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Cover by A. W. Davey

Editor: D. H. BOCKING

Advisory Board:
A. R. TURNER (*ex officio*), A. J. FRIESEN, L. C. PAUL, M. K. BAKER

Business Manager: L. W. RODWELL

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

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Saskatchewan Place Names

A MIRROR HELD UP TO HISTORY

THE study of names—of persons and geographical locations—has become a science. Societies of onomatologists, persons engaged in this fascinating pursuit, have been organized; journals and directories result from their work. No comprehensive directory providing explanations of Saskatchewan place names has as yet been compiled and some names may never be satisfactorily explained. However, a great deal of information has been recorded by the Surveys Branch, Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources and by the Saskatchewan Archives. Someone has said that place names are "a mirror held up to history." This is true of the place names of Saskatchewan. They reflect all of the phases of our history, either originating in them or having been applied subsequently in commemoration of notable events and individuals. There are, as well, place names in the province which, adopted principally in the period of rapid settlement when names for many communities had to be found, commemorate persons, places, and events of little or no significance in the development of this province. In this article I propose to define several categories of Saskatchewan place names, hastening to note that some categories which I have arbitrarily selected could be regarded as part of more comprehensive units, and that some names could be fitted into more than one category. By place names, it will be apparent that I refer to names of physical features and of political and administrative areas, including electoral districts, municipalities, and school districts.

A category of place names most readily explained includes those derived from natural features and from the native flora and fauna. Thus we have Elbow, because of the configuration of the South Saskatchewan River, Central Butte, located near the central one of three distinctive hills or buttes, and Half Way School District, situated half way between Maidstone and Waseca. There are innumerable places named for birds, animals, and plants, such as Duck Lake, Antelope, Beaver Flat, Gull Lake, Rose Valley, Willows, and Maple Creek. The buffalo herds of the past are recalled in such names as Buffalo Plain and Buffalo Horn School Districts, Buffalo Gap, and Buffalo Pound Lake. Some of these names were applied by settlers as they arrived while others go back many years and might be classified as of Indian or fur trade origin. Gull Lake, for example, was mentioned by Isaac Cowie of the Hudson's Bay Company as a camp site on the route from Fort Qu'Appelle to Cypress Hills in the 1860's. While the town of Elbow dates only from the early years of this century, the general location had been so designated for more than one hundred years. The earliest journal in which reference is made to it is that of John McDonald of Garth who led a North-West Company party upstream in 1804 to Chesterfield House. Garth wrote, "There is an elbow in the river parallel to that on the north branch; a most beautiful place. I crossed the neck of land, perhaps two miles, with my interpreter, while the canoes, always in sight, had to go around ten miles at least."[1]

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[1] L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagne du Nord-Ouest,* (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960), Vol. II, p. 30.

Our original inhabitants, the Indians, have contributed a heritage of place names. We continue in the name of the province a slightly abbreviated form of the Indian word for the fast flowing river, and the "waiting place" on it where Indian families camped while their braves made the long trip to Hudson's Bay is still known as Nipawin. In Kinistino we perpetuate the Saulteaux name for the Cree Indians. It appears to have meant "they who were there first." The French adopted it, translating it as Knis-to-neaux. Saskatoon of course is derived from the Indian name of the native berry shrub. You will recall the story of John N. Lake leader of the Temperance Colony which founded the city in 1882. He chose the name, and to him is attributed the statement as he stood on the river bank, "Arise, Saskatoon, Queen of the North."[2] Many prominent 19th century chiefs who signed the Indian treaties are commemorated in the names of the reserves they selected, and some of their names were applied by railway officials or others to stations and townsites such as Moosomin, Red Pheasant, Pasqua, and Piapot. These names in turn have their own meanings. Piapot, as we are told, means literally "hole in the enemy" (the Sioux). As a boy Piapot was captured by the Sioux and learned their secrets before escaping to his own people, a mixed band of Cree and Assiniboine Indians. His knowledge of the habits of these traditional enemies contributed to the success of his people in warfare and the name was thus applied to him.[3] "Pasqua" means "the prairie." He was a chief of the Plains Cree, son of "The Fox" and grandson of the "Yorsten's Guide," notable chiefs of the Qu'Appelle Valley in the mid 19th-century. An unusual place name is Punnichy, applied by the Indians to a young trader of the Touchwood hills, W. Heubach, who had not begun to shave. Punnichy means stripling or youth, or a young bird, with soft down, just as it comes from the shell. The stream on which Regina is located, Wascana Creek, reflects the Cree Indian name for it. Palliser in 1857 noted "The Creek before where the bones are lying," and similarly the Rev. C. Hillyer in 1854 the Anglican missionary, first of any denomination to visit it, noted "where the bones are lying." These early references are to the neighborhood of the "Old Crossing," a few miles down stream from the city where Indians had run buffalo over the cut banks, and where an accumulation of bones had at one time been piled on a promontory. In 1882, at the instigation of Nicholas Flood Davin, "Pile of Bones" was officially changed to "Wascana," which according to Lindsay Russell, Deputy Minister of the Department of the Interior, meant simply "Bone River." He wrote, "There is nothing about 'Pile' in it, but I fancy for the purposes of map nomenclature the omission is trivial."[4] We have applied English names to some features which were the scenes of notable Indian exploits, such as Spy Hill, where a Sioux Indian spying out the location of Cree horses was discovered and killed, and Cut Knife where a Sarcee chief of that name was killed in a skirmish with the Crees. In the report of the Palliser expedition (1857-58) this feature is identified as Broken Knife Hill. Later the hill and stream of the same name below it was the scene of one of the engagements of the uprising of

2 *Narratives of Saskatoon*, 1882-1912, (Saskatoon: University Book Store, n.d.), p. 10, note (3).

3 Abel Watetch, *Payepot and His People*, (Regina, Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society, 1959), p. 12.

4 Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa: Records of the Department of the Interior, Russell-Davin Correspondence, December 18-27, 1882.

1885. Old Wives Lake recalls the heroic action of the elderly Indians who sacrificed themselves in order that the main body of their camp could slip off under cover of darkness, thus escaping a superior war party of their enemy. This name has an interesting history inasmuch as it was superseded by the name Lake Johnson, in honor of a traveller and big game hunter, but a few years ago the colorful original name was officially reinstated. The townsite of Indian Head is said to have been named by Major Bell of the famous Bell Farm, and is derived from the range of hills some distance south-east of the town, where, because it was an Indian burial ground, skulls had been found, or alternatively, according to some sources, because the most westerly peak of the hills was called either "The Head" or "The Indian Head." The latter seems most probably, since Hillyer, the missionary mentioned above, records on his return journey from Qu'Appelle Lakes on August 30, 1854, that he "reached the Indian Head (Ustiquan-uci)."[5]

The fur trade era is also reflected in place names, notably in the names of posts which grew into modern communities. These include Fort à la Corne, which dates from the pre-conquest period but was not continuously occupied, Cumberland House, the oldest permanent settlement in the province, and such others as Fort Pitt, Carlton, Fort Qu'Appelle, and Fort Pelly. Many of the Hudson's Bay Company posts were named for officers or patrons of the Company in England. Qu'Appelle illustrated of course the early French contacts with the river, which the Indians called "Katepwe," and to which some English sources applied the equivalent, Calling River. While the French name has persisted for the Qu'Appelle, the English "Swan River" superseded La Verendrye's "Riviere des Cygnes," which in turn may well have been known by an Indian equivalent much earlier. Similarly, an Indian equivalent may have preceded the French for Souris River, which, interestingly enough, is known by the English translation, Mouse River, in its course through the United States. The Hudson's Bay Company early applied the name Churchill, in honor of the third governor of the Company and ancestor of Winston Churchill, to the river which the Indians had called "Missinippi" or "Big River," but it was for many years also referred to as the English River, apparently because the English Hudson's Bay Company was established on it. Names of individual traders are recalled in Peter Pond Lake, the villages of Pambrun, McLean, and Pangman, and in the electoral district of Kelsey. Henry Kelsey, the first white man to reach Saskatchewan is also honored in the call letters CBK, the prairie regional transmitter of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Many of our northern lakes were named in the fur trade period but frequently the reasons for the names have been forgotten, and some have been corrupted in the passage of time. Tobin's Rapids, on the main Saskatchewan River, for example, was as late as 1879 correctly cited as Thorburn's Rapids,[6] and had been so known from 1791, when William Thorburn of the North-West Company had built a trading post in that vicinity. His house was known as Hungry Hall, as Peter Fidler said, "on account of the poor living they had there."[7]

[5] Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa: CMS Series C 1/0, Journals and Letters of Rev. C. Hillyer, 1851-56.

[6] *Saskatchewan Herald*, (Battleford), September 22, 1879.

[7] Peter Fidler's Journal, September 14, 1792, cited in A. S. Morton's "Historical Geography," unpublished ms. in Saskatchewan Archives.

The name was applied to a series of rapids on the river, but by the late 1880's Squaw Rapids was distinguished from Tobin's Rapids, both names appearing in close proximity to each other on subsequent maps, but considerable research has failed to uncover who was responsible for first applying the name Squaw Rapids or why it was adopted. The latter name has now achieved prominence as the site of the Saskatchewan Power Corporation dam and power project. The lake created by the dam is known as Tobin Lake.

The missionaries who date in Saskatchewan from the later fur trade period, the earliest having arrived in the 1840's, are responsible for such names as Stanley, Prince Albert, and St. Louis. Rev. James Nisbet, the founder of the Presbyterian mission which he called Prince Albert, in honor of the Prince Consort, is commemorated in the Nisbet Forest Reserve. Other individual missionaries have been honored in towns such as Lebret and Lafleche. One story of a place name of missionary and Indian origin, although it had no extended usage, was recorded by the Rev. James Settee. Accompanied by the Reverend Mr. Stagg, Anglican missionary at Fairford on Lake Manitoba, and Charles Pratt, catechist of Touchwood Hills, Settee made a journey in 1861 to visit the Plains Crees whom they eventually found in the Sand Hills near the elbow of the South Saskatchewan River. This is Settee's account taken from his Journal, an unpublished manuscript in the records of the Church Missionary Society:

> During this trip we had a sort of trial as marksmen at my calumet stone pipe which gave infinite pleasure to our party. My Revd Brother had the first shot which nearly proved fatal when Charles gave the final stroke which sent my pipe into atoms & convinced the Crees that missionaries were no strangers to the use of arms. They have such a queer notion of one who teaches often thinking him a God. I soon however received a better one [*i.e.*, a pipe] from Charles. The Cree has named the place after the scene Ospokan Ranemehetoul Sakahekanes or Dancing Pipe Lake.[8]

It seems a pity that Dancing Pipe Lake did not survive as one of our place names. I do not know the lake, but since the episode is reported after the party had passed the Moose Jaw creek and immediately before references to the Sand Hills, I would assume that it was either in or near the extreme upper portion of the Qu'Appelle Valley; possibly it was Eyebrow Lake.

After the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company territory to Canada in 1870, the Dominion government's policies for the administration and opening of the area involved the provision of territorial government and a police force, telegraph and railway service, and free homesteads, preliminary to which of course were land surveys. Many of our place names arose out of the provision of these services. To the police we owe such place names as Fort Walsh, named for Major Walsh, the superintendent of the North West Mounted Police who established the post, and Eastend, established at the eastern extremity of the Cypress Hills. The first seat of the government of the North-West Territories was at Battleford although the Council had met temporarily at Fort Livingstone. The name is self-explanatory, but the Battle River, however, derived its name from the fact that its course

[8] Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa: CMS Series C 1/0, Journals of Rev. J. Settee, 1852-1869.

lay through the disputed ground of the Crees and their allies on the one hand and the Blackfoot tribes on the other. It was therefore the scene of many battles. The Indian name may more accurately have been "fighting water." When a new site for the capital was selected at the point where the Canadian Pacific Railway crossed the Wascana, Princess Louise, wife of the Governor General, was responsible for choosing the name, Regina, in honor of her mother, Queen Victoria. At the formal christening party on August 23, 1882, a Quebec jurist who was a member of Lieutenant Governor Dewdney's official party toasted the success of "Regina, Queen City of the Plains." The Canadian press was critical of the choice of site and one paper of the name itself. "The Indian name of the spot," stated the Ottawa *Free Press*, "is Pile of Bones which is suggestive certainly if not aesthetic—but 'Regina' is too utterly utter. It reminds us of the woman who wanted a grand name for her boy and christened him 'Britannia Rex'."[9]

The Dominion Lands surveyors confirmed many traditional names for natural features, trails and established communities. It is not readily apparent how many new names they may have contributed. An unusual series of names resulted when a member of a survey party decided to tan the hide of a dog that had been killed. The process is recorded, as the party proceeded, in the Doghide, Hanging Hide, and Leather Rivers, three streams which flow into the Carrot River. John Macoun, the noted Canadian botanist, whose conclusions about the suitability of the western plains for agricultural settlement were an important factor in the selection of the southern route for the Pacific railway, is honored in the name of a town on the "Soo" line. Station names had already been selected for part of the original route which had been projected through the Saskatchewan valley. These, with few exceptions, were never adopted. The exceptions were Livingstone (perpetuated in the name of the local rural municipality), Humboldt, Denholm, and Battleford. The Dominion Telegraph had been constructed along this route, and its station at Humboldt accounts for the continuance of that name. Denholm reappeared as a station on the Canadian Northern Railway but some distance west of its proposed location on the projected Pacific railway.

The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the later Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific transcontinental lines, as well as branch lines, introduced numerous place names. The selection of town sites every six to ten miles was apparently designed to accommodate an agricultural population dependent on horse drawn vehicles and to facilitate the maintenance of tracks from conveniently located section houses. For many of them, since railways frequently preceded settlement, the officials had no pre-existing communities or post offices to recognize. Hence there is a large category of place names originating from railway companies which were applied simply because names had to be found. There was a practice, however, of employing names of company officials, contractors, and engineers. Examples are Biggar, a solicitor of the Grand Trunk Pacific, Brownlee, a superintendent of the Moose Jaw division of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and Lumsden, supervising engineer of the Qu'Appelle, Long

[9] Cited by E. G. Drake, *Regina, The Queen City*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1955), p. 16.

Lake and Saskatchewan railway. The Grand Trunk Pacific, as map-readers have observed, employed the device of naming stations on its main line in alphabetical order. One such series in Saskatchewan ends with Vera, Winter, Yonker, and Zumbro. Winter was the name of the contractor on that section, Vera his daughter, and Zumbro his dog! In this series X appears to have been omitted, and I have been unable to determine if Yonker had any connection with the Winter family! A branch line running north-west of Swift Current into Alberta boasts Sceptre, Prelate, Empress, Duchess, and Countess, while in south-eastern Saskatchewan, great figures of literature are commemorated in Browning, Lampman, Dumas, and Froude. Carlyle, according to Canadian Pacific Railway sources, has a similar origin, but a local informant maintains that among early settlers was a couple named Carlyle, who kept a store, and were buried in the West Carlyle cemetery. When the railway came in, the name was applied to the nearest station.

Countless place names originate with the pioneer settlers who chose names for post offices, school districts and rural municipalities. Ethnic and religious group settlements, colonization companies, and their leaders, contributed or were honored in Stockholm, Strasbourg, Bangor, Benbecla, Esterhazy, Lloydminster, Bruno (Rev. Bruno Doerfler), Engelfeld (Prior Peter Engel), and Veregin. Some settlers applied the names of communities or estates from whence they had come; examples include Odessa, Petrofka, Climax, named by the Fugelstad brothers who came from Climax, Minnesota, and Sherwood Rural Municipality, by settlers who came from a place of that name in Ontario. Among communities named for individual settlers are the following: Beatty named after Reginald Beatty, early settler of the Carrot River country; Carnduff after John Carnduff, first post-master; Clarkboro after J. F. Clark, for whom Clark's Crossing below Saskatoon was also named; Tessier after Dr. W. O. Tessier, who opened practice near the Bone Trail in 1904; Rosetown after "Dad" Rose, pioneer; Govan after Walter Govan, and Wishart after Robert Wishart. Examples of names chosen by settlers, which might have been included in some of the categories suggested, include Briercrest, selected by Mrs. Captain Jacques, wife of the first postmaster, because of the prairie roses which were so plentiful in the neighborhood, and Boscurvis, a rural post office and school district named by Mrs. T. W. Baird, the first teacher, because of the oxbow on the Souris River in that district. Later Oxbow was adopted for a townsite on the railway directly north of Boscurvis. Wallwort was named by Mrs. Rosa Hirt, a home nurse, who grew and used the herb, wallwort. The school district, and subsequently the rural municipality, of Key West was named at a homesteaders' meeting following a football practice. It was decided to call the school "the key to the west," although one resident stated that the number of mosquitoes suggested Florida, and hence Key West!

Some of our place names, selected in most cases by railway officials, honor famous political figures of the day. In this category are Asquith, Baldwinton, and Chamberlain, for British political leaders, and Borden, Fielding, and Caron for Canadian cabinet ministers. Note also D'Arcy and McGee, adjoining railway stations! The Canadian military hero, Brock, is honored in the name of a town, as is the famous nurse, Edith Cavell. The latter name was officially adopted in

1916, replacing Coblenz at a time when names of German origin were unpopular. For the same reason Prussia was renamed Leader. Provincial political figures have been honored in such place names as Haultain, for Sir F. W. G. Haultain, Premier of the North-West Territories, and Davin, for Nicholas Flood Davin, Regina parliamentarian and founder of the *Leader*. Contrary to some informants, the town of Scott appears not to have been named for the first Premier of the province, but for a Grand Trunk Pacific railway official. Scott and Martin Collegiate Institutes in Regina of course commemorate the first two premiers. Catherwood was named for the Saskatoon girl, Ethel Catherwood, who was a star of the 1928 Olympic Games. Famous battles and events are recalled in Runnymede, Evesham, and Arcola, the latter for the battle in which Napoleon defeated the Austrians in 1796, while another series—Kuroki, Mikado, and Togo—reflects their selection at the time of the Russo-Japanese war when the victories of the then underdog Japanese had stirred the world.

Another category of place names is made up of those formed by the combination or manipulation of words and names. Robert Kerr, a traffic manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway, is immortalized in Kerrobert, and Shaunavon combines the names of two great figures of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Shaughnessy and Van Horne. "Adanac" is, of course, "Canada" reversed, while Canora stands for Canadian Northern Railway. Bresaylor, an early community west of Battleford, combines syllables from the names of the three principal families, the Bremners, Sayers, and Taylors. Midale, in a similar fashion, combines the names of Doctor R. M. Mitchell and Mr. Ole Dale. The former was a Macoun doctor who became a member of the Legislative Assembly and superintendent of the Saskatchewan Hospital, Weyburn; the latter was a pioneer farmer in the district.

It would be easy to make up a category of place names which reflect humorous stories, although it may not be possible to verify the stories. One of these relates to Hafford where a farmer, bargaining with railway officials who wanted to purchase a townsite from him, said he "couldn't h'afford" to take the price offered. Eventually a bargain was struck and the town became Hafford! South of Moose Jaw a settler who dropped his "h's" found a "damned 'ard 'ill" to climb. The post office was named "Ardill." Still another story is that of the settler who drove out west of Saskatoon with his wife to locate a homestead. Eventually they came to the place where he exclaimed, "Isn't this grand, Dora!" And Grandora it is to this day.

Two Saskatchewan towns may owe their names to lost articles. Aneroid marks the spot near which a survey party lost an aneroid barometer, while Findlater is said to have been named when either railway surveyors or construction men lost some equipment, eventually gave up the search, still hoping to find it later. While an alternative explanation that a homesteader lost some cattle, approached the construction party in search of them, and was assured that he would find them later also exists, there is still another which may be the correct one. It is that the town was named for the Scotch piper, George Findlater, who was awarded the Victoria Cross for his heroism during the attack on Dargai Heights (India) in 1898. There are any number of such disputed or alternative

versions for the origin of place names. In the case of Carievale two versions are quite specific in detail. One informant states that Carievale was named by a settler named Young and that it means "lovely valley," while the other contends that it was named for Carrie Birch, who married Robert Gilliland, an early storekeeper there. Moose Jaw is an example of a place name which has more than one version but the explanation of which is not likely to be satisfactorily resolved because of the passage of time. Some people believe that the shape of the creek gave rise to the name while others support the popular story of the traveller who mended his cart with a jaw bone. The latter version raised the questions of just how or why he should have done so, or who he might have been since the name goes back more than one hundred years. The Palliser expedition in 1857 recorded it as Moose Jaw Creek, while James Settee, in the Journal cited above, stated that on September 11, 1861 he reached "the Moose Jaw Bone, a beautiful level plain, the Dirt Hill seen at a great distance." The later reference is, of course, to the Dirt Hills, the prominent range of hills observable on the sky line south of the Trans-Canada Highway in the vicinity of Moose Jaw.

There are a great many minor physical features—hills, buttes, valleys, springs—which bear local names but are not officially recorded on our maps. These unofficial names form an important part of our local history and folklore. One such feature is the large ravine or coulee which is now crossed by No. 11 Highway between Hanley and Dundurn. The old trail from Moose Jaw to Saskatoon also crossed it, and in the early 1880's while two Saskatoon freighters, Harry and Jim Goodwin, were making the steep ascent, a keg of blackstrap molasses dropped off a wagon and broke. The coulee is still known as Blackstrap Coulee. In contrast with these local names, official geographical names—for populated places, rivers, lakes, islands, bays and other features—are those approved by the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographic Names. Originally known as the Geographic Board of Canada, it was established in 1897 to advise and rule on all questions concerning geographical names in Canada. The names used on Canadian topographical survey sheets are those approved by this Board, and it published in 1957 a Gazetteer for Saskatchewan which lists all names approved for the province to that year. New names are approved for Saskatchewan annually, as mapping of the northern areas of the province continues, and additions and revisions are made in respect to the southern part of the province as well. Recent practice has been to recommend the adoption of names of casualties of World War II, distinguished citizens, and pioneers who contributed in some special way to the development of our communities. Native Indian words are also used for new features in the north. In this way our body of place names is continually growing, and those who study the new maps of the north will find mirrored there, with the Indian and fur trade heritage, many interesting stories from the more recent pages of our history.

The Saskatchewan Archives Board continues to collect material on the origin and meaning of our historic place names and welcomes the submission of such information to the Provincial Archivist, Regina, or to the Saskatchewan Archives Office, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

A. R. TURNER

The Origin of the Farmers' Union of Canada

On December 17, 1921, a group of farmers met in the town hall at Ituna, Saskatchewan, to discuss the formation of an organization to be called the Farmers' Union of Canada. They were addressed by Norbert Henri Schwarz, a quiet earnest man, originally a Swiss, who had homesteaded near Ituna in 1905. Schwarz declared that "the farmers of Canada had to unite to I protect themselves, II to obtain a complete control of their produce, III to market their produce themselves."[1] The farmers approved of the organization and its purposes and they elected Schwarz secretary and Joseph Thompson of Ituna, president. The two men began the work of recruiting members early in the new year. The response was highly encouraging; at Kelliher, where the second local group was formed, forty memberships were taken out at the initial meeting. By seeding time, when organization work was suspended for the summer, local "lodges" (as they came to be called) had also been established at Lipton, Hubbard and Goodeve. Schwarz drafted a constitution and made preparations for a convention. On July 1 he travelled to Kelvington to put his ideas before a local farmers' group which also called itself the Farmers' Union.[2] Its president was Louis P. McNamee, a large and forceful Irishman who had farmed in the district since 1905. The Kelvington farmers accepted Schwarz's draft constitution with the proviso that the Farmers' Union should adopt the Kelvington practice of admitting only members to meetings. The first convention was held in Saskatoon on July 25, 1922. McNamee was elected president and Schwarz was returned as secretary. The convention was not a large affair, since the Union had at that time only a half-dozen lodges, but it was able to lay the foundation for a remarkable organization which, within two years, had a membership numbering ten thousand.[3]

The Farmers' Union of Canada grew out of the depression following the First World War. Farmers had invested heavily in land and equipment during the War in response to buoyant prices and a government campaign to expand food production. When the world price of wheat declined sharply in 1920 many farmers were unable to meet debt charges. Schwarz, recounting the events leading to the formation of the Farmers' Union, cites especially the inability of governments throughout the world to provide stable markets and prices for agricultural products after the War. Farmers "realized, after many years of deception," he wrote, "that it was useless to rely on governments that were never controlled by the people, but by a few controlled old men . . ."[4] The solution, he thought, was for farmers to assume control of their own affairs—hence the purposes which he

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1 Archives of Saskatchewan, "First Minute Book of Farmers' Union of Canada" (manuscript), p. 52. Henceforth "First Minute Book."

2 The Kelvington group appears to have been organized independently in February 1922.

3 An estimate. The financial records of the central office of the Farmers' Union for 1924 show income of about $40,000 from membership fees; as the central office received $4.00 of the $5.00 fee, a paid-up membership of about 10,000 is indicated. It is unlikely that numbers increased much beyond this in the years following. Saskatchewan farmers made up by far the largest part of the membership, though there was a fairly substantial number of members in both Manitoba and Alberta.

4 *The Progressive*, January 17, 1924, p. 15.

enunciated at the first meeting at Ituna. The control of agricultural marketing by the farmers themselves was to become the main theme of the Wheat Pool movement. The Farmers' Union did not take up the issue of pooling until 1923, but it is clear that from the beginning its thinking was consistent with the pooling idea.

If farmers were to gain control over their industry they must organize. But a local or even provincial organization, the leaders of the Farmers' Union argued, was not enough. To be effective the Union must be national and even international. The organization of farmers was looked upon as a necessary and natural response to the concentration of power in other sectors of the economy. The interests of other claimants to the national income were advanced by organization; the farmers must follow their example. The lesson which L. P. McNamee drew from the experience of other interest groups, was that a successful organization was one that was prepared to let nothing deter it from the primary objective of advancing its members' economic interests.

> The farmers comprise 51 per cent. of the entire population of Canada. They are organized to the same strength as temperance beer, or about 2 per cent. The other 49 per cent., dividing them into four groups—namely, manufacturers, finance, transportation and labor: we find, on a close-up inspection, that these groups never attempted to carry on their organization to perfect their system or to work out their schemes by throwing their doors open to the public. We find, on looking further, that they had no place for such sentiments and contentious questions as politics or religion; but economic problems was their sole problem, and in working out its solution to their own advantage has ever been the business of these four great groups.
>
> We, of the Farmers' Union of Canada, do not find any fault with other industrial or financial groups exercising commonsense in securing for themselves a safe position and a strong defense, and after spending eighteen or twenty years at the experimental station, we decided to both endorse and copy the methods of these groups who had become much more successful in the race than the tillers of the soil.[5]

Of the several economic groups which McNamee mentions, it was labor whose experience was drawn upon most heavily. The pan-industrial approach to organization had found expression in the Canadian labor movement shortly after the War, particularly in the formation of the One Big Union in 1919. What the Farmers' Union owed to the One Big Union was more than the idea of an industrial union; it was something as tangible as its constitution. The constitution which Schwarz drafted for the Farmers' Union was based directly on the constitution of the One Big Union. Whole sections were taken over without significant change, including large parts of the Marxian preamble.[6]

The rudimentary socialist ideas contained in the preamble figured largely in the Farmers' Union's propaganda for the first few months. The "class struggle" remained a part of the rhetorical equipment of the Farmers' Union throughout, though its interpretation took on various shades, from the strict Marxian meaning

[5] *Ibid.*, June 19, 1924, p. 2.

[6] See the Appendix where both preambles are printed.

to simply competition among diverse economic interests. The Marxian analysis, based as it was on wage labor, could not be accommodated to the position of the farmer without substantial revision. At least one attempt was made to arrive at an accommodation; the outcome differs from the traditional agrarian argument in little more than vocabulary.

> One of the basic principles of this Union is that it recognizes and accepts the fact of the "class struggle," and maintains that the farmers as a class have an unquestionable right to organize and to protect and further their interests. This does not mean that this Union believes in or stands for class government; nor does it believe that the "class struggle" is or should be permanent; but it holds that the "class struggle" is the great factor that must be recognized and understood.
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> The "class struggle," as affecting the farmers, means, in the first place, that in the struggle over the sale of farm produce, the buyers are always the masters (not the ultimate buyers or consumers, but the capitalists, the speculators, the middlemen, who buy from the farmer and sell to the consumer). These people, through organization, have secured control over the store-houses and elevators (built by labor). They have selling agencies, bureaus of information, through which they keep in touch with the world-buyers; with them they bargain and so market their wealth. The bankers also seem to favor this class and organization, as they provide them with credit facilities, while farmers who have the produce, are compelled to sell to it at times unfavorable to themselves (the farmers), because they were refused credit, notwithstanding the fact that they have the value on which credit was based.
>
> Therefore, as industry develops and ownership becomes concentrated into fewer hands (the capitalists) and as the economic forces (and facilities) of society become more and more the sole property of financial organizations, it is clear then that the farmers, in order to sell their produce, with any degree of success, must organize and extend and arrange their form of organization in accordance with changing methods and combinations on the part of the financiers and according to developments and needs. The capitalists are organized on a large scale, they have one common policy and aim—how to make the largest possible profit—hence, the farmer must organize into a large union against the O.B.U. of capital for self-defence and in order to get his just and rightful dues.[7]

The Farmers' Union did not propose, however, to take an active part in politics. Its leaders tried to stay clear of issues on which opinion was divided on party lines. The "Political Stand" adopted by the convention in 1922 was extremely vague: "Coordinating the political interests of the farmers by united franchise to further our interests in legislation."[8] What was meant by "united franchise" was never made clear. The Union was sympathetic to labor's cause (McNamee, a former trade unionist, took an avid interest in labor issues) and favored the principle of farmer-labor co-operation—notwithstanding that Schwarz's proposed slogan, "Farmers and workers of the world unite," got amended at the convention to "Farmers of the world unite."[9] But no proposal of farmer-labor co-operation in politics was ever officially endorsed.

[7] *The Progressive*, July 3, 1924, p. 6.
[8] "First Minute Book," p. 66.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Wheat marketing and farm prices were among the first issues to concern the Farmers' Union. The Ituna lodge at its initial meeting was given details of a wheat marketing plan put forward by C. L. Campbell of Nokomis.[10] At a later meeting the plan (which was not described) was given formal approval "subject to alterations if found necessary or to cancellation if another better system can be found."[11] Another and presumably better system was found in the Sapiro Plan in 1923. It is interesting that no mention is made anywhere in the Minutes of the desirability of reinstating the post-war Wheat Board, even though it was being widely discussed in the countryside. The Farmers' Union was firmly committed to Schwarz's idea that farmers ought to handle their own marketing.

The Union did consider, at least for a time, a remedy for the problem of falling farm prices which would have involved government action. One of the objects of the organization was to enable farmers to "fix their own price above cost of production . . ."[12] The way in which Schwarz hoped to see this object attained, at least in the short run, is suggested by a discussion recorded in the minutes of the Ituna lodge.[13] The minutes contain a calculation, in some detail, of the cost of producing a bushel of wheat. A few entries are unexplained, making it difficult to follow the operation in detail, but it is clear that the object was to arrive at a price for wheat which would cover cost of production. Probably it was also intended to show what price would have left the farmer no worse off in 1921 than he was in 1920, taking account of changes in costs, but it is not possible to be certain about this because of ambiguities in the Minutes. In any event, the Ituna farmers suggested that the government ought to make payments to the farmers in compensation for the losses they had suffered when prices fell in 1920.

> We consider we where defraudet [sic] in the value of our goods in 1921-1922 if not longer and ask for a bonus of $0.10 per bushel of wheat $0.05 for oats, $0.06 for barley, $0.15 for flax, $0.01 per lb. for cattle and $0.02 for sheep for a period of 10 years."[14]

The idea did not survive the first convention, in the minutes of which it takes the form: "Coming to a decision with the Government to equalize losses for 1920, 1921 and also 1922 if necessary instead of the farmer standing the majority of losses."[15]

The Farmers' Union grew partly at the expense of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association. It was able to win over many members from the older association. It would not be accurate to say, however, that the Farmers' Union owed its existence to a shift of allegiance wholly or even in large part. The Farmers' Union began in an area of the province where the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association was organized only spottily. Of the six lodges organized before the first convention, only one, it would appear, was in a district where the

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[10] *Ibid.*, p. 52.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[12] See Appendix, preamble to draft Constitution.
[13] "First Minute Book," p. 56. See also Clause II of draft Constitution.
[14] *Loc. cit.*
Ibid., p. 68.

Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association also had a local.[16] The Farmers' Union was very successful in areas where farmers of Ukrainian origin predominated. Ukrainian names appear frequently in the lists of officers of Farmers' Union lodges. The Minutes note that "numerous Ruthenian speakers" addressed a meeting at Goodeve.[17] "On account of a Ruthenian holliday [sic] the meeting was opened before a small audience . . .," reads the report of a meeting at Ituna.[18] The Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association, in contrast, had almost no following in areas settled by Central Europeans.

Relations between the Farmers' Union and the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association were never cordial, and at times were marked by bitter hostility. The styles of the two organizations were radically different. Where the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association conducted its affairs in an open and straightforward way, the activities of the Farmers' Union had a secretive and even conspiratorial flavor. The "closed-door" rule and the Union's ritual, which resembled those of some secret societies, contributed to this impression. The "secret work," as it is called in a handbook describing procedure, consisted of the following: "The Password. The Grip. The Test Word and its Answer. The Hailing Sign and its Answer. The Working Sign. The President's Answering Sign. Warning Words."[19] Members addressed each other as "Brother," a practice which seems to have been adopted from the early Farmers' Union at Kelvington. Ballotting was carried on by the use of black and white balls; five black balls were sufficient to reject a candidate for membership.

Again in contrast to practice in the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association, local lodges of the Farmers' Union were subject to a great deal of control from the central office; they were referred to often as "subordinate lodges." The executive board laid down a rule that outside speakers should not be allowed to address lodges on union matters until they had been cleared by the central office.[20] A few speakers were proscribed by name. During the Wheat Pool campaign the executive board passed the following motion: "That all lodges be instructed that where the majority of the members support the Wheat Pool or any other economic reform or undertaking, that the minority who refuse to contract their wheat or to give their full support to such economic reforms that are endorsed by the Union, shall be subject to suspension from the lodge. The lodges to vote on the above resolution before it can be accepted."[21] Apparently there were second thoughts about this resolution, for it was rescinded at a later meeting. In its place was put an instruction to the lodges recommending the suspension of any member who, having been given information concerning the Sapiro Plan, should "refuse

[16] This statement is based on examination of a list of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association locals active in 1917. It is possible that some of the districts might have been organized by the early 1920's.

[17] Archives of Saskatchewan, "Minute Book of the Farmers' Union of Canada [1923]," p. 1.

[18] *Loc. cit.*

[19] Farmers' Union of Canada, *Lodge Government of the Farmers' Union of Canada*, no date.

[20] Archives of Saskatchewan, "Minutes of the Central Executive Board of the Farmers' Union of Canada," meeting held November 2-3, 1923.

[21] *Ibid.*, meeting held November 3-4, 1923. Compare with Clause III of the draft constitution.

to give his full support, when legally possible . . ."[22] Whether this was acted upon by the lodges is not known. The executive board itself expelled at least two members; in the one case no reason is given in the minutes, in the other expulsion was for attending a convention "under false pretenses."[23] One cause for expulsion was a breach of the "bona fide farmer" clause in the constitution, which the Union took very seriously. An instruction was sent out to the lodges asking the withdrawal of any member who was not "an actual dirt farmer."[24] The executive board even addressed itself on one occasion to the spare-time activities of its members. "This Board does not endorse the action of any member of this Union," reads a circular, "in engaging in such occupation as bailiff, sheriff, or other occupations that may be objectionable to the spirit of true brotherhood, which it is our earnest desire to establish."[25]

D. S. SPAFFORD

APPENDIX

Reproduced below is the draft Constitution which was brought before the first convention of the Farmers' Union of Canada on July 25, 1922. For purposes of comparison the preamble to the constitution of the One Big Union is printed in a note.[1]

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF THE FARMERS UNION OF CANADA

Central Office at Ituna, Sask.

Modern industrial society is divided into two classes—those who possess and do not produce and those who produce. Along side this main division all other classifications fade into insignificance. Between two classes a continuous struggle

[22] *Ibid.*, meeting held January 15, 1924.

[23] *Ibid.*, meetings held August 7, 1923 and November 3-4, 1923.

[24] *Ibid.*, meeting held December 11, 1923.

[25] *Ibid.*, meeting held November 3-4, 1923.

[1] "Modern industrial society is divided into two classes, those who possess and do not produce, and those who produce and do not possess. Alongside this main division all other classifications fade into insignificance. Between these two classes a continual struggle takes place. As with buyers and sellers of any commodity there exists a struggle on the one hand of the buyer to buy as cheaply as possible, and on the other, of the seller to sell for as much as possible, so with the buyers and sellers of labour power. In the struggle over the purchase and sale of labour power the buyers are always masters—the sellers always workers. From this fact arises the inevitable class struggle.

"As industry develops and ownership becomes concentrated more and more into fewer hands; as the control of the economic forces of society become more and more the sole property of imperialistic finance, it becomes apparent that the workers, in order to sell their labour power with any degree of success, must extend their forms of organization in accordance with changing industrial methods. Compelled to organize for self defense, they are further compelled to educate themselves in preparation for the social change which economic developments will produce whether they seek it or not.

"The One Big Union, therefore, seeks to organize the wage worker, not according to craft, but according to industry; according to class and class needs; and calls upon all workers to organize irrespective of nationality, sex, or craft into a workers' organization, so that they may be enabled to more successfully carry on the everyday fight over wages, hours of work, etc., and prepare ourselves for the day when production for profit shall be replaced by production for use." (Constitution of the One Big Union, reproduced in Department of Labour, *Ninth Annual Report on Labour Organization in Canada*, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1920, p. 26.)

takes place. As with buyers and sellers of any commodity, there exists a struggle on the one hand—of the buyer to buy as cheaply as possible, and on the other, of the seller to sell for as much as possible. In the struggle over the purchase and sale of farm produce the buyers are always masters—the sellers always workers. From this fact arises the inevitable class struggle.

As industry develops and ownership becomes concentrated more and more into fewer hands, as the control of economic forces of society become more and more the sole property of finance, it becomes apparent that the farmers, in order to sell their produce with any degree of success, must extend their form of organisation in accordance with changing methods. Compelled to organize for self-defence, they are further compelled to educate themselves in preparation for the social change which economic developments will produce whether they seek it or not.

The Farmers' Union of Canada, therefore, seeks to organize the farmers and calls upon all bonafide farmers to organize, irrespective of nationality or sex, into a farmers organization, so that they may be enabled to fix their own price above cost of production, a price reasonable towards producer and consumer.

Farmers and workers of the world unite.

NAME

Clause I.—

The name of the organisation shall be the Farmers Union of Canada.

Clause II—

To protect the farmer. To obtain complete control of the main Canadian produce. To market our crops under our own system. To affiliate with all the farmer organizations of the world, with one central executive in each country, which will fix prices according to a fair average of estimates sent in by the locals, will through the same source also know amount of marketable produce in the country; will have to keep informed as to the demands and needs of importing countries, and will also help to prevent the re-occurrence of famine by knowing ahead of time where and when food will be needed, and then insist towards the different governments with the full support of farmers and workers combined that the Governments shall do what they are there for; attend to the welfare of the masses of the people.

Clause III—

If the Execution [sic] Board thinks certain steps are necessary to the welfare of the farmers, the conditions will have to be put before the farmer members and decided by a vote of the members of the Farmers' Union of Canada. If the majority is in favor of certain decisions every member of the Farmers Union of Canada binds himself to unconditionally obey the orders of the executive of the Union.

MEMBERSHIP FEE

Clause IV—

The yearly membership fee shall be $1.00 which must be paid before a member is entitled to vote.

Clause V—

Membership cards shall be issued stating local by which they were issued.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Clause VI—

A Central Executive board shall be elected from the floor of the Convention, consisting of five members. The Executive Committee shall elect their own chairman and secretary.

Clause VII—

The Central Executive Board shall remain in office until their successors are elected. The wages of the officers of the Central Executive Board engaged in work for the organisation, shall be.....per week. Expenses of organisers when away from home shall be.....per day, and railroad expenses. Secretary's wages to be.....per week.

Clause VIII—

The general headquarters shall be located at such place as may be decided by the Annual Convention, subject to the approval of the membership.

Clause I X—

The members of the Central Executive Board may act as general organisers or in a consultative capacity. All members of the Central Executive Board acting as organisers shall be at all times under the direction of the Central Executive Board. All members of the Central Executive Board acting as organisers must send in duplicate financial and written reports twice a month of each local formed, and remit one to secretary of new local.

Clause X—

It shall be the duty of the chairman of the Central Executive Board to preside at all meetings of the Board. He shall have charge of, and be responsible for, the general administration of the organization.

Clause XI—

It shall be the duty of the Central Secretary to keep a true account of all monies paid out; he shall deposit all monies or cheques received by him in such a bank or banks as may be named by the Central Executive Board; he shall be at all times in a position to render to the Central Executive Board an account of the financial position of the organisation. He shall render to the Central Executive Board a yearly financial report duly certified by an auditor. He shall keep the minutes of all meetings of the Central Executive Board in book provided for that purpose; he shall pay all bills when satisfied of their correctness, and shall sign all cheques; he shall be bonded in a respon-

sible surety company for the sum of.....and the bond shall be approved of and paid for by the Central Executive Board.

RECALL

Clause XII—

A member holding office on the Central Executive Board must at all times maintain his credentials from his local unit to the Convention. Any local unit withdrawing the credentials of an Executive Board member shall notify the Central Executive Board of their action, and the Central Executive Board shall immediately make a full investigation for the benefit of the membership.

Clause XIII—

Any officer of the Farmers Union of Canada may be recalled by a majority vote of the district which sent said officer to the Convention, and to the Central Executive Board; or by a majority vote of the local if a local official.

Clause XIV—

When vacancies occur on the Central Executive Board it shall be the duty of the Central Executive Board to fill said vacancies and if advisable from which the previous member was elected [sic].

Clause XV—

Meetings to determine the recall of any officer, whether of local unit or Central Executive Board must be specially summoned, all members being notified by their respective secretaries.

CONVENTIONS

Clause XVI—

This organisation shall meet in Convention annually, the Convention call to be issued by the Central Executive Board.

Clause XVII—

The Convention shall consist of one delegate from each local, if wanted, or one delegate from a District Board.

Clause XVIII—

A District Board shall be defined as a delegated body elected in certain districts when found necessary. They are subject to the same privileges and restrictions as any other officials of the Farmers' Union of Canada.

Clause XIX—

Any local must be in good financial standing towards the Central Executive Board for at least 30 days prior to the convening of the Convention in order to secure representations.

Clause XX—

Any section, which as a result of unfavorable conditions is unable to pay per capita tax, may be exempted therefrom by the Central Executive Board and shall be eligible for representation at the Convention.

Clause XXI—

The General Secretary shall compile a list of delegates from the credentials in his possession upon which no protests have been received, and these delegates shall compose the Convention.

Clause XXIII—

Each Convention shall fix the locality for the succeeding Conventions, date to be left in the hands of the Central Executive Board.

ELECTION OF ALL LOCAL OFFICERS

Clause XXIV—

The election of new local officers shall take place every year on the 6th day of December.

PER CAPITA

Clause XXV—

Per capita tax to the Central Executive Board of the Farmers' Union of Canada shall be 50 cents per year which shall be paid through the locals.

Clause XXVI—

All locals shall issue a yearly financial statement, one copy of which shall be sent to the Central Executive Board. On the failure of any branch to send in a financial report (after 30 days notice from the Central Executive Board) then the next highest authority shall have the right to audit the books of the delinquent branch.

Clause XXVII—

All funds maintained by the local units shall be the property of the members composing said local unit.

Clause XXVIII—

All amendments to the Constitution shall be substituted to a referendum vote of the membership within 30 days after the adjournment of the Convention, except when the conditions warrant an extension of time.

Clause XXIX—

Delegates to the Convention are warned against making useless amendments, but to employ their time to obtain the welfare of the farmers and the public in general.

Clause XXX—

No person being a Government official shall hold an office in the Farmers' Union of Canada.

Clause XXXI—

Only bona-fide farmers are allowed to join the Farmers' Union of Canada.

RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES

Steamboating on the Saskatchewan

by ARCHIE BALLANTINE

Mr. Archie Ballantine, the author of these reminiscences, was born in Ontario in 1858. He moved west to Prince Albert in 1879 and in the eighties was employed on river steamboats. During 1885 he served for a time with the Prince Albert Volunteers and then as a watchman on the *North West*. Mr. Ballantine's experiences during 1885 form the basis for these reminiscences. In later years Mr. Ballantine worked for the Sanderson Lumber Mill at Prince Albert and as a timber inspector for the Dominion Government. He died at Prince Albert in 1942.

We are indebted to Mr. A. L. Agnew of Prince Albert for information regarding Mr. Ballantine. Mrs. Campbell refers to these reminiscences in her book *The Saskatchewan* which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue. Some passages have been deleted from the original manuscript and other minor editorial changes have been made for publication.

—THE EDITOR

IN the winter of 1884-5 I was working in a lumber camp about forty miles north of the Little Red River, at a point known as McKenzie Creek, now in the Prince Albert National Park. We broke camp about the middle of March and came into Prince Albert. The town was in a state of excitement because the rebellion was on.

I mucked around for a couple of days and then I joined the Prince Albert volunteers and put in a few days trying to turn the corners, until Colonel Irvine arrived. On the twenty-sixth of March, we started for Fort Carlton, fifty miles up the river. The snow was still deep and soft and the going was bad and we volunteers had to walk most of the way, as there was not enough teams to take us in sleighs. We started at three o'clock in the morning and reached Carlton about six in the evening, just when the troops were returning from the Duck Lake fight.

The place was in a turmoil, the wounded calling out with pain. I helped to dress some of them, and then I was called to the horse barn where I found many wounded horses, their skins being rent in several places. We stitched them as well as we could and then returned to the guard room. I was put on guard at the top of the hill, reporting every four hours and was kept there until morning.

In the morning the officers had a parley and decided to abandon the Fort. So the order was given to loot the Fort. They started at the Hudson's Bay Store, taking the best that was on the shelves and loading it into the sleighs. I and some other volunteers were told to sack a lot of oats that were in the warehouse. When this was done, they hauled them across the river and cached them in the bush. Then we were ordered to carry out several tons of bacon, that old rattlesnake bacon which was as yellow as gold with age. Then we had to carry out about two hundred sacks of flour and spill it over the bacon. Then we took five barrels of coal oil and spilled it over the mess. The time to leave Carlton was set at three o'clock the next morning. I got a couple of hours sleep when I was awakened to go on guard. I was pretty tired and had not had much to eat, but I had to obey orders.

The next morning we left for Prince Albert. We volunteers were put out on the summer trail to watch for the rebels and the orders were to lie flat down while the transport took the winter road closer to the river. The transport got stuck in the snow, which was not much travelled and was there about two hours. Some of the loot had to be thrown away. The transport got away at last and we had to tramp it through to Prince Albert, reaching there about nine o'clock.

The place was in a state of excitement. A stockade had been built around a block taking in the Presbyterian Manse and the little Church. All the cordwood in the town was used in the stockade and all the provisions had been put inside. When we pulled in I went home to my mother and my younger sisters and brothers. The order had been issued that if the bell on the Church rang, it was the alarm that the Indians were coming. I had my supper and was about to go to bed when away went the bell. Mother got the children dressed and hurried off to the stockade. I advised her to stay home, but she went anyway.

I lay down on the bed, but could not go to sleep wondering whether they had made the fort. I found my mother in the little Church looking after some of the women who had been scared sick, and some untimely birth that had occurred. I found my sisters and brothers in the manse, and went outside to hear my name called out to go on guard. I was about all in for the want to sleep, so I hopped the wall of cordwood and went home to bed and knew nothing until nine o'clock the next morning, when mother awakened me by pounding on the door and yelling to let her in. It was about dinner time when I got around and after taking dinner I went over to the fort. They were selecting a bunch of volunteers to go on guard that night and I was taken on. That night we were stationed along the old trail which ran east and west, to watch for Indians. We were not furnished with any weapons barring a stick and had nothing to eat, so I took my chopping axe, tea kettle and some bannock. We were put along the trail east and west, about three hundred yards, with the western border at sixth avenue west. This was an all night session, so the sergeant of the guard and I went into a thick willow and poplar bluff and made a good fire and a big kettle of tea. The snow had been thawing during the day and freezing at night, and our feet were wet and cold, so some of us kept the fire going while the rest kept guard. We were relieved about seven in the morning. I was kept for the guard for a few more nights, when the officers decided they wanted me to go to work at the steamboats.

The steamboats had been taken over by the government for transport purposes. The steamer *Marquis* and the old *Manitoba* had been run into the mouth of the Sturgeon River, popularly known as the Shell River, about five miles west of Prince Albert. So a bunch of us were sent up there to get them ready for the ice breakup. When we got there we found that the boats were both frozen down, there not being enough water in the little river to float them, so we got to work and closed down all hatches and holds and got the boilers ready to steam up. But we found there was no water handy to fill them with. This was Saturday night, so we decided to wait until Monday, thinking there might be some water by that time. All the men went home but Captain Dougall; he had been watchman all winter and had a little cabin on the shore. When we awoke in the morning we

thought we could hear water running, so we hopped out of bed and found that the Saskatchewan had risen four feet during the night, the water nearing the top of the hull. The ice had risen up into the center of the river and there was a space of water running each side.

We got the bark canoe that was there and paddled out to the ice. When we were about in the middle of the river, the *Marquis* moved and raised up, but as the rudders were frozen in the sand and ice, she did not let go. Well, we got to her, but could do nothing. The water was rising fast and we had to get to work and move our belongings out of the shack to the top of the hill. By this time the old *Manitoba* was full of water and would not rise. We got our grub and some tarpaulins and went up the hill and made a shelter. But now we had to wait till the ice went out.

The ice started to run on the tenth of April and it went out with some force. The water was high and the ice was heavy. It piled up at the mouth twenty feet high and covered the old *Manitoba* out of sight. We could do nothing to clear the ice and we had to wait till it went down the river. We camped on the high ground and we cut up some dry wood to be ready for to steam up the *Marquis* when we could get her in shape. The *Marquis* was at an angle of forty-five degrees, her rudders being frozen in the sand and ice and all her hog chains broken when she let go from the bottom. We decided to let her sink back in her bed, one of the big clevis made of one and a half inch round iron being broken. This had to be taken out and fixed. Then we repaired the upper hog chains and cut three of the rudder posts off as only one of the four was free. There was about six inches of water over the deck when she settled down. Then we had to fill the boilers and make them ready to steam up. Also we made two big syphons out of six inch pipe. When we started our syphons the water was still running in at all the hatches, but in two hours we had her off and ready to sail with only one rudder. We did not know whether we could make the old boat landing, but backed into the Saskatchewan and then, with a line to hold the stern, got her headed downstream and managed to land at the old boat landing. The steamer *North West* was on the way, under going a hurried overhauling, so the next morning we got a tackle and pulled the *Marquis's* stern out of the water. Then carpenters started in making new rudders. It took about three days to get her ready to step back into the water. Then Captain Dougall took charge and went down the river with her to the junction and up the south branch to aid the steamer *Northcote* which had been disabled at the battle of Batoche and brought her cargo into Prince Albert, to feed the hungry, for supplies were getting pretty low in the meantime.

While the *Marquis* was away, I worked at the *North West.* At the end of three days, Captain Sheets, who was the superintendent of the boat line, asked me to go back and look after the wreck of the *Manitoba.* In the fall when the boat had been layed up, the furniture and bedding and all the cabin stuff had been stowed in the bow end. This end had not broken up, but it was soaked with water, mud and sand, and in a bad mess. I got a salt tarpaulin and took it to the camp on the hill and made a shelter out of it. After dinner I took the bedding, blankets, sheets and pillows outside and hung them on the willows and some stretches of

line tied to the trees. The weather was fine and things dried fast. As they dried, I shook sand and mud out of them and stacked them in a pile and covered them with canvas. Then I carried ashore all that I could, of the heavy things, and after that cleaned up the boat. This took about six days.

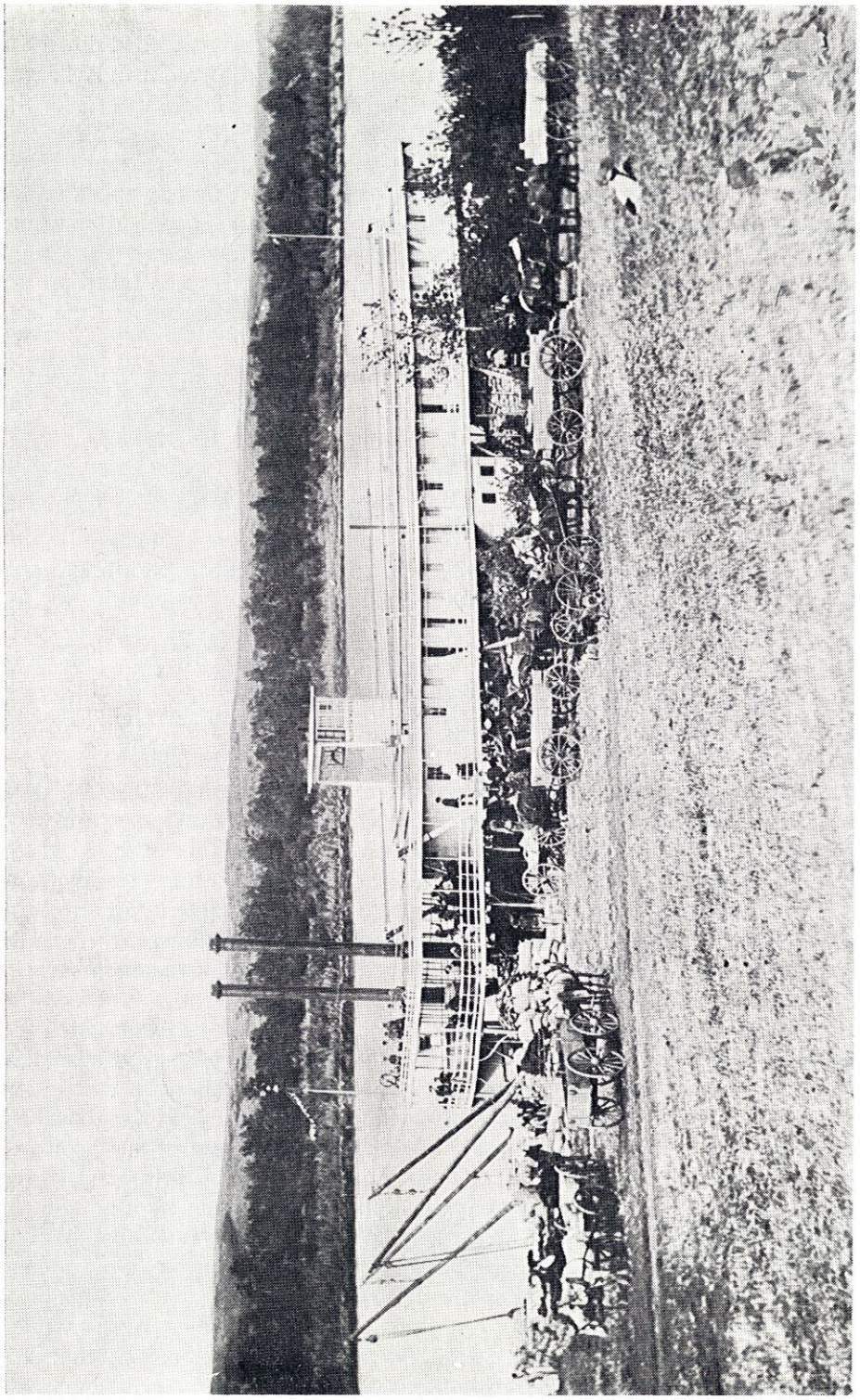
On the tenth day I had not heard a word of what was going on, nor had I seen a soul. Everything was as still as death, except for the chatter and song of the spring birds. I was busy getting dinner ready when I heard the putting of a steamboat. It became louder and I knew then that the boat was coming up the river and in a few minutes the steamer *North West* came in sight and swung in alongside the wreck of the old *Manitoba.* They had a gang of men with them and they loaded on everything that was available and took it to the Hudson's Bay Post.

The *North West* looked fine, having had a thorough overhauling and a new coat of paint; she looked like a new boat. While we were drifting down the river to the town, the Captain asked me how I would like the job of night watchman. I said it would be all right, and I took my post that night.

General Middleton's aide wanted to use the *Marquis* and the *North West* to take his men up the river. A great salute was pulled off by the North-West Mounted Police when we swung into the river and steamed away. After a short stay at Fort Carlton, we reached Battleford on the second day. On the third day Chief Poundmaker came forward and surrendered his arms. They were piled on our boat, the *North West,* and they made a great pile of junk—the old flintlocks red with rust and about six feet long. Very few of the guns were of any value. After the surrender we paced up the river and next day pulled into Pine Island, about ninety miles above Battleford, to wood up. The old guns were in the way, so the whole bunch were dumped into the river. We ought to have kept them for souvenirs to show what we were fighting against.

We pulled up to old Fort Pitt. The Fort had been burned down and the place was deserted. Our boat was stationed there and the *Marquis* went on up the river to Edmonton. We had to go up the river each day after that to Saddle Lake Landing and Frog Lake Landing to see if there was any news from the North. Some troops from the Queen's Own and the Midlands came up from the south. They were joined by the Sixty-Fifth Battalion from Quebec. There was nothing much for them to do but beat the kettle drum and kick about the grub.

It was about the first of June and Captain Sheets was getting anxious to go down the river so he could get the freight up. But before leaving we had to take the Sixty-Fifth Battalion over the river so we had a busy time for a couple of days getting things in shape. On the third morning we pulled out for Battleford with as many men as the boat would accommodate. It was a gloomy day for all aboard because of the death of Colonel Williams, a very fine man who was adored by his Battalion and the death of a fine young fellow of the Sixty-Fifth, who died of appendicitis and suffered very much. We reached Battleford and the bodies were taken ashore to be shipped overland to the railroad.



The Steamer *North West* at Battleford in May 1885.

We stayed at Battleford till the next morning when we proceeded down the river to arrive at Prince Albert in the afternoon. We waited there for the *Marquis* but she did not come, so the next day we drifted down to the Forks to wait for the Galt Coal Mine boats, the *Baroness*, the *Alberta* and the *Minnow*, which were chartered by the Government and which were coming down the South river. The following day they arrived, loaded with men, but no *Marquis* appeared, so next morning Captain Sheets took the reins in his own hands and said he would go ahead. So we pulled out and left the rest waiting. When we arrived at Grand Rapids, both the warehouses were full to the top with goods to be taken up the river. The soldiers were put ashore and taken over by the tramway to the lake boats.

Some of the Winnipeg people had been out and had the landing all decorated in honour of the Ninetieth Battalion of Winnipeg. As this Battalion had been honoured so much already throughout the affair, it caused a jealousy among eastern troops who were not mentioned. There was quite a riot and they pulled down all the decorations and tramped them into the mud. Then the soldiers got loaded on the lake boats and crossed the lake.

Captain Sheets was kept busy hiring what men he could to load freight and clean out the boat. After we got the boat cleaned up we started to load the freight. The landing here was about fifteen feet above the deck of the boat and from there sliders, made of oak planks, hung at an angle of forty-five degrees. The bales slid down these. One of them was fitted with a block and line to let down the heavy bales. In a day or two, we were ready to pull out with two hundred and seventy-five tons of freight. We left just as the other boats were arriving.

When you leave the boat landing there are about four miles of rapids called the Roche Rouge. The boat could stem these rapids but made very slow progress. They became their strongest at the center and, as the going was very hard for the next mile upstream, we loaded a mile of line made of four inch manilla rope into a york boat which went up along near the shore for a mile until it came to the head of the strong current. Here the line was made fast to a tree, then coiled into the york boat. A small line was attached to the free end of the manilla rope. This small line had a weight on the end of it, so the men could throw it aboard the steamer. The york boat came gliding back in the easy water and waited for the signal from the big boat. When the signal was given, the york boat came alongside and the men heaved the tow line aboard. A few turns of the line were taken around the ship's capstan and this was set agoing and thus the boat was towed up through the strong current on her own power. After the end of the rapids is reached, the river is slow, and entering Cross Lake is easy. You cross the lake for about five or six miles and then you are back in the river again for a piece until you come to the Demi-Charge Rapids. This is a short dip about four hundred feet long. They always laid a line here the first trip down attached to a big anchor and a big buoy on the downstream and so they could pick it up and wind the boat up by it. After passing the rapids you enter Cedar Lake which is forty miles across and good going if there is not a wind. When there was a wind, it was dangerous because the river boats were not built to stand a storm. A very little breeze

and they would be going like a snake in the grass. But it was calm that day and we got over fine.

The river above Cedar Lake runs through a low flat country and is bounded on one side by only a strip of willow bush with a few black poplars. Outside of that, in high water, the river is a lake dotted with black rushes and thatch grass. There is lots of water in the channel but it winds back and forth over the flat. We ran all night on slow bell for fear of striking stones. The river is like this all the way up to Cumberland House.

At daybreak we arrived at the Pas Mission and here took on some wood and made Cumberland House that night. At the Post, we unloaded some freight which was to go further north by the york boats. At dawn the next morning, we pulled out and made the Squaw and Tobin rapids the next day. The water was high and we steamed through in fine style and after a few bends above Nipawin came to the next woodpile. The next day we called at Fort à la Corne, took a little wood and made the junction of the rivers. Here we took on lots more wood, as we had to breast up through the La Colle Falls. We got through the falls fine, only having to lay one line, and made Prince Albert early in the afternoon.

There was no freight to put off at Prince Albert so we stopped only for a few minutes and then pulled out to make old Fort Carlton about dark. Of course, the old fort was all gone then, it having been burnt in the spring. We put off about fifty-six tons of goods on the north bank. Trains of carts were waiting our arrival. They were going north on the Snake Plain and Green Lake trail. At daybreak we had the freight all off and were on our way again. The water was high and we travelled on full steam. We stopped at a point that is known as the elbow of the river at a place called the Maple Bush. We took on some wood and reached Battleford early in the day. We pulled in for an hour and then went on, stopping at Pine Island. At dawn we pulled out, passed old Fort Pitt early in the day, stopped at Frog Lake Landing and refuelled, got up the Frog Rapids, tied up at Victoria Island and took on a good bunch of wood. We were about forty or fifty miles from Edmonton and reached there the next morning. We got busy at once, unloading our freight, and by the next day at dark had it all piled on the bank.

The landing is ninety or one hundred feet below high level, and there are four benches of the bank before you reach the top. The old trail wound back and forth from bench to bench. The fort and the warehouses stood on the last bench before the high level. The buildings were good sized with huge doors and windows of small lights (7 x 9) the roof was of jackpine shingles covered with moss that had grown on recently.

We left at daybreak and made Prince Albert the first day, took on some wood and made Grand Rapids the next day. The warehouses were jammed full of freight and there were a bunch of passengers waiting to get up the river so we got busy loading up the boat.

Among the women were five factors' wives, who had been wintering at Winnipeg and who were on their way home. One of them had two children and a maid

to look after them. So they all came aboard and took their staterooms. They were a jolly bunch and things were much more merrier on the old boat.

Our cargo this time was made up of Indian Department and Hudson's Bay Company freight, much of it very bulky stuff, such as farm implements. Included were ploughs, harrows, hand rakes, hoes, garden rakes, axes, grain cradles, scythes, wooden horse rakes, reaping hooks, harness for horses, wagon carts and four tread threshing machines. Also there was flour, bacon, bales of blankets, chests of tea, sugar, matches, bags of salt, tobacco, beans, rice, and many other things to be distributed to the various Indian reserves.

Well, we were ready to start now. The men had gone with the york boat and the line, scrambling along the old towpath. The Captain gave the order to haul in the gangplank, and the signal sounded, come ahead slow. The tow line was let go and we were off. The first mile took an hour on the boat's own power. The next mile would take two hours without the aid of the line. The last two miles were not so strong and the boat could make fair time. It was fine in the morning and we had a fair stern wind, which helped a lot to buck the rapids. We sailed out into the slow running river above, entered Cross Lake and then came back into the river below the Demi-Charge rapids. Here we picked up the end of the swing line and wound up through the rapids. We entered Cedar Lake and met a slight north-west wind which rippled the water a little. When we got out into the lake the wind increased and the water started to roll. The Captain ordered full steam ahead and to steer for the islands. Known as Greig's harbour, these islands were about half-way across the lake and somewhat out of our course. So we ran for shelter. The wind got worse, the waves breaking over our bow, but we made the shelter without damage. The wind blew harder and the waves rolled higher but we were safe.

It was getting dark and the passengers and the crew were getting ready to have a snooze. It was my duty time and the Captain gave me orders to keep a head of steam up and if the wind went down, to get the crew out about one o'clock. The wind went down and the lake became quite calm. I rushed the crew up, including the Captain and we steamed slowly from our shelter. We had not got more than two miles out into the lake when the wind came at a terrific blast from the south-west, forcing us to turn back. In turning we got in the trough of the waves, and the water ran over the deck and the frail old cabin creaked. If we had not been heavily loaded the boat may have broken up.

The wind blew like the devil until ten o'clock in the forenoon when it calmed down to nothing and we steamed across on the smooth water to the Saskatchewan. At the first landing we put off some Indian Department stuff—a plough, a harrow and some baking flour, tea and tobacco. You could see no land around but the Indians loaded the stuff in their canoes and hurried away through the rushes and thatch grass. The river winds back and forth across this low-lying land and with the aid of two large headlights we skinned along on slow bell all night without much danger.

We came close to the Moose River, which comes from Moose Lake. The Hudson's Bay Company had a post here that you might pass and not see if you did not know the country. This river runs through the same kind of flat, low-lying country. We had to turn to go up to the lake, where the Company had a small post on the lake shore. We went up there in the night and back out into the Saskatchewan.

The next stop was Cumberland House. You had to steam up the Big Stone River about seven miles to the Fort on the lake shore. Where the river empties out of the lake, there is a monstrous large boulder and, of course, that is where it gets its name. This is where they wintered the steamboats because the water was deep and they did not freeze to the bottom and the ice did not harm them at the spring break-up. We put off a bunch of freight for the Hudson's Bay Company and the reserve and dropped back down the Big Stone to the Saskatchewan. We took on two more passengers at Cumberland House. The Hudson's Bay Company were going to pull off a banquet at Edmonton and the officers along our route were going up to celebrate. We stopped the next day at Fort à la Corne and took on some wood. Here we put off some freight for the Company and quite a lot for the Indian Department and took on two more officers of the Company. We also took on a lot of people who wanted to go up to Prince Albert.

We pulled in at the junction of the rivers that evening and wooded up for the next day, for we had to get up La Colle Falls. We struck out as soon as it was clear and as the water was at a good stage, we got up fine, and only had to put out one line. We arrived at Prince Albert that night, put off numerous other implements and a bunch of wagons and carts. The next day, after wooding up again, we pulled out for Fort Carlton. We got rid of some more freight, a tread mill and a horse rake. Our boat was losing weight but our passengers were counting up; three from Prince Albert and two from Carlton. We went up to the Maple Bush where we tied up for the night and took on a supply of wood. The next day we made Battleford. Here we put off a little Hudson's Bay Company freight and a good deal of Indian Department stuff, including a tread mill and a horse rake, and took aboard six more passengers on their way up to the banquet.

We continued up the river to Pine Island where we tied up for the night and took on some wood. We were about ten miles from Old Fort Pitt. The next morning we steamed into where the Fort once stood, put off some Indian Department freight, and took on three more passengers, one a woman who had been waiting for the boat for several days. The men were Hudson's Bay Company officials from the Green Lake district. We continued on to Saddle Lake Landing and put off some Indian freight and tied up for the night. At Frog Lake Landing, which we reached the next day, we put off a lot of freight for the Indian Department getting rid of another treadmill and a couple of horse rakes. One more passenger came aboard and things were getting livelier every day in the cabin. Frog Lake Landing is a little below what is called Frog Rapids which we struck in the morning.

At the rapids the river is divided into two channels by a sand and gravel bar, the deeper channel being on the north side of the river. The rapids are quite strong

and the boat had to labour hard for about one mile. When we were about half way up them, a very large brown bear swam across our bow. The passengers got their rifles out and started firing at him. He reached the bar and cantered across with about a ton of mud spatting around him. But none of the lead found its mark. He plunged into the south channel and swam, with the bullets cutting into the water all around him. He reached the shore and turned around to look at the boat, shook himself, and disappeared into the bush, unharmed. There was great excitement for a few minutes. I think the vibration of the boat labouring into the rapids saved his life. It was like a battle going on and recalled to my mind the tragic event of a few months before, when the officials were shot down at the Frog Lake reserve. So we had something to talk about and laugh at the next day, as we wound our way around the bends and tied up at Vermillion River for the night.

Vermillion River was an old camping ground in the early days where a deposit of red stone crept out of the banks. The natives made pipes of this rock. It polished up like marble and made a nice cool-smoking pipe. They also used it for painting their faces at the dance or the pow-wow. At Vermillion River we picked up four men and two women with their ponies and carts on their way to attend the Edmonton banquet. They wanted to take the boat the rest of the way, so we took them, carts and all.

The next morning we passed the old mission place situated on a little flat on the north side of the river. All the buildings were burnt down and all that was left of the old rectory was one of the clay chimneys. About two miles up the river, you come to Victoria Island, a large island standing in the center of the river. This is where the boats always took on wood, the last place before Edmonton. There was always talk about finding gold in the sands around the island, so while we were wooding up, a matter of three hours, the passengers got busy with frying pans, hand dishes, and anything they could find, and got out to wash gold. We were watching from the engine room. The chief would have some fun, so he took a handful out of a tin of brass filings and clippings and went out among those people and began showing them how to wash, slipping a little of the filings into their pans. Pretty soon they were finding gold and the excitement was running high, but the call came to board the ship putting a halt to the panning. As we were speeding up the river, the people got busy and collected their gold dust, some even had small nuggets. Before reaching the old landing at Edmonton, someone let the cat out of the bag and the people learned the truth about their gold.

At Edmonton the gangplanks were put out and for a while the boat was crowded and everybody was shaking hands. Many of them had not seen each other for years. When the excitement cooled down and they took their departure to their camps and places of abode, most of our passengers going ashore, the crew settled down for the night. But it was my time to go on watch. Everything was quiet until sunrise when I woke up the crew. As soon as the men were fed we started to unload the freight. It was then my turn to sleep and I slept sound, waking up about three in the afternoon to find that they had taken the furniture

out of the cabin and had stowed it away in the stern of the boat to make room for a table the full length of the cabin. A half dozen handy men were making trestles, tops, and stools for seats and an extra cook, along with the boat cook, was making up stuff for the feast. By nightfall, they had it all erected and ready for the decorations, leaving a passage about the centre of the cabin, opposite the pantry, so the cook could get through to the cookroom. It was on the lower deck with the pantry directly about it, and the stuff was passed up and stored in the pantry shelves. A bunch of bracket lamps were hung in the center of the cabin to give more light. The next day some ladies came aboard and with some cloth the same width as the table rolled out enough to cover its length. Then they brought numerous packs of Hudson's Bay Company white blankets and folded them to suit the stools. Then they brought dishes of all kinds and shapes, and proceeded to decorate them. Some of the trays were made of birchbark and very nicely trimmed as were some lines of smaller vessels which were used for sugar bowls filled with lumps of sugar for the tea.

One of the ladies was looking for waiters and asked me if I would like to be one. I said I wouldn't mind but all I had was my working clothes with me. She said she would get me a suit of her husband's clothes which she thought would fit me. The next time she returned to the boat she brought the suit with her. It was of the very finest Hudson Bay Company white flannel. The coat was a square cut, double breasted and trimmed with fur. The pants matched and there was a Scotch cap of white trimmed with ermine tails and a pair of cariboo slippers trimmed with fur. The suit fitted just right so I was ready for the occasion. I was selected to look after the spirits which had been brought up on the boat and which were standing on the boiler deck. The cases were covered with a tarpaulin which was fastened down to the deck and I had orders to keep a close watch at night so that none were taken. They came through all right and I moved them to the storeroom amidships. There were cases of brandy, scotch whiskey, rye and rum, a few cases of French wine of the different kinds and several kegs of champagne; all of the very best brand. It was my time to have a snooze so I went to bed and slept till one in the afternoon. On my duties as watchman, the next morning, I was standing on the roof hoisting the flag and watching the sun come up.

It was a beautiful morning about the last week in August. Looking along the brow of the hill to the top I could see numerous tents and teepees with their camp fires burning. The air was clear and bright and the smoke was curling up through the trees making a rather picturesque display where the city of Edmonton now stands. All was quiet except for the cook who was getting the breakfast ready for the boat crew. I was given some time off to have a nap but got up about noon to find everything almost ready for the feast. I went to the storeroom and unlocked the door and started to arrange things for the night.

It was about eight o'clock in the evening when the crowd started descending the winding road from the Post to the landing. They came up the stairs in little groups and took their places at the tables with that serious bearing peculiar to the people of the Hudson's Bay Company. The table was soon filled and the feast

began. Many courses were served and then they started to call for spirits and I was kept busy pulling the corks and setting the bottles in front of the different groups.

A chairman was appointed and every one was called on in their turn to make a speech, sing songs, tell a story about some hard trip or another. Some of them were very fine singers and many a fine song shook the rafters. Some of them recited and they were very good and the fun went on. Their tongues grew looser and on they went. Each one standing up as he did his spell. Then at last it came to the end man. I will mention his name. It was John Gordon from the Prince Albert Post, and I was well acquainted with him. John could not think of any tale to tell. I was standing close by him and I suggested he give them the sword dance. He agreed if I would play for him and so I got out the old fiddle and they shifted one section of the table and brought the swords out and away went the dance. It caused quite a lot of excitement. They were standing on the stools and some of the tables so they might see John. He was an Englishman but it would have taken a good Scotchman to beat him. With the singing of Auld Lang Syne the banquet came to a close. The people filed out and going down the stairs to the gangplank, not one of them missed his step. When they all reached shore a rousing cheer went up for the Hudson's Bay Company and they made their way up the hill talking and laughing as they went. But this was not the end of the party. The Company did not forget anyone. The workers had their fun on the lower deck, which was decorated with a row of lanterns hung to the ceiling. In a large circle sat the workers, men and women, aged and middle-aged, and some of them younger, many of them descendants of the men who had manned the York boats and the pack straps, men who had built the company's name in this cold and rugged land. There they sat in the usual way, with lots of good things to eat and kettles of steaming tea before them, chatting and talking of many an old trip, and renewing acquaintances. They told tales of the buffalo hunt and of the making of pemmican and dried meat, and of the catching and hanging of fish. In this way they spent the evening, feasting and drinking from the few bottles of good cheer distributed among them and smoking their pipes. Then they dispersed to their numerous camping grounds feeling grateful to the company for the good things they had received.

I got up at three in the afternoon to find that the boat was ready to start and we pulled out half an hour later, steaming gently downstream. We got about fifty miles and then tied up for the night. Not many of the passengers who had gone up with us were returning with the boat. They were extending their visits with their friends, many of them had not seen each other for years. They would return later by canoes or row-boats, and then by horse and cart to the great waterways of the north.

It was about the first of September and the water was beginning to drop in the river. We had to make a crossing to the other side of the river to keep in the channel. The crossings at this time of the year were generally shoal, being filled in with sandbars. I was standing near the engine room and heard the slow signal

come from the pilot house. The engineer did not answer it right, instead he gave full speed ahead. There was plenty of water to have taken the boat across safe, if the slow bell had been answered. The surfaces of these sandbars are often in ridges like a washboard and the full speed of the boat caused her to drop in the water more than if she had been going slow. As the boat was without any load, all the strains hung on the hog chain braces. So, snap went all the rods and the boat bumped in the center from the weight of the machinery at either end. The water supplied to the boilers and the whistle at the dome was broken off and boiling water went flying in all directions and steam hissed all over the place. You could hear nothing. We made to pull the fires from under the boilers, and all the water was gone. We found ourselves floating downstream, two or three hundred feet from shore, in an awful mess and helpless to get ashore. Then one of the deck hands grabbed the end of a coil of line and taking the end in his teeth jumped overboard and swam ashore. We played out the cord. He was a strong swimmer and made the shore all right. Then we tied the small line to a bigger one and managed to haul it ashore and get a snub to a tree. Then we took to the boats and swung the steamer ashore, a helpless wreck.

The boat carried a good supply of tools to make repairs so I went down to the engine room and had a good wash and went to bed, for I was very tired, and slept sound till three o'clock. I dressed and went down to the lower deck. The Captain was standing at the bow. I asked him if they had got the rods welded. He told me they had been trying all day and had not been able to get one done and they had given up the job. He said they were going to pick a man to run to Edmonton to find the blacksmith that lived around the Fort. I told him I thought I could fix them as I had once helped at a similar job. He told me to go ahead and they would do everything they could to help.

I went to the cookhouse and had something to eat and then I got the boat carpenter to make four trestles, each ten feet long and the height of the forge. I collected all the tools necessary to do the job including a box of coal, borax, and some clean sand to prevent the iron from burning when it took the heat. I arranged it so there were two trestles on each side of the forge and picked out four men for each side to handle the rods, and two good stout fellows to take turns in working the bellows. Before lighting the fires I laced the broken ends together. It was not long until I had the white heat showing up and when it was right, I gave the order to strike. When I had the rod well staved up, we slid it out onto the anvil and beat it to the correct measurements. Then we laid it out on the deck to cool. It took about one hour for each weld for the first three rods, and about three hours for the one they had been working on before. They had burnt the ends and I had to cut a piece out of each one and weld a piece back in. But I got through without a miss and by twelve o'clock they were ready to put them back into place.

The engineers repaired the other minor breaks and pumped the boiler and by morning we were ready to go again. Of course, the boat was only temporarily repaired, her back was still humped up, so we had to travel on a slow bell until we

reached Prince Albert, where she had to be pulled out onto the ways at the boat landing, to be straightened out. She had been launched from here only three months previously.

They got the blocks and tackles from the warehouse and fixed them on. And then, with the power of seven teams of horses, they slid the boat clear of the water. After that, they used numerous jack screws and blocks and tackle to straighten her out. Then they adjusted the hog chains, and when they had her trim again, slid her back into the water. This took three days and nights; a lot of trouble and expense caused by a cranky natured man.

We left at daybreak and were at Cumberland House by that evening to find that the *Marquis* had not arrived. We waited ten days. The men from the northern parts brought their furs in to Cumberland House. It was customary to have an annual dance and feast when they all got back. While we waited for the *Marquis* to bring up a cargo from Grand Rapids the york boats were coming in and preparations were made for the annual dance. The men's house, a long one-storey building with a thatched roof and a tongue and grooved floor was scrubbed out and made ready for the dance. All the kettles and cooking utensils were collected and variety of meats were prepared. They included jumping deer, moose, ducks, geese, tongues and hams.

When the last boat came in the feast and dance started. Among our deckhands we had a young man named John Linklater. John was a good dancing master and could call the quadrille in great style. He wanted to introduce the dancing of the quadrille and asked me to come over and play tunes for him. About ten o'clock I tucked the old fiddle under my arm. They had been dancing two or three hours then; the Red River Jig was in full swing, the dancers cutting out one another in great style. The fiddlers were playing together, and they could play. With their shirt sleeves and fire bags tucked in their sashes flapping at their hips, the dancers were cutting all sorts of steps. Then someone broke into the reel of the Cat or the Scotch Reel, the McDonald reel, The Flowers of Edinburgh, then the McLeod reel, Roland Reel and another they called Hug-n-snug, finishing with the Drops of Brandy.

The table was loaded down with all kinds of cold and hot meats, including hot stew of young mallards. The table was set with tin plates and cups. Around the kettle of stew were a number of tin bowls and spoons, the most of them were made of horn. A big knife stuck in the ham so you could cut a slice to suit yourself. There were no forks so we all used our fingers. There were a half dozen copper kettles steaming with good old Hudson's Bay Company tea. The only things of luxury were a half dozen birchbark baskets in the center of the table which were filled with lump sugar to sweeten the tea. I was standing near the doorway helping myself to a couple of slices of cold boiled sturgeon and a pot of tea, when the door opened and Chief Factor Belanger stepped in accompanied by the Captain and Norman McKenzie, first mate of the boat. They joined me with a few slices of the sturgeon and a pot of tea. The Factor stumped McKenzie for the reel of the cat, so they chose their partners and went to it and did they ever dance. Belanger was

a big man weighing about three hundred pounds and McKenzie was well over two hundred. Belanger brought out all the shuffles of the French and McKenzie all the kicks and flings of the Orkneys. The crowd urged them on and smoked their little stone pipes, filled with old carrot tobacco and the red willow. The air was filled with the tangy smoke and the cheers and applause that rang out. It was a gay gathering.

In the meantime Linklater was picking out some of the younger class, and after some time, got four couples to come forward, the maidens looking shy, but they doffed their shawls and the set was ready. I think I can remember this change, the first in the old Lance quadrille. Choose your partners for a dance like this: Lead four right and left, right and left back, balance four, swing your partners and ladies change, change back and promenade half right and left to place, balance eight, swing your partners all, left with the left hand lady, right hand to your partner and grand right and left all the way around, swing and all promenade the second four and repeat to finish the set.

I struck up the tune: "My Love she's but a Lassy yet," played to quadrille time. And after a few trials they got through it all right. Linklater was calling it in the Cree language and it was very funny to hear, but it was not long until they caught on and thereafter they could get through without a mistake and appeared to like the new dance and swung into the time very quickly. So they kept on until they learned a couple of the changes so that they do the figures very well. Meanwhile, the majority were helping themselves at the table and there were no waiters required. Mrs. Cox was very busy with her helpers washing the dishes and setting them back on the table as the feast went on. The general dance was renewed with a jig in full swing with five or six couples on the floor, cutting one another out. The fiddlers were more than going to it, keeping time with both feet and sometimes stopping the fiddles but keeping time with their feet and then breaking in again with the fiddles. So on they went for one hour without a halt. Then they turned to the reels and certainly kept in full life to the dawn of the day. Then with a slice or two of meat and a pot of tea, they went their respective ways home to sleep and rest for the coming night, as the dance was kept up for two or three nights.

The crew were all aboard and making ready to have a little nap when we heard the call of the *Marquis* while it was still some miles up the river. Sleep was off and all hands had to get ready for work. About three hours later the *Marquis* steamed alongside and crews started to transfer the cargo. By daylight we were ready to pull out. We had been keeping to the old channel all summer, there being a good stage of water. But this time we were not sure if we could get through. However, the Captain decided to take the risk as this route was much shorter than going around by the lake. Besides there were many channels through the lower land and there would be trouble finding the right one. So we took the old river and got along fine for the distance of about three boat lengths when the water turned shoal. The deckhands got out to find the best water but they could only find about the same as the boat was drawing and she could not get over

with the power of the paddle wheel. The Captain did not want to go back and lose a day so he ordered some of the men to take axes and cut a couple of logs for deadmen and ordered some men with spades to dig a couple of trenches. Then they placed a few logs in the trenches with a strong rope strapped around the center. Then they brought out lines to the deadmen and stretched them to the steam capstans on the bow of the boat, taking a few turns of the line on each one. The capstans were set going and the lines tightened up until they were singing. Then we started backing on the paddle, slowly driving the back around, and the surge of the right lines would take her ahead, fifteen to twenty feet at a time. So when we got started, it was not long until we were over the bar and snug in the new river.

It was about sundown and we went up to the Squaw Rapids where we tied up for the night and took on some wood for the next day. We got up the Squaw and the Tobin Rapids fine and reached the junction of the rivers the next night, where we wooded up again for we had to get up the La Colle Falls and try to reach Prince Albert. We started out at daybreak. We got along fine and landed at Prince Albert just after dark.

All the people were out to welcome our arrival. Our cargo was made up of mostly Hudson's Bay Company goods. A few fur traders had small cargoes and there was some for J. M. Campbell, Betts and Gwynne and T. N. Campbell. Included was stationery and Christmas goods, false faces, Chinese lanterns, Jew's harps and tin whistles, the first ever to reach Prince Albert.

After unloading the freight most of us were paid off and I went up to the cabin and settled up and had a little talk with the Captain asking him what was the reason of the delay at Cumberland. He said that there had been stormy weather on Lake Winnipeg and that they had to lay to for several days and that the *Marquis* was held up for two days at Cedar Lake. Then he presented me with a handsome cheque for my handiness through the summer's work and told me to come back next season and I could have a good job.

So this ended the summer of 1885, and I waved goodbye as the old boat swung out into the muddy Saskatchewan to go back to the Big Stone to winter quarters at Cumberland Lake.

Book Reviews

Scarlet and Stetson; the Royal North-West Mounted Police on the Prairies. By Vernon A. M. Kemp. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964. Pp. 280. $5.00.

SCARLET AND STETSON is a description of the work and the men of the N. W. M. P. primarily from the turn of the century until 1917 when local law enforcement was taken over, for a number of years, by provincial police forces. This was a stirring time in the history of Western Canada and consequently in the history of the Force. The great surge of immigration which then occurred brought homesteaders by the thousands to take possession of the land, while villages and towns grew from nothing into vigorous and bustling life almost overnight.

The contribution of the N.W.M.P. to the successful and well-ordered development of the prairies was not small. The presence of an efficient police force in the area long before more than a few white men appeared on the scene prevented in large measure the lawlessness and Indian troubles which accompanied the opening of the American West. But the work of the Mounted Police was not restricted to the prevention and investigation of crime and to keeping peace between the Indians and the newcomers. Such matters as game protection laws, the sale of liquor, public health, supervision of livery stables and pool rooms, and the discouragement of red-light establishments came under their purview. The welfare of homesteaders was also an important police concern. Regular visits were made to every homestead, no matter how far from the local police outpost, manned mostly by a lone constable, and relief provided to many settlers whose inexperience or bad luck had left them in desperate straits.

Mr. Kemp joined the N.W.M.P. at the age of 15 in 1910 so that he knew himself or by hearsay the scope, variety, and problems of Police life and duties and the many colourful characters who enlivened the Force during this fascinating period. The result of this first-hand experience is a book both informative and entertaining. It was an easy life for neither officers nor men. Administrative problems were chronic and troublesome. Rapid changes at the ministerial level and lack of direct access to the Minister in charge meant a colossal unawareness in Ottawa of prevailing conditions in the Force and the need for improvement. The Government's penny-pinching attitude resulted in a continuous shortage of manpower. A wage of 60c a day (40c during one period) when unskilled labour could get a starting wage of $1.00, an affluence which required 8 years' service for a constable to attain, discouraged enlistment and drove out many of those already in the ranks at a rate which reached as high as 30 per cent a year. Morale was not improved by poor food or life in barracks lacking even minimum requirements of comfort. That a Battleford post building was so cold in 1879 water froze on the stove during the night, despite a banked fire, might be accepted as a part of pioneer conditions but that Prince Albert barracks were without sewers or running water until 1913 despite an excellent municipal system which had been operating

for years and without central heating or propor beds for several years more is harder to excuse.

As one would expect, the author has described many of the most notable and notorious cases handled by the N.W.M.P. But the greatest interest of the book lies in the vivid portrayal of everyday life in the Force—the harsh discipline, the discomforts of barrack life, the varieties of and difficulties with uniforms, the role of horses, and the often close relationship between officers and men no longer possible—and in his tales of amusing happenings and the many unusual and resourceful men who served during the early years of the century. For a sample there is the story of the "Honourable Eustace" who arrived in full view of the noon stable-parade at the Regina barracks to join up, in a hired horse-drawn carriage, attired in top hat, frock coat, striped trousers, patent leather shoes, and a straggley blond beard, sporting a silver-handled walking stick. His subsequent career as a policeman was surprising to the viewers of his initial appearance.

This is not a scholarly book but the general reader for whom it is intended should find it immensely readable. CHRISTINE MACDONALD

THE SASKATCHEWAN. *By Marjorie Wilkins Campbell.* Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1965. 343 pp. $1.90.

No longer need it be said by the scholar, teacher or general reader that it is hard to obtain good readable books on various aspects of Canadian literature, arts and the humanities. Every year publishers are issuing paperbacks which are either original printings or reprints. One of the more recent reprints is *The Saskatchewan* which was first published in 1950 in the Rivers of America series. Now it has been revised and brought up to date by the author.

Mrs. Campbell describes the geographic setting of the river, and events from the earliest explorers and traders to the most recent power developments on the river. In writing the story of the Saskatchewan River, she has restricted her material to these events which happened "almost entirely within sight of Saskatchewan waters. "Although it is thus only a partial story of the prairie provinces, it is a good starting point for further reading about the history of the West.

The most interesting part of the book is the first section, "Highway," in which are related lively and colorful stories of the fur traders and explorers who travelled along the Saskatchewan River and its tributaries. It is in these episodes that the author's narrative style gives an air of excitement, adventure and interest to the story of the river. The coming of the railway and agricultural settlement meant that the river ceased to be a highway and the use of the river by the inhabitants became much less important in their way of life. The second section, "Hiatus," describes events from the earlier settlers to the present day. Such topics as settlement, constitutional development, steamboating, ranching, sport fishing and hunting, archeological digging, and the oil, gas and potash industries are all mentioned to greater or lesser extent The third, short section is about the

power developments taking place on the Saskatchewan River. In other words, the hiatus is ended. In all of these, the interest of the reader is aroused by the author's enthusiasm for her subject and by her inclusion of interesting sidelights on place names, events and personalities.

Students particularly should find the book interesting. The author's cheerful style should arouse their interest in the colorful story of the West. For many it will bring nearby districts to their attention and in this respect the book will be quite useful because one can live within a few miles of the sites of historic happenings and remain completely unaware of their existence. Mrs. Campbell has a knack of relating events of the past with their present locations so that the history of a district assumes a more immediate importance in the mind of the reader.

Notwithstanding these recommendations, there are points which should be brought to the attention of the potential reader. Although Mrs. Campbell says that the book is "completely rewritten and brought up to date," one finds that this is only partially true. The last section has had parts added covering the period since the book was first published but the first section has only had small additions made to it and some parts have been re-arranged. But the larger part of the book has not been rewritten. Defects mentioned in reviews when the book was first published have not been remedied and the author has lost a good opportunity to improve the historical accuracy of certain sections. These improvements could have been made without affecting the other qualities of the book which make it so appealing. A more rigorous and critical approach to the paperback edition might have helped to tidy up a number of loose sentences and paragraphs or incorrect or inappropriate details. For example, in referring to Alexander Henry, the Younger, the author says that in putting his observations into written words, "He suffered under the sting of countless mosquitos on paper for posterity to read." One would almost think that this sentence is a misprint but it also appears in the original.

Although it is unpopular to include footnotes in a book of this nature, there are certain passages for which one would like sources. For example, the explanation of the discontent caused among the Metis settlements in the 1880's by the square township survey is only a partial and half true generalization concerning the situation. Books mentioned in the bibliography give more accurate and detailed accounts of this particular problem and accurate generalizations can be drawn from these sources. There are also other generalizations and statements of fact which need closer scrutiny and the general reader has as much right to expect accuracy in these matters as has the historian.

Taking into consideration these conflicting views concerning the merits of the book one can still recommend it as worthy of more than passing notice. It is a book which many will find enjoyable, interesting and informative. It is worth much more than the modest price required to add it to one's library.

Lloyd Rodwell

HOME ECONOMICS IN CANADA. THE EARLY HISTORY OF SIX COLLEGE PROGRAMS: PROLOGUE TO CHANGE. *By E. C. Rowles.* Saskatoon: The Modern Press, n.d. $3.25.

THIS is an interesting history of the teaching of Home Economics at six Canadian universities. In the chapter on Saskatchewan, Dr. Rowles points out that the earliest plan at this University was to follow the example of Guelph, and many of the land grant colleges in the United States, by establishing a School of Domestic Science in the College of Agriculture. The first step was to provide extension workers in home economics for the Homemakers' Clubs. The next was to organize classes for the Normal School students who were housed on the University campus. The University plan was then changed and in 1917 the Department of Household Science was placed in the College of Arts and Science. The Department became a School in 1928, and a College in 1942. Ten years later the program was expanded and the name was changed to the College of Home Economics.

Dr. Rowles has described these developments with insight and sympathy. As a former student and colleague, she is able to assess the contributions of Miss De Lury, Mrs. Rutter, Miss Oxner and other leaders in this field, and to give us vivid glimpses of their personalities and the pioneer conditions under which they worked.

JEAN E. MURRAY

Notes and Correspondence

Approximately 800 people attended the dedication ceremony of the Frenchman Butte National Historic Site on June 29, 1965. The ceremony was held in the school grounds at Frenchman Butte because of inclement weather. Chairman for the occasion was Mr. A. R. Turner, Saskatchewan representative on the Historic Sites and Monument Board of Canada and the principal speaker was the Honourable Arthur Laing, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources. The plaque was unveiled by Mr. Solomon Pritchard, 103 year old eye witness of the Frog Lake massacre, and dedicated by the Rev. J. H. Dicker, Anglican Church priest at Onion Lake. The program included Indian dances and an historical pageant performed by local school children. Distinguished guests included the Honourable J. W. Gardiner and Senator James Gladstone.

The Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society held its annual meeting at Duck Lake on the weekend of September 11 and 12, 1965. The program began with a business meeting chaired by President M. K. Baker. New officers elected to serve for 1965-66 were President Gilbert Johnson, Marchwell, Vice-President Mrs. W. B. Clipsham, Regina and Secretary-Treasurer John Nicks, Regina. At 4:00 p.m. the business meeting was adjourned and the members of the society toured the Duck Lake Museum under the guidance of Mr. F. Anderson.

A special feature of the program was an old time supper of bannock, beans and tea tendered the guests by the Duck Lake Board of Trade. Following supper there was a social evening arranged by the Reverend Father Duhaime, Principal of the Duck Lake Indian Residential School. During the evening program there

was a showing of slides of the archaelogical work at the site of Fort Carlton and Last Mountain House. This was followed by old time dancing and refreshments.

On Sunday morning the Society took a field trip to the archaelogical site at Fort Carlton via the Duck Lake battlefield. The Duck Lake site was described for the visitors by Mr. Fred Anderson. At the Fort Carlton site Anthony Ranere, the archaeologist in charge of the work, described the various features. In the afternoon members of the society took a field trip to Batoche under the guidance of Mrs. Mabel Simpson, Superintendent of the Fort Battleford and Batoche National Historic Parks.

Publication of a new *Guide to Historic Sites in Saskatchewan* is scheduled for the end of October. The first guide was published by the Golden Jubilee Committee in 1955, and reprinted in 1961 but by 1964 both editions were unavailable, The new *Guide* has been prepared by the staff of the Saskatchewan Diamond Jubilee and Canada Centennial Corporation. This is an entirely new booklet incorporating many different approaches to the problem of providing information about our province's historic places.

Printed on a 5" x 7" format the new *Guide* will contain 96 pages. It is organized in seven sections by area, each section being accorded a keyed map and an introduction. The information given about each site is intended to compliment rather than reproduce that contained on plaque inscriptions. Two appendices have been included; an annotated listing of museums and other display centres and a re-printing of the historical summary by J. D. Herbert which graced the pages of the first edition. The index is cross-referenced to increase its usability.

Illustrations again play an important role in the *Guide*. Forty-five illustrations are included, almost all being reproductions of photographs and prints illustrating the people and events which have made so many places historic. Most of these were taken from pictures in the collection of the Saskatchewan Archives.

Copies will be available from the Department of Natural Resources through its many outlets, the Tourist Development Branch of the Department of Industry and Commerce and the office of the Saskatchewan Diamond Jubilee and Canada Centennial Corporation at 515 McCallum-Hill Building, Regina, Saskatchewan.

The Manitoba Historical Society announces the Margaret McWilliams Medal Competition for writing on the history of Manitoba. Awards can be made in three categories: Scholarly, popular and University essays or theses, but awards will only be made for meritorious work. The competition closes May 1 each year. Submissions may be made to Margaret McWilliams Medal Competition, Manitoba Historical Society, Room 255 Legislative Building, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

During the past summer, the Saskatchewan Jubilee and Canada Centennial Corporation has marked three historic sites in the province. These are the Wood Mountain police post, Cannington Manor and the Territorial Government Build-

ings at Regina. Illustrated booklets about the sites have also been published in which the sites and their historical significance have been described.

The Wood Mountain police post was first used by the North West Mounted Police in 1874 when the buildings were purchased from the Boundary Commission. The post was used to varying degrees by the police until 1918. Its most active period was from 1876 to 1881 when the Sioux Indians of Sitting Bull's band camped nearby and a large force of Mounted Police was stationed at the post to maintain order. Superintendents Walsh and Crozier, who commanded the detachment, were largely responsible for convincing the Sioux that they should return peacefully to their reserves in the United States. The post was a strategic location from which to combat whiskey running, cattle rustling and horse stealing, activities which were quite prevalent in the period prior to settlement.

Cannington Manor, near Manor in southeastern Saskatchewan, was the well-known village in the English settlement established in 1882. By 1890 Cannington village was the centre of an active community but the location of the railway several miles to the south led to its decline. In its heyday, Cannington Manor was the scene of many events ranging from horse racing to amateur theatricals. The story of Cannington Manor is one of the more colorful in the settlement of Saskatchewan.

The first government building in Regina was erected in 1883 and by 1891 three main buildings and smaller outbuildings had been built. Only one, a two-storey brick structure, is still on the original site. These buildings housed the offices of the North West Territories Government until the formation of Saskatchewan and Alberta and then they were used by the Saskatchewan government until 1912 when the present Legislative Building was occupied. The events associated with this historic site were mainly concerned with the long and sometimes bitter struggle for responsible government and provincial status.

Further information concerning the booklets on these three sites can be obtained from the Saskatchewan Jubilee and Canada Centennial Corporation, 515 McCallum Hill Building, Regina.

CONTRIBUTORS

A. R. TURNER is Provincial Archivist for Saskatchewan.

D. S. SPAFFORD is Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon campus.

CHRISTINE MACDONALD is a librarian in the Legislative Library, Regina.

JEAN E. MURRAY is Associate Professor of History, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon campus.

LLOYD RODWELL is an Archival Assistant in the Saskatchewan Archives Office at Saskatoon.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SASKATCHEWAN