were deeply thankful for these gifts and may God bless the givers. With our limited means without such help we should be poor indeed. And this year they are practically valuable as on account of my absence we have been obliged to incur more expenses than usual and our people too will be sadly in want of clothing this year as the Company are introducing a new system of trade giving fur advances and the hunters will have very little to begin the winter with.

Friday 8th Sept.—After so long an absence from home my work at the station is a good deal in arrears. With only Indians around us very little can be done without one's constant supervision if not with one's own hands and dependant as we are on our own resources any neglect or mismanagement in temporal matters must cause us inconvenience or actual want. The most that I can expect when I leave my work is to find all safe and for this I may well be thankful. Our crops of wheat and barley have all been reaped and a little commencement has been made at hay making but very little progress. I commence today getting our barley carried into the barn and preparing implements for haymaking.

Monday 11th.—Commenced the day school with J. Sinclair as teacher at present there are about forty scholars. Went out with three men to cut hay.

Saturday Sept. 16th.—Throughout the week I have been daily occupied hay-making. Prayers morning and evening in the church with exposition. This day I have been at home preparing for tomorrow's duties.

Sunday 17th.—Holy Communion as usual a large attendance. Crossed the river in the evening to administer the same to a sick man one of the Company's staff, John Macleod.

Saturday 30th.—For the most part during the past week I have been occupied repairing the Parsonage. J. Sinclair still at school. Daily prayers and lectures in the church. Very few people have left as yet.

Saturday 14th.—This week still chiefly occupied at the Parsonage. One of my Indians David Mackenzie left this week to instruct those Indians that I saw at Pelican Lake on my way back from Red River. I supplied him with every assistance in the way of books. With my printing press I am able to produce

little books and leaflets which are convenient for distribution among the scattered tribes around us. A Christian lady sent me this year a large supply of cards for printing which will be very valuable for distribution as soon as I am able to print them with prayers and passages of scripture in the syllabic character. I have discontinued daily services in the church for the present as nearly all Indians have left and have a week day service on Wednesday evening which will be continued until the Indians again assemble at the stations.

Saturday Oct. 21st.—This week I have been chiefly occupied boating firewood and hay. School is discontinued for the present as nearly all the children are at the fort on the opposite side of the river and crossing in canoes is disagreeable and dangerous now that the cold weather has commenced. J. Sinclair folding and sewing books.

Saturday October 28.—Most part of the week cleaning wheat and grinding with the horses. J. Sinclair at books as before. J. Macleod is growing worse. I visit him daily and I believe he has found peace in Jesus. The nature of his disease cancer precludes all hope of recovery. He is a native of Scotland but has passed forty years of his life in this country, is married to a native woman and has a large family. He still retains his native language Gaelic and a well worn Gaelic Bible is his constant companion.

November 4th Saturday.—My secular work this week has been various chiefly arranging stoves in the school church and parsonage also building a chimney in the workshop. Slaughtered an ox for our winter's beef. J. Sinclair employed folding and sewing books.

Nov. 11th Saturday.—This week chiefly thrashing wheat and bringing home firewood with the horses. J. Sinclair still at the books. He is unable to do any work that requires exertion and consequently is of no use for outdoor labors.

Thursday 16th Nov.—This week I have been mostly employed making and repairing horse sleds. Last night J. Macleod entered into his rest. I made the coffin as there is no one at present at the place who can do such work.

Friday 17th.—The burial of the late J. Macleod took place this afternoon. I visited the widow and fatherless children in the evening endeavoring to lead them to Christ for their comfort and profit under their sorrow.

Sunday 19th Nov.—Preached in the morning from the words "Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life." with reference to the happy departure of last week. A death among us so far out here in the wilderness is felt with more or less force by every member of the community and with God's blessing may be powerful for good particularly a death that we can point to as exemplifying the power of faith in Jesus.

Wednesday [Dec.] 20th.—A good number of my people have arrived for Xmas. There was a good attendance at evening service. I have been chiefly occupied writing for these past three days.

Thursday 21st.—Went for hay with the horses. Prayers and lecture in the school in the evening.

Monday Christmas 25th.—Holy Communion in the morning. About seventy present. Prayers and lecture in the evening.

Tuesday 26th.—Started at 2 A.M. on a visit to Isle-à-la Crosse. I left instructions with J. Sinclair to conduct services in my absence. I should not have left so soon after Christmas but having a convenient opportunity of travelling in company two of the Company's officers and their men. I thought it best to avail myself of the opportunity. We reached a little settlement at the end of Lac la Ronge where we took up our quarters for the night in one of the cottages

Sunday 31st.—We had hoped to have reached our destination sooner but we did not arrive at Isle-à-la Crosse until late this evening. After supper most of our people came in to prayers and being the last evening of the year I endeavoured to improve the occasion so far as God gave me utterance.

Monday, Jan. 1st 1872.—A short service morning and evening which all our people attended. As usual there are not many Protestants here just now, most of the people attached to the Company's establishment being Romanists.

Saturday 6th.—This week I have passed at Isle-à-la Crosse. Morning and evening I have assembled our people and expounded a portion of God's word. I receive every encouragement and assistance from Mr. Mackenzie, the officer in charge. I had a long conversation this afternoon with one of our people, a man from Red River who has been here for several years. The Priests trouble him a good deal about his child.

Sunday 7th.—Morning service chiefly in English. At afternoon service Holy Communion eleven communicants. A short service again in the evening.

Monday 8th.—Started at 3 A.M. on our return homewards.

Thursday 11th Jan.—We reached the small settlement at Lac la Ronge. Held a short service as usual and baptized 2 infants.

Friday 12th.—Reached home and was thankful to find all safe and well.

Sunday 14th.—The usual attendance at services and Sunday school.

Thursday 18th.—Left home again to visit a sick Indian. Started at 2 A.M. Travelling alone with my dogs and cariote. Reached the little settlement at Lac la Ronge in the evening where I passed the night. As usual held a service and had a good attendance.

Friday 19th.—Started three hours before daybreak and about sunrise reached the Big Stone River where a family of my Indians is located in a little cottage. Stopped for breakfast and before proceeding read and expounded a portion of God's word had prayers. About four miles beyond this I reached Peter Chit the man who I came to visit. Three families are here in little cottages. I fear poor Peter will not recover. Requested Holy Communion. Nine joined with him. Was requested to teach a hymn. Also to speak God's word by old James Brier.

Saturday, 20th Jan.—After committing the sick man in prayer to God started on my lonely tramp homewards. Breakfasted about daybreak at the little settlement on Lac la Ronge and having a good road across the lake reached home at 3 P.M.

Sunday, 21st.—The usual congregation when only the regular residents are at the place about thirty. Nineteen at Sunday school.

Monday, 22nd.—School is regularly conducted by J. Sinclair. The number at school is sixteen at present. Employed today grinding with the horses.

Saturday 27th.—Thrashing and cleaning wheat daily this week. The usual service on Wednesday evening.

Saturday Feb. 3rd.—The past week has been chiefly spent as usual in outdoor labours, one day for fish with the horses, another day making a road for firewood, making a sled and such like work.

Saturday Feb. 10th.—This week I have commenced printing Almanacs when I have any time to spare from other work. Also teaching occasionally in the school as the teacher is competent only for Indians.

Wednesday, 14th.—The usual service in the schoolroom in the evening. Today is Ash Wednesday but the day has never been observed here as a holiday and I have not thought it expedient to make any change but at the same time explained the teaching of the church at this season.

Wednesday, Feb. 28th.—The past two days have been occupied making preparations for my intended journey to Deer Lake. As I have no trustworthy person to leave in charge of the establishment I have to exercise a great deal of forethought and leave everything in order. J. Sinclair is normally in charge but an invalid. Started after breakfast this morning with one man one of the Company's men being with us. We made very slow progress, the road being so very deep.

Saturday March 2nd.—Reached the fishery attached to Deer Lake Post at 10 A.M. We have made very slow progress on account of the heavy roads. There were nine adults and about as many children all together in a little hovel. Some are heathen some professedly Romanists and one professedly a Protestant. They all listened attentively to a portion of scripture read and expounded and prayer was also offered. Proceeded on to the post, where I was as usual hospitably received. After supper prayers and exposition. Ten Protestants and about as many Romanists.

Sunday March 3rd.—Had full services morning and afternoon and singing and exposition in the evening. Was much pleased to see a little Chipweyan orphan come in to say her prayers. Lord's Prayer, prayer for a child, evening collects.

Monday, 3rd.—Remained at Deer Lake Post. Assembled the people morning and evening for reading Prayer and exposition of God's word. There are none here but the people connected with the post.

Tuesday, 4th.—Left to proceed on to Deer Lake about sunrise. Crossed a Portage which occupied three hours before we reached the broad expanse of the lake.

Friday, 8th.—Since Tuesday travelling on Deer Lake. It lies nearly north and south. As we go north the trees look more and more stunted in growth. Reached the post near the end of the Lake this evening about dark and received as usual a kind welcome from the officer in charge.

Monday March 18th.—Early this morning I left to return homewards. I have been nine days at this Post near the north end of Deer Lake. It is the first time that this place has been visited by a Protestant Missionary but the Romanists have had an establishment here for several years. It is in the heart of the Chipweyan country and is visited by a large number of this tribe and for the past three years a band of Esquimaux have visited the place. It is an important station for the Company as a large quantity of dried meat and pemican is obtained from the Indians besides furs the Caribou being very numerous in this part of the country. Nearly all the Chipweyans who used to visit Stanley occasionally in former years have remained in this part of the country since this post was established among them. There has been however a great deal of mortality among them and their number is decreasing very fast. I had expected to see a good number as the present time of the year is the time they usually visit the post but I saw only three parties and very few of those who had been formerly under our instruction. A few of these still profess to follow the instruction that they first received but what can be expected of them left to themselves so long and with very imperfect ideas of what religion means. One instance last fall of a dying man refusing to be rebaptized etc. There are two Priests stationed here and a brother. Their work among the Indians is very superficial but they have also nearly all the people of the post who are chiefly halfbreeds. The only Protestants are the officer in charge with his family and one of the labouring men with his family also a blacksmith a native of the Orkneys. The Priests lead an easy idle life purchasing all their food from the Company which relieves them from the cares and labours that we have to undergo. Their favorite amusement on Sunday is card playing. On one occasion they invited the Blacksmith to the card table on Sunday evening. It is ten days ordinary travelling from Stanley but the difference in the appearance of vegetation is very great, very little can be raised. I could not stay longer as I wished to be back for Easter. Such of our Chipweyans as I saw still desire our instruction. Gave them books etc. Daily services for such as attended.

Thursday March 21st.—Reached the old Deer Lake Post in the evening. A service etc. The little child learnt creed in my absence.

Friday March 22nd.—After a meeting left to proceed. Scarcity of food here and necessary for me to be home soon. My man cut his foot chopping wood. Fortunately two of the Company's men are with us.

Monday, 25th.—Reached home this evening and by God's mercy found all safe and well. A good number of my people are here for Easter. David McKenzie has arrived.

Friday, 29th.—Daily Prayers and lecture since my return. Today full service in the Church. In the afternoon a Missionary lecture.

Saturday, 30th.—The usual Lecture to the Communicants in the evening when they also give me their names according to the rubric.

Sunday 31st Easter Day.—Full congregation. Communion in the Evening.

Monday April 1st.—After evening lecture a meeting to elect church wardens etc. Meeting closed with singing Doxology and prayer by D. McKenzie.

Saturday April 6th.—I have been chiefly occupied this week bringing home firewood with the horses. It is generally the case after a long absence I find little or nothing done during my absence. Daily prayers and lecture.

Saturday, 20th.—For the past two weeks I have been hard at work getting logs and bringing them home, also fencing and pickets, etc. Thrashed the remainder of our wheat and barley, in all 52 wheat 56 barley

Sunday 21st.—Sunday school has been more tolerably satisfactory this winter probably on account of day school being regularly conducted.

Saturday, [May], 4th.—This week I have been chiefly occupied printing, completed 200 Cree Almanacks with a portion of scripture for every week.

Tuesday 7th.—Today and yesterday preparing for farming repairing implements.

Saturday 11th.—Today and for the past few days farming. I have put down five bushels wheat and 4 of barley. Myself ploughing sowing and harrowing with two horses. I have three men employed breaking out new ground with hoes, slow on account of large roots. Day school discontinued for the present.

Saturday 18th.—For the past four days heavy rain prevented all farming, water standing in many parts of our fields. I fear much of the seed will be lost but must trust to our Gracious God. Occupied the time in translating an act and setting type for it in cree.

Saturday 25th.—Finished putting down barley today. I have put down in all seven bushels of wheat, seven of barley and fifteen of potatoes, but I fear some of the grain is spoilt by too much rain.

Saturday June 1st.—Throughout the past week I have been mostly occupied altering and repairing the fences around our fields. A few of my Indians have arrived. Commenced daily prayers this evening.

Tuesday, June 4th.—Today and yesterday I have been occupied ploughing and sowing wheat. Some of the land first sown this spring has scarcely a blade growing on it and although the season's far advanced I think it better to run the risk of frost than to have the field lying bare.

Thursday 6th.—Today and yesterday putting up a stockade to form an enclosure for our dogs in order to prevent their running on the fields and also the school. Two of my people have been ill this week, one an old man of an abscess in his throat. The other a woman at the fort of a fever. These I regularly visit.

Sunday 9th.—All our people are in. A large congregation. Holy Communion. Singing in the evening.

Saturday 15th.—I have been employed this week at various jobs about the establishments. About two days employed in pumping water out of our cellar which the heavy rains had nearly filled causing damp etc. School well attended, also daily Prayers morning and evening.

Saturday June 22nd.—The past week has been occupied in various secular labours chiefly in the farm and garden. Nearly all my people have moved off again,

so that I have discontinued daily prayers. School is still conducted but the attendance not over a dozen.

Saturday July 27th.—This week I have been mostly occupied writing. There are very few people at the station just now. The Sunday congregations about thirty. J. Sinclair teaches in school for a short time daily as his strength allows. The attendance just now is only about twelve in the day school and sixteen at Sunday school.

Saturday Aug. 17th.—Since last entry my time has been chiefly occupied hay making. School is regularly conducted and the attendance for the past two weeks has been better than before both at day and Sunday school. We have also larger congregations on Sundays. This evening two of the Company's boats belonging to their post here arrived. They brought a few of our supplies. Six packages including 3 Bales of gifts from Christian friends in England. We opened all before retiring to rest and we were thankful indeed for such substantial and useful tokens of Christian love.

Sunday 18th.—After dark 4 boats arrived on their return from the Long Portage. Mr. Macdonald being passenger returning to Red River on leave.

Saturday Aug. 24th.—During the past week my outdoor labours have been chiefly putting up an out building. There is just now a good number of my people at the station. School is regularly conducted. There is just now a good deal of sickness among my people. Two women and a young man are seriously ill. I visit them regularly doing what I can with God's help for their spiritual and bodily comfort. Daily prayers with exposition of God's word held in the church.

Saturday, Sept. 14th.—The past three weeks have been spent much as before. Chiefly occupied carpentry when not engaged in my proper work. Also attending to the reaping of our barley and wheat. There is still a good deal of sickness among my people but none dangerously ill at present. The attendance at school is good just now and daily services in the church are well attended.

Sunday 15th.—Today I gave notice for the administration of the Lord's Supper as nearly all my people are now here and the time is approaching when they will disperse to their hunting grounds. Singing in the school this evening.

Saturday 21st.—Daily morning and Evening service in the church as before. The attendance always good. Also daily instructing two young men candidates for the Lord's supper. Secular work getting a piece of land cleared for farming and firewood chopped while the Indians are at the station. A special lecture to the communicants this evening. School regular and well attended. Pleased with Joseph Charles.

Sunday 22nd.—Holy Communion a large gathering

Saturday 28th.—This week I have still continued daily services. A few of my people have left but still a good number remain. Taking up potatoes and otherwise employed when not occupied in my proper work. School still well attended.

Sunday, 29th.—A good attendance at both services and Sunday school.

Wednesday 2nd Oct.—Engaged since Monday chiefly carting in our barley and wheat also preparing for a visit to some of my people at Lac la Ronge.

Thursday Oct. 3rd.—Left with a man and boy in a small canoe. I have been earnestly requested by one of our old men James Ross to visit his daughter who has been an invalid for more than three years. Rain commenced soon after we started and we were thoroughly wet through before evening. Slept at our fishery where I am getting a new house erected. It is only half finished but the shelter was better than none.

Friday Oct. 4th.—Rain and sleet still falling but we pushed on as we should otherwise be unable to reach our destination before Sunday. We were glad to avail ourselves in the evening of the shelter of a wide spreading pine tree which protected us from the rain and after lighting a large fire we were able to dry our clothes and blankets.

Saturday 5th.—Still raining but we proceeded on our way. About noon the rain ceased and we reached the old station in good time. Two families only were at the place but several arrived in the course of the evening. I came particularly to visit a sick woman a widow whom I found very low but others collected to meet me numbering in all twelve families. The encampment was in a low spot and the heavy rains had so saturated the ground that the whole place was covered with mire. At my suggestion it was decided to remove to a cleaner spot on higher ground where the Indians pitched their tents but I encamped in the open air. Held service in the evening in the open air.

Sunday 6th Oct.—Held morning prayers and afterwards a regular service in the open air. In the afternoon obliged to use a tent as rain commenced. Holy communion, particularly for the sick but joined some of these had not been present at last communion at Stanley. Closed the days services with singing exposition and prayer in the evening

Monday 7th.—After breakfast and divine service I left to proceed across the Lake to another encampment between twenty and 30 miles from there. After about an hours paddling against a strong head wind we found it impossible to proceed, the lake on this side being quite open while the other side is full of islands. As there is no pressing need of my visiting the other party I decided upon turning back and proceeding homewards. Rain again commenced which turned to snow towards evening. We encamped in a sheltered spot but the wind changed in the course of the night and we found ourselves exposed to the fury of the storm. I laid down under the canoe and when the wind changed the canoe acted like a spout and although it protected me from the snow I was soon shivering with cold. However in such a rough night I thought it best to lie still.

Tuesday 8th Oct.—Snow lay thick on the ground and it blew a strong north west wind but fortunately it was fair for us so after lighting a good fire in a sheltered spot and fortifying ourselves with a good breakfast we started. About midday however we were obliged to encamp as it blew so hard as to render further progress dangerous and the snow continued falling heavily.

Wednesday [Nov.] 9th [1872].—The wind moderated and we started early but the morning very cold so that our canoe paddles and mittens were soon crusted with ice. Reached our fishery where we had dinner and then proceeded homewards which we reached about sunset and after a few days of such travelling one can appreciate the comfort of a home no matter how humble.

Book Reviews

THE GREAT CANADIAN RANGE. By *Phil S. Long*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1963. Pp. 178. \$4.50.

THE epic story of the Canadian rangelands has been told in many bits and pieces, but few writers have set down the romance of the era as accurately and vividly as Phil S. Long in his personal story entitled *The Great Canadian Range*. The scene is southwest Saskatchewan and the period 1917 to 1925-26.

Already the craze for railway building and homesteading had driven many stock-ranchers to the wall. Only in the arid fastnesses of the high plains and in the rolling swells and dunes of the Great Sandhills were a few outfits able to operate.

Among the last of the "big spreads" to be legislated out of existence were the Matador ranch north of Swift Current and the fabulous "76" ranch south and west of there. This ranch had been built up from the brand and the holdings of Moreton Frewen, the Englishman who began his career on the Powder River of Wyoming.

At the time of which Mr. Long writes the ranch was owned by the packing and ranching firm of Gordon, Ironsides and Fares, and was divided into several large holdings.

Phil Long was a boy when his father was engaged as manager for the big spread south of Shaunavon known as the "50 mile".

Commencing at this period, Mr. Long draws a firm outline of ranch operations through the sell-out of 1920, which resulted in the Long family taking over the grazing lease, and from that point to the coming of the new railroad and the opening up of the land to the Homestead Act, which forced the Longs to move. Mr. Long is able to show us the sadness which accompanied the change, yet he writes completely without bitterness.

Over and upon this broad outline Mr. Long brushes his most vivid colours, to produce a descriptive work reflecting the sentiments and feelings common to all of us who knew the life of the short-grass plains. We are taken through the great influenza epidemic of 1918. We re-live the storms and stampedes, the floods and the fires of those windswept rangelands. The hiss of the blizzard and the creak of saddle leather accompanies our reading. The way of life and the neighbourly spirit of the grassland plains is made clear to us. The feeding of the intruding homesteaders and Mrs. Long's concern for these settlers and their families in time of storms is typical of that live-and-let-live attitude which succours even those who would dispossess. The author gives full marks, too, to the earlier policy of the 76 owners, which was hospitality to both man and beast. Mr. Long also allows us some intimate glimpses into his family's life. The musical evenings he describes will bring nostalgic memories to many of us, of night when the ranch piano and the singing voices drowned out the lashing of the storm and the howling of coyotes in the great empty spaces all around.

Although the Long family felt they had to leave, the influx of settlers did not all stay, and today whitefaced cattle still dominate the southern rangeland. All that is left to mark many of the homestead entries of over thirty years ago are the piles of stones picked by the Métis families of the Whitemud country, and for which they were paid by the cord, and the Shorts, the Landrys, the Trotters and the LaPlantes, like the cattlemen and the cattle, outlived the changes.

The Great Canadian Range is a book to be enjoyed by all, and not the least by the many still living who remember that great last horse roundup which marked such a fitting finis to this particular ranching operation.

R. D. SYMONS

MENNONITE EXODUS. THE RESCUE AND RESETTLEMENT OF THE RUSSIAN MENNONITES SINCE THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION. By *Frank H. Epp*. Manitoba: D. W. Friesen and Sons Ltd. Canadian Mennonite Relief and Immigration Council. 1962. Pp. XIX, 572. Maps, illus. \$6.00.

ONE can understand Frank Epp's interest in gathering together in one volume all of the information available relative to the rescue and settlement of the Russian Mennonites since the Russian Revolution in 1917. His parents came to Canada from Russia in 1924, being among the first to participate in the exodus described in this book. He received his early and high school education in a Mennonite environment in southern Manitoba, graduated from the Mennonite Educational Institute, Clearbrook, B.C., and then entered the Teachers College in Vancouver. Since then he has obtained three College and University degrees: Canadian Mennonite Bible College (B.Th.), Bethel College (B.A.), University of Minnesota (M.A.). He is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at the last-mentioned institution. Ample evidence of his post-graduate training can be found in his book through his search for and use of primary sources and his meticulous care in documenting all statements made. As historical writing this book, therefore, can rank among the highest for scholarly effort and masterful portrayal of events in their true light. More than this it is interwoven with the lives of people, their hopes and hardships, their concern for parted relatives, their struggle with governments and immigration officials, their strong Christian faith. Of particular significance is the author's portrayal of a number of outstanding leaders who reveal throughout their lives the qualities of unselfish devotion in serving their people at a time when much guidance was needed, and at the same time fulfilling their obligations to the governments and the transportation companies in the new countries in which they were making their new homes.

To one whose grandfather came to Manitoba with the first of the Mennonite groups in the three prairie provinces, this comprehensive treatise upon Mennonite settlements in the New World is most welcome and informative. While there is only a brief reference to migrations to Canada before 1923, the main purpose of the author is to portray the causes of the migrations and the settlements of the Mennonites since the Russian Revolution in 1917. This includes the major migrations from Russia to Canada and South America during the

years 1923-1930, the migrations of 1947-1954, and the subsequent minor movements. A vivid picture is painted of the main Mennonite settlements in Russia, the steady progress which had been made through the years in the development of land and homes, the building of churches and schools, the expansion of basic industries. While apprehension had been felt for many years with respect to the growing hostility of the Russian government and the Russian peasants, little movement out of the country was organized until the Communist Revolution, the most tragic event in Mennonite history. The author presents not only a comprehensive account of the hardships endured when many were murdered, their homes destroyed, their men-folk taken away to work camps in the north, and families left desolate, but he also carefully sketches the migrations, the establishment of settlements in the United States, Canada, and South America, and relates the difficulties the immigrants encountered in their new environment, and the adjustment which they had to make in the countries of their adoption. Photographs, maps, and carefully prepared tables with respect to places and numbers of settlers add to the vividness of the text.

One must admire the devotion to their cause of the members of the Mennonite Board of Colonization who bent every effort towards helping their people to resettle in the new land. Much space is given to their struggle with overcoming the debt (Reischuld) to the transportation companies which helped them come to Canada. The author, through many examples, indirectly pays a great tribute to Mr. David Toews, an outstanding leader, who on behalf of the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization signed the contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway for repayment of transportation costs, and who through nearly twenty years urged his people to fulfil their financial obligations completely. The most soul-stirring lines in the book follow after Mr. Toews, in a hospital bed, learns that the amount owing to the C.P.R. (\$1,947,398.68) had been paid in full. "When he could finally comprehend the significance of that moment, he broke out in uncontrolled weeping. Unchecked, the tears rolled from his eyes as the burden of a two-million dollar debt rolled from his heart When Toews realized fully that the commitments of the C.P.R. had been met, a deep peace and rest came over him."

Mennonite Exodus is a significant contribution to the history of recent times. It deals with a minority religious and ethnic group, but in its scope brings into prominence the clash between various world ideologies. It poignantly reveals the problems of a migratory group in dealing with governments both east and west. At the same time it demonstrates the influence of capable leaders who through vision, determination, courage, and a strong religious faith did "move mountains". The general reader will be grateful to the author for his penetrating analysis and his objective presentation of the facts contained in this text. It should prove of outstanding value to the Canadian Mennonite Relief and Immigration Council who, surely, must be most anxious to have this story known by all the Mennonite people.

WEST OF THE MOUNTAINS. JAMES SINCLAIR AND THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY. By D. Geneva Lent. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963. Pp. 352. illus. maps. \$6.75.

DURING his restless career James Sinclair was a fur trader, explorer and a leader of the Red River Métis. He has generally been regarded as simply an adventurer and opportunist. No doubt these terms can in all fairness be applied to him but, as Miss Lent shows in *West of the Mountains*, he was also a brave and capable leader. Thus, Miss Lent has made an important contribution to the understanding of James Sinclair and his times.

James Sinclair's father William was an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company. He founded Oxford House and rose to the rank of Chief Trader only to suffer the humiliation of demotion near the end of his career. James Sinclair spent his youth at Oxford House and following his father's death in 1818 he was sent to Edinburgh to be educated. In 1826 he signed on as an apprentice in the Hudson's Bay Company but a year later asked for his release.

James Sinclair became interested in the budding free trade at Red River, first as an employee, then as a partner of Andrew McDermot. Here he was initiated into the Métis way of life and became familiar with the hunting and trading routes of their roving bands. His knowledge of western trails induced the Hudson's Bay Company in 1841 to choose Sinclair to lead a party of 116 Red River emigrants to the Oregon in a vain attempt to strengthen the Company's claims and rights in that still thinly populated territory. This far-sighted scheme, however, found little practical support by the British government; an attempt to recruit emigrants in the British Isles failed and the Red River experiment was not repeated in 1842 as originally planned. By that time it was a matter of too little being done too late, the arrival of two groups of American settlers in 1842 and '43 turned the tide in the Oregon territories decisively in their favor.

On his return to Red River in 1842 Sinclair played a conspicuous role in the struggle of the Métis for the right of trade which was for all practical purposes resolved by the outcome of the Sayer trial in 1849. Although his relations with the Company during this period were understandably less than cordial, Sinclair nevertheless obtained employment with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1854 in Oregon, taking with him on this occasion another party of independent Red River settlers over the difficult trails in the present three prairie provinces and British Columbia. He died in the performance of his duties by an Indian bullet while trying successfully to save American lives.

Few books of the scope of Miss Lent's *West of the Mountains* may be expected to be free of errors in detail. In this case it is regrettable that the text and the corresponding illustrations of the maps do not always agree. While Miss Lent gives an excellent description of the Saskatchewan Trail between Fort Ellice and Fort Carlton across the Touchwood Hills, map No. 2 shows Sinclair's route to have been practically identical with the approximate line of travel of Governor Simpson in 1825 and 1841, that is east of the Touchwood Hills and Quill Lakes. As a matter of fact the route across the Touchwood Hills was not then "the only one possible." At the time of Sinclair's first journey in 1841 the men of the Hud-

son's Bay Company travelled almost invariably from Fort Carlton to the Quill Lakes, then to Fort Pelly, the headquarters of the Swan River by way of Fort Ellice, or to the same destination along the Swan River and the Lakes Winnipegosis and Manitoba. After the establishment of Touchwood Hills Post in 1852 the trail from Fort Carlton passed the west side of the Quill Lakes in order to take in this post, then continued north-easterly to Fort Pelly. This did not change until Fort Pelly lost its importance in proportion to the decline of York Factory as the sole receiving and distributing port of the Canadian West and the corresponding rise of Fort Garry to that position. From about 1860 the Hudson's Bay Company began to distribute trade goods to the Swan River and Saskatchewan districts which had reached Fort Garry by way of American railway and steamship lines. Consequently the shorter route between Fort Ellice and Fort Carlton across the Touchwood Hills came to be adopted by the cart brigades of the Company although it was undoubtedly used by Métis hunters and free traders at a much earlier date. Dr. John Rae noted in fact in 1851 that the officer in charge of Fort Ellice was "up to his eyes in opposition", and Wm. MacKay of Touchwood Hills Post counted at the time of Sinclair's second journey in 1854 some 80 carts belonging to Red River free traders.

It should also be pointed out that maps 1 and 2 show Fort Ellice at two different locations. Both are wrong; Fort Ellice was established in the autumn of 1831 on the north bank of Beaver Creek, some 3 miles from its junction with the Assiniboine River south of the Qu'Appelle River. Besides, the description given of Fort Ellice belongs to a later period than that of Sinclair's journeys. The Reverend Hillyer of the Church Missionary Society saw it in 1854 as "a dilapidated building, but being repaired." Fort Ellice rose to prominence with the increasing flow of goods taken overland from Fort Garry to the western districts. A second and more elaborate Fort Ellice was accordingly erected in 1862 about a mile west of the first site.

Small flaws such as these may well have been the result of a wish to provide suitable background material incidental to the story of James Sinclair. They do not seriously detract from the value of Miss Lent's book as a whole. It deals so capably with some interesting aspects of early western history that it merits attention as well as approval.

J. F. KLAUS

Notes and Correspondence

The July meeting of the Wolverine Hobby and Historical Society was held at the site of the Hamona Colony in the Qu'Appelle Valley south of Spy Hill. The guest speaker was Mr. D. A. MacKenzie, Q.C. of Esterhazy. Basing his remarks on his father's reminiscences Mr. D. A. MacKenzie stated that his father arrived at Birtle, Manitoba, in July 1883. During the year 1884 the wheat froze and bread made from the blackish flour had a greenish tinge. In 1885 his father was left to look after the farm. He sowed the seed by broadcasting, cut it with a cradle, tied it in sheaves and then stoked and stacked it. It was later thrashed for \$10.00 with Mr. MacKenzie supplying the wood for the thrashing machine. The year 1887 was a good crop year and after buying clothes and other necessities his father was left with the sum of \$80.00. The year 1889 was a poor crop year and there was a heavy loss of cattle.

Carleton University, in co-operation with the Public Archives of Canada and the Archives Section of the Canadian Historical Association, hopes to offer a course in basic archival techniques, with special attention to archival problems peculiar to Canada, in June, 1964.

This course will be the second of its kind to be given under these auspices, the first having been successfully held in Ottawa in 1959.

It is planned that the course will be co-ordinated by an archivist from the Public Archives of Canada, who will call upon specialists from federal, provincial and private archival institutions in Canada.

The course will include both formal and practical work, with an opportunity for students to concentrate their studies in either the field of archives or of record management.

The length of the course will be approximately four weeks, the exact dates to be announced early in 1964. Tuition fees will be \$85 per student. Living accommodation and meals, at additional cost, will be available in the Men's and Women's Residences of Carleton University.

Further information and application forms will be available early in 1964 from the Chairman, Department of History, Carleton University, Ottawa.

We were interested to learn of the formation last spring of the Saskatchewan Archaeological Society. The objectives of this new society are to form an association of persons interested in archaeology, to promote the preservation of archaeological sites and to publish information in the field of archaeology. The society has already published two very interesting and informative newsletters. Information regarding membership may be secured by writing the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society, Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History, Regina.

We are pleased to learn that Mr. Everett Baker of Shaunavon has been given an award of merit by the American Association for State and Local History for his contribution to the study and understanding of local historic events. The citation which accompanies Mr. Eaker's award reads: "For promoting interest in local and provincial history, for advancing the program of the Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society, of which he has been president since its founding in 1957, and particularly for carrying out the location and detailed marking of the historic N.W.M.P. trail from Wood Mountain to Fort Walsh." Mr. Baker has been a member of the advisory board for *Saskatchewan History* since 1960.

The Saskatchewan Archives Board has received an Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History. The award was announced by W.T. Alderson, Awards Chairman, on October 4th at the Association's annual meeting held at Raleigh, North Carolina. The citation reads: "To the Saskatchewan Archives Board for its vigorous and continuing programme of collection, preservation and publication of local historical records since its inception in 1945."

The membership of the Saskatchewan Diamond Jubilee and Canada Centennial Corporation's Sub-Committee on Historic Publications and Sites has been announced. The members are: Mr. A. R. Turner, Provincial Archivist, Chairman; Mr. John H. Archer, Legislative Librarian; Mr. Everett Baker, President, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society; Mr. C. S. Brown, Director of Parks and Conservation, Department of Natural Resources; Mr. A. M. Derby, Director of Examinations and Registrar Department of Education; Mr. Gilbert Johnson, President, Wolverine Hobby and Historical Society; Mr. Harry A. Tatro, Superintendent, Fort Battleford National Historic Park; Dr. Lewis H. Thomas, Associate Professor of History, University of Saskatchewan; Mr. Albert G. Watson, Executive Director, Saskatchewan Diamond Jubilee and Canada Centennial Corporation (ex officio).

Contributors

D. M. McLEOD is a Superintendent of High Schools in Saskatchewan.

GILBERT JOHNSON, now retired, was formerly agent for the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool at Marchwell.

H. JANZEN is Director of Curricula in the Saskatchewan Department of Education.

R. D. SYMONS is a former rancher of the Maple Creek area. He is also a noted naturalist and artist.

J. F. KLAUS of Pelly, Saskatchewan, is a farmer and the Secretary-Treasurer of the Fort Pelly Historical Society.

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