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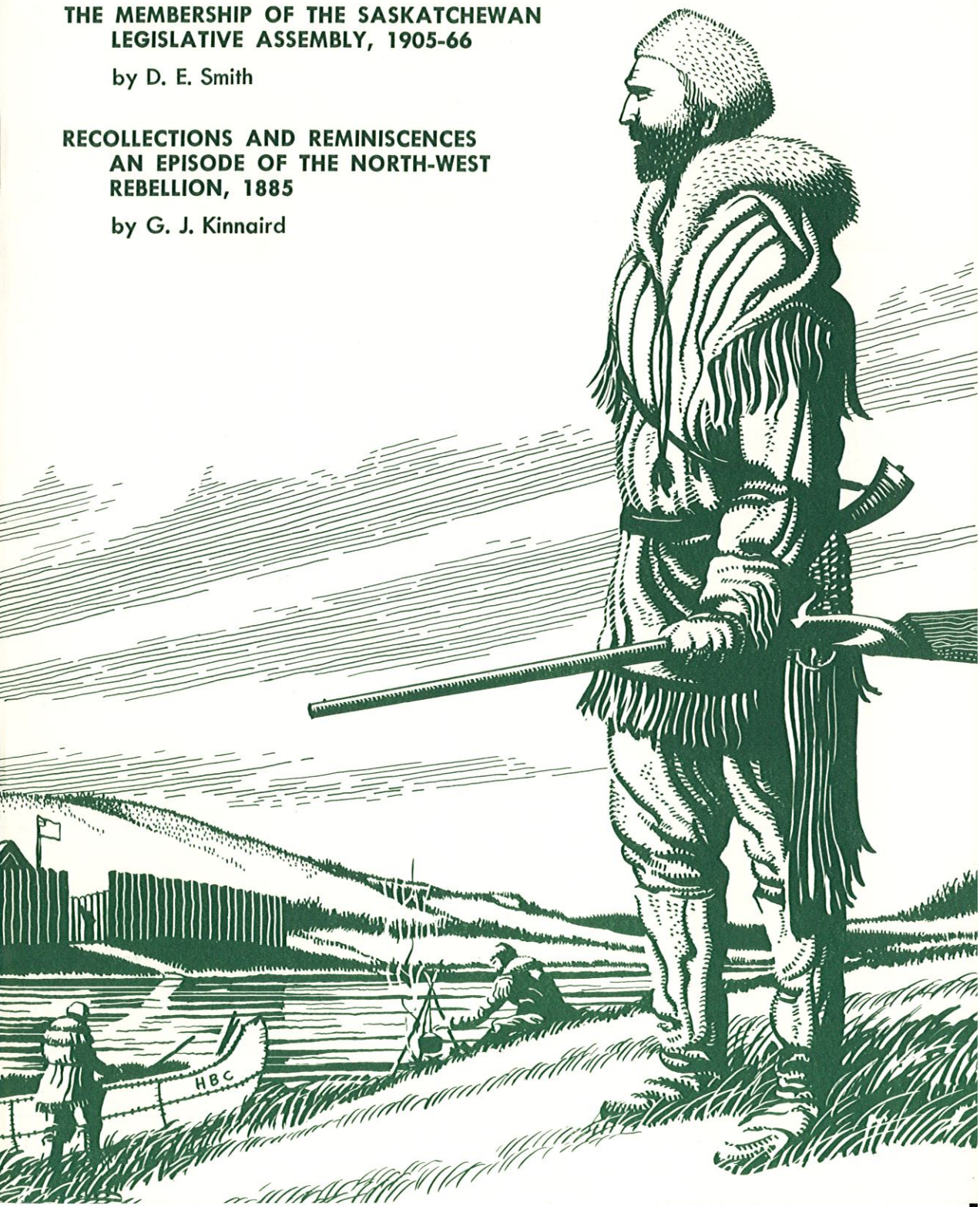
SPRING 1967

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1905-66

by D. E. Smith

RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES AN EPISODE OF THE NORTH-WEST REBELLION, 1885

by G. J. Kinnaird



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The Membership of the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly: 1905-1966

A PLEA for federal-provincial and inter-provincial co-operation was made recently by one writer on the grounds that "one cannot work the Canadian political system as a series of discrete compartments contained by traditional political boundaries."¹ A similar plea, only this time for the study of provincial politics, might be made by a paraphrase to the effect that one cannot understand the Canadian political system *except* as a series of discrete compartments contained by political boundaries. The variety of treatment accorded the provinces by the federal government over the past century supports this contention as does the disparity in goals, policies and even institutions displayed by the ten provincial political systems. The need for regional studies to analyze regional problems cannot be disputed, but at the same time the need remains for more detailed examination of political behaviour within the provinces.

The following study concerns one province—Saskatchewan and one element of its political system—the membership of the Legislative Assembly. Like its neighbouring province, Alberta, Saskatchewan has received considerable attention because of the rise to provincial power of a third party.² Neither province, however, has been studied as a separate political system; yet since 1905, within boundaries having no traditional geographic, economic or historical bases, distinctive political systems have appeared.³ Despite the existence of common regional problems, these two prairie provinces have experienced markedly different political histories. For example, a study of the party composition of their Legislatures suggests that Saskatchewan, unlike Alberta, has maintained a predominantly two-party system, with the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation replacing one of the original two parties—the Conservatives.⁴

The purpose of this paper is to examine the members of the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly since 1905, in particular to consider the effects upon them of the disappearance of the Conservative party and the rise of the C.C.F. and to contrast their socio-economic characteristics with those of the population as a whole.⁵ The first step in the study was to assemble information on all persons

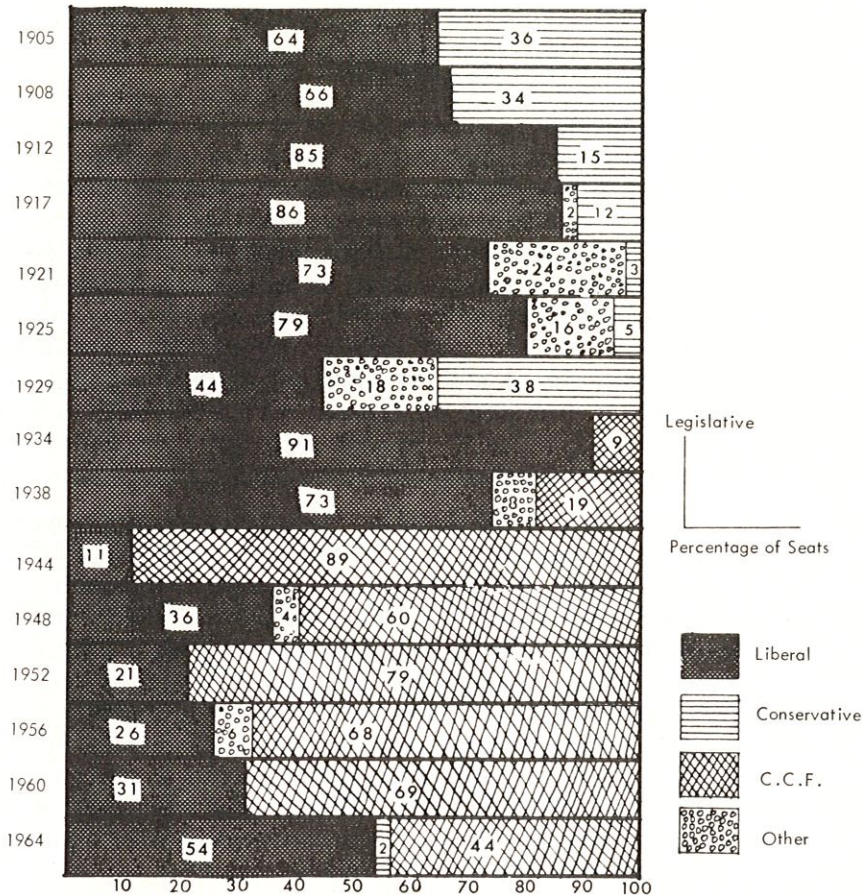
¹ J. E. Hodgetts, "Regional Interests and Policy in a Federal Structure," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XX XII, no. 1 (February, 1966), p. 8.

² See, for example, S. M. Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan* (Berkeley, 1950).

³ Studies similar to those by J. Murray Beck, *The Government of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1957) and M. S. Donnelly, *The Government of Manitoba* (Toronto, 1963) have yet to be published on the politics of Saskatchewan and Alberta.

⁴ Until 1912, the Saskatchewan Conservative Party was known as the "Provincial Rights" party. For an informative discussion on the nature of the party system in Alberta, see Seymour Martin Lipset, "Democracy in Alberta", *Voting in Canada*, ed. John C. Courtney (Scarborough, 1967), p. 182 and C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System* (2nd ed., Toronto, 1962), p. 237f.

⁵ For a study of the socio-economic characteristics of C.C.F. leaders and supporters, see S. M. Lipset, *op. cit.*, chaps. viii and ix. For similar studies in the House of Commons and Cabinet, see Norman Ward, *The Canadian House of Commons: Representation* (2nd ed., Toronto, 1963), chap. vii and John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto, 1965), chap. xiii.



Percentage of seats held in the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly by Liberal, Conservative, Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and other parties, 1905-64.

who sit or have sat in the Legislature. This information included not only socio-economic data but also electoral records and legislative histories.⁶ The material was analyzed, first in terms of entrance into the Legislature, as measured by a winner's margin of victory over his nearest opponent; secondly, in terms of exit from the Legislature, as measured by the turnover of incumbent members; thirdly, in terms of experience in the Legislature, as measured by the length of members'

⁶ The principal sources of information were the *Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1905-1966*; *Directory of Saskatchewan Ministries, Members of the Legislative Assemblies and Elections, 1905-53*, Saskatchewan Archives Board, 1954; *Directory of Members of Parliament and Federal Elections for the North-West Territories and Saskatchewan, 1887-1953*, Saskatchewan Archives Board, 1956; Statement of election results, 1956, 1960 and 1964, issued by The Chief Electoral Officer for Saskatchewan; and the official nomination papers for all Saskatchewan general elections, except 1952 and 1956, held by the Saskatchewan Archives at Regina and Saskatoon. Some information was also obtained by correspondence with several present and past members of the Legislature.

service at the end of each Legislature; and, finally, in terms of socio-economic characteristics, as determined by age, occupational, religious, ethnic and educational classifications of members of the Legislature.

By 1966 control of the Legislature in Saskatchewan had changed hands on four occasions: 1929, 1934, 1944, and 1964. These changes may be seen in Figure I which illustrates the percentage of seats won in the Legislature in each general election since 1905 according to party: Liberal, Conservative, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and "others." The replacement of the Conservative by the C.C.F. party between the 1929 and 1934 election is plainly evident. Only two Conservatives have been elected since 1929, one in a by-election in 1953 and one in the general election of 1964. Forty-seven members of the Legislature did not belong to the above three parties.⁷

In the fifteen elections since 1905, 799 seats have been filled in the Legislative Assembly. Of these, the Liberals have occupied 450 or 56.3 per cent, the C.C.F. 235 or 29.4 per cent, the Conservatives 68 or 8.5 per cent and other parties 46 or 5.8 per cent. During this same period there were 77 by-elections; this figure does not include two by-elections in 1913 and 1964 which were held to fill seats declared void before the general election victor entered the Legislature. Of the 77 by-elections, 19 were required until 1936 for members of the Legislature elected at a general election, afterwards appointed to the Cabinet and then required to stand for re-election in their constituencies.⁸ All but two of the above were re-elected by acclamation.⁹ Of the remaining 58 by-elections, the Liberals have won 46 or 79.3 per cent, the C.C.F. 7 or 12.0 per cent, the Conservatives 4 or 6.9 per cent and other parties 1 or 1.7 per cent. Thus there have been 799 general election and 58 by-election vacancies or altogether 857 opportunities to be elected to the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly since 1905.

Data concerning personnel in the Legislatures following the elections of 1929, 1934, 1944 and 1964 have been listed separately. For intervening Legislatures, data were grouped together; the 1938 Legislature is the exception, since it was the only one between those of 1934 and 1944.

Entrance into the Legislature: Margin of Victory

Table I illustrates the difference in terms of percentage of vote between the successful candidates for the Legislature and their closest competitors. This difference has been referred to as the margin of victory.¹⁰ Study of Table I indicates that the winners' margins of victory over the long-run have decreased and, therefore, suggests that competition between the parties in Saskatchewan

⁷ With their numbers in parentheses, these members were as follows: Farmer-Independent (1), Independent (17), Labor (1), Independent Conservative (1), Progressive (17), Independent Liberal (1), Labor-Liberal (1), Unity (2), Social Credit (5) and Conservative-Liberal (1).

⁸ For more on these, see Evelyn Lucille Eager, "The Government of Saskatchewan" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto), p. 286.

⁹ The remaining two faced opposition in their bids for re-election. One, William Kerr, was successful in 1935; the other, Charles McIntosh, was defeated in 1933 by a member of his own party—Liberal.

¹⁰ For the use of this measure in a federal election, see John Meisel, *The Canadian General Election of 1957* (Toronto, 1962), pp. 263-64.

politics has increased. Certainly, fewer Liberal candidates are being elected today than in the past with margins in excess of 20 per cent over their nearest opponents. No other party in Saskatchewan has been able to approach the Liberals' long record of wide vote margins; until 1948 a few Liberals were elected with margins even exceeding 60 per cent. Only one C.C.F. member was ever elected with this margin of victory and that was in a 1945 by-election in which his sole opponent was a Labor Progressive candidate. Since 1905 the Liberals have elected 34 members by a margin of over 40 per cent; in the same category the C.C.F. have elected only two members, both in the sweep of 1944, and the Progressives one in 1921. Finally, it might be added that of the 857 opportunities for election to the Legislature since 1905, the Liberals have elected 32 members by acclamation. The only other members to be so elected were three Independents. All elections by acclamation occurred before the 1944 election.

While Liberal margins of victory in recent elections have been reduced over those of earlier contests, it is noteworthy that even in the period 1948-60, when the Liberals did not control the Legislature, they were still able to elect over 30 per cent of their members by margins of greater than 10 per cent. Again, on their return to majority status in the Legislature in 1964, the Liberals captured over 41 per cent of their seats with similar margins, while the C.C.F. elected only 19 per cent of its members by the same figure. Thus it could be said that, over the years, the Liberal margins of victory may have been reduced and, as a consequence, competition may have increased, but at the same time the incidence of large majorities continues to rest with the Liberals.

An important factor to be considered when discussing the subject of margins of victory is the number of parties competing in an election. Contests involving three or more parties have been common in Saskatchewan since 1934, with both major parties electing at least 73.0 per cent and sometimes, as in the 1956 election, 100 per cent of their members in such contests. Yet the effect of these battles has not been to increase substantially the number of hairbreadth victories. Since 1934, only 8.1 per cent of the Liberal members in the Legislature and 8.3 per cent of the C.C.F. members were elected by margins of less than 2 per cent over their opponents. Still, between 1905 and 1934 only one Liberal out of the 266 elected to the Legislature won by such a small margin. At the other end of the scale, that is vote margins of over 20 per cent, the effect seems to have been equally slight, with the Liberal and C.C.F. parties electing 11.1 per cent and 11.6 per cent, respectively, of their members by this margin since 1934.

Experience in the Legislature: Years of Service

Table II presents data which indicate the length of time members, once elected spent in the Legislature. The conclusion to be drawn from these statistics would seem to contradict the following comment based on federal experience: "There is . . . no convincing evidence that the passage of time tends to increase the number of experienced members in the House of Commons."¹¹ If one examines the Saskatchewan data in terms of party, quite the opposite appears true for the

¹¹ Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

C.C.F. Even after 1964, when the party lost its majority in the Legislature, over 46.0 per cent of its elected members had sat in the chamber for at least eleven years; at the same time 38.5 per cent had over fifteen years experience. If the period of C.C.F. rule is compared to the earlier Liberal hegemony, a marked contrast is evident. Between 1908 and 1929, when the Liberals occupied 249 seats in the Legislature, only 21 members or 8.4 per cent served over fifteen years while only 40 members or 16.1 per cent served over ten years. On the basis of this contrast, as well as the above-noted contrast in turnover rates, it would appear that at the end of its long period of control of the Legislature the C.C.F., unlike the Liberals, was composed of veteran legislators whose length of experience was unequalled in Saskatchewan's political history.

The present examination has revealed significant differences between the two predominant parties of the Saskatchewan Legislature since 1905: in terms of margins of victory, rates of turnover and legislative experience.¹² The Liberal party, the continuing major party of Saskatchewan politics, has shown an ability to garner votes, frequently of huge proportions for some candidates, and yet its members have entered and left the Assembly more frequently and after shorter periods of time than have C.C.F. members, who usually have lacked the general magnitude of the Liberals' electoral support. Therefore, in addition to ideological differences, which would seem to provide a clear distinction between the two parties, there have also been marked differences in electoral and legislative behaviour. As a consequence, an examination of these parties in terms of the socio-economic characteristics of their members since 1905 takes on added interest.

Exit from the Legislature: Turnover of Members

An analysis of turnover of members as measured by newcomers returned at general and by-elections (see Table III) provides an interesting comparison with Table I. Except for the elections of 1908 and 1917 the highest rates of turnover, not surprisingly, have been associated with elections in which the previous majority party lost its control of the Legislature. The highest turnover occurred in 1944 when the C.C.F. swept the field winning 47 of 52 seats and when only 8 of the 47 new members were incumbents. It has been noted elsewhere that there is "a tendency for the entry of newcomers to the Commons in recent years to be rather slower than in earlier decades."¹³ On the basis of turnover percentages for all members irrespective of party, the same observation could be made about the Saskatchewan Legislature. But, when these figures are compared to those for the House of Commons, the overall influx of newcomers is still higher than the already "remarkably high turnover" for the federal chamber.¹⁴ Indeed, the aver-

¹² This study concentrates on the Liberal and C.C.F. parties principally because no other party has shown any continuing basis of support. There is, of course, the Conservative party which until 1929 was the official opposition and between 1929 and 1934, in alliance with the Progressives and Independents, formed the government. Yet it never elected many members when compared to the Liberals, and even in 1929 it had fewer seats in the Legislature than did the Liberals. Of the 68 Conservatives elected since 1905, only 10 had margins of victory above 20 per cent, while 12 were elected by less than a 2 per cent margin. Its turnover percentages were extremely high, varying from 40.0 to 100.0; only one Conservative sat for longer than ten years in the Legislature.

¹³ Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

age turnover percentages at Ottawa until 1945 was 45.5 per cent and at Regina until 1964, 48.0 per cent.

Yet the overall percentages disguise a contrast between the Liberal and C.C.F. parties since 1948. Compared to the long-term average, the C.C.F. has maintained a remarkably low turnover record; with the exception of 1960, fewer newcomers entered the Legislature through the ranks of the C.C.F. than at any time in the province's history. One explanation, of course, is that fewer C.C.F. than Liberal members suffered defeat and that few of those elected resigned. However, if one compares this period with that of 1905-29, when the Liberals enjoyed uninterrupted power, the contrast in turnover rates is still marked. The higher Liberal rate is surprising, particularly when it is remembered that the Liberals of that period have the reputation of having maintained a formidable machine in provincial politics.¹⁵ The principal purpose of a machine, one would expect, is to get as many candidates as possible elected and to keep them elected. Yet the Liberal turnover rate, as measured by the entrance of newcomers, does not bear this out. At least it does not compare favourably with the C.C.F. record of low turnover between 1948 and 1964.

There seems to be no ready explanation for this anomaly. Corrupt electoral practices, which have been suggested as one reason for the high turnover in the early Parliaments, do not seem to have led to more than a few by-elections in Saskatchewan.¹⁶ A substantial movement of Liberals between the provincial and federal houses would help to account for that party's higher turnover during this same period. Yet, only nine Liberal members left the Legislature and were elected to the House of Commons, while only two Liberals moved in the opposite direction. These changes amount to slightly less than 10 per cent of the total Liberal turnover for this twenty-four year span. The paradox therefore exists of the C.C.F. party, noted for its intra-party democracy—to the extent of providing for recall of Legislators—changing members less frequently than the Liberal party noted for its machine-type control.¹⁷ The information in Table I enlarges the paradox, for the members of the Liberal party elected between 1905 and 1929 always enjoyed considerably wider margins of victory than did members of the C.C.F. party from 1944 to 1964.

One possible explanation is that the Liberal party's dominance in Saskatchewan was coeval with the province's greatest expansion. As a result, the party tried to keep pace with the rapid changes in the religious, ethnic and occupational composition of the population by altering its cast of candidates. Therefore, while the machine's support might virtually guarantee election, there was no similar guarantee that its support would be forthcoming for re-election. When the C.C.F. came to power it came as a new movement following a period of economic stag-

¹⁵ Escott M. Reid, "The Saskatchewan Liberal Machine Before 1929," *Party Politics in Canada*, ed. Hugh G. Thorburn (Toronto, 1963), pp. 49-59.

¹⁶ For further on this subject, in federal politics, see Ward, *op. cit.*, chap. xiv, and, in Saskatchewan politics, see Eager, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-64.

¹⁷ For more on the practice of intra-party democracy in the C.C.F., see Evelyn Eager, "The Paradox of Power in the Saskatchewan C.C.F., 1944-61," *The Political Process in Canada: Essays in Honour of R. MacGregor Dawson*, ed. J. H. Aitchison, (Toronto, 1963), pp. 118-35.

nation and in a period of declining population. Since it was new, its members by their very novelty presented the necessary diversification to attract majority support. Only as its leaders aged and the electorate began to look for fresh approaches, did the C.C.F. become concerned with maintaining this support. One answer to this problem would be to present more new candidates; as a result, the 9.8 per cent rise in turnover of C.C.F. members between 1956 and 1960 might be explained.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATURE

Age of Entry of Members

Table IV illustrates the ages at which new members have entered the Legislature in its sixty-one year history. Most new members have been between 45 and 49 years of age, although there have been some exceptions to this generalization. Between 1905 and 1925 the Liberal and Conservative parties drew most of their members from the 40 to 44 age group; the Liberals continued this practice in 1929 and again between 1948 and 1960. Significantly, newcomers in the C.C.F. ranks, even in the initial sweep of 1944, were most numerous in the 45 to 49 age group. Thus, at the beginning, the C.C.F. drew its members from an older group than did the Liberals during their earlier days of power and, until the present day, the C.C.F. has maintained this characteristic. It is of interest, but contradicts evidence from the House of Commons, that there has been no general tendency for the average age of new members to rise over the years.¹⁸

Age Composition of the Legislature

In Table V the male members of the Legislature since 1905 have been classified according to five year age groups.¹⁹ Median ages are shown in the bottom line; it should be noted, however, that the median ages for the periods 1905-25 and 1948-60 are derived from the median ages of the individual Legislatures within those periods and, as such, may conceal several age trends. For example, in the earlier period the Liberal median age increased from 40 to 47 and in the latter it decreased from 57 to 43. Between 1948 and 1960 the C.C.F. median reached a peak of 54.5 in 1952 and then began to decline but not as quickly as the age of its opposition.

With these considerations in mind, two observations based on the movement of the parties' median ages may be made. First, there seems to be a general pattern by which a party in power ages until it loses its control of the Legislature, reappears as a rejuvenated, younger opposition, though not necessarily younger than the majority party, and then either becomes younger or holds its own as the majority party ages. It must be admitted that the period 1929-34, which saw rapid changes in the fortunes of the Conservative and C.C.F. parties, does not conform to this suggested pattern very well. Secondly, there is a similarity between

¹⁸ Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

¹⁹ In order to allow for a comparison with overall provincial figures, only male members have been included for the study of the age composition of the Legislature. Women have sat in the following Legislatures: 1917, 1921, 1952, 1956, 1960 and 1964. Of the five women members, three were Liberals and two C.C.F.

the median ages of the Liberal and C.C.F. members of the Legislature in 1964 and 1944. In both instances the majority party's median age was less than the minority's—in 1964 by 4.0 years and in 1944 by 8.5 years. These differences in median ages were the largest in the Legislature's history.

One further observation should be made regarding the parties and the ages of their members generally; more age groups have been consistently represented within the Liberal ranks of legislators than within the ranks of any other party. The 1944 Legislature is really not a valid exception, since there were only five members* in the Liberal contingent. None the less the C.C.F. party has given wider representation to different age groups than did the early Conservative party and, indeed, between 1948 and 1960, its members came from all age groups. On the evidence of the 1964 election, both parties would appear to have abandoned their tradition of trying to draw members who cover the age spectrum. However, this abdication may be more apparent than real. It is possible that the party nominees came from all age groups, but that the voters chose the younger Liberal and the older C.C.F. candidates.²⁰

If the age composition of the Legislature is compared to that of the male population of the province as a whole (see Appendix—Table I), one final comment on the subject of age may be made. According to the census data, between 1901 and 1941, 50 per cent of Saskatchewan's male population was below age 39 and, between 1941 and 1961, 50 per cent of the same group was below age 44. Thus, while the membership of the Legislature was growing older, so too was the male population of the province but at a considerably slower rate. At the same time 14 or 0.2 per cent of the members of the Legislature have been under age 29, while the census figures show that between 43.2 per cent (1911) and 20.6 per cent (1961) of the male population has been in the same age group.

Occupational and Economic Interests of Members

The composition of the Legislative Assembly classified according to the main economic and occupational interests of its members is presented in Table VI. Four general categories are presented, thus allowing comparison with a similar classification formulated by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (see Appendix—Table II). While there are only four categories, they include at least 80 per cent of the occupations of members of all Legislatures since 1905. The category "others" includes the following occupations: mining, manufacturing, construction, transportation, commerce and finance. Also, included were those employed in service industries and labourers. In only one Legislature and in only one party does one of these occupations account for 50 per cent or more of the "other" category; that was the commercial occupation of Conservative members of the 1929 Legislature.

This occupational classification should be interpreted with caution. The categories are, admittedly, broad and general and the occupations, which have been derived from the official nomination papers, were frequently vague, for

²⁰ See *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), May 2, 1964, p. 8.

example "agent" or "gentleman." Again, the classification of "farmer" might include many individuals with professional training or commercial interests. Indeed, the *Canadian Parliamentary Guide's* listing of a member's occupation frequently would differ in this respect from his nomination paper. To maintain consistency, the nomination paper's designation was used wherever possible. In the very few cases when the nomination paper failed to mention the occupation of a candidate, the *Parliamentary Guide's* listing was accepted.²¹

Table VI clearly indicates the predominance of members with agricultural interests in all parties throughout the Legislature's history, with the exception of the Liberals in 1938. Equally as clear, however, is the gradual decline in agricultural occupations in all parties. As these have declined, the proprietary and managerial group has bulked larger in Liberal ranks while the clerical group has made comparable gains in C.C.F. ranks. Representation of the professions has fluctuated in both the Liberal and C.C.F. parties, while members whose occupations fall within the residual category have increased, with setbacks, among the Liberals and gradually declined among the C.C.F. It should be noted that, until 1934, the professions always accounted for a greater percentage of Conservative occupations than Liberal and that, since that date, they have been more dominant among Liberal occupations than C.C.F. Moreover, variations have occurred within the parties in terms of professions, that is lawyers have been most evident among Liberal and Conservative professionals, but teachers have been most evident among C.C.F. professionals. Since 1944, at least 60 per cent of C.C.F. professionals have been teachers.²²

A comparison of Table VI with the census distribution of occupations for males, fifteen years of age and over (see Appendix—Table II), is revealing. Despite the predominance of agricultural occupations in the Legislature since 1905, they have been under-represented, except for the Liberals in 1929 and the C.C.F. in 1938, if compared to the occupational scale of the province as a whole. The same may be said for occupations in the "other" category, which have

²¹ Wherever there was an indication that the individual owned the business where he performed his occupation, he was classified as "proprietary and managerial." Where he was referred to as an elevator manager, he was classified as "commercial" and if he listed himself as an "agent," with no qualification, he was considered "clerical." It might be added that those who listed local government occupations such as municipal secretary-treasurer were also classified "clerical."

²² It might be noted that the members with agricultural interests have never been predominant in the Liberal Ministries of Saskatchewan. Until 1964 the professions always counted for at least 50 per cent of the occupations in the Cabinet, with farming and ranching amounting to no more than 35 per cent. The occupational distribution of present Cabinet ministers is 42.9 per cent professional, 28.6 per cent farming, 21.4 per cent proprietary and managerial and 7.1 per cent clerical. In contrast, agricultural occupations always ranked first in the C.C.F. Ministers, comprising at least 48.0 per cent of the occupations, while the professions ranged between 33.3 and 42.0 per cent. Most of the remainder of the C.C.F. ministers were classified as having clerical occupations.

These figures emphasize once again the law profession's preference in provincial politics for the Saskatchewan Liberal party. This attachment does not seem to waver even when the Liberals were out of power, for between 1944 and 1964 only three lawyers sat in the C.C.F. Cabinet. One reason for this preference may be that lawyers can expect to benefit from federal patronage only if they belong to one of the traditional major parties; for an individual interested in provincial politics this means the Liberal party in Saskatchewan. Despite the predominance of the law profession within that party's Ministries, it still is not as great as that found in the federal Cabinet generally, see Porter, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-92.

usually accounted for at least 20 per cent of the male working force and in 1964 reached 39.5 per cent. The reverse may be said for the other three categories, all being considerably more visible in the Legislature than in the general scale of occupations.

Table VII, which presents occupational data about defeated candidates for all elections but 1952 and 1956, provides a useful comparison with Table VI. The same general distribution of occupations found among the winners is maintained in the ranks of the defeated, that is agricultural interests have tended to predominate while professional, proprietary and managerial and clerical occupations follow in that order. However, in recent years more Liberal candidates from the "other" category of occupations have been defeated than have Liberal agriculturalists. This switch in the ratio of defeat by occupation probably indicates that the Liberals have been attempting to run an occupationally more heterogeneous slate of candidates than have the C.C.F. The fact that this change occurred during their period in opposition may indicate that a party is more willing to experiment with different candidates when the costs, measured in terms of chances of victory, are judged to be less. Alternatively, it may be that a party out of power is less attractive to potential candidates in occupations traditionally favoured by the electorate. One can only speculate on why an increasing number of C.C.F. candidates, who are classified as proprietary and managerial by occupation, appear to be defeated with regularity. One suggestion could be that such a candidate does not articulate well the socialist message of the party.

Religious Affiliation of Members

Throughout its history the Saskatchewan Liberal Party has had within its ranks always a greater variety of religions and frequently a greater variety of Protestant denominations than any other provincial party (see Table VIII).²³ At a time, 1905-29, when the Liberals were drawing Roman Catholics and Swedenborgians, the Conservatives drew solely Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians or United Church adherents or later, in 1964, when the Liberal membership of the Legislature was 35.0 per cent Roman Catholic and also included Saskatchewan's first Jewish member, the C.C.F. party still drew 50.0 per cent of its members from such prominent Protestant denominations as the Baptist or United Church. If the faith of those members who referred to themselves as "Protestant" were known, these figures for the C.C.F. would probably be higher, since such unknowns have nearly always been greater in that party than in the Liberal.

The C.C.F. party has been far more heterogeneous in terms of religious representation than was the Conservative. In addition, this heterogeneity has been increasing. Roman Catholic members in the Legislative ranks of the C.C.F. have almost tripled since 1944; during the same period representation of the religions and denominations included in the "other" category has nearly doubled.

²³ The following religious groups have been represented in the Saskatchewan Legislature and are included in the "other" category: Congregational, Evangelical, Greek Orthodox, Jewish, Mennonite, New Church of the People, Pentecostal, Swedenborgian, Ukrainian Greek Catholic and Unitarian. The total number of members who have adhered to these groups is seventeen.

If this table is compared to the percentage distribution of the Saskatchewan population, by religious denomination (see Appendix—Table III), it will be seen that there has been an over-representation of members of the United Church and the denominations which comprised it, an under-representation of Lutheran adherents and, in recent years, an increasing under-representation of the Anglican community. Since the late forties, there has been a disproportionate number, if compared to the provincial total, of Roman Catholics in the Liberal party. Of the religions in the "other" category, the most under-represented have been the Greek Orthodox and Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic. Adherents of these religions have accounted for at least 8 per cent of the declared faiths in Saskatchewan since 1931, with the Greek Orthodox going back to 1901 having close to 3 per cent of the population as members of that church. Five Greek Orthodox have sat in the Legislature, all in the C.C.F. ranks since 1944, and two Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic's, 1934 and 1948, have sat in the Liberal ranks.

Ethnic Origins of Members

The table on ethnic origins of members of the Legislature (Table I X) shows clearly the dominant, but diminishing, status of the Anglo-Saxons in the political life of the province.²⁴ It is unfortunate, for this study, that a large percentage of the members of the major parties, ranging between extremes of 12.5 to 26.9, classified themselves as "Canadian" or "American." It is possible that this general category might conceal some significant ethnic variations, although there is no additional evidence to suggest that this is the case.

This table again illustrates the homogeneity of the Conservatives, this time in terms of the ethnic origins of their members, and the early heterogeneity of the Liberals. From the first, the Liberal legislative contingent included numbers of French, German and Scandinavian extraction. Over the years the French and German ethnic groups appear to have increased in strength within the Liberals and the Scandinavian to have decreased. While this may indeed have occurred, it is possible that those of Scandinavian origin have assimilated more rapidly and consider themselves "Canadian" rather than Scandinavian. Not only were the Liberals from the first more heterogeneous, but they have continued to be so. Both of the other two ethnic groups, the Ukrainian and the Dutch, were first represented in the Liberal party before finding a place in the C.C.F. It is of interest that the C.C.F. increased its ethnic representation, in terms of elected members, in the same order as did the Liberals. In 1938, there was nearly equal representation of French and German members, as was true for the Liberals in 1905, with slightly stronger Scandinavian representation than the Liberals had initially. This was followed in 1944 by Ukrainian and finally, in 1952, by Dutch members. Since 1948 the C.C.F. appears as homogeneous, in terms of ethnic representation, as the Liberal party. Indeed, since that date, it has had a greater percentage of members of French origin in its ranks than the Liberal party. This is surprising given the strong Roman Catholic representation among the Liberals.²⁵

²⁴ The "other" group is composed of a Pole, a Russian, a South African, a Czech and one member born "at sea."

²⁵ It should be noted that the number of members of French origin in the C.C.F. in 1964 was only two.

When these figures are compared to the total provincial ethnic group classification (see Appendix—Table IV), it will be seen that, for the first half of Saskatchewan's history, all of the non-Anglo-Saxon groups were under-represented for most of the time. This was especially true of those of German extraction. Since about 1934, all groups, with the exception of the Germans, have achieved increased representation within the Legislature. In 1964 all of these groups were represented in the Legislature and, interestingly enough, most of them were more accurately represented in the ranks of the C.C.F. than in those of the Liberals. The two groups most under-represented were, once again the Germans, and, for the first time, the Anglo-Saxons.

Educational Background of Members

The educational background of members of the Legislature is presented in Table X in four broad categories: primary, secondary, university and others. This information was among the most difficult to secure, with data unavailable for around 30 per cent of the members. Consequently, the data should be interpreted cautiously. Included in each of the first three categories are those members who either completed all or some of the requirements of that level of education; included in the last category are those who had some type of specialist training but not at university level, for example normal school or business college.

The long-term trend shows a marked drop in primary education for members of all parties and a continuing but not so steep, rise in secondary school education. University education has increased among members of the Legislature, but only for the Liberals has this been a consistent trend. The prevalence of lawyers among those Liberals with professional occupations would help to explain this trend. The same explanation would appear applicable for the larger number of university-trained members in the Conservative than in the Liberal party of earlier years. In turn, the gradually higher percentage of C.C.F. members who have received post-secondary but not university training, could be explained by the larger number of teachers with a normal school education in that party's ranks.

The high percentage of members of all parties with post-secondary school education would support, for Saskatchewan provincial politics, the following conclusion based on the study of federal politics: "Constituency parties prefer to nominate formally well-educated persons or . . . Canadians with university training offer themselves more frequently for nomination than do individuals with secondary or other schooling."²⁶

Previous Political Experience of Members

In Table XI information is given regarding the previous political experience of members of the Legislature. Again, for a large percentage of the members there was no data available. However, the existence of a large percentage of members in all parties who have had local political experience would indicate that the general picture shown is substantially accurate. For the first twenty-five years of the province's history, municipal experience was particularly noticeable

²⁶ Meisel, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

among members of the Conservative party, then from 1934 to 1960 the Liberal members were the ones with a strong municipal-politics background and, finally, in 1964, a greater percentage of C.C.F. members than Liberal were elected with local political experience. These 1964 figures are at best suggestive and should be interpreted with care since information on nearly 60 per cent of the C.C.F. and Liberal members was unavailable.

The importance of municipal politics in the career of a member of the Legislature is not known, but the fact that at least 30 per cent of Saskatchewan's legislators have had such experience would indicate that local office-holding may be an important stepping-stone to the Legislature. The large percentage of members with this experience also may partly be explained by the number of elected positions at the local level. One observer has noted that in the rural areas "there is . . . approximately one position available for every two or three farmers."²⁷

The entrance into provincial politics of those with federal experience has been limited in Saskatchewan, the largest percentage being in the C.C.F. party between 1948 and 1960. The reason for this predominance of the C.C.F. is fairly clear. Once the party was successful in the election of 1944 it required more individuals with political experience and the federal arena was the obvious place upon which to draw. In addition, having gained power, the C.C.F. offered federal politicians of the same persuasion the opportunity, denied to them in Ottawa, of being part of a winning team.

Conclusion

This study of the Saskatchewan Legislature has revealed the existence of distinctive differences between the Liberal and C.C.F. parties both today and in the past. It indicates a large reservoir of electoral support for the Liberals which has diminished over the years but by no means disappeared when compared to C.C.F. electoral support, even during its period of power. In turn, the study has shown that once in power the C.C.F. responded in a manner different from the Liberals, by building up a solid core of experienced legislators who tended to stay in the Legislature longer and with fewer changes than their fellow members in opposition. Another significant contrast which has been suggested is that the Liberals, from the inception of the Legislature, demonstrated a capacity for attracting diverse support. Evidence of this is indicated in the variety of ages, occupations, religions and ethnic groups to be found amongst Liberal members of the Legislature since 1905. The C.C.F. appears to have developed this capacity while in power, and, today, its membership is more heterogeneous than ever before. The result is that Saskatchewan has two integrative parties, where previously it had only one. No better proof exists for maintaining that Saskatchewan possesses a political system distinct from her neighbour of the prairie region—Alberta—than this two-party system.

D. E. SMITH

²⁷ Lipset, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

Table I
LIBERAL, CONSERVATIVE, COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION AND OTHER PARTIES' MARGINS OF VICTORY IN SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS, SINCE 1905*
(in percentages)**

Election	1905-25			1929			1934			1938			1944			1948-60			1964		
Party	Lib.	Cons.	Others	Lib.	Cons.	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others
Victors'	(n=236)			(n=24)			(n=30)			(n=24)			(n=11)			(n=52)			(n=40)		
Margin***	(n=46)			(n=24)			(n=30)			(n=24)			(n=11)			(n=52)			(n=40)		
0.0-2.0	5.0	17.4		10.0	16.7	18.2	3.8			2.5	27.3	50.0	40.0	2.0		19.4	7.3		14.7	34.5	
2.1-10.0	31.3	41.3	54.2	23.3	25.0	18.2	28.8	60.0		32.5	54.6	25.0	20.0	14.0		49.3	49.3		44.1	46.1	100.0
10.1-20.0	20.3	28.2	25.0	33.3	41.6	45.5	34.6	40.0		42.5			20.0	44.0		25.4	34.0	66.7	35.3	19.2	
20.1 and over	43.2	13.1	20.9	33.3	16.7	18.2	32.7			22.5	18.2	25.0	20.0	40.0		6.0	9.3	33.3	5.8		

*Table includes by-elections. **May not sum to 100 due to rounding.
***"n" is the total number of members in each category and period.

**Margin separating winner from runner-up, in percentage points.

Table II
COMPOSITION OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE YEARS OF MEMBERS' SERVICE AT THE END OF EACH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY SINCE 1905
(in percentages)*

Election	1908-25			1929			1934			1938			1944			1948-60			1964		
Party	Lib.	Cons.	Others	Lib.	Cons.	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others
Years	(n=221)			(n=28)			(n=50)			(n=37)			(n=5)			(n=62)			(n=32)		
0-5	46.2	63.6	73.1	28.6	75.0	81.8	60.0	100.0		29.7	81.8	100.0	40.0	85.1		54.8	30.3	83.3	68.8	26.9	100.0
6-10	32.6	33.3	23.1	21.4	25.0	18.2	24.0			35.1	18.2					19.4	26.2	16.7	18.8	26.9	
11-15	15.4	3.0	3.8	21.4			4.0			21.6			40.0			9.7	24.2		9.4	7.7	
Over 15	5.9			28.6			12.0			13.5			20.0			16.1	19.3		3.0	38.5	

*May not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Table III

TURNOVER OF MEMBERS IN THE SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,
BY LEGISLATURES, EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES
OF LEGISLATIVE TOTAL AND PARTY LEGISLATIVE TOTAL

Party Election Year	Turnover				
	Total	Lib.	Cons.	C.C.F.	Others
1908	55.8	51.7	64.3		
1912	46.8	48.1	40.0		
1917	53.8	50.0	71.4		100.0
1921	43.5	30.8	50.0		86.7
1925	39.7	33.9	100.0		50.0
1929	55.4	30.0	75.0		81.8
1934	60.3	56.6		100.0	
1938	42.8	33.3		72.7	50.0
1944	80.0	40.0		84.0	
1948	41.1	71.4		21.2	50.0
1952	29.1	33.3		26.2	100.0
1956	37.0	50.0		27.0	100.0
1960	37.9	40.0		36.8	
1964	49.2	64.7		26.9	100.0

Table IV
SHOWING AGES AT WHICH NEW MEMBERS HAVE ENTERED EACH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY IN SASKATCHEWAN SINCE 1905*
(in percentages**)

Election	1905-25			1929			1934			1938			1944			1948-60			1964		
Party	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	Cons	Others
Age Group	(n=121)	(n=32)	(n=20)	(n=9)	(n=9)	(n=18)	(n=30)	(n=5)	(n=14)	(n=8)	(n=2)	(n=2)	(n=2)	(n=42)	(n=42)	(n=34)	(n=42)	(n=5)	CCF-NDP	Others	(n=1)
20-24			5.0																		
25-29	3.3						3.3														
30-34	9.9	15.6	10.0																		
35-39	22.3	9.4	15.0	44.4	5.6	22.2	6.6	20.0													
40-44	24.0	43.8	10.8	33.3	22.2		16.7	20.0													
45-49	14.9	15.6	40.0	22.2	27.8	33.3	23.3	20.0													
50-54	11.6	9.4	15.0		22.2	22.2	26.7	40.0													
55-59	4.1	6.3	5.0		16.7	11.1	6.6														
60-64	1.7				5.6		10.0														
65-69	0.8																				
70 and over							3.3														
No Information	7.4					11.1															

*Table includes by-elections.

**May not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Table V
AGE COMPOSITION OF SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES SINCE 1905: MALES ONLY*
(in percentages**)

Election	1905-25			1929			1934			1938			1944			1948-60			1964
Party	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Others
Age Group	(n=263)	(n=46)	(n=27)	(n=30)	(n=24)	(n=11)	(n=53)	(n=5)	(n=42)	(n=11)	(n=4)	(n=5)	(n=50)	(n=64)	(n=147)	(n=6)	(n=33)	NDP	Others
20-24			3.7												0.7				(n=1)
25-29	1.5						1.9		4.8				2.0		0.7	16.7	6.1		
30-34	7.2	10.9	7.4						2.4				6.0		1.4	16.7	3.0		
35-39	16.0	6.5	11.1	16.6	8.3	18.2	3.8	20.0		9.1		20.0	8.0		8.8	18.2	8.0		
40-44	18.6	30.4	14.8	23.5	25.0		17.0	20.0	4.8	27.3			14.0		13.6	33.3	9.1	4.0	100.0
45-49	17.5	21.7	37.0	30.0	25.0	36.4	24.5	20.0	26.3	27.3	50.0		20.0		17.0	16.7	30.3	24.0	
50-54	14.1	13.1	11.1	13.3	20.8	27.3	32.1	40.0	33.3	27.3			20.0		15.6	16.7	21.2	28.0	
55-59	9.5	13.1	11.1	6.7	16.7	9.1	7.5		11.9	9.1	50.0	40.0	16.0		15.6	9.1	4.0		
60-64	3.4	4.3			4.2		7.5		9.6			20.0	6.0		16.3		12.0		
65-69	2.7		3.7										6.0		4.8		8.0		
70 and over	0.4			6.7			1.9		7.1						2.7				
No Information	9.1			3.3		9.1	3.8						2.0			3.0	12.0		
Median Age (in years)	44.0	44.0	45.5	46.0	48.0	49.0	51.0		47.0	46.0		58.0	49.5	52.0	51.0	43.0	46.5	50.5	43.0

*Table includes by-elections.

**May not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Table VI
THE MAIN ECONOMIC AND OCCUPATIONAL INTERESTS OF MEMBERS OF SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES SINCE 1905*
(in percentages**)

Election	1905-25			1929			1934			1938			1944			1948-50			1964		
	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF-NDP	Others
Party																					
Occupation	(n=265)	(n=46)	(n=27)	(n=30)	(n=24)	(n=11)	(n=53)	(n=5)		(n=42)	(n=11)	(n=4)	(n=5)	(n=50)		(n=67)	(n=150)	(n=6)	(n=34)	(n=26)	(n=1)
Proprietary & Managerial	5.3	6.5			25.0		3.8			11.9				6.0		11.9	5.3	16.7	14.7	3.8	
Professional	23.0	32.6	11.1	13.3	25.0	36.4	32.1			40.5		25.0	40.0	20.0		28.4	23.3	16.7	23.5	19.2	
Clerical	4.9	6.5		6.7	4.2		3.8			7.1	9.1					6.0	6.0		5.9	15.4	
Agricultural	57.7	34.8	77.8	66.7	29.2	54.5	39.6	100.0		26.2	90.9	75.0	20.0	56.0		38.8	48.7	16.7	38.2	46.2	100.0
Others	9.1	19.6	11.1	13.3	16.6	9.1	20.7			14.3			40.0	18.0		14.9	16.7	49.9	17.7	15.4	

*Table includes by-elections

** May not sum to 100 due to rounding

Table VII
THE MAIN ECONOMIC AND OCCUPATIONAL INTERESTS OF DEFEATED CANDIDATES FOR SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES SINCE 1905*
(in percentages**)

Election	1905-25			1929			1934			1938			1944			1948 & 1960***			1964		
	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF-NDP	Others
Party																					
Occupation	(n=77)	(n=173)	(n=113)	(n=42)	(n=15)	(n=29)	(n=6)		(n=56)	(n=69)	(n=16)	(n=24)	(n=90)	(n=56)	(n=5)	(n=86)	(n=43)	(n=229)	(n=43)	(n=39)	(n=72)
Proprietary & Managerial	7.8	8.7	5.3	2.4	13.3	6.9		1.8	11.6	6.2	4.2	15.5	7.1		15.0	10.5	9.3	15.3	4.6	15.4	8.3
Professional	24.7	22.5	11.5	40.5	6.7	6.9	16.7	16.1	27.5	18.7	12.5	27.8	32.1	20.0	16.7	31.4	11.6	23.6	32.5	10.3	44.4
Clerical	6.5	7.5	3.5	7.1			16.7		10.1		4.2	6.7	9.0		5.0	7.0	7.0	2.2	4.6	10.3	2.8
Agricultural	44.2	40.5	63.7	33.3	80.0	72.4	33.3	60.7	30.4	50.0	58.3	23.3	35.7	60.0	40.0	23.3	53.5	27.5	14.0	48.7	27.8
Others	16.8	20.8	16.0	16.7	13.8	33.3	21.4	20.4	25.1	20.8	26.7	16.1	20.0	23.3	27.8	18.6	31.4		44.3	15.3	16.7

*Table includes by-elections.

** May not sum to 100 due to rounding.

***1948 and 1960 elections only.

Table VIII
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF MEMBERS OF SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES SINCE 1905*
(in percentages**)

Election	1905-25			1929			1934			1938			1944			1948-60			1964		
	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	Cons	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF	Others	Lib	CCF-NDP	Others
Religion	(n=265)	(n=46)	(n=27)	(n=30)	(n=24)	(n=11)	(n=53)	(n=5)	(n=42)	(n=11)	(n=4)	(n=5)	(n=50)	(n=67)	(n=150)	(n=6)	(n=34)	(n=26)	(n=1)		
Anglican	6.0	34.8	11.1	10.0	12.5	27.3	11.3		16.7	18.2		20.0	12.0	3.0	12.7		3.0		3.0	3.9	
Baptist	2.3			6.7			3.8		7.1			4.0			5.3				7.7		
Lutheran	3.4			6.7						9.1	25.0		4.0	1.5	3.3		1.5				
Methodist	15.8	21.7	22.2	3.3			1.9												3.8	100.0	
Presbyterian	46.4	34.8	44.4	30.0	8.3	18.2	17.0		11.9			20.0		7.5							
Roman Catholic	6.8		7.4	13.3			13.2		19.0	9.1		20.0	4.0	31.3	7.3	33.3	35.3	11.5			
United Church	3.0	2.2	3.7	20.0	79.2	45.5	30.2	40.0	28.6	45.4	50.0		44.0	37.3	44.0	33.3	38.2	42.3			
Protestant	2.3			3.3			9.4		2.4	18.2	25.0	20.0	14.0	6.0	8.0	16.7	3.0	3.9			
Other	1.9						1.9						6.0	3.0	9.2	16.7	5.8	11.5			
No Information	12.1	6.5	11.1	6.7		9.1	11.3	60.0	14.3			20.0	12.0	8.9	10.0		14.7	15.4			

*Table includes by-elections.

**May not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Table IX
ETHNIC ORIGIN OF MEMBERS OF SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES SINCE 1905*
(in percentage**)

Election	1905-25				1929				1934				1938				1944				1948-60				1964				
	Lib	Cons	Other		Lib	Cons	Other		Lib	Cons	Other		Lib	Cons	Other		Lib	Cons	Other		Lib	Cons	Other		Lib	Cons	Other		
Ethnic Origin	(n=265)	(n=46)	(n=27)		(n=30)	(n=24)	(n=11)	(n=53)	(n=5)	(n=42)	(n=11)	(n=4)	(n=5)	(n=50)	(n=67)	(n=150)	(n=6)	(n=34)	(n=26)	(n=1)									
Anglo-Saxon	65.3	73.9	74.1		73.3	83.3	72.7	64.2	20.0	57.1	54.5	25.0	40.0	62.0	46.3	49.3	38.2	30.8											
French	3.8				3.3			1.9		7.1	9.1		20.0	4.0	2.9	4.7	16.7	5.9	7.7										
German	3.4		3.7		10.0			5.7	20.0	7.1	9.1	25.0			4.5	3.3	8.8	3.8											
Dutch													20.0		1.5	4.0	16.7	2.9	7.7										
Scandinavian	5.3		3.7		10.0	4.2		3.8		2.4	9.1	25.0		6.0	4.5	5.3	2.9	7.7	100.0										
Ukrainian								1.9		2.4				4.0	6.0	6.0													
Other															2.9	0.7	2.9	3.8											
Canadian or American	14.0	21.7	18.5			12.5	18.2	13.2	20.0		14.3	18.2	25.0		18.0	22.4	22.7	66.7	23.5	26.9									
No Information	8.3	4.3			3.3		9.1	9.4	40.0		9.5		20.0	6.0	9.0	4.0	14.7	3.8											

*Table includes by-elections.

**May not sum to 100 due to rounding.

TABLE X
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF MEMBERS OF SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES SINCE 1905*
(in percentages**)

Election	1905-25			1929			1934			1938			1944			1948-60			1964		
	Lib.	Cons.	Others	Lib.	Cons.	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF-NDP	Others
Party	(n=265)	(n=46)	(n=27)	(n=30)	(n=24)	(n=11)	(n=53)	(n=5)	(n=42)	(n=11)	(n=4)	(n=5)	(n=5)	(n=50)	(n=6)	(n=67)	(n=150)	(n=6)	(n=34)	(n=26)	(n=1)
Education	27.9	28.3	29.6	26.7	25.0		17.0		14.3	18.2	25.0	20.0	12.0		7.5	14.7	16.7		2.9	3.8	
Primary	6.4	6.5	11.1	20.0	20.8	18.2	15.1		14.3	9.1	50.0	20.0	8.0		9.0	12.0	16.7		11.8	15.4	100.0
Secondary	29.8	32.6	33.3	16.7	29.2	45.5	39.6		47.6			40.0	38.0		43.3	34.0	16.7		50.0	30.8	
University	6.0	13.0	3.7	10.0	4.2		5.7		4.8				8.0		7.5	6.7	33.3		5.9	23.1	
Other	29.9	19.6	22.3	26.6	20.8	36.3	22.6	100.0	19.0	62.7	25.0	20.0	36.0		32.7	32.6	16.6		29.4	26.9	
No information																					

*Table includes by-elections. **May not sum to 100 due to rounding.

TABLE XI
PREVIOUS POLITICAL EXPERIENCE OF MEMBERS OF SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES SINCE 1905*
(in percentages**)

Election	1905-25			1929			1934			1938			1944			1948-60			1964		
	Lib.	Cons.	Others	Lib.	Cons.	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF	Others	Lib.	CCF-NDP	Others
Level of Government at which office held	(n=265)	(n=46)	(n=27)	(n=30)	(n=24)	(n=11)	(n=53)	(n=5)	(n=42)	(n=11)	(n=4)	(n=5)	(n=5)	(n=50)	(n=6)	(n=67)	(n=150)	(n=6)	(n=34)	(n=26)	(n=1)
Municipal	24.5	47.8	40.7	40.0	66.6	45.5	37.7	20.0	40.5	18.2	50.0		22.0		47.8	30.7	50.0		38.2	38.5	
Federal	4.5		3.7	3.3			1.9						2.0		4.5	6.7			2.9	3.8	
No known experience	71.0	52.2	55.6	56.7	33.4	54.5	60.4	80.0	59.5	81.8	50.0	100.0	76.0		47.7	62.7	50.0		58.9	57.7	100.0

*Table includes by-elections. **May not sum to 100 due to rounding.

APPENDIX

Table I

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SASKATCHEWAN MALE POPULATION
BY FIVE YEAR AGE GROUPS, 1901-61*

Year	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Age Group							
20-24	18.5	21.2	13.1	15.5	15.1	11.6	10.4
25-29	16.7	22.0	15.2	13.4	12.8	11.5	10.2
30-34	14.5	16.8	16.3	11.2	10.8	11.2	10.7
35-39	13.0	12.1	16.2	11.7	9.7	10.9	10.6
40-44	11.2	8.4	12.3	12.3	8.5	9.7	10.2
45-49	7.9	6.1	8.7	11.4	9.1	8.6	9.6
50-54	6.2	4.9	6.2	8.6	9.7	7.3	8.5
55-59	4.1	3.3	4.3	5.7	8.7	7.2	7.2
60-64	3.2	2.3	3.4	3.8	6.4	7.3	5.8
65-69	2.0	1.4	2.1	2.7	4.2	6.5	5.4
70 and over	2.7	1.4	2.1	3.5	5.0	8.2	11.4

*Adapted from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1961, vol. 7.1-4, Table 2.

Table II

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MALE LABOUR FORCE IN SASKATCHEWAN,
15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY OCCUPATION, 1911-61*

Year	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Occupation						
Proprietary & Managerial	3.7	6.0	4.8	5.1	7.3	8.1
Professional	1.7	2.1	2.4	2.8	3.6	5.6
Clerical	1.7	2.5	2.2	1.9	3.0	3.6
Agricultural	67.3	70.9	66.6	67.4	56.4	43.2
Others	25.6	18.5	24.0	22.8	29.7	39.5

*Adapted from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1961, vol. 3.1-1, Table 3.

APPENDIX

Table III

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF SASKATCHEWAN
BY RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION, 1901-61*

Year	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Religion							
Anglican	17.7	15.5	15.4	13.8	13.2	11.5	10.3
Baptists	2.7	3.8	3.1	2.5	2.2	1.9	1.8
Lutheran	6.8	11.6	12.2	12.4	11.8	11.0	10.3
Methodist	13.3	16.2	13.4				
Presbyterian	18.0	19.9	21.5	7.4	6.2	4.0	2.7
Roman Catholic	19.6	18.6	19.6	20.7	22.6	24.1	26.3
United Church			0.4	26.5	25.9	29.8	32.1
Other	21.9	14.4	14.4	16.7	18.1	17.7	16.5

*Adapted from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1961, vol. 7.1-11, Table 1.

Table IV

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF SASKATCHEWAN,
BY SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUP, 1901-61*

Year	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Ethnic Group							
Anglo-Saxon	43.9	54.7	52.9	47.5	44.4	42.3	40.4
French	2.9	5.2	5.6	5.5	5.6	6.2	6.5
German	12.9	14.4	9.0	14.0	14.5	16.3	17.1
Dutch	0.4	0.6	2.2	2.7	4.0	3.6	3.2
Scandinavian	1.6	7.1	7.7	7.9	7.7	7.5	7.3
Ukrainian	1.2	4.5	3.7	6.9	8.9	9.4	8.5
Other	37.1	13.5	18.9	15.5	14.9	14.7	17.0

*Adapted from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1961, vol. 7. 1-6 Table 3.

DOCUMENTS OF WESTERN HISTORY

Railway Branch Lines

Today there is much discussion on rail line abandonment as railway companies seek to close uneconomic branch lines. In this context it is interesting to read about the conditions that led to the building of many of these lines. In Saskatchewan, the government never actually built railway lines but confined its efforts to informing railway companies of the need for branch lines and, where required, guaranteeing bonds issued by railway companies. The decision to build a particular branch line, however, was made by the company and the government was often caught between the demands for construction and the Railway's inability to meet all demands.

The following documents illustrate the type of letters and petitions members of the government received requesting that influence be used to have a branch line built. The documents reflect the hardships under which the farmers and communities claimed they were working. Obviously, there was great pressure on both the politician and the companies to build more lines.

THE EDITOR

Letter from a Cliftonville resident to C. A. Dunning, Provincial Treasurer.
March 23, 1919.

HAVING noticed a brief comment in a recent edition of the Regina Leader, regarding your conference with the General Manager of the C.P.R. and branch lines being essential to Greater Production, I am taking the liberty of placing a few facts before you.

The Territory referred to, is of triangular form, having at its points Swift Current, Empress, and Bassano, Alberta. This territory is bounded on all sides by the C.P.R., thus all incoming freight is handled by this road, also all outgoing freight. With the exception of some sand hills, all this fertile country is under the plow, and the amount of grain handled at local points to which this territory is tributary, will speak plainer than the writer.

The longest trail haul, is from the Buffalo Head country to Hatton, some forty to fifty miles, and in 1916, the village of Hatton shipped the fourth largest amount of grain for main line points in the Dominion. When one considers that this tremendous amount of grain was hauled over the rough prairie, for we have no roads, the teamsters at outlying points generally starting at three A.M. and reaching their destination at sun down, all through the winter, with the glass 'way below zero, it tells very plainly what this country will accomplish, if some relief is furnished from these long hauls, and an easy way provided for the grain to be gotten out.

Again the large crop of 1916, prevented many farmers, especially the poorer ones, from doing any great amount of land preparation during the season of 1917, for the 1918 crop, the best part of 1917 being spent on the trail hauling grain.

Having worked through this territory as an active Grain Grower, also as President of the North Forres Telephone Company, the writer has encountered all classes and conditions of farmers, and can confidently say, that less crop is being put in this year, than during the last three years. The men who are up against the long trail haul, have almost to a man, decided to cut down their acreage, rather than be on the road all the following season in the event of a good crop, for the fact remains, that those far removed from a railroad, cannot farm land, and haul grain.

Would it not be possible to build a number of cheap grades now, and improve them as conditions become better? These feeder lines have to be built some day, and they will never be so badly wanted as NOW.

Start grades this season, and watch the farmers hustle out with the breaker, and see the grain come in at the close of 1919.

A case at home. The writer will break one hundred acres this season, making a total of five hundred, any show of getting the grain out easier, and two hundred and twenty-five will be broken.

With apologies, and trusting that some arrangements can be made with the Canadian Pacific Railway.

* * *

The Councils of Willow Bunch and Hart Butte Rural Municipalities, and the Board of Trade of the hamlet of Willow Bunch in September, 1918, forwarded to the provincial government resolutions requesting the extension of the Canadian Northern line westward from Bengough. It was estimated that in these two rural municipalities and in Poplar Valley Rural Municipality there were 125,595 cultivated acres but a total of 434,813 could be cultivated. The estimated total population was 6,700. In support of the resolutions it was stated:

It is estimated by the buyers in charge of the 5 Elevators at Verwood that 455,000 bushels of Wheat was purchased by them in the year 1917, of which quantity no less THAN THREE QUARTERS was hauled in by the Farmers residing in the south and south east of Verwood. Thus it is calculated that 113,750 was from local suppliers residing in the north and east districts, and the balance, 341,250 bushels from those residing in this and the more southern localities.

Assuming that every load hauled into Verwood averaged 50 bushels this means that 6825 loads from the southern districts occupied at least two days each load in the hauling. It also means that every single load which passed through WILLOW BUNCH, and it is well within the margin of reasonableness to assume that at least 5000 of these loads did so, necessitated a days loss to the Farmer in consequence of his having to journey beyond WILLOW BUNCH.

Now see what this loss means, this unnecessary haul from WILLOW BUNCH to Verwood and back. It means a net loss in time alone amounting to EIGHT HUNDRED AND THIRTY WEEKS, 16 years of labor every single hour of which if not so squandered could be applied to the raising of grain which to day is of the very first importance to the whole world. Supposing that this estimate which is based upon labor were changed into one of cash, and calculating that the current wage paid here to day for a man and team is \$6.00 per day, it means that the loss which the Farmer has to sustain in the journey through WILLOW BUNCH to Verwood and back totals to the sum of THIRTY THOUSAND DOLLARS "per annum."

These figures, based upon a very careful estimate are in themselves an abundant testimony to the crying need for a drastic remedy, but to these there

should be added many thousands of dollars more which are an absolute loss to the Farmer. The cost of his keep while away from home. The barn bill, the additional feeding made necessary by the hard strain of hauling along the trails in this country. The wear and tear to the wagon which will only last out two years of hauling where the trip averages 30 miles or so. And to this must be added the depreciation of the animals caused by hauling and exposure. Another point which must not be omitted is the added loss of time caused by the rest which must be afforded the teams to prepare them for the following trip.

Enquiry at the various Depots in this country reveals the fact that at least TWO THIRDS OF ALL THE CONSIGNMENTS are for the residents in this south country. Two thirds of all the commodities shipped to Verwood, Viceroy, Landscape and a fair proportion consigned to Readlyn necessitates an unnecessary haul of at least 25 miles. Unnecessary because this prodigal waste of time and loss both in labor and kind could be avoided if only the authorities will give the abundant claims this country is making every year for the construction of the Bengough Extension and the claims of this south country that a Depot at WILLOW BUNCH will remove nearly the whole of the appalling conditions which have been detailed herein.

Here in WILLOW BUNCH the Builder is never idle, it is for ever enlarging. We have to day 5 Grocery and General Stores. A Hardware Store. Two Drug Stores. Three Barns. Two Garages. Two Forges. Two Lumber Yards. A Bakery, Pool Hall, Ice Cream Parlor, Tinsmith, Wheelwright and three Implement Agencies one of which makes the proud boast on the assurance of the parent Company that the largest sale record south of Moose Jaw has been made in WILLOW BUNCH. Then there is the Hospital and the two Doctors, the Assembly Hall with its seating capacity for 500 people and the Church which is found too inadequate for the increasing congregation although it can accommodate some 800 people at a pinch. The list would not be complete if it did not make mention of the Convent in whose halls some 200 of our children receive an excellent education, a fine structure which cost the community no less a sum than FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS.

The statement of our claim to a speedy and a generous consideration should not conclude without touching upon the conditions in which so many of our neighbours in the south are existing. Farmers from the States, who were induced to throw in their lot with us under THE SOLEMN PROMISE OF A RAILWAY IN THE NEAR FUTURE, a promise which has not materialised. These men are Farmers of no mean order, but their activities and the development of their holdings are limited and must so remain until the promise which induced them to migrate to this country has been redeemed. They cannot and they will not do more than raise just sufficient for their very needs so long as they are penalised in a sacrifice of at least one third of all they produce, the cost of marketing their crops.

In conclusion we would mention the fact that in our hills there lies an abundance of COAL. The seams are rich and full. Some of them have developed to a

capacity of twenty feet or more. THOUSANDS OF TONS OF GOOD COAL are lying here awaiting the efforts of the miner.

* * *

In February, 1922, the Meeting Lake Development Association, representing five Rural Municipalities east and north of North Battleford sent the following letter to the Minister of Railways, Ottawa:

During the years from 1903 to 1911 under the immigration policy pursued by the Liberal Administration of that period thousands of immigrants were induced to take up land in that part of the Province of Saskatchewan lying between Prince Albert and Fort Pitt and bounded on the south by the North Saskatchewan river. These immigrants were encouraged to settle in these parts by the immigration agents working for the government who assured the settlers that railway facilities would be provided within reasonable time. As proof of this there were no less than seven charters granted to Railway Co's by the Liberal administration of that time to construct lines of railway all of which, according to a letter received from the Secretary of the Department of Railways under date of Jan. 3rd 1910 and file No. 3418 were to traverse this particular territory.

On the strength of these statements of the Government Officials the settlers built homes, cultivated their lands, built schools to provide for the education of their children, constructed roads and expended much money and labor in developing the country. This development continued until 1913 when owing to the lack of railway facilities hundreds of settlers, having in most cases obtained patents to their lands left the district, many moving to the Cities while many others removed to other countries, and thousands of acres of fertile land that had been cultivated became neglected and returned again to its virgin state. This continued until the year 1919 when the Canadian National Railways being petitioned by the remaining settlers definitely promised to construct a line of railway through the territory lying between Turtleford and Hafford.

In 1920 the Canadian Pacific Railway Co. applied for a charter to construct a line of railway from Cory to Birch Lake which traversed the districts which had waited so patiently and so long for the facilities that had been promised them, but this charter was refused by the Government on the grounds that it was the intention of the National system to construct over the same route and a definite promise was made by the Minister of Railways Dr. Reid on behalf of the Government that the necessary funds would be provided for the completion of the line as speedily as possible. Believing in this promise the Canadian Pacific Railway Co. have brought in large numbers of very desirable settlers, mostly experienced farmers from the U.S.A. Many of these settlers, owing to the lack of adequate railway construction have abandoned their lands and have returned again to the U.S. The loss of these settlers is a very serious matter not only to the districts concerned but to the country at large. Many others however, believing that the much needed railway will be provided during 1922 have remained and developed their farms and hundreds of others will come in when some definite announcement is made that the Turtleford-Hafford line is to be rushed to completion.

Hundreds of settlers who came in in the years 1906 and 1907 have remained on their farms during all these years. They have done their part faithfully and we feel that it is time the Government did theirs by providing the long promised railway facilities. These settlers came to these parts mostly through encouragement given them by Government Officials working under instructions from Ottawa. They were carrying out the Liberal policy of settling upon the barren Prairies, a policy that we believe brought great prosperity to the whole country.

The time has come however that it is utterly impossible to carry on farming operations unless relief is given by the construction and completion of this line. The cost of hauling farm products that have to be hauled forty to fifty miles to the initial market prohibits the continuance of profitable farming operations.

Unless relief is given speedily millions of dollars that have been expended in building up homes and developing the country will be lost.

The line which is now partly constructed will when completed open up a part of the province that is unexcelled for mixed farming and the line will become a profitable one from the time it is completed.

In view of these facts we . . . do urge upon the Government to provide the necessary funds for the completion of the Turtleford-Hafford line during the present year.

* * *

In 1920, Stephen Morrey, M.L.A. for the Happyland constituency, received letters from residents of Ingebright, a hamlet near Bigstick Lake in the Fox Valley district. One wrote:

. . . You know it as well as we all here do that if the farmers of this country around here could bring their products to a market close at hand thousands of Dollars would be saved that would go to pay debts but owing to the heavy expense incurred of marketing their products even a fair crop and also fair prices will not enable them to get the benefit of the product as they should.

Take for instance 1000 bushels of wheat, to transport it 42 miles to market will cost us here \$200.00 at the least beside many Hundred of Dollars is lost on the road in grain boxes going leaky and horses dead from overwork. (Many have been lost this fall). All of this could be prevented if the Gov't would either compel the C.P.R. to build a branch line, or else the Dom. Gov't put in a line from Swift Current to Leader.

If the people would be assured of any of these two coming thru I am positive the people who are here would be glad to stay and be amply rewarded too, but as things stand now nobody can stem the tide of discontent. I am one of the many myself and as a friend of you, I and all of us here implore on you and your good office to take the situation up with the Gov't to compel or persuade the C.P.R. or the Dom. Gov't to come to our rescue before it is too late.

The other farmer, the reeve of the rural municipality, mentioned that in nearly all of his discussions with farmers, the dominant note in all conversations no matter what the topic, ultimately came to the railway issue. One paragraph in his letter states:

There have been many surveys, much tramping across farm lands, great energy in the driving of stakes and so many unfulfilled promises, that one comes to look upon Fox Valley as the grave yard for broken and dead promises.

* * *

In 1919 residents of Mantario and district sent a petition to Premier Martin concerning their needs. One resident added the postscript to the list of petitioners: "This morning I paid \$34.00 for two tons of coal. How can we stand it?"

TO THE PREMIER OF THE PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN

Whereas the High Cost of Living is detrimental to the general welfare of our people and

Whereas that H.C. in the vicinity of Mantario is accentuated and increased almost beyond endurance by the fact that a short span of railroad grade of about 26 miles did not have the steel laid last summer and

Whereas the said steel to connect Laport and Alsask was faithfully promised by the authorities and

Whereas the lack of this steel causes the inhabitants to have the teaming done to a station 20 to 25 miles away thereby costing from 40 to 60 cents per hundred lbs. and

Whereas this is likely to amount during the winter in the matter of coal alone to from \$40.00 to \$60.00 per household stove and in the large stoves used in the stores from \$80.00 to \$120.00 and

Whereas the cost of this teaming the goods to the stores is a large factor in the H.C. of this community and

Whereas many of the members of this district have existed from eight to ten years under these difficulties and

Whereas this excessive "tax" is more than many of them can bear

Whereas business men built stores last spring trusting to the promises which were made that the steel would be in in time to move the crop and who now find themselves with an unbearable outlay for draying and

Whereas the H.C. caused by lack of this railroad is likely to result in the depopulation of this locality and the giving of the Goose Lake Line a bad name among the immigrating public.

We a few of the residents of this community feel in duty bound to bring this matter before those who should have an influence with the Railway authorities and to whom we faithfully look for assistance and relief from this crushing tax—viz: The Commission H.C.L., Ottawa. The Premier of Canada. The Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. The Minister of Railways. The Premier of our Province. The General Superintendent of the C.N.R. and The Railway Commissioner at Ottawa. We may say that this road was to have been completed in 1914 but during war

time we felt that we must put up with the cost and inconvenience but there seems to us no good reason why the track laying outfits that passed and repassed Alsask this summer should not have stopped long enough with us to have completed this short link of road. This whole community is being roused by the present state of affairs which presses so heavily upon them.

Respectfully submitted in the hope that even now something may be done to relieve the situation by having those few rails laid.

* * *

The Saskatchewan Southwestern Railway Association, formed in 1918 for the specific purpose of promoting the construction of branch lines wrote in 1920 to the Minister of Railways:

You are perhaps aware of the agitation of the above Assoc. for better Railway facilities for a large portion of the territory in Southwest Sask. from Range 29 west of 2nd to range 10 west of third M. I may say that our two years work with the C.P.R. Co. for a branch line from Assiniboia Southwesterly has been in vain as Mr. Coleman has informed me that if any construction is done it will be another section from West End or Consul. What has your Dept. being doing about this? I have had several interviews with you at Regina and you have been interested. We have done everything possible to lay all the facts before the C. P. R. and these decisions while very disappointing will only result in a more determined effort being put forward with other Co's or Govts to relieve this railway situation without delay. We have stood this thing for ten years and the number of people and amount of territory interested demands immediate consideration.

Let me have your advice and assistance.

RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES

An Episode of the North-West Rebellion, 1885

This intensely interesting and informative account was written by George Johnstone Kinnaird, born at Dundee 1855, died at Edmonton 1922. Mr. Kinnaird came to Canada in the service of the Hudson Bay Company in 1877, and in 1883, at the age of 28, was placed in charge of the post at Fort Ellice, which was opposite the present town of Lazare, Manitoba, on the Assiniboine River, eight miles from the present Saskatchewan border. This account was found among his papers by his son George David Kenneth Kinnaird, formerly of Edmonton, now of Victoria, who recently sent it to me.

It does not appear when or on what occasion this account was written. Possibly it was a draft for a letter; if so the correspondent was obviously another Western oldtimer, but one who had not been at Ft. Ellice in 1885, or in Boulton's Scouts. Possibly the account was written for Frank Oliver, the editor of the Edmonton "Bulletin," who had been in Edmonton during the Rebellion of 1885, having come to the West before the CPR had reached Fort Ellice, and so had probably camped there.

Since the word "camouflage" occurs in the account, it must have been written after about 1915, when this word was first used by English speakers. Although this was some 30 years after the events described, the language and spirit of the account leave no doubt that Mr. Kinnaird remembered accurately and fully these episodes. His memory was certainly refreshed many times in the intervening years by talks with my father, and possibly others in Edmonton who had been through the Riel Rebellion.

My uncle Sidney George Fisher, born at Millwood (Islington), Ontario, 1858, died at Saskatoon, 1951, had gone West in 1879, and took up a homestead near the present town of Russell, Manitoba. His younger brother Frederick Thomson Fisher, my father, born at Millwood in 1863, died at Montreal 1936, joined him in 1880 (at the age of 17) and settled on the adjoining homestead, on the east bank of the Assiniboine, 15 miles north of Fort Ellice. The neighboring village is still called Millwood.

My father and Mr. Kinnaird were lifelong friends, and this friendship must have begun at Fort Ellice in 1883, when Mr. Kinnaird was 28 and my father was 20 years old. The Col. Boulton whom Mr. Kinnaird mentions was another homesteader, who lived 10 or 15 miles north of the Fisher brothers' homesteads. My father was with Boulton as a sergeant, and must have been one of the party who were equipped and later demobilized at Fort Ellice.

Mr. Kinnaird left Fort Ellice and went to Edmonton in the Company's service in 1886. My father went to Edmonton and joined the Hudson Bay Company about 1895, surely as a result of his friendship ten years earlier with Mr. Kinnaird. Some years later he left the Company's service to become Secretary of the Edmonton Board of Trade, and Mr. Kinnaird resigned to practice as a chartered accountant; his firm became one of the best known in the West. Mr. Kinnaird died at Edmonton in 1922. My father lived in Edmonton until 1936, when he moved to Montreal; he died shortly after. There are now neither Kinnairds nor Fishers on the Western plains.

S. T. FISHER

You ask where I was at the time of the Rebellion: I was at Fort Ellice, worse luck, but too busily engaged in the equipment of Boulton's Scouts when the fuss began and later on I had my hands full in another way or I might have had a more active part in the game, which would have been more to my liking.

You know Fort Ellice I suppose, probably camped there on the way west in the old days? It was some place then although it has almost dropped off the map in later years. In the early eighties it was the terminus of steamboat navigation on the Assiniboine and the steamboats were the only competitors in the carrying of trade with the Red River cart; all summer long the screechings of the ungreased wheels were more frequent sounds than the steamboat whistle. All the imports for a large section of the western country were gathered into its warehouses for reshipment by carts, after these had discharged their loads of furs, buffalo robes, and pemmican for exportation, by boat or by cart as the case

may be. In addition to this transshipment business, it was the most important place of call for the hunters, traders, freighters and settlers on their way to and from the Saskatchewan and the western plains.

Fort Ellice, however, was on the wane already when I took charge of the post in 1883. The fast dwindling herds of buffalo were already too far from that base, homesteaders had been trooping in for some years, the C. P. Railway was under construction and already operating to farther west points, the river traffic had dropped to an occasional steamboat whose arrival was an event of some importance, and the Red River cart was being shouldered out by the buckboard and the lumber waggon.

Civilization of course, was somewhat crude and novel and interesting to the new settlers, but as I had already been eight years in the country and the novelty had worn off, I found it rather monotonous at times and the rumour of war was a welcome diversion. It seemed so at first, at least from a selfish view point, but the consideration of the consequences was so appalling that gratification gave place to anxiety. As yet we were far removed from the outer world, the savage population was far more numerous than the whites and certainly more warlike; if they threw in their lot with the rebels, the situation would be desperate before effective help could reach us. Whatever could be accomplished on the inside must first be done to stem the tide and hold things in check until help could arrive. There was plenty to be done and monotonous days would be forgotten in the doing of it.

My friend, Major (afterwards Colonel) Boulton of Shell River, was early in the field. He raised a corps of mounted rifles from the adventurous young settlers who responded to his call like guests to a wedding breakfast. A fine lot of men they were and afterwards gave a good account of themselves at Fish Creek, where some of them lost the number of their mess. In a surprisingly short time their ranks were filled, horses rounded up from the plough and the pasture and converted into charger and equipment in saddles, cartridge belts and rifles, supplied without any regard to uniformity of pattern. Uniform they had none, each provided his own clothing, but most of them had riding breeches and those that did not have cowboy stetson hats to start with weren't long in making a purchase when the opportunity offered. Blankets and haversacks were supplied them at Ellice which was their point of assembly. When lined up they had quite a smart appearance. Both drill and discipline were very defective, in fact almost a negligible quantity, but they could ride and they could shoot and there weren't any cold feet in the outfit. At a very early stage I think they might safely have been pitted against three times the number of the enemy.

As I remarked before, I had a busy time outfitting them. Saddles, bridles, blankets, haversacks, cartridge belts, and Winchesters were requisitioned for them from all sources. It was some job assembling these things but it was done and the tally was complete when the troop fell in, in marching order, the morning after their arrival. I felt that I had earned the position of quartermaster and might have had it for the asking. I would have been tickled to death to have

taken it and would have ridden off very gleefully but (all my life I have been hoodooed with butts when ever I had an opportunity for real enjoyment) there was something else to do and there appeared to be no one else to do it.

Boulton's Troopers filed into Fort Ellice like a bunch of school boys let out to play, their worries must have all been locked up in their old kit bags and the keys dropped into the river when they crossed on the ferry. We had a smoking concert that night and to hear these fellows roar their heads off made me green with envy. Next day when they rode off, I was blue, a peculiar change in colour scheme no doubt, but I can assure you there was no camouflage externally.

About 1860 or perhaps earlier, a band of Sioux Indians settled on the Assiniboine River, a little below the mouth of the Birdtail Creek, a short distance from Fort Ellice. They came from the American side of the line certainly and I am of the opinion that they fled the country after the Minnesota massacre, in which they had taken part. Be this as it may, they had the reputation of being peaceful and loyal in our country; we found them reliable and trustworthy in all their dealings with us, some of them being our best and most honest hunters whose advances were always paid and accordingly they were always welcomed visitors at the Fort. They were presumed to be Christianized and had a pastor of their own, resident amongst them, but I don't think that they took their Christianity very seriously. They always kept themselves aloof from their hereditary enemies, the Saulteaux and Crees, very much to the approval of those tribes, who had a lively recollection of the terrors inspired by the valour and ferocity of the more warlike Sioux on occasional meetings on buffalo hunting trips. A young buck named Chaska spoke English and acted as interpreter. Chaska was a good horseman and made several trips to Carleton with Chief Factor McDonald for the H. B. Council meetings, driving twenty horses used for relays for the Chief Factor's buckboard, in a rapid and almost continuous journey, the fagged team being turned out to run free and a fresh pair put in. The Chief of the tribe, Makpaodoot, (or something near that) which means "A clown" (but he was no fool), a big powerful man, well up in years, was Chaska's uncle. We only had two mails a week from Moosomin, a new town then, thirty miles west on the C. P. R. and the news we got by newspapers and letters was unsatisfactory as well as slow.

The Indians have ways of their own of getting news and were all well posted as we were, if not better. I believe they knew before we did that Big Bear had dug up the hatchet, and there was a good deal of unrest amongst them. The Saulteaux have a large reserve across the river from Ellice; I had not any reason to suspect trouble from them as they were never troublesome, but the Crooked Lake Indians (between Ellice and Qu'Appelle) were a troublesome lot and only the previous year had been on the verge of open rebellion, which might easily be stirred up again although at that time it had only been a local matter. The Crees and Saulteaux have some family connection and have always lived on friendly terms with each other. There is no doubt whatever that messages from the rebels had been received and the question of war or peace discussed in the inner Council on most, if not all, the Indian reserves. The Sioux of course were

out of all this but none the less interested, their fighting instincts were roused and they were in a very receptive mood for war. I had repeated delegations from them waiting on me. Was it true that the Crees were on the war path and that the Saulteaux were ready to join them and if so, did we want any help to put them down? These were the questions they asked and they were always coupled with protestations of their own loyalty. To all this I would answer that the rumours were greatly exaggerated, the Crees and Saulteaux had more sense than to think they could fight the whole of Canada and the British Empire beyond the seas, we had countless thousands of real soldiers always ready to fight and railways and steamboats to bring them in and pour them into the country in such numbers as to wipe them off the face of the earth if need be, but that wasn't the sort of thing we wanted to do; we would prefer to live in peace side by side with Indians of all nations. The Sioux knew that the Government had always treated them well and that the other Indians had equally good treatment and that the Crees and Saulteaux knew that too, as well as they did; they were not all fools like old Big Bear to listen to Riel and his rebel half breeds who had never been real friends of theirs; the present war was only a small matter and wouldn't come near us anyhow and they would soon hear of Big Bear and Riel running away like whipped dogs, the same way they did fifteen years before. This line of argument had a pacific effect and when it was supplemented with tea and tobacco, in liberal quantities, the Sioux braves would return home in a happier frame of mind. They went away with the impression that we were more concerned about fun than fighting, as we invariably wound up with a dance, in which there were no war antics. I know that my efforts were faithfully supported by the pastor, the Reverend Moses something-or-other, who was really a good soul and a man of peace, and must have had a hard time with his flock just then. I was at some pains to circulate the information amongst the Saulteaux that they had better keep quiet if they wanted to keep their scalplocks safe from the Sioux knives, that I was a very good friend of theirs and would protect them as far as I could and as long as they made it justifiable and refrained from exciting them too far. This undoubtedly had a good effect upon them for the Saulteaux were subdued and peaceful all that Spring and Summer, in spite of the rumours from the seat of war.

This sort of thing was not too congenial a job for me you may be sure and there were times when war was a more pleasant dream than diplomacy, especially after the news of the Fish Creek battle in which a few of my personal friends in Boulton's Scouts went under and again after the surrender of Fort Pitt, when my friend W. J. McLean and his family became prisoners in the enemies hands. I relieved Mr. McLean of his charge at Fort Ellice in 1883 when he was transferred to the Saskatchewan District to take over the charge of Fort Pitt. I had attacks of war fever as severe as any experienced by my Sioux friends and a punitive expedition on my own account "a la D'Annunzio at Fiume" or perhaps rather "a la Henry Gow at the North Inch of Perth" would have been more to my liking. It would have been a simple matter to have started the Sioux on the war path after Big Bear and, although I could hardly go the length of donning a Sioux war bonnet, I could have sported a black cock feather very gaily and played for my

own hand like sturdy Hal o' the Wynde. It might not be just or fair to blame McLean for the surrender of Fort Pitt, he certainly had an anxious time before he gave up and no doubt acted as he thought in the best interest of those whose lives depended upon his action, but if the inner history of the Hudson's Bay Company is ever written, it will be found that there is more than one parallel case where the fortitude and tenacity of the Fort commander has stood out against and triumphed over the red man in as tight a corner. I feel quite confident that had my own old Chief, Archibald McDonald held the fort on that occasion: "Another sight had seen that morn, From fate's dark book a leaf been torn and Flodden had been Bannockburn." It is vain however, to grouse over the spilt milk of might-have-beens. Archie was not there and neither was I, my war dreams fevers were dispelled by whisperings of conscience more potent than quinine and I played the game accordingly to rule. I received no war medal but Archie said I did very well, which like the "Well done" of the Navy, is about all the praise which the service awards but is very proudly remembered.

In that war as in every other, we blundered through somehow and came out all right in the end. After all, there were no serious happenings in my neighborhood, the anxious months went by and things quietened down. The Sioux pulse got back to normal under the soothing influence of much tea and tobacco and one fine morning in summer, Boulton's Scouts rode in almost as gaily as they left but, alas, "not the six hundred" and demobilization was almost as rapid as enrollment. Fort Ellice too was demobilized or at least went into the first stages of dismemberment prior to being abandoned. I did not see the end of it however, as I was moved along the line. Most of the following summer I was at Fort Pelly and in the fall of 1886, I was transferred to Edmonton where I have since become a fixture.

GEO. J. KINNAIRD

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Book Reviews

A HISTORY OF CANADIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT. By G. P. de T. Glazebrook. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966. Pp. viii, 360. \$10.00.

THE author of this work, a well-known public servant and scholar, has the undoubted distinction of having produced a book with a title which many political scientists and philosophers are going to find extremely misleading. Here at last, one can hear them saying before they read it, is the first comprehensive account of political theory in Canada; here we will find intellectual history, an appraisal of C. B. Macpherson's remarkable contributions, and an assessment of the liberalism that characterizes the writing of so much political science in Canada—and perhaps even some initiation into the mysteries of the behavioural studies that have begun to appear.

The book contains nothing of the sort. The author describes his own project in these words:

It is an attempt to describe and explain the opinions of Canadians on the form and operation of government, on the character of the state, on political society. . . . The purpose . . . is to examine, and as far as possible to define, the political society or community that evolved from the experiments in colonization begun in the early seventeenth century.

In pursuit of these goals Professor Glazebrook has produced what is in effect a somewhat offbeat history of Canada with, for pages at a time, no unseemly emphasis on thought as such. The book is divided into two parts, Colonial Régimes and One Dominion under the Name of Canada, and contains twelve chapters that trace developments from New France to the 1960's. The material is examined both chronologically and topically, and consists in the main of an informed exposition of familiar major aspects of Canadian history, such as the pre-Confederation struggles over the power of the purse, the emergence of Canadian sovereignty, and problems of unity.

At no time does the book come close to living up to the promise of its title. One would have thought that an elementary part of the history of Canadian political thought, even on the author's own terms, would be the role of Parliament, an assessment of electoral reforms and a history of the franchise; there is virtually nothing in the book about them. The central Canadian rebellions of 1837-38 receive several paragraphs; those of the west in 1870 and 1885 are barely mentioned, and then only in connection with the effects of Riel's execution on central Canada. The incipient republicanism that has drifted in and out of Canadian political thought for decades gets no attention.

A book can always be criticized for what it omits, but even what the author includes is not above serious reproach. He cites federal disallowance of provincial statutes in the 1930's and 1943 but omits, though they are relevant, the three cases of 1942. Although the Dominion-provincial conferences of 1960 led to the rejection of tax-rental agreements, and their replacement by the tax-collection arrangements, the author says: "No change in principle resulted from the con-

ferences of 1955, 1957, and 1960." He scouts the conventional compact theory of Confederation, pointing out that 1867 meant "the end of the old provinces as they had existed up to that point"; elsewhere he refers specifically to Ontario as "the most active originator" of the union. He contends that Canada is not "legally a bilingual country," and in the same paragraph leaves his contention hanging by accurately paraphrasing the British North America Act in such a way as to demonstrate that it draws no distinction whatever between English and French.

Nor, alas, is this all. Professor Glazebrook has been badly served by those responsible for proofreading his text, and for preparing the index. The proofreading, apart from a sprinkling of such needless trifles as 'Thornburn' for 'Thornburn', is presumably the parent of a few statements whose meaning can be deciphered only through effort: "There has been talk of 'grievances' just as for long in the maritime provinces." The index is so capricious that, after a number of attempts to use it for this review, I gave up. Riel is referred to several times in the book, but only his execution is indexed. Fielding appears as 'W.J.' in the text and in the index, but as 'W.S.' elsewhere; at least one of his appearances is not indexed at all. Although provincial attitudes are frequently significant in the book, the provinces are not listed as such in the index.

Perhaps it is disappointment over the lack of consonance between the book's title and its contents that tempts a reviewer to carp. The book is pleasant and, except as noted above, readable. Several of the chapters, especially in the second half, are excellent surveys of complex matters; they remind one of the more erudite chapters of the revived *Canadian Annual Review*—which is not listed in the bibliography, incidentally, although the defunct one is.

NORMAN WARD

PATTERNS OF CANADA. Edited by William J. Megill. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966. Pp. 278. Illus. \$12.50.

BECAUSE some of the contributions were written up to thirty-five years ago, *Patterns of Canada*, a Royal Canadian Geographical Society centennial project, occasionally reads like an old encyclopedia or an out-of-date copy of the illustrated version of the Canada Year Book. For example, while much of what Charles Camsell had to say in 1935 about the impact of geography on Canadian development remains pertinent, his reference to "the British Empire upon which the sun never sets" quickly dates the article.

Such anachronisms notwithstanding, the book presents much which is of interest and value in 1967. In particular, it brings together a variety of articles which probably would not otherwise have been re-read or remembered. The articles do tend to be more descriptive than analytical, but this is not wholly a fault in a book aimed at a general audience.

The main weakness of the book is that it lacks unity. There is little evidence of a real attempt to develop an overt theme. The work often seems to be more a

collection of interesting but only tenuously related articles, than a definite attempt to provide insight into the patterns of Canadian life or development.

Yet, while the diversity of the subject matter reflects the range of material that has always been presented in the *Canadian Geographical Journal*, there is an indirect theme running through the book. Perhaps its most important contribution to Canada's centennial year is its general emphasis on the geographical side of Canadian history and the role which water has played in the development of Canada. While this latter point is never explicitly made, examination of the contents shows that over one-half of the articles have water as an underlying theme, with specific subject matter ranging from descriptions of the *coureurs du bois* and *voyageurs* to the story of the building of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Complementary to this, the book makes an important contribution by helping to correct the mistaken notion that Canada has had no heroes and that the development of this country has lacked adventure. Living as we do under the shadow of the United States, and given that country's capacity for popularization of its history, we often tend to lament the "dullness" of Canada's past. We neglect such giants as Etienne Brule and forget that by the early 1740's, while the colonists to the south continued to hug the eastern seaboard, La Verendrye and his sons had moved as far west as the present-day location of Pierre, South Dakota. The Boones did not move into Kentucky until 1775. Lewis and Clark, everyday names, even to Canadians, reached the west coast in 1805, twelve years after Alexander Mackenzie sighted the Pacific Ocean, and thirty-five years after Samuel Hearne walked to the shores of the Arctic Ocean. Even such recent achievements as those of Superintendent Larson and his crew on the St. Roch tend to be glossed over in Canada while it would be safe to wager that few Canadians remember or have heard of the men who risked their lives in the first trans-Canada flight of 1920.

Altogether, given the variety of its subject matter and the extent and quality of the illustrations, *Patterns of Canada* makes a valuable and attractive addition to centennial collections of Canadiana.

G. L. KRISTIANSON

OUR DIAMOND HERITAGE. Ed. by Mrs. Carol A. Mossing. Torquay, Rural Municipality of Cambria No. 6. \$2.50.

LOOKING BACK: THE HISTORY OF THE MILDEN COMMUNITY, 1905-1965. Ed. by Walt Riddell. Milden, Milden Historical Committee [1966].

AN impressive number of local histories of Saskatchewan communities have been produced since the celebration of the province's golden jubilee in 1955 which gave the main impetus to this activity. To celebrate their 60th anniversary, two more communities have within the past year contributed their stories. These are *Our Diamond Heritage* which is concerned with the Rural Municipality of Cambria, and *Looking Back: The History of the Milden Community*.

Many people have had a part in these undertakings, the result of a great deal of sustained effort, which are worthwhile additions to the story of the province. Cambria R.M. includes the village of Torquay, the hamlet of Outram, and nineteen school districts, and the stories of each are told, for the most part, by different individuals. *Our Diamond Heritage* will probably be of more interest to local people than to the general reader since a considerable portion, especially the histories of the school districts, consists of details about the early inhabitants and their families. This information, however, provides a useful record, and the many anecdotes about pioneer life and experiences and local happenings lighten the recital of facts.

Looking Back is a rather more ambitious production, the Committee of the Mildred Central School Board who compiled it having had the advantage of a larger, more centralized community as a focus. Particulars about R.M. officials, school district trustees and teachers, organization and boards of the rural telephone company, early post offices, etc., are more complete and set out in a more systematic way. Information about the disposal of prairie lands, locating and filing for homesteads (also touched upon in the Cambria R.M. history), and reports on the area by the original surveyors in 1883 should be both helpful and interesting to those whose knowledge on these subjects is non-existent or hazy. The reminiscences and autobiographical sketches contributed by many individuals add a great deal of life to the narrative.

Accounts of municipal government operations and officials, of businesses, churches and schools, and details as to "who lived where" are no doubt the most valuable aspect of a local history. But almost equally important and certainly as interesting is the insight provided into the lives of the people. No Prairie community is far removed from its pioneer days. As do all Prairie local histories of any competence, *Our Diamond Heritage* and *Looking Back* give good pictures of pioneer life in their areas—of agricultural methods and equipment, transportation, heating and lighting, food and clothing, social life and recreation, of the catastrophes which over the years affected almost every family in some way—prairie fires, the 1918 'flu epidemic, and the drought, and of the many changes which the passage of time brought to almost the whole way of life.

CHRISTINE MacDONALD

CANADA: AN OUTLINE HISTORY. By J. A. Lower. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966. Pp. 248. Maps. \$2.75.

THIS text is exactly what its title suggests—an outline or handbook of Canadian history. Author J. A. Lower condenses the story of Canadian development, from the eleventh-century explorations of Leif Eriksson to our present-day centennial aspirations, into a 248-page paperback. Such a broad canvas and dehydrated treatment inevitably creates problems of presentation. But, by his clear writing style, his selection of memory-catching or anecdotal detail, and his designation of important trends and issues, Lower prevents the

necessary recital of dates, names and events from escalating unashamedly into a dictionary or catalogue.

Criticism of the work hinges not primarily on the author's achievement in this specific book, but on the larger question of the value of outlines. Obviously, an outline is utilitarian in function. For whom, then, is Mr. Lower writing? And how adequately does he meet the needs of any particular group of readers? These are among the questions which must be examined in assessing the merit and basic value of *Canada: An Outline History*.

Most general readers, it will be conceded, find the reading of an outline a frustrating experience. The enumeration of events and people, and the accompanying concise identification thereof, permits little scope for artistic and historical recreation of epoch or personality. Space limitations prohibit any depth discussion of the interesting "whys" of history. Sweeping generalities, if they be not outright misleading, usually fail to allow for the important grey shadings between the stark black and white silhouettes of events. An outline, by its very nature, can present only the bare-bones of history. The general reader therefore is not likely to derive satisfaction from perusal of an outline such as Lower's.

How useful, then, is it to the professor, the researcher, the high-school teacher, or the student? An outline is not likely to possess either fascination or utility for the specialist, but it may be a practical tool for the high-school teacher in planning lessons. In the outline Lower suggests topics for more intensive study and essay assignments, lists standard texts for further reference, and subdivides his chapters by headings which might be emphasized in a classroom presentation. A quick glance at the organization of one chapter illustrates this point. In chapter 10, "The Age of Laurier, 1896-1911", the author presents his information under nine sub-headings. One or more paragraphs are devoted to a discussion of each of such items as The Manitoba Schools Question, The Liberal Tariff Policy, the Railway Boom, The "Tinpot Navy", and Reciprocity. Eight problems relating to the material covered in the chapter are suggested, and to answer any of the assignments adequately a student would have to supplement his standard text with additional reading. Suitable references which he might consult are listed in the bibliography. Used as a guided tour of Canadian history by a teacher, Lower's outline could be a useful teaching aid.

In conclusion, then, A. J. Lower compresses a great deal of information into his outline of Canadian history. He writes clearly; he delineates trends and issues; he identifies people and events; and supplements it with good illustrative maps. But he is bound by the limitations of the book's stylistic format.

ARLEAN MCPHERSON

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