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Saskatchewan's First Provincial Election

ON September 1, 1905 the two provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were officially created out of the North-West Territories. The Saskatchewan Lieutenant-Governor, A. E. Forget, in a very controversial decision, called on the newly elected leader of the provincial Liberal party, Walter Scott, to form the first government. Scott had no previous experience in local government but had been a Member of Parliament for West Assiniboia since 1900. Many felt the Lieutenant-Governor should have called F. W. G. Haultain, the former Territorial Premier, to form the first provincial government. Of course, the final decision rested with the people as the new government had to seek an early mandate in a general election. The date chosen for the first election was December 13, which just happened to be the anniversary of Scott's arrival in Regina in 1886. Perhaps he felt this choice of dates would bring him "good luck" in his first major trial as a provincial leader. Born in controversy, Saskatchewan was soon plunged into a lively and bitter election campaign in which religious prejudice and personalities played an important role.

The lines on which the election was to be fought were drawn before the province came into official being. A Liberal Convention which chose Walter Scott as provincial leader was held at Regina on August 16th.¹ The first resolution, which was passed by the convention without a dissenting vote, called for the nomination of a Liberal candidate in every constituency. This was a radical departure from the accepted practice in the North-West Territories because it meant the introduction of party lines in the local government which had hitherto been conducted on a non-partisan basis. There was a government party and an opposition in the Territorial Assembly, but the division was based entirely on local issues, and had nothing to do with party affiliations. Often those who supported the same policies in the Territorial Assembly found themselves on opposite sides in Dominion politics. It was expedient for the Territorial Assembly to maintain a non-partisan position because it was so dependent upon the Dominion Government for finances that it had to be in a position to negotiate with whichever party was in power in Ottawa. The Liberals, by breaking with tradition and precipitating party division in the new provinces, had to find some justification for their action. In typical political fashion they tried to blame it on the other party.

In accepting the leadership of the provincial Liberal party, Scott said that non-party government had been necessary during autonomy negotiations and he would have been in favor of continuing it for a while longer if the actions of the Conservatives had not made it impossible. Specifically, the Liberal party-line resolution charged that a Conservative party convention held in Moose Jaw in 1903 made it necessary for them to introduce party politics in the 1905 provincial election campaign. At the 1903 convention a resolution had been passed calling for the nomination of Conservative candidates in every constituency at the next general election for the Territorial Assembly. Haultain, the Territorial Premier

¹ For a detailed report of the convention see *The Leader*, Regina, August 23, 1905.

and a prominent Conservative leader had specifically opposed the resolution and had stated that he refused to be bound by it. However, the Liberals claimed that the resolution had never been officially repudiated by the Conservative party and insisted that Haultain's subsequent acceptance of an office in the Conservative party was tantamount to his acceptance of the resolution. Whether the Liberals were right or wrong in their assessment of Haultain's real position is probably of little importance. What is clear is that they needed an excuse to justify a course of action which might not be popular. The continuation of the Haultain ministry appeared to be the only alternative to the introduction of party lines and this the Liberals could not accept. To allow Haultain to continue to head a non-party government meant that the Liberals would lose the new province to the Conservative party by default.

Having started by interjecting party factionalism into the provincial election campaign the Liberals at the Regina convention went on to advocate a program of peace and progress instead of the constitutional disputes offered by Haultain. The convention placed on record its approval of the Saskatchewan Act stating that it had been "framed in a spirit of wise conciliation and generosity and in conformity with the Canadian constitution."² It expressed its faith in the fundamental principles of Liberalism and adherence to the principle of provincial rights. The platform pledged that a Liberal government would devote its energies to the building up of an efficient educational program, to developing a transportation system and to the promotion of agriculture. It also added that it favored public control of public utilities.

The Conservatives of Saskatchewan met in convention at Regina on August 24th, a week after the Liberals. Haultain, who, as one sympathetic newspaper editor put it, was "struggling gallantly to save the new province from being inoculated with the pestilence of party"³ had placed his views on record well before the meeting. In an open letter to the newspapers⁴ he strongly defended himself against charges of partisanship during his administration of the Territories and called for a continuation of non-party government. He also claimed that the Saskatchewan Act violated provincial rights in education and natural resources and advocated an appeal to the law courts to test the constitutionality of the Act. In every particular the Conservative convention supported Haultain's position.

Instead of party lines the convention called for the election "without regard to party names or party affiliations [of] candidates pledged to demand full provincial rights."⁵ In essence the Conservatives transformed themselves into a Provincial Rights Party in a shrewd political manoeuver designed to retain, if at all possible, the non-partisan vote that had supported Haultain in the Territorial period and to win over any Liberals who might have some reservations on the autonomy terms. The convention went on to express regret that autonomy

² *Ibid.*

³ *The Daily Standard*, Regina, August 22, 1905.

⁴ August 7, 1905.

⁵ *The Daily Standard*, August 24, 1905.

terms had not been in accordance with "the terms asked for by the Legislative Assembly of the Territories and approved by the people of the Territories"⁶ and to protest against the terms of the act which withheld from the residents of the province the rights and powers enjoyed by their fellow Canadian citizens. The convention called for the submission of the act to the highest judicial authority to test its validity. In other respects the resolutions passed by the Conservative convention were very similar to those passed by the Liberals. They dealt with the development of an educational program, highways and transportation systems, agricultural education and public ownership of public utilities. Following the two party conventions it was obvious that the main issues of the first provincial election campaign would be certain parts of the Saskatchewan Act.

The school clause of the Saskatchewan Act, which was to be the most important factor in the election campaign, provided that the privileges granted to the separate schools in the new province should not extend beyond those already existing under Territorial legislation. Scott and the Liberals defended the right of the Dominion government to make specific provision for the educational system in the new province claiming that the government had a moral obligation to guarantee to the minority the rights they had under the existing Territorial school legislation. They also claimed that the legislation would not permit the establishment of a completely separate school system as all schools would remain under public control. Haultain and the Provincial Rights Party objected to the school clause on purely constitutional grounds and stressed that this objection had nothing at all to do with public or separate schools. In brief, Haultain's position was that the new provinces should have been considered to have entered Confederation in 1870 when the area was acquired by Canada and that they should have the same right to legislate on education as the older provinces subject to the provisions of Section 93 of the British North America Act. Under the provisions of the constitution the rights of the minority could safely be left to the provincial legislature. Haultain held that by legislating on education the Dominion government had overstepped its powers, but since the Act had been passed it should be submitted to the court to test its validity.

Haultain's position on the constitutional issues was probably based on substantial legal arguments, but it was difficult, if not impossible, to separate the constitutional issue of provincial rights from the school question as far as the public was concerned. It is doubtful if a quiet test case could have been held, and, if it had, a judicial decision on provincial rights would not have settled the real conflict between separate and national school supporters. The Liberals, committed to a compromise solution, regarded Haultain's legalistic arguments as simply his political strategy designed to discredit and defeat the Liberal party at the possible cost of arousing religious and racial prejudices. Speaking before the party convention Scott expressed the Liberal position when he warned the people of Saskatchewan that they could choose between peace and progress with the Liberals or "test cases threatening the peace and . . .paralyzing all governmental activity."⁷

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *The Leader*, August 23, 1905.

The school question was the most contentious of the constitutional issues raised by Haultain, but he felt that in at least two other respects the Saskatchewan Act violated provincial rights. The first was the retention by the Dominion Government of control over the public domain or natural resources of the province. The province had been granted special compensation in lieu of the lands, but this did not resolve the constitutional issue. Haultain also expressed the opinion that the highly controversial tax exemption granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway in its charter should have been settled because their existence restricted provincial rights of taxation. Scott was prepared to agree with Haultain that quiet test cases could be held to resolve these latter two points⁸ but it was obvious that the school question would be the major issue of the election campaign.

Under the Saskatchewan Act twenty-five constituencies had been established for the first election.⁹ Until otherwise provided by a Saskatchewan government, elections were to be held under provisions of the Territorial election laws.¹⁰ These laws provided that all male British subjects over the age of twenty-one years who had resided in the Territories for a year were eligible to cast a vote in the constituency in which they had resided for at least three months prior to the election.¹¹ There was no enumeration of voters but a system was established for the taking of oaths and for challenging a voter's right. A plain ballot was provided, and the voter was required to mark an "X" on this ballot with a coloured pencil, according to the colour assigned the candidate for whom he wished to vote.¹²

Under the Territorial election laws a candidate, or anyone acting for a candidate, was forbidden to give, promise to give or procure, money or employment for any voter in return for his vote. A voter in turn was forbidden to accept any such offers. Intimidation of voters, or attempting to procure a vote by offering food, drink or refreshments was also forbidden under the law. It is difficult to ascertain how effectively the law was enforced, or the extent of electoral corruption commonly practised.

Probably political patronage was the most common form of political corruption. Patronage included the appointment of party supporters to the public service and the use of the public works appropriations to win political support. Patronage gave the government in power an important advantage in any election campaign. The Liberals in Saskatchewan in 1905 not only controlled provincial patronage, but they also had the backing of the patronage available to the Dominion government. The combination probably gave the Liberals in Saskatchewan a decisive advantage in the 1905 election campaign.

Scott originally intended to hold the Saskatchewan election at the same time as that in Alberta¹³ but in the end he waited until after the Liberals had won the

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ 4-5 Edward VII, 1905, c.42, Section 13.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Section 14.

¹¹ *General Ordinances of the North-West Territories of Canada, 1905, Elections.*

¹² *Ibid.* Colors were assigned according to order of nomination as follows: blue, red, yellow, black, brown, green. On Scott's suggestion it was agreed that Provincial Rights candidates would be nominated first and have the blue pencil while the Liberal candidates would be nominated second and have the red pencil. See Archives of Saskatchewan (AS) *Scott Papers*, Scott to all Liberal candidates, October 31, 1905, p. 37893.

¹³ AS, *Scott Papers*, Scott to Gilliland, October 3, 1905, p. 37826.

Alberta election before issuing the writs for the Saskatchewan election.¹⁴ While he felt that the Alberta results "ought to do us good, particularly in all the new settlements"¹⁵ his real reason for delay had to do with arrangements being made in Ottawa. Scott had specifically asked as an election aid that the government make announcements of aid to the Canadian Northern Railway in building its southern extension from Manitoba to Regina and of plans to aid the building of a railway to Hudson Bay.¹⁶ In his opinion an announcement by the Dominion government that it was prepared to aid the two railway programs would be of great help in his election campaign because among other things it would "better than anything else take people's eyes off the school question"¹⁷ Scott placed so much importance on the Dominion government announcing a railway program that he even threatened to resign if the government did not live up to the promises it had given him to make an announcement of aid to railways.¹⁸ Despite the government's failure to make the announcement he finally agreed to carry on as Liberal leader and the Saskatchewan election was set for December 13th.

In order to ensure victory Scott made careful practical preparations for the election. He arranged for a limited number of outside speakers to be ready in case of need¹⁹ although he did not feel there would be enough money to bring in many speakers. Arrangements were made for the publication of campaign material in at least one foreign language in order to reach the new settlers.²⁰ In addition the Liberals kept a check on the names of people who would be naturalized in time for the election, and arranged to wire this information to their district organizers.²¹

As part of his campaign strategy Scott arranged to place all the Cabinet Ministers, including himself, in difficult constituencies. He believed that if he had not done so:

... we should not now be in a majority ... Lumsden was not at all difficult for me but we should likely have lost it had I not run there, Otherwise McInnis would have been the opposing candidate against some weak local man.²²

Early in the campaign Motherwell broke his leg. While Scott was naturally very sorry about the accident he did not regard it as all misfortune. Writing about Motherwell's accident, he said:

He is really a splendid man, but of course in many cases a man's strength as a vote-getter in politics does not depend on his intrinsic worth. It is really too bad that the accident has befallen him at this time, but is it not possible that a broken leg may be made a very fetching argument for him. A sympathy cry is sometimes a strong factor.²³

¹⁴ *The Leader*, November 22, 1905.

¹⁵ AS, *Scott Papers*, Scott to Dr. A. W. Hotham, November 11, 1905, p. 37911.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Scott to Laurier, August 12, 1905, p. 6068.

¹⁷ Public Archives of Canada, Laurier Papers, Scott to Sir W. Laurier, October 18, 1905, pp. 102267-68.

¹⁸ AS, *Scott Papers*, C. Sifton to Scott, October 25, pp. 37861-65, and November 3, 1905, pp. 37867-68 and undated copies of telegrams exchanged between Scott and Sifton, pp. 37869-72.

¹⁹ For example see AS, *Scott Papers*, Scott to Wodlinger, September 12, 1905, p. 37804.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Scott to Alex Ross, October 30, 1905, p. 37889.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Scott to Alex Ross, November 27, 1905, p. 37952.

²² *Ibid.*, Scott to Senator J. H. Ross, December 22, 1905, p. 38019.

²³ *Ibid.*, Scott to W. T. Lawler, October 16, 1905, p. 37841.

Placing the Ministers in difficult constituencies was a risky move, but one which showed Scott's political shrewdness.

As early as October 27th Scott expressed the view that the school question was causing the greatest difficulty, particularly in the southern part of the province where, according to Scott, even many Liberal supporters were confused about it.²⁴ The Liberals tried to show that Haultain's policy could allow the establishment of separate schools under clerical control while their policy ensured a continuation of public control of all schools. They also tried to show that Haultain and the Conservatives were using the school question as a smoke-screen to cover an indefensible record which included: the Moose Jaw Convention; robbing the Territories of \$250,000 by failing to use the capital advance grant made available by the Dominion government in 1903; Haultain's abuse of his position as a non-partisan Premier; and Conservative policies on tariff, immigration and the Canadian Pacific Railway.²⁵ Numerous editorials appeared in *The Leader* tending to show that Haultain's position on the school question was not clear.²⁶ Some campaign literature also tried to show that Haultain had made contradictory statements about the school settlement he would make if he became Premier. The Liberals quoted Haultain as saying in February that he would not change the Territorial school system even if he were given dictatorial powers.²⁷ They quoted him as refusing to say at Saskatoon on September 19th what he would do if the province had the power to legislate for the schools;²⁸ as saying at Maple Creek on October 24th that he would nationalize the schools;²⁹ at Arcola on November 22nd that he would not change the educational system;³⁰ and in his final address to the electors on November 27th that he would establish a completely national school system.³¹ After the election Scott expressed the opinion that if Haultain had not "so tangled himself up with meaningless and contrary declarations on the School question in the previous eight months, I think he would not be in power in Saskatchewan."³²

On November 22 *The Standard* published a memorandum that was supposed to have been issued under the signature of the Archbishop of St. Boniface. In this memorandum Haultain was criticized for his position on separate schools and Roman Catholics were asked to support Scott and his government.³³ The Archbishop, a strong supporter of separate schools, apparently felt that there was a danger that some Roman Catholics, in their loyalty to the Haultain tradition, might forget about his views on separate schools and vote for the Provincial

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Scott to J. W. Dafeo, October 27, 1905, p. 37881.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Scott to E. Farrer, October 30, 1905, p. 37883.

²⁶ For examples see *The Leader*, "The Issue," October 4, 1905; "Sectarian Schools Might Follow," December 6, 1905; "Clerical Control a Myth," November 1, 1905.

²⁷ AS, Liberal Party, Campaign Literature, Saskatchewan Election, 1905, "The School Question in the New Provinces."

²⁸ *Ibid.*, "Scott's Education Pledge."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, "How I Boxed the Compass."

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² AS, *Scott Papers*, Scott to L. A. Rivet, January 9, 1906, p. 38087.

³³ *The Daily Standard*, November 22, 1905.

Rights Party. The memorandum and accompanying letter were supposed to have been read on October 29 from the pulpits of churches in Saskatchewan which were in the Archdiocese of St. Boniface.³⁴ When the memorandum was made public by the Conservative press the Archbishop's advice to his people became a sensational issue in the election campaign. It provided Haultain with an excellent opportunity to win the support of all the anti-Catholic vote in the province. To the Liberals, it threatened disaster and they may well have wished for more politically astute friends. Fortunately for their cause, Haultain blundered in his handling of the opportunity Langevin gave him and the Liberals were able to escape from the situation somewhat damaged but not defeated.

After the memorandum became public Haultain issued an address to the electorate, dated November 27th, which included certain correspondence that had passed between himself and Langevin. Haultain first wrote to the Archbishop on November 14th asking him for a copy of the memorandum on the grounds "that you can have no objection to stating openly any reason which you may have for advising the members of your church to oppose me politically."³⁵ The Archbishop's reply dated November 17th did not mention the memorandum but did say that "As for the members of my clergy, I hope that none of them have made any public or private appeal to the passions of the people."³⁶ Haultain again wrote Langevin on November 20, but did not receive a reply to his letter. After citing this correspondence, Haultain went on to charge that an understanding existed between the Liberal party and the Roman Catholic Church, and to set out his own position on the School question as a result of the memorandum:

"So long as I was satisfied that the present school system could be worked out satisfactorily and without the sacrifice of important principles of administration, I was personally quite willing to leave it unchanged. But this conspiracy between the Roman Catholic church and a political party I can only look upon as a menace to our school system, and to the sound principles upon which it has been established . . . As the matter now stands it is clear to me that the only safety for our educational system lies in once and for all establishing it on an absolutely national basis, with equal rights to all and special privileges to none."³⁷

In this remarkable document Haultain made two important points. First of all he charged that a compact or agreement existed between the Liberals and the Roman Catholic Church and secondly he at last came out unequivocally for a national school system. The first point proved to be a major tactical error and the second, beclouded by the controversy over the first and coming late in the campaign, was not the decisive election issue it might have been.

As Scott pointed out in writing a friend, the Liberals were helpless in the face of Langevin's memorandum and at Haultain's mercy.³⁸ Instead of allowing

³⁴ J. C. Hopkins: *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs* (Toronto: Annual Review Publishing Co.) 1905, p. 252. Scott claimed that "the famous 'Memorandum' was not read in any pulpit," AS, *Scott Papers*, Scott to J. C. Hopkins, August 25, 1906, p. 38125.

³⁵ AS, Conservative Party Publications, Saskatchewan Election Campaign, 1905.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ AS, *Scott Papers*, Scott to Senator J. H. Ross, December 22, 1905, p. 38019.

the memorandum to do all the damage it could by itself, Haultain chose to add the charge that a compact existed between the Liberals and Roman Catholics when apparently he had no evidence to support his charge. The Liberals unable to say anything about the memorandum could and did deny the existence of a compact and Scott challenged Haultain to meet him on a public platform to prove his charges.³⁹ The compact became the issue and Haultain lost much of the advantage Langevin had given him. In Scott's opinion if Haultain had not made the compact charge he could have won the election, "But his crowning tactical blunder was to make the 'compact' accusation early enough to allow me time to answer and challenge him to the proof when he had no proof."⁴⁰

In the opinion of Clifford Sifton, former Minister of the Interior in the Laurier cabinet, probably the most damaging aspect of the Langevin memorandum was that it finally compelled Haultain to make a straight-forward declaration in favour of national schools. Writing Scott he pointed out that:

Until he did this those who were sore on the question could see no advantage in leaving you to support him. You will remember that I always emphasized the desire to prevent him from getting to an issue with you on this question. If he had taken the same stand at the beginning of the campaign I imagine that no one could have told what the result would have been.⁴¹

Unquestionably the memorandum cost the Liberals some seats, but it did not become the disaster it might have been had Haultain handled his opportunity more skillfully.

During the campaign some Liberals changed sides and supported the Provincial Rights Party. Haultain made a special effort to retain and win Liberal support and he was reported to have had twelve Liberals on his own election committee. In the province generally four Liberals were reported to be running as Provincial Rights candidates.⁴² Scott referred to four Liberal deserters, namely J. T. Brown, A. D. McIntyre, R. F. Chisholm and E. P. Benoit as "scabs" who had been "willing to stand upon our platform and for the Government at the price of the Liberal nomination,—except Mr. Brown whose price was a place on the Cabinet."⁴³ Some of the defectors had been quite prominent members of the Liberal party. A. D. McIntyre had moved the resolution on party lines at the Liberal convention and Brown, a prominent young Moosomin lawyer, had seconded the motion on adherence to Liberal principles.⁴⁴ Chisholm was a civil servant who resigned to run against the Liberal candidate in Battleford and Benoit was for a time the Provincial Rights candidate in Batoche.⁴⁵ Even Scott's opponent in Lumsden, F. C. Tate, was reputed to be an ex-Liberal although *The Leader* reported that he had never been a very ardent Liberal.⁴⁶ These defections and the

³⁹ *The Leader*, December 6, 1905.

⁴⁰ AS, *Scott Papers*, Scott to John Hawkes, January 10, 1906, p. 38090.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Sifton to Scott, December 26, 1905, p. 38028.

⁴² *Canadian Annual Review*, 1905, p. 205.

⁴³ *The Leader*, "The Line-Up in Saskatchewan," November 15, 1905.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, August 23, 1905.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, November 15, 1905.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

publicity they were given undoubtedly hurt the Liberals, but Haultain apparently never got all the Liberal support he had counted on.

One of the most dramatic incidents of the whole campaign occurred on December 7, when Scott was publicly charged with attempted bribery.⁴⁷ The charge was made by J. K. McInnis, the owner of the Regina *Standard* and a former business partner of Scott. He had from the beginning opposed the school legislation and was waging, through his newspaper, a vigorous campaign against the Liberals. According to McInnis, Scott had offered him \$12,000 for a property worth only \$2,000 if he would support the Liberal campaign. Scott at once laid charges of criminal libel against McInnis.⁴⁸ During a campaign speech at Wolseley, Scott was compelled to defend himself on a public platform against the bribery charges when McInnis appeared without warning as his platform opponent. It was a trying evening as Scott received word during the meeting that D. S. Williams, a campaign worker, had suddenly joined the opposition.⁴⁹ In answer to McInnis' charge, Scott admitted that in a private interview he had conveyed to McInnis an offer for his share in a railway charter but claimed that the offer was made by a syndicate, and that he only acted as an agent.⁵⁰ Scott later credited his experience on the platform during the election campaign in 1900 with preventing him from losing control during the Wolseley meeting and "smashing McInnis with all the material I had, and I had what would have put him out of public affairs for keeps."⁵¹ As Scott realized, the fact that he did not, possibly saved his government and party from defeat at the polls.

Following the Wolseley meeting Scott assured the people of Saskatchewan that he would clear himself of the bribery charges or retire from public life.⁵² McInnis was tried in March, 1906, and found guilty of criminal libel.⁵³ There does not appear to be any doubt that Scott had been falsely accused of attempted bribery. McInnis made the bribery charges in the hope of defeating the government. He probably counted on the fact that a clandestine interview had taken place at the height of an election campaign between two political opponents as sufficient evidence to cast enough doubt on the events to win him an acquittal if Scott dared to bring charges. Scott not only dared to press charges but succeeded in winning his case.

Another curious election incident that caused a lot of comment and controversy involved an overcoat picked up by mistake.⁵⁴ The coat, belonging to Lockie Wilson, a Haultain supporter, was accidentally picked up in error after an election meeting by the Commissioner of Agriculture, Mr. Motherwell. Apparently Mr.

⁴⁷ *The Daily Standard*, "An Open Letter," December 7, 1905.

⁴⁸ *Canadian Annual Review*, 1905, p. 258.

⁴⁹ AS, Scott Papers, Scott to D. S. Williams, December 26, 1905, p. 38030-31.

⁵⁰ *The Leader*, "Walter Scott Meets his Traducer at Wolseley," December 11, 1905.

⁵¹ AS, *Haslam Papers*, Scott to J. H. Haslam, July 12, 1918.

The "material" Scott referred to was probably the fact that McInnis had accepted payment from the Liberal party for expenses he had incurred in the 1896 election campaign when he ran as Patron candidate for West Assiniboia.

⁵² *The Leader*, "Will Clear Himself or Retire from Public Life," December 11, 1905.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, March 2, 3, and 5, 1906.

⁵⁴ *Canadian Annual Review*, 1905, p. 257.

Motherwell found a number of papers in the coat pocket including some printed campaign literature. He claimed he did not touch the personal papers in the pocket on the coat, but he did use the printed campaign literature later in an election speech. The coat was returned to its rightful owner, but of course, Motherwell was accused of having taken private papers from the coat for his own advantage. It was ideal issue for the newspapers and it took up many columns of print, but it did not really amount to anything.

Scott described the election campaign as “the hottest kind of scrimmage”⁵⁵ but the Liberals won, taking sixteen of the twenty-five seats. The Liberals polled 52.9 per cent of the total vote, the Provincial Rights party 46.7 and the remaining 0.4 per cent went to an independent candidate who contested the constituency of Prince Albert city.⁵⁶ On the evidence available it is impossible to determine what particular set of factors decided the election results in each of the constituencies, but certain broad trends are evident.

It seems clear that the school clause of The Saskatchewan Act, and the religious issues involved, were a major factor in the final results. The Liberals took all seven constituencies which, according to the 1901 census figures, had populations made up mainly of people who were Roman Catholic, Mennonite, Doukhorbor or Greek Catholic in their religion, while in all of the nine seats won by the Provincial Rights Party the population was mainly Protestant. In one Protestant constituency won by the Liberals, Moose Jaw County, the religious issue was clearly a major factor. The Liberals won the seat by a majority of only seventy-six votes. The Willow Bunch poll, made up mainly of French Catholics, voted 79-12 for the Liberals.⁵⁷ Scott commented:

As it turned out Sheppard's election depended entirely upon the Willow Bunch poll. The North end went back on him. As a matter of fact had Rathwell done as well in the country immediately around Moose Jaw as even our people expected him to do Sheppard would not have the seat The few votes they got at Willow Bunch must have cost them a pretty penny.⁵⁸

It is true that if the Liberals had not done so well in other parts of Moose Jaw County constituency the Willow Bunch majority would not have stood up, but as it was, the Roman Catholic vote was a deciding factor. The Langevin memorandum, though perhaps not used as effectively as it might have been, did damage the Liberal position in Protestant areas and, according to Scott, “cost us five seats and chopped our majorities to pieces in several other districts.”⁵⁹

It is difficult to generalize about settlement patterns in Saskatchewan because often relatively recently developed areas existed beside old established ones. However, it is perhaps significant that of the thirteen constituencies north of the

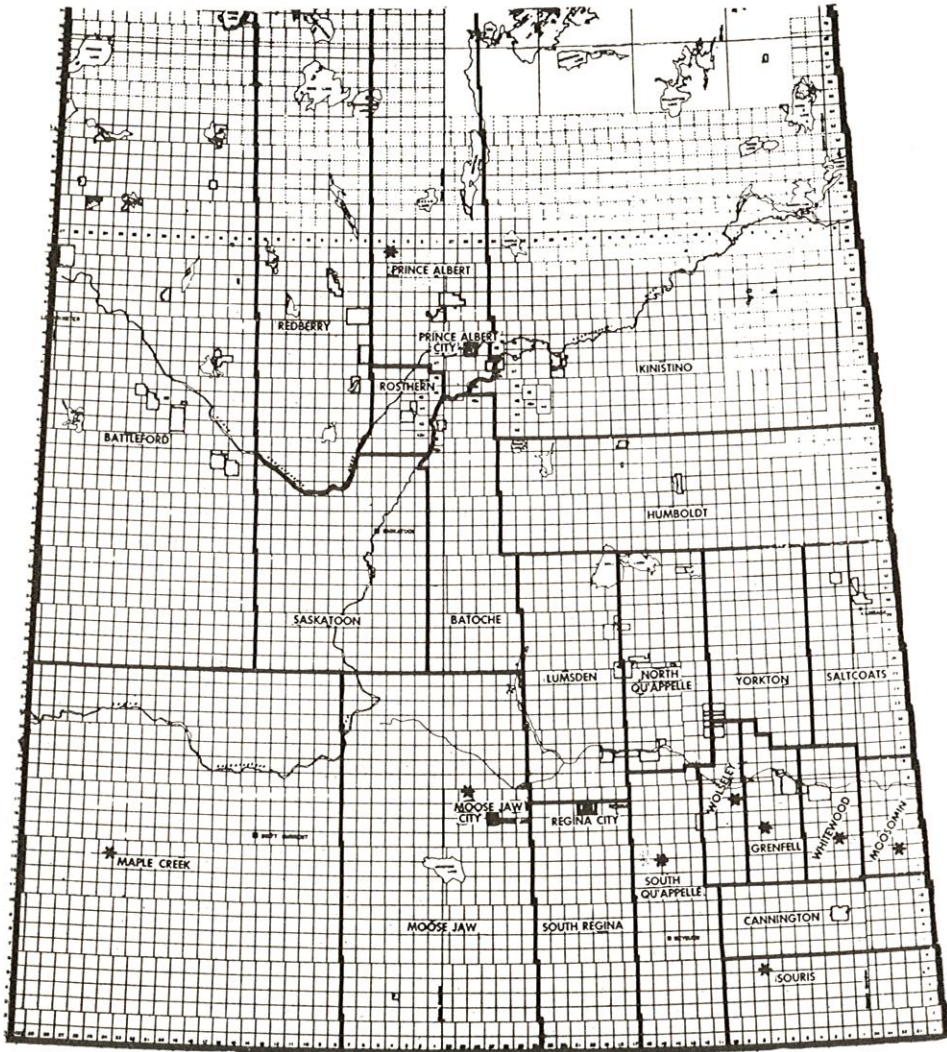
⁵⁵ AS, *Scott Papers*, Scott to J. D. Grieve, January 6, 1906, p. 38076.

⁵⁶ *Directory of Saskatchewan: Ministries Members of the Legislative Assemblies and Elections*, Regina, Saskatchewan Archives Board, 1954.

⁵⁷ *The Leader*, January 10, 1906.

⁵⁸ AS, *Scott Papers*, Scott to L. Hamner, January 5, 1906, pp. 38069-70.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Scott to Straton, December 16, 1905, p. 37967.



ELECTORAL DIVISIONS, 1905

(First Legislature)

25 Members

Map of provincial constituencies, 1905.

(The nine Constituencies returning Provincial Rights members are marked with an asterisk).

main line Canadian Pacific Railway, much of which was relatively new area, the Liberals won twelve seats. The only seat in this area won by the Provincial Rights Party was Prince Albert County, which was one of the oldest settlements in the province.

Of the twelve seats in the southern area, the Liberals won only four and most of these by narrow margins. One of the newspapers that supported Haultain made the following comment on the results:

“A most significant feature of the election on December 13 is that Haultain’s chief support was received along the railways, in the old settled districts where the true Canadian vote, the vote of those most conversant with the issues resided.”⁶⁰

A similar sentiment was expressed in another editorial appearing in a newspaper that supported the Provincial Rights party:

“... Mr. Haultain’s greatest successes were scored in those districts where the healthiest and most enlightened public sentiment prevails, and his reverses were suffered where development is crudest, where the foreign element is most pronounced, and where reliable news and views were least accessible.”⁶¹

If it were possible to make a detailed poll analysis it could probably be shown that the Liberal vote in the southern districts was strengthened by the support the party received from people who were of foreign origin or newcomers. The Provincial Rights press linked this vote with systematic corruption on the part of the Liberals and seemed to imply that it was a second class vote.

The Provincial Right attitude toward the foreign vote appears to express a strong feeling of racial superiority which may in fact not be racial in origin at all but simply a product of frustration. Obviously the foreign vote was conditioned to vote Liberal and it was difficult if not impossible, as early as 1905, to swing it away from that party. These people could not help but link their new life and success with Dominion officials and the Liberal government at Ottawa. It was easy for the provincial Liberals to connect the two parties and get the foreign vote without practising wholesale corruption. It was much harder for the Provincial Rights Party to persuade this group that economic success did not depend upon the Liberal party.

While the Liberals worked for and counted on the support of the foreign vote, they did not always get it. Apparently the German vote split in South Qu’Appelle allowing Haultain to win the seat with a surprisingly large majority⁶² Scott, writing to a supporter, wondered what “potent” means had been used against them in the south end of the South Qu’Appelle constituency.⁶³ The Liberals also counted on the foreign vote to win the Grenfell seat,⁶⁴ but apparently they were unable to get it and lost the seat.

⁶⁰ *The Progress*, Qu’Appelle, December 21, 1905.

⁶¹ *The Vidette*, Indian Head, December 29, 1905.

⁶² *The Progress*, Qu’Appelle, December 21, 1905.

⁶³ AS, *Scott Papers*, Scott to J. Watson, December 21, 1905, p. 38008.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Scott to J. G. Turriff, September 26, 1905, p. 37812.

Railways do not appear to have played a significant role in the election, though Scott regarded the Canadian Pacific Railway as a definite opponent.⁶⁵ He stated that the Liberals were defeated in Moose Jaw city by the opposition of the Canadian Pacific Railway.⁶⁶ However, the Liberals were strongest in the areas not serviced directly by the Canadian Pacific Railway.

In individual constituencies there were other factors which, though very difficult to assess, probably had an important influence on the election results. The Liberals won Regina city by only three votes. The trouble here, according to Scott, was that the Liberal candidate felt too certain of victory and did not put enough effort into the final weeks of the campaign.⁶⁷ Haultain's strategy of dividing the Liberals by forming a Provincial Rights Party was apparently successful in at least two constituencies. In Whitewood the Provincial Rights candidate, Gillies, won the constituency, because he was able to retain the support of Liberals who had voted for him in previous Territorial elections. J. T. Brown, a defecting Liberal, won the Souris seat for the Provincial Rights Party. A factor in his victory was that many Liberal party supporters in Souris were not willing to work for the Liberal candidate, Dr. Lockhart.⁶⁸ Scott ascribed the Liberal defeat in Wolseley partly to the defection, near the end of the campaign, of a prominent Liberal supporter.⁶⁹ Nevertheless these local issues may have been overshadowed by the more fundamental divisions on The Saskatchewan Act.

To Scott the victory for the Liberals was proof that "the present political sentiment in Saskatchewan is overwhelmingly Liberal, and also that our organization was pretty effective."⁷⁰ Effective party organization was to be a feature of the Liberals in Saskatchewan and probably was an important factor in the 1905 election. Organization, combined with Liberal control of the administration at both the federal and provincial levels, gave the Liberal party a strong position. Scott was also probably helped by what Sifton described as "the delightful way in which Haultain blundered at every step,"⁷¹ particularly in his handling of the Langevin memorandum. The main Provincial Rights explanation for the results was "systematic corruption, the work of Federal office-holders and the misuse of naturalization papers"⁷² The reaction of the editor of the *Saskatchewan Herald* to the Liberal victory in Battleford is perhaps typical of the feeling of the Provincial Rights Party about the election:

"The election in this constituency is over and Champagne is the member for the present. How long is for the Provincial Rights Committee to say, and not for his own, as they have sufficient evidence on file already to void the election. The combined influence of the land and emigration officials amongst the settlers and the solid vote of the Roman Catholics was too

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Scott to J. Hawkes, October 7, 1905, p. 37834.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Scott to O. B. Fysh, December 28, 1905, p. 38024.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Scott to Senator J. H. Ross, December 22, 1905, p. 38019-20.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Scott to J. G. Turriff, September 26, 1905, p. 37812-13.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Scott to Levi Thomson, December 28, 1905, p. 38038.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Scott to Senator J. H. Ross, December 22, 1905, p. 38019.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Sifton to Scott, December 20, 1905, p. 37998.

⁷² *Canadian Annual Review*, 1905, p. 260.

strong to be overcome by the efforts of Mr. Chisholm's followers. The plentiful supply of liquor with which the constituency was flooded also contributed toward the result.⁷³

Despite the editor's predictions, the Battleford seat remained Liberal. The only seat to change hands because of irregular voting practices was Prince Albert County.

The Liberal victory may be taken as signifying popular approval of Lieutenant-Governor Forget's decision to select Scott as the first Premier of Saskatchewan. While it is idle to speculate on what might have happened, it is possible that if Haultain had been appointed Premier instead of Scott, the results of the 1905 election would have been very different. As it was even with the full support of Dominion and provincial patronage and a sympathetic climate of opinion the Liberals had to work hard to win the election. The 1905 campaign probably did not establish any new records for 'dirty' politics, but it was in many respects a vicious campaign. Once established in power the Liberals were able to stay in office without a break until 1929.

D. H. BOCKING

⁷³ *Saskatchewan Herald*, Battleford, December 13, 1905.

The Steamboat Lily

THE story of the travels and misadventures of the river steamer *Lily* deserves a place in the annals of western Canadian history. During the years 1878 to 1883 she provided a useful transportation service on the North Saskatchewan river system, but perhaps her most important contribution was to pioneer steamer service on the South Saskatchewan river as far as Medicine Hat. In the few years of her life in and out of the 'port' of Prince Albert, she proved to be of unsound design for the river system and was finally wrecked near Medicine Hat in 1883.

The *Lily* was built of steel in the shipyards of Yarrow and Company, Glasgow.¹ The ship was a standard design for export and sister ships probably sailed and indeed may even yet be sailing, in other parts of the world. She was sold for £4010 to the Hudson's Bay Company for service on the Saskatchewan river. The prefabricated components of the steamer, numbered for ease of assembly at her destination were shipped to Duluth and from there overland by a short rail haul to the Red River where it was placed aboard the steamer *Colville*. The *Colville* carried the *Lily* to the Grand Rapids.² Here the boat was assembled during the summer or fall of 1878 and taken up to Carlton where it stayed over the winter before being fitted out for its first work in 1879.³

The *Lily* was similar in outward appearance to the well-known, and proven western river boat. It was broad and flat-bottomed, with boiler and engines on the deck driving a stern wheel directly with the customary pitmans and cranks. A system of columns and truss-rods for longitudinal strength served also as a skeleton for the upper works: salon, engine room, and cabins. Of this superstructure we know nothing, but a photograph from the files of her builders shows numerous mechanical details. The register gives her principle dimensions as length 100 feet, beam 24 feet, depth of hold 4 feet, tonnage 75.69, and a power rating of "31 80/100 Horse Power Combined."⁴ Thus the *Lily* was small in comparison to other steamers used on the Saskatchewan River.⁵

A diminutive drum-type boiler with a slender stack occupied her foredeck. This was the essential apparatus in transmuting muddy Saskatchewan water and poplar cordwood into propulsive vapor for her 13-inch diameter cylinders, and for her shrieking whistle. The stern wheel carried the usual wooden "buckets," mere planks which could be replaced conveniently as they became damaged. The flat-bottom, drawing water measured in inches rather than feet as in keeled craft, was not much more than a large hollow raft.

¹ Personal letter to the author from Yarrow and Company Limited, April 2, 1957.

² William Pearce Manuscript, p. 137.

³ *Saskatchewan Herald*, Battleford, September 9, 1878.

⁴ Public Archives of Canada, Register of steamboats, 78001.

⁵ *Ibid.* Following are the measurements given for other steamboats on the Saskatchewan River in 1882.

Vessel	Tonnage	Length	Beam	Depth of Hold	Draft
Northcote.....	170.69	154	28.5	4.5	30 inches
Marquis.....	278.80	200	33.5	5.3	25 inches
Northwest.....	120.00	200	33.	4.5	18 inches

Chief Factor Hardisty left Edmonton on April 8th, 1879, to prepare the *Lily* for service.⁶ Under the command of Captain John H. Smith the steamer left Carlton on May 25 to go to Prince Albert to take on a load of flour for Carlton.⁷ It then travelled to Edmonton stopping to discharge cargo near Battleford and at Fort Pitt, Victoria and Fort Saskatchewan, taking in all nine days for the trip. The steamer did not leave Edmonton until June 23 and reached Battleford on June 25. On the way up the Battle River to the town of Battleford the jack-staff of the boat caught the telegraph wire and pulled down all the poles from the bank of the river to the top of the hill.⁸ There was no damage to the ship but this accident may have been an intimation of the ill fortune that was to follow the *Lily*.

The steamer left Battleford on July 30 carrying, besides a full cargo, the first passengers for Edmonton. They were Lieutenant-Governor Laird, Magistrate Hugh Richardson, and Mr. A. E. Forget, Clerk of the Council and his wife.⁹ During the trip up the river numerous sand bars were encountered and it was only possible to travel during daylight hours. However, the steamer reached its destination on August 5 and was immediately prepared for the return journey which would probably be the last for the season. On the way downstream on August 7, despite the presence of both the captain and pilot in the wheel house the *Lily* struck a submerged stone at a spot about ten miles below Fort Saskatchewan. The steamer was hurriedly beached in a sinking condition but emergency repairs enabled her to reach Edmonton where she was hauled out for repairs and beached for the winter.¹⁰ The total damage was that the rivets had started from the plates for about four feet, leaving an opening six inches wide, but "the appearance of the bottom demonstrated that a steel hull is not adapted for bucking against boulders."¹¹

In the spring of 1880 Captain John Smith complained that in driving across country from Winnipeg to Edmonton he had to navigate "a buck board across the plains in deep water" but the water was so low in the river that he ended up "carrying his steamer through shoal waters" on her first trip of the year.¹² Her launching was delayed till June 11 because of low water, but a wet summer enabled the *Lily* to complete six round trips to Edmonton.¹³ Cargoes varied from lumber, grain, flour, agricultural equipment to coal for Carlton.¹⁴ The citizens of Battleford, however, were left disappointed at not being taken for a cruise during a heat wave.¹⁵ Evidently, the Hudson's Bay Company was not to be distracted from business.

⁶ *Saskatchewan Herald*, May 19, 1879.

⁷ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1879.

⁸ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1879.

⁹ *Ibid.*, August 25, 1879.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, September 22, 1879.

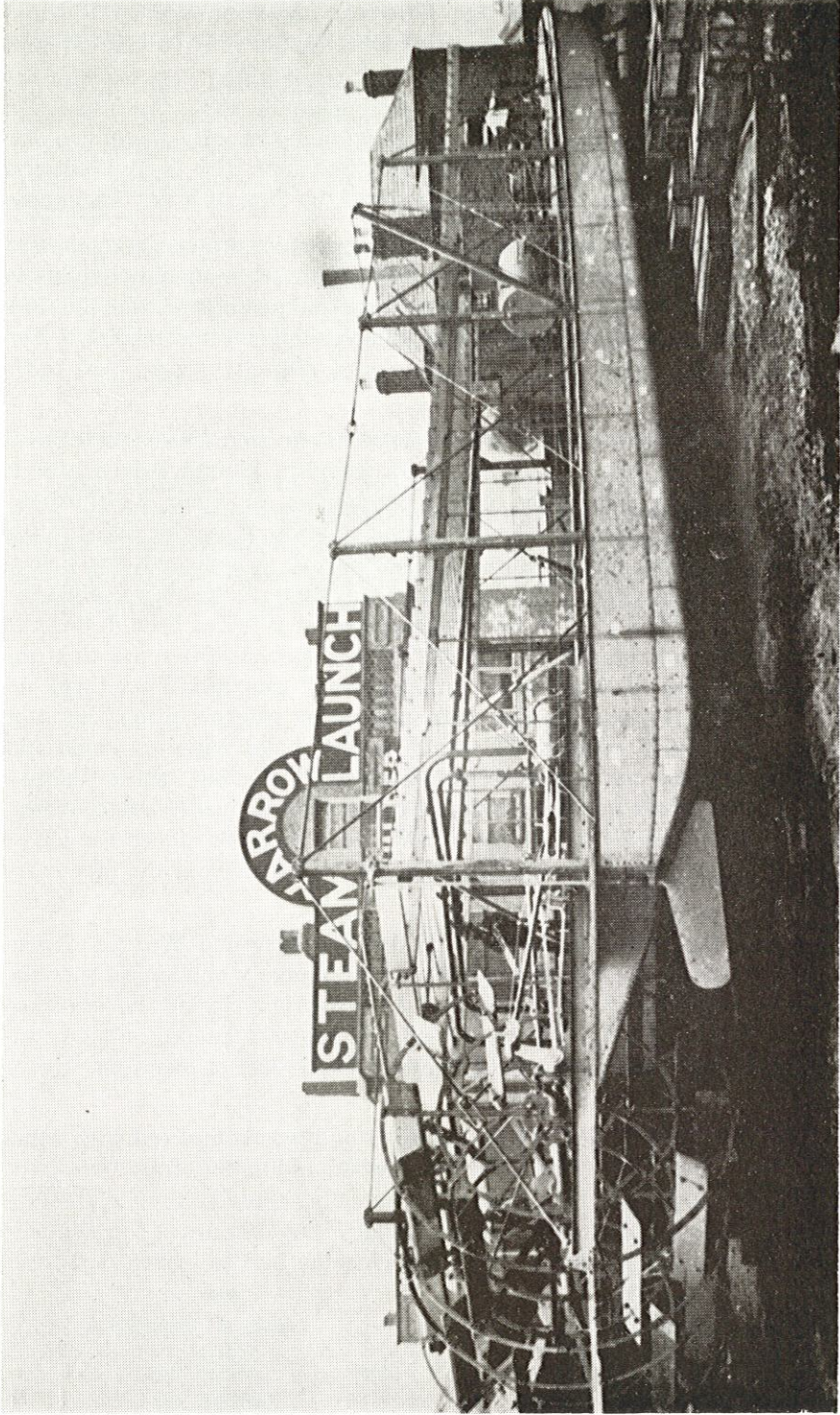
¹¹ *Ibid.*, October 26, 1879.

¹² *Ibid.*, June 7, 1880.

¹³ *Ibid.*, September 27, 1880.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, September 13, 1880.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, August 2, 1880.



The Lily
Yarrow and Company Limited
This photograph shows the steamer temporarily erected for checking at the shipyards of Yarrow and Company Limited, Glasgow.

The *Lily* was hauled out at Prince Albert for the winter of 1880-81 and sheathing of two-inch oak planking was attached to her bottom in a vain attempt to protect her against rocks and driftwood. Other renovations were made to the salon and stateroom facilities before the spring launching in 1881. The impression seems to have been created that after its renovation the *Lily* resembled the panelled and mirrored gambling palaces on the Mississippi. This is obviously not in keeping with the facts and with the purposes of the Hudson's Bay Company.

During the summers of 1881 and 1882 steamer service on the Saskatchewan river received very little attention from the newspapers. Rumors did circulate in 1882 that a new transportation company was going to put new steamers on the river and provide a weekly service from Winnipeg, but this failed to materialize.¹⁶ The river was so low in the latter part of the summer of 1882 that most of the boats were stranded at Cumberland.¹⁷

By 1883 some of the problems of the Saskatchewan were better understood and the season started out with a feeling of optimism around Prince Albert. Settlers were coming in, mills were turning out lumber and flour, and business was good. The Canadian Pacific Railway was being built across the plains to the south and other railroads promised to reach northward. It appeared that Prince Albert had a great future as an inland port and railway terminus, but in 1883 the city was still as dependent on slow river transportation as it had been during the fur trade days. One of the major causes of delay was that the route used for transport of goods was through Lake Winnipeg which usually did not break up until quite late. This, of course, meant that spring river transportation could not get started very early. A route which would by-pass Lake Winnipeg could add considerable time to the navigation season. When the Canadian Pacific Railway reached Medicine Hat the movement of large cargoes down river to Prince Albert seemed a possibility and in the summer of 1883 the *Lily* was assigned the job of testing the navigation of the South Saskatchewan River to see if the new route was feasible.¹⁸

On July 18, 1883 the *Lily* was sold to the Winnipeg and Western Transportation Company for the sum of \$25,000.¹⁹ The Company announced that the *Lily* would "run between Prince Albert and Medicine Hat during the season of navigation."²⁰ In fact the day before this advertisement appeared in the newspaper the *Lily* under the command of Captain Davis left on her first trip to Medicine Hat.

The voyage took from July 17 to August 3 and was completed with some difficulty. Wood for the boiler was mainly driftwood and lumber from two abandoned shanties. At Saskatoon the passage of the steamer caused a small real estate flurry, and the boat was cheered on its way by all 75 inhabitants of the Temperance Colony. In the last stretch of the river winching had to be resorted to in

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, April 15, 1882 and August 19, 1882.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, November 11, 1882.

¹⁸ *Times*, Prince Albert, June 6, 1883.

¹⁹ P.A.C., Register of steamboats, 78001.

²⁰ *Times*, July 18, 1883.

ascending rapids. On August 2, the steamer lost part of a rudder and a barge which was in tow had to be left 12 miles below Medicine Hat.²¹

When the *Lily* set out on the return voyage on August 28th²² her cargo was 50 tons of bacon for the Hudson's Bay Company in Prince Albert. The river had fallen 6 inches, but it seemed quite possible to reach Prince Albert. Some 40 miles from Medicine Hat the steamer struck a boulder and the voyage ended abruptly.

The site of the wreck was in a valley with high banks which made it impossible to undertake salvage. The cargo and machinery was removed and the steamer was abandoned.²³ The final entry in the Register stated simply: "Ship ran on a rock in the Saskatchewan River, North West Territory and became a total loss. Registry returned and cancelled. 12th December 1883."²⁴ The brave experiment had ended with disaster for the *Lily* but her owners quickly announced that the company "will continue to use the South Branch."²⁵

The ultimate fate of the hull of the *Lily* is not known. It may rest in the river yet. There is a strong possibility that the engine and boilers were fitted into another boat in Medicine Hat, but this is by no means certain. The 50 tons of bacon which made up her cargo probably went into the kitchens of the Canadian Pacific Railway instead of over the counters along River Street, Prince Albert.

T. R. SMITH

²¹ *Times*, July 18, 1883.

²² *Ibid.*, September 12, 1883.

²³ *Ibid.*, October 10, 1883.

²⁴ P.A.C., Register of steamboats, 78001.

²⁵ *Times*, October 10, 1883.

The Early Missions of the Swan River District, 1821 - 1869

THE coalition of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in 1821 marked the end of intense and bitter rivalry between the two companies and the beginning of a period of relative stability in Rupert's Land. During the half century after the coalition, the fur trade remained paramount throughout the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, and, under the sponsorship of the Company, a new administrative and agricultural community developed at Red River. This community became the first practical base for the establishment and expansion of the Christian churches in western Canada.

No missions or churches existed anywhere in Rupert's Land prior to the founding of the Red River Settlement. This situation and condition began to change when, in response to an invitation by Lord Selkirk, the Roman Catholic priests, Provencher and Dumoulin, arrived at Red River in 1818. In 1820 the Rev. John West of the Church of England was appointed Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company at Red River. As a result of his suggestions, the Church Missionary Society was induced to undertake a mission to the territories of the Company. One of Rev. West's more important actions was the founding of a school for the training of Indians at Red River. Charles Pratt, Henry Budd and James Settee, who played an important part in the missionary work in the Swan River District, received their training at this school.

Many years elapsed before time, money and missionaries could be found to expand the field beyond the Red River settlement to the widely scattered posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. The state of isolation and the small population of the trading posts, the nomadic habits of the Indians and the lack of permanent settlements all contributed to make the task of the missionaries extremely difficult and uncertain. However, early attempts to penetrate to the western prairies, while they did not result immediately in the establishment of missions, were significant in directing future efforts to certain locations. This was particularly true of the Rev. John West's travels during his short term of office at Red River. In January 1821 he visited the Hudson's Bay Company's posts of Brandon House, and old Fort Qu'Appelle, which was then located on the Assiniboine River near the future site of the Fort Ellice mission. The following year Rev. West travelled to York Factory by way of Lake Manitoba, Partridge Crop River and Lake Winnipeg. He was much impressed on this occasion with the prospects of a mission in the Lake Manitoba region, but it was not until twenty years later that a mission was established.

The first significant missionary activity beyond the Red River region occurred after 1840. That year, the Hudson's Bay Company aided the establishment of three Protestant Missions in the Northern Department, at Norway House under Rev. Evans, at Rainy Lake under Rev. Mason, and at Fort Edmonton under Rev. Rundle. The Church of England established The Pas Mission on the Saskatchewan River in 1840, and, in 1842, the groundwork was laid for the

establishment of the Fairford Mission in the Lake Manitoba region which had been visited previously by Rev. West. The same year an attempt was made to build a school among the Beaver Creek Indians at Fort Ellice.

Fairford and Fort Ellice at that time were located in the Swan River District of the Hudson's Bay Company. The District extended from the Lakes Winnipegosis and Manitoba west to the 105th meridian, and from the International Boundary north to the Red Deer River. Actually, its trade was carried far beyond the western boundary to the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan River and the Cypress Hills. The headquarters of the District was at Fort Pelly but during the 1850's much of the trading was done by its outposts of Shoal River, Manitoba House, Fort Ellice, Qu'Appelle Lakes Post, Egg Lake and Guard Post. All became important trading centres and as such might be considered promising locations for future missions.

In the 1840's the Roman Catholic Church at Red River also embarked upon a westward expansion which took it across the Swan River District and into the Saskatchewan District. In 1842 Father Thibault crossed the prairies to Fort Edmonton and the following year he went to Fort Pitt. The first two missionary posts in the Swan River District were tentatively established by Father Belcourt in 1840 by the erection of large crosses. One post was St. Norbert at Duck Bay on Lake Winnipegosis and the other was Notre Dame du Lac in the vicinity of the Hudson's Bay Company's post on Lake Manitoba. In 1842, Father Darveau, a young priest from France who had been instructed in the Saulteaux language by Father Belcourt, was appointed to the charge. On his arrival at Duck Bay, however, Father Darveau found to his dismay that the Rev. Abraham Cowley in the meantime had established a station of the Church Missionary Society in the same general area, the forerunner of the later successful Fairford Mission.

Darveau was determined to preserve his foothold in the lake area in the hope that a flourishing settlement would eventually develop. He even expanded his field by making occasional visits to Fort Pelly and Swan Lake Post, to which his Anglican rivals had not yet penetrated. He did not confine his activities to this region but also visited The Pas area, where a native catechist of the Church Missionary Society, Henry Budd, had been successful in establishing a station in 1840. Darveau's work at The Pas was thwarted by the actions of Henry Budd's native adherents who, according to Darveau, used bribery and even physical coercion to prevent other natives from attending his services and to keep the children away from his classes. Even Darveau's Indian servants had pressure applied on them to attend Anglican services.¹

In June 1844, Father Darveau died at Duck Bay under mysterious circumstances. The exact cause of his death has never been satisfactorily established. Alexander Ross says that Darveau was drowned "in a rather mysterious manner;"²

¹ Morice, Rev. A. G., O.M.I., *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada*, (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1910), pp. 177-178.

² Ross, Alexander, *The Red River Settlement: Its Rise, Progress and Present State*, (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1856), p. 291.

an Anglican Missionary, the Rev. C. Hillyer, refers to him as being drowned or murdered,³ while the Earl of Southesk relates that the priest was murdered by Indians who considered him the cause of an epidemic which struck shortly after the baptism of their children.⁴ Even the opinions advanced by prominent Catholics are not unanimous. Archbishop Taché,⁵ for example, expressed the view that Father Darveau was drowned when his canoe struck a reef in Duck Bay, while Rev. Morice is quite emphatic in stating that Darveau was murdered deliberately by three Indians and that the murder was the result of ill feeling fostered among the native population by Darveau's Anglican rivals.⁶

After Darveau's death the Catholic missions of St. Norbert and Notre Dame du Lac were visited by Father Lafleche in 1845 and by Father Bermond in 1847 but the missions did not prosper: The Rev. Morice comments:

On Lake Manitoba, Father Bermond was endeavouring with little enough success, to break the Sauteux [sic] for the yoke of the Gospel . . . but the old animus instilled in their minds was persisting, and it is said that, on one occasion, Father Bermond's life was even in danger with them.⁷

This is corroborated by Alexander Ross who states that ". . . the last [priest] was threatened by the Indians and had to make a precipitate retreat."⁸ St. Norbert mission was combined with Notre Dame du Lac in 1848 but two years later this post was also abandoned. The buildings were eventually sold to the Hudson's Bay Company. Work among the Indians was not allowed to lapse entirely. Archbishop Taché, for example, visited Duck Bay and Lake Manitoba in 1854 and again in 1861. A new mission, St. Laurent, was established at the south shore of Lake Manitoba in 1861 to succeed the former Notre Dame du Lac mission, and in November, 1863, the Anglican Missionary, Rev. James Settee, noted in his journal that he visited the "Romanist" priests at Duck Bay. The temporary abandonment of an unrewarding mission field gave the Roman Catholic Church an opportunity to concentrate with notable success on the "better disposed" Indians in the northern part of the Saskatchewan District. So far as the Lakes Winnipegosis and Manitoba were concerned, Joseph Etienne Champagne declared that "even the Protestant missions amongst the Sauteaux have not given better results."⁹ As long as there was competition between the two churches, the Indians took full advantage of the situation. Alexander Ross commented:

The Indians went to him who treated them the best The Protestant Mission had also funds at its command, with the aid of which Mr. Cowley could feed and clothe his converts, while the poor priest had nothing to offer

³ Public Archives of Canada (P.A.C.) Church Missionary Society Series (C.M.S.) Hillyer Journal, July 3, 1852.

⁴ Southesk, Earl of, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*, (Toronto: James Campbell and Son, 1875), p. 342, entry Jan. 4, 1860.

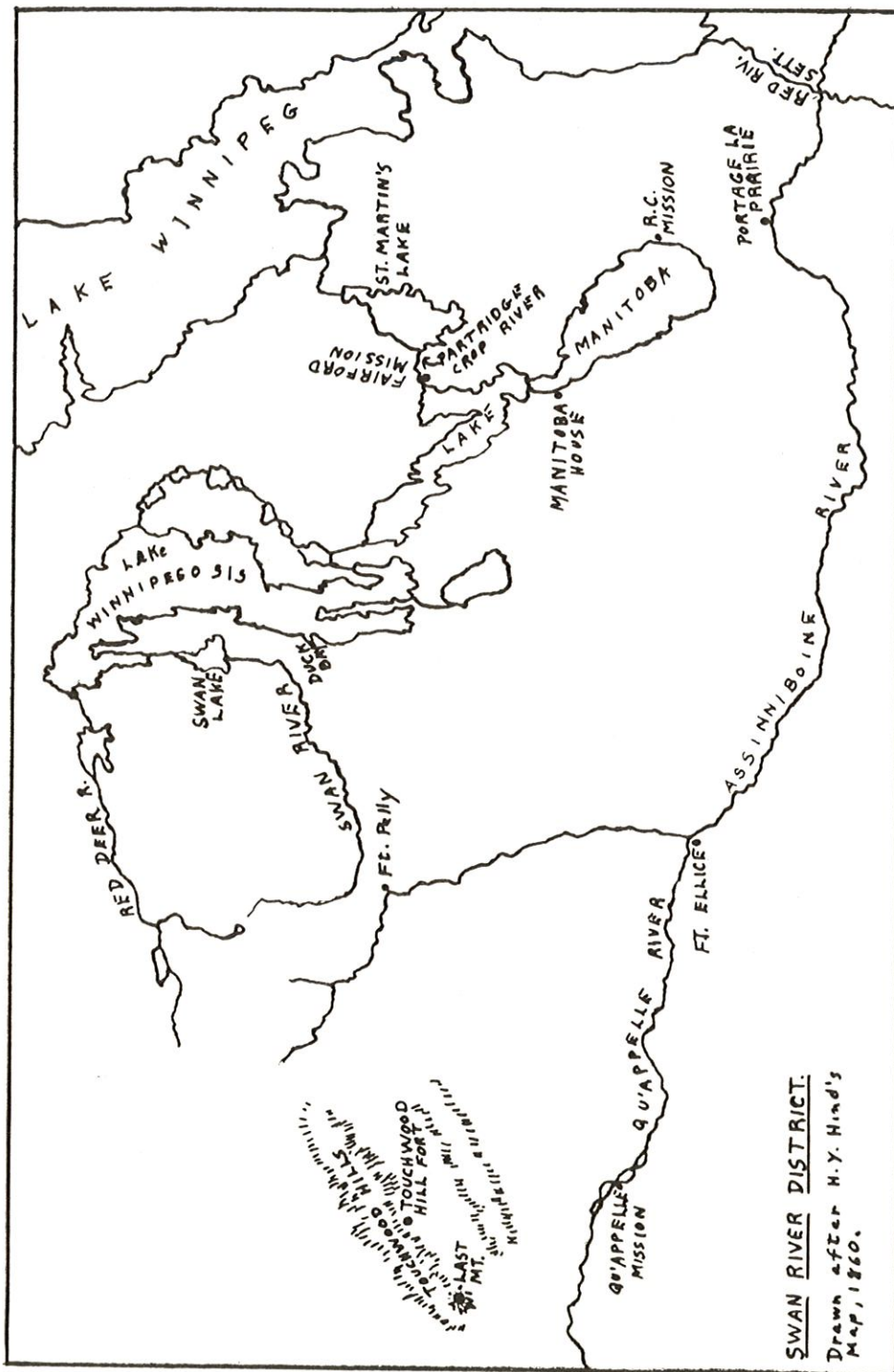
⁵ Taché, *Esquisse sur le Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique*, (Montreal: Typographie Du Nouveau Monde, 1869), p. 31.

⁶ Morice, Rev. A. G., *op. cit.*, pp. 174-182.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁸ Ross, Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁹ Champagne, Joseph Etienne, *Les Missions Catholiques Dans L'Ouest Canadien*, (Ottawa: Editions des Etudes Oblates, 1949), p. 67.



them but instruction. This made all the difference in the eyes of the savages, who went from one to the other till they had got for nothing all they could get in the way of temporal things.¹⁰

To add to the difficulties, a lack of funds in 1842, and the fact that the mission produced no converts during the first five years of its existence, almost forced the abandonment of Fairford. Rev. Cowley wrote in 1851 that: "For many years it had been my painful duty to report of my people as the most callous and indifferent to spiritual things on the face of the earth . . ."¹¹

In spite of initial difficulties, the Fairford Mission eventually became firmly established at a different location. After an abortive attempt to find a suitable location at Elm Point, Rev. Cowley moved during the winter of 1842-43 to a more promising site on Partridge Crop River near St. Martin's Lake. A determined effort was made to erect suitable buildings, but the location proved undesirable because of floods. Hind reported that at the time of his visit in 1858, he "saw the houses of the Mission, established, but afterwards abandoned, by the Rev. Mr. Cowley. All the houses were in ruins and tenantless."¹² The station was moved in 1844 to its final site on the south bank of Partridge Crop River, some two and a half miles east of Lake Manitoba, where it developed into a successful and permanent mission. By 1848 it had seven houses in its Indian settlement, with two more under construction. There were cattle and horses, and fields of grain were being cultivated. When Bishop Anderson visited the mission in 1851, he remarked that "the place now begins to assume something of the appearance of a Christian village."¹³ Twenty-six persons were baptized on the occasion of the visit, and, no doubt as a tribute to Rev. Cowley, the name of the mission was changed from Partridge Crop to Fairford in honour of Rev. Cowley's birthplace.

In spite of the fact that it was still considered the "difficult" mission of Fairford when Rev. William Stagg succeeded Rev. Cowley in 1854, the establishment continued to grow steadily. Hind described it in 1858 as follows:

There are one hundred twenty Christians, adults and 37 children, at this Mission. The houses, 15 in number, are neat, comfortable, and in excellent order, and several new dwellings are in process of erection. The appearance of the Mission is very promising, and in every way most creditable to the unceasing labours of the zealous missionary, the Rev. Mr. Stagg.¹⁴

Rev. Stagg was in charge of Fairford from 1854 to 1865 and directed from there the first determined effort by Anglican missionaries to cover the Swan River District.

The initial steps in this enterprise had been taken by the Rev. Cowley after Bishop Anderson's visit to Fairford in February 1851. The primary objective was Fort Pelly which Rev. Cowley considered:

¹⁰ Ross, Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

¹¹ Tucker, S., *Rainbow in the North*, (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1858), p. 219. Appendix II.

¹² Hind, H. Y., *Narrative* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), Vol. II, p. 34.

¹³ Boon, T. C. B., *The Anglican Church From The Bay To The Rockies* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 53.

¹⁴ Hind, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 37.

... a very important point on account of the Indians that trade there, and also very eligible in an agricultural point of view as well as affording facilities for buffalo hunting. To occupy it properly, so as to have two out-stations at Shoal River and Beaver Creek, would cost at least 600 Pds., but what is that compared with the prospect it holds out?¹⁵

Charles Pratt, a native catechist of the Fairford Mission and one of the original pupils of the school established by the Rev. John West at Red River, was selected to lay the groundwork of the first mission station at Fort Pelly. Pratt was well qualified for the task. Born at the Qu'Appelle Lakes about 1816, he entered the Church Missionary School at Red River in 1822, and was baptized by Rev. West on June 8, 1823. Although he was described in Harbridge's report of July 1, 1824, as an Assiniboine of French extraction, he considered himself a Cree Indian. Pratt worked for the Hudson's Bay Company after leaving school, was sent to Fort Pelly and there began catechetical work on his own initiative.¹⁶ In 1848 he was back at Red River taking some training under Rev. W. Cockran at the house called St. Cross after which he and John Garrioch became the first school teachers at Fairford Mission. Rev. Cowley mentioned in connection with Pratt's departure for Fort Pelly that "many of his relations trade at Fort Pelly and Shoal River."¹⁷

Charles Pratt and his family left Fairford on May 16, 1851, for Red River to receive the Bishop's instructions, then set out on the overland trail to Fort Pelly. He arrived there on July 31 and pitched his tent at the Indian Elbow of the Assiniboine River. He was not welcomed with open arms by the Indians. An angry medicine man, Cho-wa-cis, armed with "a great conjuring article,"¹⁸ challenged Pratt's presence with the words: "who told you to come here? I never told you to come and build on my land. Go back, go back from where you came." However, a piece of tobacco and possibly the fear of potential magic in the Old and New Testament held out to him by Pratt finally overcame his objection. Pratt chose a suitable building site on Snake Creek, a short distance west of Fort Pelly on the Touchwood Hills trail, and erected his first mission house. He was fortunate in gaining the support of two prominent chiefs of the area, Gabriel Coté and Little Shell. Although he attracted congregations of fifty and a hundred, his main object of establishing a school was defeated that year by a scarcity of food. The buffalo remained far out on the prairie and even Chief Trader Buchanan was unable to supply provisions.

Further progress was made the following year after the arrival of the Rev. Charles Hillyer from Fairford. With the help of Chief Coté, who was able to persuade ten of his tribesmen to help with the plastering, Pratt and Hillyer erected a substantial mission house that could accommodate thirty children. The mission also acquired what Rev. Hillyer called "the first fruit of Fort Pelly,"¹⁹ when Chief Coté "gave up to us" one of his daughters after the missionaries took care of her during a serious illness.

¹⁵ Tucker, S., *op. cit.*, p. 219, Appendix II.

¹⁶ Boon, T. C. B., *op. cit.*, p. 157 n.

¹⁷ Tucker, S., *op. cit.*, Appendix II, p. 219.

¹⁸ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Pratt Journal, Aug. 12, 1851.

¹⁹ P.A.C., C.M.S., Series, Hillyer Journal, 1852.

Food presented no major problem during the summer. While Pratt was occupied with building, Rev. Hillyer took over the hunting and fishing, often wading up to his hips in swamps. "Some may think this recreation, but few who have tried it,"²⁰ was his comment. He also asserted that potatoes were found growing wild some distance down the river, along with carrots, onions, gooseberries, raspberries and strawberries. When he did get enough food for a day or two, he studied the Indian language, often by the light of a pan of grease in lieu of candles.

With the approach of winter the mission again came face to face with the always present spectre of starvation. The crop grown around the fort had failed that year due to drought. The buffalo again remained far out on the plains. In February, 1853, food had to be rationed severely, but an additional supply of 600 lbs. of dried meat, obtained by Charles Pratt more than a hundred miles away at the Touchwood Hills, kept the school going for another twenty days when it finally had to be dismissed. As Chief Trader Christie, faced with the threat of a general famine in his district, could supply only very limited help, Rev. Hillyer and Pratt met the emergency by having fish-hooks made at the fort and then sending all remaining men, women and children to Madge Lake near present-day Kamsack. There they passed the remainder of the winter in a hut of spruce boughs on a monotonous diet of fish cooked over an open fire in their common kettle.

Rev. Hillyer left Fort Pelly in March 1853, bound for Red River by way of Touchwood Hills and the Qu'Appelle Lakes, but he returned briefly to Fort Pelly in September 1854 after an extended trip to the prairies as far west as "Where the Bones are lying." He found the Fort Pelly mission much improved by the addition of a new house, a storeroom and a stable. The Cotés had remained loyal in their support of the mission, three more of their children being baptized that fall.

Charles Pratt was transferred to the Qu'Appelle Lake in the fall of 1854, but both he and the Rev. Settee, an Indian clergyman, continued to visit Fort Pelly occasionally until Settee took over the charge in 1857. There was an interruption in Rev. Settee's mission work at Fort Pelly in 1858 while he moved to the Qu'Appelle Lake to minister to the Crees and Assiniboines, but an open clash with the Young Dogs, a tribe of mixed Cree and Assiniboine blood, compelled him to return within a year. He mentions in 1859 that he had received authority to establish a permanent mission station at Fort Pelly, and that he repaired and improved the buildings put up by Pratt and Rev. Hillyer in 1852.

His ministry at Fort Pelly was not without difficulties. Earlier, in 1855, trouble had been narrowly averted when some Indians tried to muster support for an attempt to force the missionaries off their lands. On that occasion, Chief Coté had made it plain that in his opinion the missionaries had as much right to build their schools wherever they pleased as the Indians had to pitch their tents. A more serious threat to the existence of the mission developed in 1860 when quite unexpectedly, a man named Pierro Richards, a half-breed, laid claim to the

²⁰ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Pratt Journal, September, 1854.

piece of land containing the mission buildings. Settee records in his journal under May 14, 1860:

. . . of course I made no objection to give up the place to him, though I put down some potatoe seed already. I told Perro to that effect but his wife, Maggy Cramer, came with her abusing language. The poor clerical society got a heavy dose from her, that they were thieves and liars and every other evil name. I tried to keep her quiet, telling her that the place was hers, the poor woman was nearly out of her senses with vexation.²¹

After an unsuccessful attempt by Chief Coté on the following day to make the irate couple see reason, Settee agreed to move. He chose a new site five miles from the fort to start all over again. With the help of two sons and his faithful wife, who raised bark to cover the roof and later cut "Scotch hay" for thatching, Settee erected a new home for his family and two additional houses for Indian families. A very substantial mission house, measuring 41 feet in length and 22 feet in width and having walls 10 feet high, took shape early in 1861. It was constructed in the pattern of the Hudson's Bay Company buildings, with grooved uprights on squared sleepers, with the lumber used in floors, window and door frames produced by pitsawing. In 1862 Settee had again collected thirty school children under the charge of his son James. The new mission received a distinguished visitor in the person of Archbishop Taché, who made a point of calling on Rev. Settee on the occasion of his visit to Fort Pelly on February 10, 1861.

Rev. Settee left the Fort Pelly Mission on July 19, 1863, to establish a station at Swan Lake, but he and Rev. Stagg of Fairford visited Fort Pelly occasionally to perform the necessary services. A catechist from Fairford, Luke Caldwell, who is described by Settee as a very sedate young man and an Indian Cree from Fort Pelly arrived at Snake Creek near Fort Pelly on March 5, 1864, "to take charge of the mission there and to remain permanently."²² He may, however, have chosen a different site on Snake Creek as the Rev. Settee remarked in his journal under January 29, 1865, that he had visited Indian camps "near the spot where Luke Caldwell is building."²³ How long Caldwell remained at Fort Pelly is not entirely clear. Isaac Cowie was present at a service held by him in the trading room of Fort Pelly in 1869, but five years later, Joseph Reader, then in charge of the Touchwood Hills Mission, also visited Fort Pelly, "being without a resident Missionary."²⁴ Details are obscure concerning the Fort Pelly Mission during the following years but in 1883 Rev. Settee was appointed by Bishop Machray to visit the reserves then being established and to serve the incoming settlers. Settee did not occupy the former mission buildings on this occasion but erected a small dwelling immediately outside the grounds of Fort Pelly. Finally St. Andrew's, the first church to succeed the former mission, was consecrated on the Key Indian Reserve in 1885. This church was built by the Saulteaux and is still in existence at the present time.

The origins of the Qu'Appelle Mission may be traced to the time when Rev. Hillyer and Pratt were stationed at Fort Pelly in 1852. They left that post on

²¹ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Settee Journal, May 14, 1860.

²² *Fort Pelly Journal*, Outfit 1864, entry of March 24, 1864.

²³ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Settee Journal, 1865, entry Jan. 30, 1865.

²⁴ Shipley, Nan, "Printing Press at Oonikup," *The Beaver*, Summer 1960, p. 50.

October 12 for "Capelle Lakes" where Rev. Hillyer held his first service in French before a group of *métis*, all Roman Catholics, probably at or near the Company's post between the second and third Fishing Lake. On October 26 Hillyer noted that:

. . . in this valley a large body of Crees always winter, and it is called by them their house. Here then seems to be the spot in which a station might be commenced, or rather a school established.²⁵

He heard later that the Crees were about evenly divided in their opinion as to whether or not such a project should be tolerated. Nothing more was done that year, the missionaries returned to Fort Pelly in December, but two years later, the Rev. Hillyer found the house built on that occasion still standing, though much dilapidated.

However, when Charles Pratt was transferred from Fort Pelly to "Kapel" in 1854, he did not occupy this first camp of Hillyer's. Instead he occupied one of the houses abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company when its post was moved to the Squirrel Hills, some eighteen miles south, in 1854. The Rev. Settee was appointed to succeed Pratt at "Capella" in 1858, and Pratt was transferred to Touchwood Hills. Settee occupied Pratt's house between the second and third Fishing Lake. He soon realized that he was facing a difficult task. Hind relates that as soon as the Indians of the Sandy Hills heard of his arrival, they desired to know whether "the great praying father" had sent plenty of rum, and when the answer was negative another message made it plain that in that case the sooner his "praying man" took his departure, the better it would be for him. Indeed, within a year, Chief Broken Kettle of the Young Dogs, a tribe which in Settee's opinion consisted of "the greatest vagabonds and horsethieves and the most noted for roguery in America,"²⁶ appeared with seventy of his warriors to enforce the closing of the station. It took all of Settee's tobacco and a large dinner of barley soup and buffalo meat to avoid the worst, but even then the Christian Crees had their clothes slashed and Settee was compelled to return to Fort Pelly. He mentions, however, that the root of the trouble was not so much an objection to the Christian faith, but rather the fact that a mission at the Qu'Appelle Lakes might attract large numbers of half-breeds which would inevitably result in a wholesale slaughter of the vital buffalo herds. Under the circumstances, Settee was still allowed to make periodic visits to the region from Fort Pelly and other bases, and in time this hostile attitude abated considerably.

Settee noted on one of these visits in 1865 that he had seen the place a few miles below the final site of Fort Qu'Appelle which Archbishop Taché had selected for a chapel. Taché chose this site on his last visit to the missions in present-day Northern Alberta. He had left the Red River settlement on August 14, 1864, and followed the Qu'Appelle valley from Fort Ellice to the West. The beauty of the valley, particularly in the Fishing Lake area, so impressed him that he resolved immediately to have a chapel erected at this place. Two years later, Father Richot laid the groundwork for the future Lebret Mission and it was developed by his successor, Father Decorby, after 1868.

²⁵ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Hillyer Journal, Oct. 26, 1852.

²⁶ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Settee Journal, Sept. 13, 1861.

The origin of the Touchwood Hills Mission was not as turbulent as that of the Qu'Appelle Lake Mission. Charles Pratt tells an interesting story in connection with the search for a suitable location. On September 10, 1858, he went to the Touchwood Hills Post of the Hudson's Bay Company. Not finding a suitable spot on the south side of a hill, he crossed over to the west side. He reports that from there:

I spied an Image of Stone on a high hill, to this I ascended on horse back to see the Image. My heart mourned within me to think of the Kingdom of darkness reigning over this vast empire. I then lifted the head of the Image, which was painted red, [and] threw [it] down the hill.²⁷

Pratt thought it advisable to remain in the vicinity of the fort at the Big Touchwood Hills during the winter of 1858-59, and was probably aware that the Company intended to move this post to the Little Touchwood Hills. At this later site he seems to have been firmly established by March 1861 as the Rev. Settee reported on the occasion of his visit to both forts and the mission at that time that he found Pratt and his family well at the New Fort and that three Indian houses were then finished and occupied.

Though the early development of the Touchwood Hills Mission was not spectacular the Mission later achieved a permanance equalled by very few other missions. In 1874, when Joseph Reader was stationed there, it still consisted of a log cabin with windows of calico instead of glass. Reader found the view magnificent:

. . . in the front about 30 miles away is the Last Mountain which on a bright day in the winter presents a sight almost indescribable, having somewhat the appearance of an immense castle looming in the distance.²⁸

In 1877, James Trow, the chairman of the immigration and colonization committee of the Canadian House of Commons, was also much impressed with the setting: the Last Mountain in the south-west, the towering Heart's Hill in the West, in the east among the trees the mission house, and an abundance of good timber to the north, "the whole country presents a lovely appearance."²⁹ Unlike some missions established in the Swan River District before 1865, the Anglican Mission at Touchwood Hills, on the present Gordon Indian Reserve, became permanent and developed into the imposing structure that may be seen today some seven miles south of Punnichy.

The Rev. Settee made three unsuccessful attempts to establish missions in the vicinity of Swan Lake, beginning with the short-lived Red Deer Mission in 1854. In choosing this location he may have been influenced by the former importance of this region as a trading centre. Both the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company had operated posts here, but they were abandoned after the coalition in 1821 and the area became part of the Swan River District. On July 28, 1854, Settee and his family ascended the Red Deer River in a Yorkboat

²⁷ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Pratt Journal, Sept. 11, 1854.

²⁸ Shipley, Nan, "Printing Press at Oonikup," *The Beaver*, Summer 1960, pp. 49-50.

²⁹ Trow, Jas., *Manitoba and North-west Territories*, (Department of Agriculture), Ottawa, 1878, p. 57.

loaned by the Hudson's Bay Company, crossed Red Deer Lake and continued to the Old Fort and its abandoned fields, some thirty miles from Lake Winnipegosis. Here Settee found good soil extending two miles from the river and sufficient, in his opinion, for ten Indian farms. However, the scarcity of fish at this point compelled him to return to the mouth of the river. Settee gathered bark for a temporary hut while the men laid the foundation of a log building twenty by thirty feet. On August 25, they built the fireplace and chimney, hauling the stones in a canoe. Lumber for floors, windows and doors was produced with the pitsaw and, in October, progress had been made to the point of white-washing the walls of the new station.

However, it soon became apparent that the local population had become very few in number and moreover, was not particularly interested in embracing Christianity. Some families had already fled twice before from regions served by missions, first from Cumberland, then from Moose Lake. In addition, local food supplies were far from abundant and supplies had to be obtained from Fort Pelly. Finally, on advice from Chief Trader Christie, supported by Peter Brass, the saltmaker of the area, and from Spreadwing, the chief of the Swan River Indians, Settee abandoned his mission in February 1855 in favour of a new site near the Shoal River Post of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Here he built again on "beautiful and high ground"³⁰ pointed out to him by Spreadwing, but the beginning was not made conspicuous by the co-operation of his potential converts. Only one man offered to help with the erection of the buildings, "all the heathen Indians have fled away like the rook."³¹ Settee remained at Shoal River only during 1855-56, then served the district the next year from Fairford and the following five years from Fort Pelly.

Settee returned to the Swan Lake region for the period 1863-67, but he did not occupy the same post. He chose instead a new location south of Shoal River Post near the opposite shore of Swan Lake and about a half mile from Swan River. Again the walls of a new mission were put up, this time twenty-eight feet square. Again Mrs. Settee performed her task of cutting grass for thatching the roof. Before the end of September, two double chimneys had also been constructed, and in November Settee was busily engaged in adding a stable. This mission was visited by Bishop Machray in 1866 on the occasion of his extensive tour from Red River to Fairford, Swan Lake, Cumberland, Nipawin, Touchwood Hills, Qu'Appelle Lakes, Fort Ellice and back to Red River. It seems that a resident missionary was not appointed to this charge after Rev. Settee's departure in 1867, but it is probable that occasional services were continued for some time by clergymen from Fairford.

In 1842, Settee attempted to establish an Indian school at Fort Ellice. Settee had been out alone among the Beaver Creek Indians in the year 1841. A manuscript containing Indian stories ascribed to Rev. Settee relates that he became well acquainted with a band of Cree Indians at Fort Ellice under their famous

³⁰ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Settee Journal, May 28, 1855.

³¹ *Ibid.*, May 29, 1855.

chief "Yostens Guide." The catechist accompanied the band to the Moose Mountains to spend the winter with them and made them acquainted with the gospel during this time. When spring arrived, Settee returned to Fort Ellice and then to Red River and, having received the Indians' permission to build a station near Fort Ellice, approached the Church Missionary Society for their approval. When it was given, the story continues, the catechist took his family to Fort Ellice in the autumn of that year and with the aid of the Hudson's Bay Company, erected the necessary buildings.

It is usually assumed that the school established by Settee closed down in about a year, although exact dates are not known. The school was in operation again in 1861 as Settee refers to it in November 17 of that year as being "in charge of Mr. Gilbert Cook, son of my wife's brother, Mr. Henry Cook of Red River."³² In the meantime there had been occasional services by Rev. Hillyer, Rev. Settee and the catechist Pratt until the charge was taken over in 1862 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel with the appointment of Rev. Thomas Cook, another brother of both Mrs. Settee and Mrs. McKay.

In spite of Rev. Cook's earnest endeavour, the mission was not a success. Bishop Machray doubted that the Society "had another heathen station so removed from the conveniences of life as Fort Ellice . . . with people in the very lowest condition."³³ Their nomadic way of life presented almost insuperable obstacles, making it necessary "to follow them in their wanderings over hill and plain, and instruct them in wilderness and wigwam."³⁴ Rev. Cook was still at Fort Ellice when Isaac Cowie was posted there in 1867:

Outside the fort, but near at hand, there was a Church of England mission, under the Rev. Thomas Cook . . . He was moved to Whitemud River, not far from Portage la Prairie, within a year or so after.³⁵

Many reasons contributed to the lack of success of the Christian missions during the early period in the Swan River District. In the case of the first school at Fort Ellice in 1842, Archdeacon Cockran attributed the failure of that venture to obstruction by the Hudson's Bay Company which allegedly took the form of persuading the Indians to boycott the school. Similar charges of obstruction, or at least lack of co-operation, were raised in connection with the Fairford and Portage la Prairie missions. There was at this time undoubtedly a clash of personalities as well as a difference of opinion between representatives of the Church of England and the Hudson's Bay Company in regard to the value and the prospects of Indian Missions in the District. The Company approved and indeed took the initiative in the establishment of churches in the Red River Settlement and missions in northern districts. A different policy was followed in the Swan River District for economic and political reasons. They are well expressed by the Earl of Southesk's words in 1859:

³² P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Settee Journal, Nov. 17, 1861.

³³ *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892. Fourth Edition*, (London: The Society), p. 179.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Cowie, Isaac, *The Company of Adventurers*, (London: William Briggs, 1913), p. 186.

Too strong a distinction cannot be drawn between the relations of the Indians with the Company in the northern and southern districts: in the former the Company is all-powerful and rules its submissive subjects with a mild and equitable sway. In the latter, free traders of every sort press hard upon it and flood the country with bad whiskey while the independent Indians roaming the plains in great bands are too strong to be controlled by the handfuls of men at the Forts, whom, so far from obeying, they often put in fear of their lives.³⁶

While the Company reluctantly tolerated free traders based at Red River after the Sayer trial of 1849, it was definitely opposed to any prospect of multiplying competition by encouraging potential settlements across the prairies. In Governor Simpson's opinion:

Every mission if successful must be considered the germ of a future village which, unless care were taken, would be valueless to the fur trade and would entail upon the Company the costs and responsibilities of government.³⁷

Besides, such villages tended to develop into "nests of needy, greedy free traders"³⁸ which was obviously not in the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company. By 1851 the Swan River District had become "the quarters from which the Red River smugglers derive the best portion of their furs."³⁹ Fisher of Fort Ellice "was up to his eyes in opposition" that year, and three years later McKay of Touchwood Hills Post counted more than seventy carts belonging to Red River free traders in the vicinity of his post.

In its role as the government of Rupert's Land, the Company tried to prevent conflict among the denominations which might create ill feelings amongst the Indian tribes. For example, Eden Colville, when he was Associate Governor of Rupert's Land at Red River in 1852, disapproved of the project of an American Missionary society to establish a mission at Whitehorse Plains for the conversion of the Saulteaux, pointing out that a Catholic mission already existed at that place and that "for the sake of the Indians, I consider the clashing of two different sects as most objectionable."⁴⁰ Indeed, friction such as occurred between Catholics and Protestants at The Pas was not likely to present Christianity to prospective Indian converts in a very favorable light. Alexander Ross mentions that an Indian chief of the Duck Bay region told the rival missionaries that he and his tribe would keep their own religion until the hostile factions could agree on common ground.

Other obstacles to the progress of missionary work arose from the mode of life of the Indians. As long as the buffalo herds roamed the plains, the nomadic life followed by the Indians in their constant search for food was not particularly conducive to their conversion. When at Fort Qu'Appelle in 1852 Rev. Hillyer

³⁶ Southesk, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

³⁷ Rich, E. E., *History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society Vol. XXII, 1958), Vol. II, p. 528.

³⁸ Rich, E. E. and Johnson, A. M., *London Correspondence Inward from Eden Colville 1849-52*, (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), Vol. XIV.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222-223.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

spent much valuable time, going from one Indian camp to another. Father Thibault was almost prophetic in his assessment of the prospect of conversion when he stated that: "Only when the last buffalo is dead shall we be able to do something for [the Indians]." ⁴¹ Neither was the war-like attitude of the Indians encouraging to missionary work.

The Rev. Settee said of the Indians of the Swan River District in 1861: "They are perpetually at war with each other, there is hardly a man whose hands are unstained. Every Cree warrior counts up his murders . . ." ⁴² Settee estimated the number of their fighting men in the district at 400 but recalled that twenty years previously they could muster between eight and nine hundred horsemen under their old chief, Yosten's Guide. Since that time they had suffered heavy casualties. Nevertheless, large preparations for war were under way in 1861 when Settee reported that on May 19, a messenger arrived at Fort Pelly with an invitation to all able-bodied men to take part in another campaign against the Blackfoot and Sarcees. A long rousing speech aroused the Indians and before long, the Crees and Blackfoot were skirmishing and scalping each other. The Rev. Settee and his fellow missionaries, the Rev. William Stagg of Fairford and Charles Pratt of the Touchwood Hills, found the Cree party encamped at the Great Sandy Hills. The Missionaries resisted the temptation to lecture them "as they would in all probability have taken what they thought proper of our few clothing and treated our message with disdain." ⁴³ Settee heard later that the warriors would have appreciated a blessing for their success if accompanied by gifts of powder and balls.

Further difficulties were presented to missionary work by the not unreasonable fact that the Indians of the prairies were reluctant to discard their ancient faith. Nor did they find the new Christian religion easy to understand. As they had no equivalent for hell, the constant preoccupation of the missionaries with this undesirable abode must have been rather incomprehensible to them. Equally puzzling to the Indian was the apparent need to worship God in fear and trembling simply because their Keche Manitoo, as Settee calls him, was immutably good and therefore neither required nor received offerings to keep him so. Offerings were all reserved to keep on good terms with the powakanah, the evil spirits, who were forever plotting retribution for the slightest offense. Christianity, therefore, seemed to offer the Indians the uncomfortable choice of punishment by their powakanah during their lifetime if they accepted the new religion, or by God after death, if they did not.

Their attitude towards the missions was much the same as that towards their Keche Manitoo; they expected advantages without obligations. A large band of Crees, including two of Charles Pratt's brothers, rejected Rev. Hillyer's ministrations in 1852 with the remarks: "What is the use of your coming unless you bring plenty of property for trade," and "We understood that the ministers came to

⁴¹ Benoit, Dom., *Vie de Mgr. Taché*, (Montreal: Librairie Beauchemin 1904), p. 101.

⁴² P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Settee Journal, July 12, 1861.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 9-16, 1861.

do good to the bodies and souls of the Indians, but you seem to have nothing for the former.”⁴⁴ Their materialistic approach is also well expressed in a rather quaint New Year’s message the Rev. Settee received in 1855 at the Red Deer River: “From my tent I kiss the praying house people, let them send their kisses back to me with a little flour, grease and tea.”⁴⁵ Very few contributed to the establishment of the missions, Settee observing sadly: “It is a great pity they do not like work.”⁴⁶

Besides carrying the Gospel to the Indians, the missionaries also performed the important function of strengthening the religious ties of the population of the forts. This task had the wholehearted support of the officers of the Hudson’s Bay Company and therefore presented no formidable difficulty. As early as 1825 the Company had endeavoured to ameliorate the chaotic conditions of the pre-coalition period by a number of directives, among them that the employees of the Company must make suitable provisions for the maintenance of their native wives and children, and that the reading of prayers be instituted by all officers in charge of posts, besides giving encouragement to the parents to teach their children the catechism and a short prayer “to be punctually repeated upon going to bed.”⁴⁷ But these instructions were only a token step in bringing Christianity to the trading posts and much remained to be done. In 1852 the Rev. Hillyer paid the garrison of Fort Pelly the rather devastating compliment that he “found the people perfectly honest, their chief sins seem to be drunkenness, idleness and unbelief.”⁴⁸ The main difficulty of carrying on missionary work lay in the relatively small population of posts usually separated by distances in excess of a hundred miles. Chief Trader Alexander Christie gave the total number of Protestant families employed by the Company in the Swan River District in 1861-62 as thirty-eight white or partly white and twelve Indian families, in all about 400 men, women and children. Difficulties were increased by the fact that this small number was by no means united by a common religious bond. Chief Trader Cuthbert Cumming ascribed the small number of participants at prayers “to the circumstances that there are many different creeds, nearly as many as there are families at the establishment, and each think their own the best.”⁴⁹ Within this limited field the missionaries were undoubtedly rewarded by success. In 1865 the Rev. Settee felt much impressed by beholding Chief Factor Robert Campbell at worship in the midst of his men and their families, filling the “great hall” of the trading room of Fort Pelly, to capacity. Even then the number of communicants in the entire District amounted to only fifty. On the whole the missionaries found little reason to criticize the conduct of the officers of the Hudson’s Bay Company, whatever their private opinion may have been of the effect of missionary settlements. Relations between the native missionaries, Rev. Settee and

⁴⁴ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Hillyer Journal.

⁴⁵ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Settee Journal, Jan. 1, 1855.

⁴⁶ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Settee Journal, July 8, 1860.

⁴⁷ Rich, E. E., *History of the Hudson’s Bay Company*, Vol. II, p. 453.

⁴⁸ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Hillyer Journal, 1852-1853.

⁴⁹ *Fort Pelly Journal*, Feb. 4, 1844.

Charles Pratt, and the men of the Company were remarkably good. Settee refers to the officer in charge of Fort Pelly, Chief Trader Alexander Christie, as "our worthy friend" and "our benefactor"⁵⁰ while he uses phrases of appreciation regarding his association with the McKays of Fort Ellice, McDonald of Fort Qu'Appelle, Taylor of Touchwood Hills Post and McKay and McBeath of Shoal River Post. Settee was possibly one of the most successful of the native missionaries in the Hudson's Bay Territories.

The Rev. James Settee was born in the Churchill area about 1810, attended the Anglican school for natives at Red River in 1823 and in due time, the exact date seems to be in doubt, he became a catechist. In 1830 Settee married a daughter of James Cook, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, and together Mr. and Mrs. Settee shared the hardship of the life of an itinerant missionary. Probably their most outstanding achievement is the founding of Stanley Mission, but if their long labour in the Swan River District was less successful, it was due entirely to the fact that the Indians of the Plains were "the wildest and most savage in the country, a people entirely the opposite of the peaceable and docile Indians of Lac la Ronge."⁵¹

In view of the background, training and the difficulties under which the native missionaries worked, it is not surprising that individuals such as Settee and Charles Pratt were occasionally criticized for their actions. Hind, for example, was quite critical for the apparent casual way that Settee handled a baptism. He also claimed that Charles Pratt was "scarcely sensible of the importance of his duties and the responsibilities of his charge,"⁵² although he recognized Pratt's good personal qualities. There was even friction amongst the clergy. The Rev. Hillyer mentions in his journals that he and Pratt had disagreements, even in front of the Indians, concerning the deviations which Pratt made from the Scriptures when teaching the Indians. Hillyer's objections can in part be explained by the fact that Pratt had his own unique interpretation of the Scriptures. Isaac Cowie who knew Pratt well gives the following impression of the missionary's interpretations:

In searching the Scriptures of the Old Testament he had recognized so many traits and customs of the Israelites to be entirely like those of the Indians of the prairie, as to have become convinced that these Indians were the Lost Tribes. This was his favourite subject of conversation, and very interesting it was, as well as plausible. Such was the faith of this single-minded missionary, and upon it he founded original ideas for the conversion of his countrymen, which met with little encouragement from his clerical superiors. As far as I can recollect it was his idea to begin by ingrafting the religion of the old dispensation as more suitable to the understanding and condition of the Indian than the higher truths of Christianity, which, I understood, would be taught in due time after they, like the Jews, had been prepared to receive and comprehend them.⁵³

⁵⁰ P.A.C., C.M.S. Series, Settee Journal, Feb. 24, 1861.

⁵¹ Heeney, William Bertal, *Leaders of the Canadian Church*, Second Series, p. 75.

⁵² Hind, *op. cit.*, I. p. 317.

⁵³ Cowie, Isaac, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

Hillyer's quarrel with Pratt's views is understandable in the light of this scriptural interpretation. Relations between Hillyer and Pratt were further strained by Hillyer's impression that Pratt was unwilling to teach him the Cree dialects because the sooner Hillyer learned them, the sooner Pratt's services as an interpreter could be dispensed with. Hillyer claimed that he obtained more willing help from an Indian boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age than he did from Pratt. Possibly differences of this kind that existed between the clergy were a factor in the failure of certain missions.

It is not particularly surprising that, owing to the handicaps under which the missionaries worked, almost all the original missions established in the Swan River District, whether Catholic or Protestant failed to survive their infancy. The time came when the advent of settlement and the spectacular disappearance of the buffalo spelled the end of an ancient way of life. The subsequent allocation of reserves gave the Indian a permanent domicile which placed new missions in a much better position to teach the spiritual and moral force of Christianity effectively. The early missions, however, had prepared the ground and planted the seed. Time and favourable conditions were required for the crop to mature.

J. F. KLAUS

Book Reviews

FIRST MAN WEST: Alexander Mackenzie's journal of his voyage to the Pacific coast of Canada in 1793. *Walter Sheppe*, ed. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1962. Pp. ix, 366. \$7.50.

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE published the narrative of his journeys to the Arctic and Pacific oceans in London in 1801; the following year an edition with revisions appeared, and in 1803 a New York edition. In this century at least three editions have been published. The volume under review is limited to Mackenzie's second voyage, excluding the explorer's journey up the great river which bears his name and his chapter on "A General History of the Fur Trade." Sheppe has annotated Mackenzie's account by inserting brief notes in square brackets, longer notes in indented paragraphs, and numbered footnotes at the back of the volume. In this reviewer's opinion a different type-face for the longer notes in the narrative would have been a happier approach in breaking up the page for the reader.

The editor first became interested in Mackenzie while a student at the University of British Columbia, and several years later in the summer of 1959 attempted to retrace Mackenzie's route across northern Alberta and British Columbia; his appended field notes make interesting reading. Attempting to provide an accurate account of Mackenzie's voyage is difficult because the explorer refers to unnamed rivers and lakes, and his distances, reckoned by travel time, are not completely reliable. Professor Sheppe has made an important contribution in plotting Mackenzie's course.

The remainder of the book is taken up with a "Prologue," which gives the background of fur trade and exploration, and an "Epilogue" which describes Mackenzie's later life. Little is known of Mackenzie as a man, for no contemporary descriptions exist, and all Mackenzie's papers were destroyed in a fire in 1832.

BRUCE PEEL

LOUIS RIEL, by *George F. G. Stanley*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1963. Pp. 433. Maps. Illus. \$8.50.

PROFESSOR G. F. G. Stanley, Head of the Department of History at the Royal Military College of Canada in Kingston, is the country's leading authority on the protest movements of 1869-70 and 1884-85 in the Canadian West, led by Louis Riel. Nearly twenty years ago his *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (1936) appeared, the first thorough and temperate study of events which had hitherto been chronicled by partizan writers who were either defending or attacking Riel. But Professor Stanley's book did not stifle the productivity of partizans, especially the defenders of Riel, for the man is no longer simply an historical figure, but has become a folk-hero of the Canadian West. He is secure now in the affections of Regina's social elite ensconced in the elegant seclusion of the Assiniboia Club's "Louis Riel Room," and is lauded as a proletarian-hero by Manitoba's Labour-Progressive Party, who parade to his

grave in the St. Boniface Cathedral churchyard. Even W. O. Mitchell's *jeu d'esprit*, "the Louis Riel Chapter of the I.O.D.E.," has lost its point! Thus, a reliable and comprehensive study of Riel was badly needed, and admirers of Professor Stanley's earlier work hoped that he would provide it. This he has now done, in a volume replete with detail drawn from the extensive documentation which has become accessible in public and private archival collections during recent years.

Riel was scarcely twenty-five when, in the autumn of 1869, he emerged from obscurity to define and champion the claims of the people of Red River in the face of the impending Canadian annexation of the North-West. With no previous experience in political manipulation and apparently of moody and erratic propensities (after seven years in a classical college in Montreal, he quit a few months before graduation), he nevertheless progressed during the winter of 1869-70 from the position of Secretary of the National Committee of the Métis to that of President of the Provisional Government of Rupert's Land. In the latter role he forced a reluctant Dominion Government to create a new province with a name chosen by him, with a constitution guaranteeing the land titles and political rights of the original settlers, and with provisions for the equality of the French and English languages and for the recognition of denominational schools. This remarkable achievement was secured by methods which at times were high-handed and undemocratic.

One of the notable features of this biography is the careful attention given to the many individuals—both friends and enemies—who played a part in the events of Riel's career. It is clear that the Rev. N. J. Ritchot, parish priest of St. Norbert, was an important influence in the resistance movement of 1869-70: "If the combination of [Father] Belcourt and the elder Riel brought freedom of trade to the people of the Red River Settlement [in 1849], the combination of Ritchot and the younger Riel brought about the formation of the province of Manitoba" (p. 57). In the shrewdly organized propaganda campaign of Denison, Mair, and Schultz, "who were forever confusing their bigotry with patriotism" (p. 175), we see the way in which, with the help of the Ontario provincial Liberal party under Edward Blake's leadership, the execution of Thomas Scott was made the basis of a frenzied agitation directed against Riel, the Métis, the Roman Catholic Church, and the French Canadians. Riel's cousin, Charles Nolin, "a man far more belligerent in speech than in action" (p. 302), emerges as an ambivalent but not insignificant figure in Métis affairs during the troubles of 1869-70 and again in 1885. Sir John Macdonald, Bishop Taché, W. B. O'Donoghue, Riel's family, Gabriel Dumont, Louis Schmidt, the Lepines, Father André, Joseph Dubuc, William Henry Jackson, Joseph Royal, Thomas Scott, these and many others—the great, the near great, the would-be great, and the humble—appear on the scene as their pathways cross that of this passionate, enigmatic, ill-fated man.

Using documentary evidence which was unavailable when his earlier study was written, Professor Stanley has been able to provide the first full account of the organization and activities of the Settlers' Union in the Prince Albert district, which was formed during the winter of 1883-84. This group, largely composed of

Ontario immigrants disgusted with the Federal Government's failure to respond to their complaints, made common cause with the discontented Métis of the Batoche-St. Laurent area. When the Métis invited Riel to come from Montana to lead a protest movement, Union members provided financial assistance and sponsored meetings at Prince Albert and neighbouring points during the autumn and winter of 1884-85.

One of the vexatious questions relating to the Saskatchewan phase of Riel's career is his demand for personal payment by the federal authorities, which has been interpreted as evidence of crass self-interest and a willingness to betray the Métis cause. Professor Stanley describes this claim in the setting of Riel's chronic poverty and insecurity, and in these terms it becomes a pathetic rather than a sinister episode. Riel was not without flaws of character, but the total impression one derives from this biography is of a sincere man: "sincerity rather than insincerity fits the pattern of his life," the author declares in one of the few but revealing interpretative passages in this biography. He continues:

"When the names of Emanuel Swedenborg or Joseph Smith are called to mind, who can seriously claim that Riel, the mystic, the man with the spiritual turn of mind, who had indulged in religious speculations from childhood, was not convinced of the reality of his spiritual visitations? It was this very conviction that made Riel so potent a force among the Métis. He really believed his destiny was to lead his people to a new and better world Deluded he may have been, but he was not a charlatan." (p.328).

Though differing estimates of motives and actions will persist, Stanley's *Riel* comes as close to being a definitive work as we shall ever possess.

LEWIS H. THOMAS

NOTES ON BOOKS RECEIVED

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES TO 1953, SUPPLEMENT, by Bruce Braden Peel. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963, Pp. x, 130. \$5.00.

IN 1956 the University of Toronto Press in co-operation with Saskatchewan Golden Jubilee Committee and the University of Saskatchewan published B. Peel's *A Bibliography of the Prairie Provinces to 1953*. Our reviewer at that time pointed out that Mr. Peel had made an important contribution to the bibliographical field and that his book would be of great interest to anyone concerned with the history of the Canadian west. The years that have passed since its publication have fully substantiated the accuracy of this review. Mr. Peel's book has become an indispensable reference work for students of western history. The Supplement, which is now available, adds 475 titles to the original group. Mr. Peel is to be congratulated for his continued good work and the University of Toronto Press for making his work available to the public.

EARLY VOYAGES AND NORTHERN APPROACHES, 1000-1632 by *Tryggvi J. Oleson*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, The Canadian Centenary Series, 1963. Pp. XII, 211. Maps. Illus. \$8.50.

THE Canadian Centenary series, when completed, will be a seventeen volume history of Canada from earliest times to 1967. Each volume in the series is to be written by a leading Canadian historian and it is hoped that the history will appeal to both the general reader and the historical scholar. W. L. Morton is Executive Editor and D. G. Creighton is Advisory Editor for the series.

The first volume, written by the late T. J. Oleson, tells the fascinating story of the earliest European settlers in northern Canada. A thousand years ago Norse hunters pushed westward from Iceland and established settlements in Canada's arctic. The intermixture of Christian European and the primitive aborigines of the Dorset culture eventually produced the Thule people, ancestors of the present Eskimos. The Norsemen pioneered a route others were to follow. In the seventeenth century men such as Frobisher, Davis, Gilbert and Cabot explored the northeast shores of Canada and re-established a European bond. Professor Oleson's book is an extremely interesting book and if the other books in the series are equally good this should be an interesting history of Canada.

BITTER MEDICINE. by *Edwin A. Tollefson*. Saskatoon: Modern Press, [1964]. Pp. 236. \$4.50.

E. A. TOLLEFSON, the author of *Bitter Medicine* is an Associate Professor of Law at the University of Saskatchewan. In this book the author has attempted to present a balanced academic study of the controversial medical care dispute that occurred in Saskatchewan in 1962. The book begins with a study of the history of compulsory medical care insurance in Canada and medical care insurance in Saskatchewan. This is followed by an analysis of the medicare act, the dispute that followed its introduction and an examination of the present situation. In Appendices which make up about one third of the book, Professor Tollefson has published a collection of relevant documents down to and including Mr. Justice Woods report of December 1963 on hospital appointments. In keeping with the nature of the study, the author has been critical of the actions of both sides in the medicare dispute when he feels they merit criticism.

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