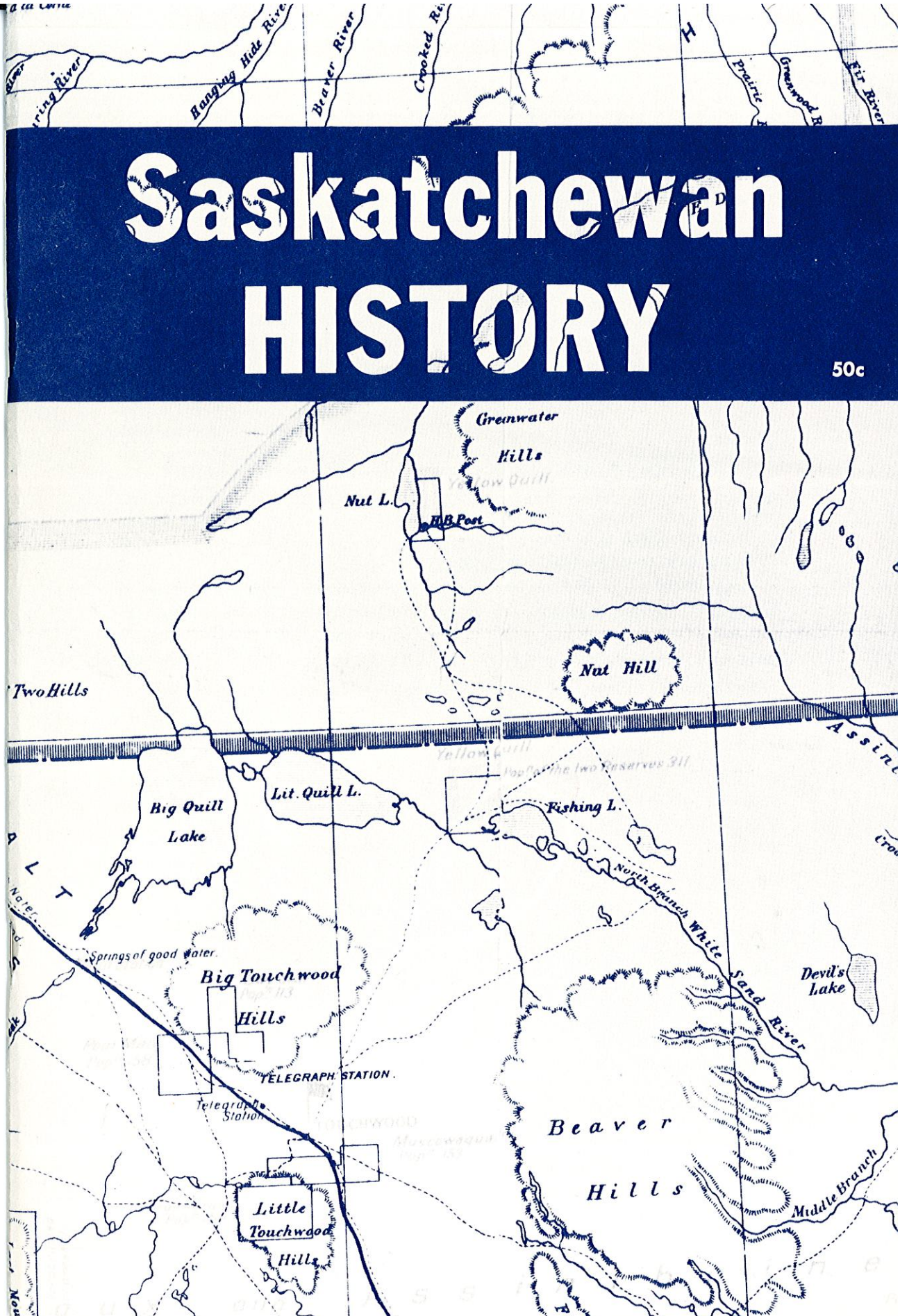
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The French Canadians and the Language Question, 1918

On February 27-28, 1912, representatives of Saskatchewan's French Canadian community assembled in Duck Lake to form l'*Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan,* (A.C.F.C.) an organization dedicated to defending and promoting the ethnic and religious rights of French Canadians. For the province's French Catholic population the moment to unite and organize was indeed opportune for within ten months the separate school issue, dormant since the first provincial election of 1905, would again reappear on the scene. Separate school controversies have had a crucial impact on French-speaking minorities because such disputes inevitably bring forth the thorny question of language. French Catholics erect a separate school to ensure instruction in and the teaching of their maternal language which they consider indispensable to the preservation of their faith. Consequently, French Canadian schools have become *de facto* linguistic schools and this peculiar status has fanned the flames of the burning separate school issue. In Saskatchewan, French Canadians and their schools would become ideal targets of opportunity in the rapidly rising offensive to make the province's population truly homogeneous: as Catholics they would bear the brunt of the attack on the separate school system; as French-speaking Catholics determined to preserve their ancestral language, they would be singled out as fifth columnists striving to prevent the true Canadian character from emerging in Saskatchewan.

Ironically, the genesis of the controversy which re-emerged in 1913 was neither religious nor ethnic but financial. Once raised, however, it did not long remain at that level. On September 14, 1911, Judge McLorg of Saskatoon dismissed an appeal by the Town of Vonda against a Court of Revision decision concerning the assessment of separate school supporters. In upholding the lower court's decision, McLorg ruled that each ratepayer exercised the option of supporting either the public or separate school.[1] Previous to this judgement, it had been held that members of a minority constituting a separate school district were legally compelled to support that school but the School Act was not explicit in this respect.[2]

McLorg's judgement had serious implications for the financial status of any school district which contained both a separate and public school. In Kipling, for example, most of the Protestant ratepayers were exercising their option to support the Catholic separate school rather than their public school because the former had a lower rate of assessment.[3] Premier Walter Scott, who was also Minister of Education, felt that unless the law were clarified a similar situation could develop in any locality encompassing public and separate school districts. To prevent this possibility, Scott introduced an amendment, in the form of a proviso to the School

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[1]Archives of Saskatchewan [hereafter cited as A.S.]. *Scott Papers,* The Town of Vonda Appeal from Court of Revision, Sept. 15, 1911, pp. 35193-194.
[2]*Revised Statutes of Saskatchewan,* 1909, chap. 100, sec. 45, sub-sec. 2.
[3]A.S., *Scott Papers,* Scott to MacKinnon, Jan. 2, 1913, pp. 35274-275.

Act, making it mandatory for the ratepayers of a religious minority to support their separate school.[4]

The Reverend Murdock MacKinnon, minister of Regina's Knox Presbyterian Church and Premier Scott's own pastor, was extremely critical of the amendment. He informed Scott that the proviso was radical and that it deprived "many intelligent Roman Catholics" of the "right" to send their children to the public school and to support such schools.[5] Scott replied that the proviso did not alter existing legislation but merely made explicit that which had formerly been implicit.[6] This explanation failed to satisfy MacKinnon and, after the amendment had been assented to, he advised the Premier that the matter had not been dealt with satisfactorily and that he would discuss the issue from his pulpit.[7]

On May 24, 1914, MacKinnon made good his promise to discuss the issue from Knox's pulpit. He charged that the amendments were designed to whip Catholics "into line" and place the public school at a disadvantage. MacKinnon contended that it was the duty of government to unite rather than segregate the people and he charged that the separate school, which the government had undertaken to foster, was the greatest enemy of the "unifying movement". He concluded his sermon by calling upon all lovers of "freedom, justice and fair play" to smite hard against legislation which was an insurmountable obstacle to the attainment of unity.[8]

Thus far, the issue was one of separate schools and their financing but in May, 1915, Scott introduced an amendment to the language clause of the School Act which added to the dimensions of the controversy. Previous to the proposed amendment, the cost of employing a "competent person", who was not the teacher normally in charge of the school to provide foreign language instruction in accordance with departmental regulations, was borne by a special levy on the parents who took advantage of such instruction.[9] In an attempt to provide proper support for foreign language instruction, Scott introduced the following amendment to Section 177, sub-section 3 of the School Act: "Provided that if the regular teacher is competent to conduct such course of instruction the board shall not be required to impose and collect such special rates."[10]

Reaction was not long in coming and provided grounds for Scott's opposition to merge. In a front page editorial entitled "A Wedge for Bi-Lingualism," Regina's *Evening Standard and Province* 'discovered' a sinister plot behind the amendment: the non-English majority in any school district could escape the extra cost of foreign language instruction by engaging a teacher of their own nationality and, consequently, "competent" under the terms of the legislation. Alleging that pupils

[4]*Statutes of Saskatchewan*, 1912-13, chap. 35, sec. 3.
[5]A.S., *Scott Papers*, MacKinnon to Scott, Dec. 30, 1912, pp. 35271-273.
[6]*Ibid.*, Scott to MacKinnon, Jan. 2, 1913, pp. 35274-275.
[7]*Ibid.*, MacKinnon to Scott, Jan. 19, 1913, pp. 35299-309.
[8]*Daily Province*, May 25, 1914.
[9]This provision did not apply to the primary course in French permitted under chap. 23, sec. 177, sub-sec. 1, *Statutes of Saskatchewan*, 1915.
[10]*Evening Province and Standard* [hereafter cited as *Evening Province*], May 26, 1915.

would not be exposed to English-speaking teachers, the *Evening Province* asserted that the amendment was a "deliberate" and "dastardly" attack on the public schools.[11]

During debate on the Consolidated School Act, the Conservative leader, W. B. Willoughby, stated that the public schools should not become a medium for teaching foreign languages and asked that the clause be withdrawn because it introduced bilingualism into the schools. The Premier replied that it was ridiculous for anyone to link the government with a policy of bilingualism because of this proviso. Rather than have this suspicion spread, Scott moved that the clause be withdrawn and the Legislature unanimously concurred. Commenting on this 'defeat' the *Evening Province* prided itself on having been instrumental in eliminating bilingualism from the public school system, "the melting pot from which the second generation may emerge Canadian to the core."[12] The separate school controversy and the language issue had coalesced to set the stage for the crucial debate on the language question in 1918.

The school controversy gained momentum with each succeeding month. On December 26, 1915, MacKinnon again discussed the school issue in a 100-minute sermon delivered before a packed audience which included Premier Scott. MacKinnon charged that the clerical school, which had been "blasted" out of Europe, had found fertile soil in Saskatchewan as a result of the School Act amendments and that it was perpetrating "non-Anglo-Saxon ideals and features." He accused the A.C.F.C. of having "attacked" the public school system, and the French, Poles, Germans, and Ruthenians of using the schools to foster their own sectarian ends. MacKinnon maintained that Scott had used the power of the Legislature to assist these groups in discriminating against that "great unifying agency", the public school. According to MacKinnon, it was the government's duty to foster assimilation by eliminating sectarian ideals and racial segregation.[13]

Thus, by 1916, a significant change had taken place in the separate school controversy. What had begun three years earlier as an objection to legislation affecting the financial status of separate schools had, by 1914, shifted to an attack on the separate school system *per se* and by late 1915, transformed itself into an assault against the teaching of language other than English. In January, 1916, the opening salvo in this new phase of the school question came at the meeting of the Provincial Conservative Association in Saskatoon. The Conservative leader, W. B. Willoughby, announced that his party would repeal the School Act amendments when it formed the next government. Referring to Scott's 'attempt' to open the door for bilingualism, Willoughby declared that English should be the sole language of instruction in public schools. Two hundred delegates cheered themselves hoarse after this pronouncement.[14]

While the Conservatives were applauding, officials of the Grand Orange Lodge met with Premier Scott and informed him that the Order would support the political

[11] *Ibid.*, May 26, 1915.
[12] *Ibid.*, June 3, 1915.
[13] *Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1915.
[14] *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1916.

party which favored the abolition of separate schools. The Lodge also felt that the teaching of French should not enjoy a special status and that foreign languages should not be taught in the primary grades.[15] In February, a resolution requesting that every child be taught in the English language was passed at the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' convention.[16] In March, a resolution calling for an amendment to the School Act prohibiting the teaching of foreign languages in the first five grades was passed at the annual Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association convention (S.S.T.A.) held in Regina.[17] A few days later, the annual meeting of the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities passed a resolution endorsing the demands of the Grain Growers' and Trustees'.[18]

Against this background, the language question could not fail to become a prominent issue in the 1917 provincial election. The Conservatives castigated the government's educational policy with advertisements like the one in the June 16 issue of Regina's *Daily Post*: *"Vote for the Opposition Candidate and Banish the Monster of Poly-lingualism from Saskatchewan Forever."* Conservative rallies heard the same call, embellished with charges that the Liberals were taking refuge behind foreign elements in the province.[19] The Orange Order submitted a questionnaire to candidates asking whether they were in favor of non-sectarian public schools; abolishing bilingual teaching; repealing religious qualifications for members of the Educational Council, and the enactment of a law requiring that all trustees be able to read and write English. If the candidate answered affirmatively, the Lodge regarded him as a "suitable person" to represent the constituency.[20]

In spite of the tumult over the school question, the Conservative effort had little electoral result in 1917 and the Liberals were returned with a majority of fifty-one members on June 26, the largest majority ever recorded by a political party in Saskatchewan's history. Despite the overwhelming Liberal victory, the results of the June 26 election could not be regarded as a referendum on the educational issue. There was, within the Anglo-Saxon population, a certain segment which was not satisfied with the verdict and who, like the Reverend MacKinnon, would not let the matter rest until satisfaction had been obtained. On June 27, the day following the election, the *Daily Post* had already informed Premier William M. Martin, Scott's successor, that the people were looking to him to make English the sole language of instruction "by whatever means are found possible and most expeditious."

As a result of the coalescence of the separate school issue and the language question in 1915, education had, by 1917, become a highly charged emotional subject whose repercussions, political and otherwise, were incalculable. The language question became a burning issue for the people of Saskatchewan in 1918. The

[15]"Report of Proceedings, Meeting of Delegation of Grand Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan and Government on Jan. 20, 1916", reproduced in G. M. Weir, *Evolution of the Separate School Law in the Prairie Provinces* (n.p. n.d.), Appendix II, pp. 126-42.
[16]*Grain Growers' Guide,* Feb. 23, 1916.
[17]*Morning Leader,* March 3, 1916.
[18]*Ibid.,* March 11, 1916.
[19]*Ibid.,* June 12, 1917; *Daily Post,* June 16, 1917.
[20]A.S., Kitchener L.O.L. No. 2671, Prince Albert, *Turgeon Papers,* General Files, 1909-21.

cry of "English only in Saskatchewan schools" became the panacea for all the province's ills, educational and otherwise. A delicate matter under any circumstances, the language question came to Saskatchewan at a time when the issue would inevitably be heightened by incidents which were taking place outside the province. The events of World War I had serious repercussions on Saskatchewan's European minorities. Flag-waving and an over-abundance of patriotic sentiment precluded any spirit of moderation or toleration for the teaching of foreign languages.

The conscription crisis in Quebec made Saskatchewan's French Canadians even more vulnerable to censure. It was an era when everyone "saw red" and ascribed the sins of fathers to their sons. It was also a period when appeals to passion overruled rationality in an effort to ensure that Quebec, and all it stood for, would not be reproduced or perpetuated in Saskatchewan. The primary course in French became an inviting target for those who maintained that the French language did not, and should not, enjoy a special status in this province.

By 1918, there was a desire, on the part of a certain vociferous segment of Saskatchewan's Anglo-Saxon population, that English must be the sole medium of instruction in schools. In the course of its campaign, the principle of English only became much more than simply a problem affecting education; the maintenance of democracy, the Empire and the Canadian nation in a curious way all seemed to require that English be the only language of instruction in schools. In its editorial of January 9, the Saskatoon *Daily Star* stated that while Canada was condemned in perpetuity to two languages, no sanction should be given to the teaching of foreign languages in Saskatchewan. If English were not the only language of instruction, it would be impossible to build the Canadian nation or make the privileges of Canadianism "clear and compelling" to all. The Saskatoon branch of the Sons of England placed an advertisement in the *Daily Post* drawing attention to their resolution requesting the repeal of all provisions permitting instruction in foreign languages. Calling upon the Grain Growers' to endorse these resolutions, the secretary of the Sons of England, H. G. Buck, said that while soldiers were fighting overseas to safeguard democracy, it was the duty of those at home "to see that this province shall remain British, first, last, and all the time." The Regina Great War Veterans' Association also sent similar resolutions to the Grain Growers'.[21]

The language question aroused a great deal of discussion at the Grain Growers' convention held in Regina, February 12-15. Reverend J. G. Shearer, honorary secretary of the Dominion Social Service Congress received a tumultuous ovation when he declared: "For the future of our country, English as the one language in our schools is the essential principle of our great democracy."[22] The convention passed a resolution calling for the exclusive use of the English language and English readers in the elementary school.[23] Commenting on the proceedings, the *Daily Post* stated that the Grain Growers' had placed the bilingual question on the plane it ought to occupy: "It is the united call of the people of the province for action on

[21] *Daily Post*, Feb. 13, 1918.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Grain Growers' Guide*, Feb. 20, 1918.

a question of great importance."[24] Both the *Morning Leader,* which had liberal tendencies, and the *Grain Growers' Guide* played such questions down by either ignoring the issue where possible or keeping comment to a minimum.

The attitude of the Grain Growers' convention, however, was simply a foretaste of what was to follow a week later at the School Trustees' convention scheduled for February 20-21 in Saskatoon. On February 15, the *Daily Post* announced that 800 delegates had registered already and hinted that "alien trustees" were planning a surprise and would register *en masse* on the last day in an attempt to control the assembly. In its editorial of February 19, the *Daily Post* looked upon the trustees to voice the unanimous desire of the people for "English and English only." The more liberally minded editor of the Saskatoon *Phoenix,* however, complained that the forthcoming convention was developing "a great deal of unnecessary rancor" and warned that Saskatchewan's foreign population had to be properly and sympathetically understood if assimilation were to come about; it would not be hastened by "irritant assertions".[25] As events were to prove, few heeded this plea for moderation and toleration. For its part, the *Morning Leader* expressed the hope that the language question would be dealt with in "a broad statesmanlike" manner in Saskatoon. The editor had refused to assume a dogmatic position on the issue but, nevertheless, he reminded his readers that an "unquestioned ability" to speak, read and write English was an essential prerequisite to the Canadian ideal and citizenship. He asserted that there was no place in this Dominion for aliens who refused to identify with the language, life and institutions of Canada.[26] The editorial was much more moderate in tone than those of the *Daily Post* but its import was manifest—English must be the dominant language taught and used in schools.

For their part, French Canadians prepared to make their presence felt at the convention. The A.C.F.C.'s official organ, *Le Patriote de l'Ouest,* reminded its readers of the events of the 1917 convention and urged every French district to send delegates; if the French understood their duty, they would have 200 to 300 delegates.[27] As the convention date drew nearer, the A.C.F.C. became alarmed at the "great offensive" that was being directed against bilingualism. Through the medium of the English press, the A.C.F.C.'s executive addressed an open letter appealing to the sense of fair-play of English-speaking trustees. The executive deplored the racial campaign carried out on the eve of the convention and maintained that bilingualism was not contrary to the national ideal. The French would be attending the sessions to study the best means of perfecting the school system and they wished to work hand in hand with English trustees to eliminate racial

[24]*Daily Post,* Feb. 16, 1920.
[25]*Phoenix,* Feb. 2, 1918.
[26]*Morning Leader,* Feb. 20, 1918.
[27]*Le Patriote de l'Ouest* [hereafter cited as *Patriote*], 30 jan. 1918. At the 1917 S.S.T.A. convention, non-English trustees narrowly tabled a resolution requesting the Department of Education to institute a uniform system of English language readers to replace the existing *Alexandra Readers, Canadian Catholic Readers, Bi-Lingual Series of Readers* and *Eclectic Series of German Readers.*

issues from the discussions.[28] Reverend S. P. Rondeau, who later became a prominent spokesman for the Ku Klux Klan,[29] replied that the racial campaign was being "forced" upon the English as a result of a movement to dominate Canada and make it French by undermining the public school system and the "assimilative power" of the English language. Rondeau's concept of a "sane" educational policy was "One common public system and one regnant language, the English language, which has ever proclaimed equal rights to all and special privileges to none."[30]

An estimated 3000 delegates attended the Trustees' convention which, because of its size, had to be divided between Saskatoon's Knox and Third Avenue Methodist Churches. The Third Avenue Church was filled to capacity and hundreds had to be turned away and the doors locked. A "concentrated rush" by those outside broke down the doors but few were able to find seats. Extremist English-speaking trustees were plainly in control of the February 21 sessions. President P. M. Friesen, himself, was not present because of the hostile reception accorded him the previous day when he called for compromise on the language question and, in the ensuing election, not one man with a foreign name was nominated for a high executive position.[31]

The most tumultuous session of the convention, however, followed the presentation of resolutions requesting that all trustees be British subjects, able to read and write English, that no language other than English be used as a language of instruction, and that no language but English be taught during school hours. Speaking to the resolution calling for English as the only language of instruction, president-elect J. F. Bryant stated that it was necessary to forge the cosmopolitan population into a unified whole. Dr. J. M. Uhrich of Hague stated that the knowledge of an additional language did not affect one's loyalty and he urged the assembly to act as Canadians and find a common ground. The audience burst into laughter when he referred to Belgium as "a radiant star in a storm swept sky." Father J. Libert, recently returned from the war and wearing the horizon blue uniform of a French soldier, pleaded the cause of the French language in the name of the French and Belgians who were fighting overseas to defend civilization and liberty and who, upon their return to Canada, would be shocked to learn that an attempt had been made to prevent their children from learning French. "In the name of Belgium and France, I ask you to table this resolution." The audience laughed. Another delegate spoke enthusiastically in favor of English only and was applauded loudly.[32]

Discussing Libert's motion to table the resolution, l'abbé Sinnett of Lanigan stated that a country could speak more than one language and still be united. He contrasted bilingual Belgium, which had shown a high degree of patriotism, to Australia which had only one language and yet could be considered disloyal because

[28]*Phoenix, Daily Post, Daily Star,* Feb. 15, 1918.
[29]W. Calderwood, "The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus, 1968), p. 181.
[30]*Daily Post,* Feb. 25, 1918.
[31]*Ibid.,* Feb. 21, 1918.
[32]*Ibid.,* Feb. 22, 1918.

she had refused to enact conscription. Pandemonium broke loose in Knox Church with cries of "Retract", "Put him out", "Get off the platform", and "Three cheers for Australia." Sinnett offered to retract the term "disloyal" if it had displeased the delegates but he was not given the opportunity to do so.[33] At this point, Emile Gravel of Gravelbourg asked the assembly if it would not make a distinction between the teaching of French and the teaching of foreign languages. From all corners came cries of "No!" "No difference."[34] The original resolution calling for English as the only language of instruction was carried almost unanimously "to the accompaniment of loud cheering and sustained applause."[35] Canada had been saved.

The next day's issue of the *Daily Post* might proclaim that the convention had made "a notable advance in the cause of a better school system," but for Saskatchewan's French Canadians, its resolutions were bitter food. Bryant, himself, was well pleased with the results of the convention. He informed Premier Martin that, in view of the presence of over 3000 delegates, the resolutions expressed the sentiments of the people on the language issue and therefore, he "respectfully urged" Martin to enact the necessary amendments to implement the resolutions.[36]

Much to Bryant's dismay, however the Trustees' secretary, John McCarthy, cast serious doubts on the legality of the Saskatoon convention. McCarthy claimed that only 100 delegates had been appointed duly by annual meetings of ratepayers; the remainder, who had been elected by boards of trustees, were not accredited delegates and, consequently, the elected executive was disqualified. He believed that the matter could be resolved only by having a meeting of qualified delegates to elect a new executive.[37] Bryant dismissed the secretary's charges as a "technical quibble" and the executive relieved McCarthy of his duties. The executive justified its actions in an open letter to school trustees which concluded with a stern admonition:

> To John McCarthy, who is a member of the Roman Catholic Church and to the Roman Catholic Church whose servant he is, we desire to say with all seriousness, hands off the free educational institutions of Saskatchewan or there will be trouble.[38]

For its part, the A.C.F.C. issued a public protest against the Trustees' resolutions, describing them as "a direct violation of the rights of parents to have their own language taught to their children." The Association felt certain that the resolutions would sow discord and hatred among the population and therefore were detrimental to the interests of Saskatchewan and Canada.[39]

As was to be expected, the French language press did not remain oblivious to the events that had taken place in Saskatoon. The convention was described as

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[33]*Ibid.*
[34]*Patriote,* 27 fév. 1918.
[35]*Morning Leader,* Feb. 22, 1918.
[36]A.S., *Martin Papers,* J. F. Bryant to Martin, March 26, 1918, pp. 17670-671.
[37]A.S., *Papers of l'Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan* [hereafter cited as *A.C.F.C. Papers*], File 44A, J. McCarthy to J. M. Reynaud, Feb. 27, 1918.
[38]*Daily Post,* March 27, 1918.
[39]*Phoenix,* Feb. 22, 1918.

an orgy of fanaticism which even the most precise of terms failed to qualify. *Le Patriote* claimed that a thirteenth resolution should be added to the twelve already passed: that all sensible people refuse to have anything to do with this "association of fanatics." *Le Patriote* also suggested that the S.S.T.A. change its name to the "Unschooled Orangemen's Association" and hold its meetings in the North Battleford asylum, the home of "infuriated fools."[40] The French Canadian attitude towards the events of February 21 was poignantly voiced by Emile Gravel in an eulogy to the late Father Libert:

> La motion recommendant au gouvernement l'abolition de l'enseignement du francais dans les écoles de notre province fut votée avec le même enthousiasme et le même plaisir qu'aurait pu causer la prise de Berlin.[41]

Convinced that they could no longer remain within the S.S.T.A., the French Canadian trustees formed a provisional committee to establish their own association, *l'Association des Commissaires d'Ecole Franco-Canadiens de la Saskatchewan* (A.C.E.F.C.). In April, the committee's president, Emile Gravel, and its secretary, Raymond Denis, appealed to all French-speaking school districts to join the new organization whose primary objective would be the maintenance of the primary course in French. In addition, the A.C.E.F.C. would concern itself with issues directly affecting French Canadian schools: textbooks, the recruitment of bilingual teachers and appointment of bilingual inspectors.[42] In view of Quebec's "unreasonable attitude" vis-à-vis the war effort and the "difficult position" of the Martin government with regard to the language question, Denis asked Attorney-General W. F. Turgeon if he saw any inconveniences resulting from the formation of the A.C.E.F.C. Denis informed the Attorney-General that a convention would probably be held in the summer and that the French trustees would shelve all issues which could provoke criticism.[43] Turgeon replied that he did not anticipate any complications if the trustees followed the policy outlined by Denis.[44]

The trustees' convention acted as a catalyst on an already seething issue. In March, the Grand Orange Lodge reaffirmed its opposition to separate schools and urged the government to prohibit the use of foreign languages in schools.[45] While the sentiments of the Lodge were to be expected, the resolutions of the S.S.T.A. were fortified by the support of the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities, one of the most influential and representative bodies in the province.[46] In turn, the Baptist Conference and the Anglican Synod of Saskatchewan also requested that English be the sole medium of instruction.[47] In September, the Joint Legislation Committee of the Sons of England and the Orange Lodge of Saskatoon sent out thousands of circulars urging the public to demand a "satisfactory settlement" to

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[40] *Patriote*, 27 fév. 1918.
[41] *Ibid.*, 11 déc. 1918.
[42] *A.C.F.C. Papers*, File 34A, Appel aux Commissaires d'Ecole, n.d.
[43] A.S., *Turgeon Papers*, G.F., R. Denis to Turgeon, 6 mai 1918.
[44] *Ibid.*, Turgeon to Denis, 13 mai 1918.
[45] *Daily Post*, March 8, 1918.
[46] *Ibid.*, March 7, 1918.
[47] *Morning Leader*, June 17, 1918. A.S., *Turgeon Papers*, G.F., Secretary of Synod to Turgeon, Aug. 20, 1918.

the language question.[48] The agitation, which was now province wide, was producing tangible results. In November and December, Martin's office was buried under an avalanche of petitions requesting the termination of foreign language teaching in schools.[49]

As Premier and Minister of Education, Martin was aware that a solution would have to be found for the troublesome language question and, early in 1918, he had already consulted with officials of the Department of Education. Superintendent D. P. McColl informed his superior that the provisions concerning the primary course in French had been a "bugbear" to the Department and would continue to be so until it was given a more precise definition. As a solution, he suggested that the School Act be amended to subject the primary course to departmental regulations which would have the effect of being more specific.[50] The Registrar, R. F. Blacklock, believed that departmental regulations should be amended to allow foreign language instruction only after regular school hours.[51] Replies to a special questionnaire regarding instruction in the French language and the teaching of foreign languages, as provided for by the School Act and departmental regulations, revealed that French was being taught in 77 schools, German in 71 and Ruthenian in 37.[52] In August, three months before his office was inundated with petitions to terminate the teaching of foreign languages, Martin had already drafted an amendment to section 177: All schools were to be taught in the English language and no other language was to be used during school hours, but upon a resolution from the local school board, French could be taught as a subject of study for one hour a day.[53] Under Martin's amendment English, henceforth, would be the only language of instruction.

Although prepared for the worst after the Trustees' convention and the campaign of summer and fall, the A.C.F.C. would have been even more alarmed had it known the exact terms of Martin's amendment. The French Canadians, however, were not taken completely by surprise. In September, 1918, Father A. C. Auclair, *Le Patriote's* director, informed Denis that the language question would be dealt with at the next session of the Legislature; there were rumors that the status of the primary course would be clarified and that French would be recognized as a subject of study in all grades. Auclair stated that the Orangemen bore more of a grudge against the French than any other ethnic group. If an attack were directed against the French language, Turgeon would resign, but Auclair suggested he did not believe that this would settle the issue. Heeding the advice of Archbishop Mathieu of Regina, Auclair stated that it was important to work quietly in bringing pressure to bear on members of the Legislature despite Walter Scott's advice to

[48]*Daily Star*, Sept. 14, 1918.
[49]A.S., *Martin Papers*, 53 Ed., *passim*.
[50]A.S., *Department of Education*, 3, D. P. McColl: Memorandum for Mr. Martin *re* Foreign languages in schools, Jan. 2, 1918.
[51]*Ibid.*, R. F. Blacklock: Memorandum for Mr. McColl *re* Foreign languages in schools, Jan. 3, 1918.
[52]*Ibid.*, 12(a), Schools Teaching Foreign Languages in 1918.
[53]A.S., *Martin Papers*, Memorandum: Suggested Amendments to Section 177 of the School Act, Aug. 12, 1918, p. 17681.

certain "political friends" to face the storm and let the Orangemen howl.[54] In spite of the fanaticism and passion already aroused by the language issue, *Le Patriote* felt confident that the members of the Assembly would be honor bound to safeguard the constitutional guarantees accorded to the French language. Its editor, Donatien Frémont optimistically believed that, on the eve of the peace conference in Versailles, there could be no talk of opposing the French and English in Saskatchewan.[55]

A government amendment, however, had to be more than Martin's own draft. It required cabinet backing, and in the weeks immediately prior to the opening of the Legislature, there was much cabinet uneasiness over Martin's draft proposal. The Premier's decision to abolish the primary course was one important cause of the resignation of W. R. Motherwell, the Minister of Agriculture. To Motherwell, who aspired to federal politics and who was dissatisfied with Martin's stand on Union Government, the language question became the "last straw" which prompted his resignation from the cabinet. Writing to Scott who was in the East, Motherwell explained that he could not support legislation which would leave fewer rights to the French than "rabid mad" Ontario had allowed with Regulation 17.[56] In caucus Motherwell was supported by Attorney-General Turgeon and the Minister of Municipal Affairs, G. Langley. Provincial Treasurer C. A. Dunning, Public Works Minister A. P. McNab and Provincial Secretary W. E. Knowles, on the other hand, opposed Motherwell, while the Minister of Highways, S. J. Latta, was friendly "but almost neutral."[57] Motherwell's letter of resignation, dwelling as it did mainly upon his other reasons, and only coming on page thirteen to "a strictly provincial issue" which had caused him to suffer "the agonies of a veritable Gethsemane",[58] would seem to have glossed over the issue of the French language in order not to make Turgeon's position, already difficult because of his nationality, even more unstable.[59]

On December 13, Motherwell hopefully informed Scott that Martin might modify the amendment because some Liberals believed that the matter required greater consideration. In a postscript, Motherwell was able to announce jubilantly:

> Have just had another caucus at my request as a private member & Martin has come through & granted what wanted—not to take anything away from *the French*—the boys when they understood the matter objecting strongly to his draft.[60]

Motherwell also informed Sir Wilfrid Laurier of Martin's capitulation but asked that it be kept confidential; Motherwell described the Premier as "a very vacillating man" and claimed that his behavior was unpredictable.[61]

While Motherwell's resignation came as a surprise, in the sense that he

[54] *A.C.F.C. Papers*, File 63A, A. F. Auclair to Denis, 27 sept. 1918.
[55] *Patriote*, 11 déc. 1918.
[56] A.S., *Scott Papers*, W. R. Motherwell to Scott, Dec. 13, 1918, p. 78108.
[57] *Ibid.*, Scott to Sir W. Laurier, Dec. 27, 1918, p. 78164.
[58] *Ibid.*, Motherwell to Martin, Dec. 10, 1918, p. 78123.
[59] *Ibid.*, Turgeon to Scott, Dec. 18, 1918, p. 78147.
[60] *Ibid.*, Motherwell to Scott, Dec. 13, 1918, pp. 78109-110.
[61] *Ibid.*, Motherwell to Laurier, Dec. 14, 1918, (Confidential), pp. 78131-132.

had no vested interest in the matter, the person mostly likely to resign, out of personal convictions, would have been Attorney-General Turgeon, a French Canadian, who was regarded by his compatriots as the representative of French Catholics in the government. For Turgeon, who, as Attorney-General in 1912, had assured the teaching of a primary course in the French language by his interpretation of Section 136 of the School Act, the present proposal to abrogate that course must have indeed caused him also to suffer the "agonies of a veritable Gethsemane". Informing Scott of Motherwell's resignation, Turgeon stated that he himself had reached the same decision only after much hesitation and that he was not convinced of the wisdom of Martin's policy.[62] On December 16, three days after Martin's capitulation to Motherwell, Turgeon was still intent on this course and advised Archbishop Mathieu of his intention to resign. While the precise reason for holding to his intention after Martin's change of heart remains unknown, Turgeon may have felt that the Premier had not granted sufficient linguistic privileges to the French or, like Motherwell, he possibly feared that Martin might alter his decision to grant limited concessions to the French and revert to the provisions of the draft amendment. In any event, the news "literally sickened" the Archbishop, who replied that, in the circumstances, Turgeon's resignation would be a calamity.

> Aussi je crois qu'il serait beaucoup mieux sacrifier cette première année qui remplacerait le cours primaire, que de vous voir partir, si réelement le gouvernement ne peut faire accepter cette faveur . . . . Fasse le ciel que vous restiez à votre poste au prix de n'importe quel sacrifice.[63]

So advised, Turgeon remained in the cabinet but he regretted the whole performance of the Premier over the language issue. Turgeon's remedy for the school question, "the curse of Canada" as he appropriately described it, would be to take it out of politics and place it in the hands of an "enlarged and better coordinated university."[64]

While the French appeared to be hopelessly outnumbered in this relentless campaign to abolish the teaching of foreign languages, they, nevertheless, had a powerful friend in the person of Mathieu, a man who elected to work behind the scenes, preferring diplomacy and tact to bombast and bravado. Since September the Archbishop had been using his personal influence on behalf of the French Canadian cause, an influence which was not to be underestimated and which Auclair had described appropriately: "Il y a de l'acier dans son gant de velours."[65] Mathieu had stressed the necessity of a quiet campaign and, consequently, the A.C.F.C. refrained from adopting the aggressive tactics of the Orange Lodge during this trying period. The A.C.F.C., however, was not inactive. During December, its *comité exécutif* met twice with Premier Martin and his colleagues to present and discuss French Canadian representations, but unfortunately, no documents relating to the deliberations exist.[66]

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[62]*Ibid.*, Turgeon to Scott, Dec. 12, 1918, p. 78103.
[63]A.S., *Turgeon Papers*, G.F., O.-E. Mathieu to Turgeon, 17 déc. 1918.
[64]A.S., *Scott Papers*, Turgeon to Scott, Dec. 18, 1918, pp. 78145-148.
[65]*A.C.F.C. Papers*, File 63A, Auclair to Denis, 27 sept. 1918.
[66]*Patriote*, 7 juillet 1920.

Again in accordance with Mathieu's desires, the A.C.F.C. pursued an educational campaign among the "better elements" of the English-speaking population. Articles by "Canadien", in reality Mgr Mathieu, dealing with the linguistic aspirations of the French and previously published in *Le Patriote*, were translated, printed in brochure form and distributed to members of the Assembly and other "influential citizens." This was an extension of the campaign, previously undertaken in 1917, to effect a *rapprochement* between the English and the French. The A.C.F.C. believed that the best means of countering the agitation for English only was to carry the arguments in favor of the French language to the public at large and convince the people that the French language enjoyed a special status throughout Canada.[67] It was a valiant but futile attempt, considering the circumstances, to convince Saskatchewan's English-speaking majority that it should accord to the French minority the same educational privileges exercised by Quebec's Anglo-Saxon minority.

In view of the agitation which had taken place throughout the year, the language question emerged as an inescapable issue in the second session of the fourth Saskatchewan legislature. On December 17, Premier Martin introduced Bill No. 31, An Act to Amend the School Act.[68] The difference between chapter 23, section 177, 1915, and the amended version was that the latter abrogated the provisions permitting instruction in languages other than English between the hours of three and four o'clock in the afternoon. English, henceforth, would be the sole language used during school hours with the exception of French which could be used as a language of instruction in grade one and which could be taught as a subject of study, for one hour a day, in subsequent grades.

This concession did not meet with the approval of the *Daily Post* and *Daily Star* who maintained that Saskatchewan's "salvation" lay in the establishment of one language—English—in the schools.[69] In Calgary, Reverend M. MacKinnon, serving as a chaplain in Military District No. 13, condemned the amendment for not going far enough: "French must go, Quebec failed us during the war . . . Let all enlightened citizens speak, write and wire until French goes with German."[70] The Grand Master of the Orange Order supported MacKinnon's stand and urged that French be banned from public schools because the French spoken in Saskatchewan, and other parts of Canada, was "not French anyway".[71]

Dissatisfaction, however, was not confined solely to the Anglo-Saxon element. Presenting the views of the French community, Auclair stated that the new legislation was imperfect, as in the past, because the French language still enjoyed a status inferior to that of English. Only in the Province of Quebec did the French language enjoy perfect equality with English. Auclair claimed that the French were opposed to the removal of the limited privileges previously accorded to the teaching of European languages because the school system provided ample op-

[67] *Ibid.*, 25 déc. 1918.
[68] *Daily Post*, Dec. 18, 1918; *Statutes of Saskatchewan* 1918-19, chap. 48.
[69] *Daily Post, Daily Star*, Dec. 18, 1918.
[70] *Daily Post*, Dec. 18, 1918.
[71] *Daily Star*, Dec. 19, 1918.

portunities for teaching English as a common language.[72] While Auclair may have believed this, he secretly feared that the abrogation of these privileges would have a "fatal reaction" on French Canadians because it would divide Catholics.[73] "Canadien" also complained that the new amendments offered less than the French had hoped for.[74]

The debate over the language question, however, became even more tempestuous in the Assembly. On December 18, Martin moved second reading to Bill No. 31 in a speech that lasted over two hours and which even his staunch critic, the *Daily Post,* referred to as "the finest ever delivered by the leader of the government".[75] Martin justified the exception made for the French language on the grounds of the historical rights of the French people in Canada. Motherwell, Latta and Dunning also presented stirring addresses on behalf of the French language.[76] Donald Maclean, as Leader of the Opposition, stated that the Conservative party was not going to make political capital over the school issue but, nevertheless, he maintained that the schools must serve as a means of unifying the people of the province into one "harmonious whole." He claimed that the present bill was merely a compromise and moved an amendment to make English the only language of instruction in elementary schools.[77] This motion was defeated 48 to 4. During Committee of the Whole, the Conservative leader again unsuccessfully moved an amendment to make English the only language of instruction.[78] When the Legislature reconvened on January 8, 1919, Maclean reiterated his opposition to the amendments because of the privileges accorded to the French language. He claimed that on purely legal grounds, the French had no stronger rights than any other non-English groups outside the province of Quebec; in Saskatchewan, there was no pedagogical argument, no "sane argument" in favor of compromise on the language question. A Conservative motion to refer the bill again to Committee of the Whole was defeated 42 to 7.[79] By this time it was a foregone conclusion that the bill would be passed on the third reading. It went into effect on May 1, 1919.

The privileges accorded to the French language, as a result of the amendment, provided less than the French Canadians might have hoped, but more than their worst fears suggested. Under the circumstances they decided to turn what was essentially a compromise—and perhaps a necessary one—to good account. Auclair and "Canadien" both urged their compatriots to enlighten public opinion and eliminate prejudices so that French Catholics might obtain full justice from the English-speaking majority. "Canadien" remarked, that since the half hour of religious instruction could be given in French, French Canadian children would

[72]*Patriote,* 25 déc. 1918.
[73]*A.C.F.C. Papers,* File 63A, Auclair to Denis, 27 sept. 1918.
[74]*Patriote,* 25 déc. 1918.
[75]*Daily Post,* Dec. 19, 1918.
[76]*The Language Question before the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan.* Addresses by *Hon. W. M. Martin, Hon. W. R. Motherwell, Hon. S. J. Lata, Hon. C. A. Dunning.* (Prince Albert: *Le Patriote de l'Ouest,* 1919.)
[77]A.S., *Martin Papers,* Official Hansard, pp. 18549-558.
[78]*Ibid.,* pp. 18655-659.
[79]*Ibid.,* pp. 18684-692.

be able to hear one and one-half hours of French in each school day. He was convinced that *le doux parler* could still survive in Saskatchewan:

> avec ce qui leur est donné, nos enfants pourront encore apprendre la belle langue de leurs ancêtres: il ne tiendra qu'à eux de la conserver tout en apprenant et en sachant l'anglais dont nous comprenons tous l'utilité—même la nécessité—dans une province comme celle-ci.[80]

Commenting on the language question, Auclair remarked that, in view of the excited state of public opinion, inflamed by fanaticism and passion, the French should have been prepared for the worse. In the end, however, the French had not fared too badly: the primary course had been restricted to one year instead of the customary two,[81] but French was recognized now as a subject of study for one hour in each school day. Auclair regarded the exception made for the French language as a step toward the eventual recognition of the equality of French and English. He interpreted the legislative addresses on behalf of the French language as evidence that the Anglo-Saxon mentality had undergone a significant change for the better and that this should be a source of comfort for French Catholics. Be that as it may, few, in 1918, were willing to concur with the views of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a man who was fully cognizant of the intricacies of the French-English problem and who anticipated, by half a century, the findings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism:

> I quite agree, and we are all united that every child in Saskatchewan should be given an English education, but we are all agreed also that a French education can be imparted and ought to be imparted whenever possible. The man who speaks two languages is better equipped for life than the man who speaks but one. The truth is so obvious that none will dare dispute it. The apostles of one language and one language only, when pressed to the wall, always come back with the statement that it is impossible in the school to teach more than one language. I grant that in some places those of French origin are so few that it would be impracticable to do so, but there are many places where it is not only possible but easily feasible.[82]

Ray Huel

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[80]*Patriote,* 25 déc. 1918.

[81]Although the term "primary course" had never been given a precise definition prior to 1918, the Department of Education considered grades one and two as a "reasonable interpretation". A.S., *Turgeon Papers,* G.F., A. Ball to J. Gagnon, Feb. 8, 1915. The primary course in the French language was abolished by Premier J. T. M. Anderson's Saskatchewan Co-Operative Government on March 9, 1931.

[82]A.S., *Motherwell Papers,* Education, Laurier to Motherwell, Dec. 21, 1918.

Louis Riel's Petition of Rights, 1884

The petition of rights[1] endorsed by a committee of French and English representatives in the Electoral District of Lorne, which contained the town of Prince Albert and the métis settlements on the South Branch of the Saskatchewan, including St. Laurent and Batoche, was signed on December 18, 1884, by Andrew Spence as Chairman and William Henry Jackson as Secretary of the Committee.

William Henry Jackson was the son of T. Getting Jackson, who had brought his two sons, William Henry and Thomas, to Prince Albert in 1881.[2] Thomas was a druggist in Prince Albert. William Henry had spent two years at the University of Toronto before the family moved west. The Jacksons were originally from Lower Wingham, Ontario; as strong Grits they sympathized with all critics of Sir John A. Macdonald's administration in the Prince Albert settlement.

Jackson became an organizer of the Settlers' Union which in January, 1884, arranged for a delegation to interview Riel in Montana and induced him to come to the Prince Albert-Batoche area to organize a movement for the redress of the settlers' grievances. Jackson was deputed to develop contacts between the métis and the discontented white pioneers of the area. From this time on Jackson immersed himself in the agitation which reached a high pitch in the fall and winter of 1884-85, culminating in the preparation of a petition of rights in December, 1884.

Receipt of the petition, as will be seen, was acknowledged by the Under Secretary of State, but the petitioners never received a reply to their demands. With the failure of the petition to produce results, Riel formed his Provisional Government early in 1885, and William Henry Jackson attached himself to Riel as Secretary. He became a convert to Riel's increasingly erratic views on the necessity of forming a métis national Catholic church, and had himself baptized as Henri Jaxon.

Meanwhile, with the formation of the Provisional Government, Riel's former white sympathizers in the Prince Albert settlement withdrew from the movement. They were fearful of retaliation and, with good reason, were realistic enough to recognize that rebellion could only end in disaster. That Riel could not see the difference between his movement in 1885 and the successful outcome of his movement in 1869-70 is decisive evidence that he was no longer rational, and was suffering from one of his recurring bouts of insanity.

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[1]The petition and associated documents is published herewith by courtesy of the Public Archives of Canada. The petition is located in the Department of the Interior, Dominion Lands Branch Correspondence, File No. 83808.

[2]See W. J. C. Cherwinski, "Honore Joseph Jaxon, Agitator, Disturber, producer of plans to make men think, and Chronic Objector," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. XLVI, No. 2, June, 1965.

Edward Blake, the Leader of the Opposition, in two of the longest addresses ever given in the House of Commons, was devastating in his criticisms of the government's handling of North-West affairs. He complained bitterly that the papers tabled in the House relating to the origins of the Rebellion were incomplete. And it is certainly true that they did not include the 1884 petition, which is published here for the first time.[3]

The outcome of the Saskatchewan Rebellion is well known.[4] Riel and Jackson were tried on a charge of high treason in the same court. Jackson was acquitted on grounds of insanity. The contrast between the sentences meted out to Riel and Jackson did not go unnoticed by Riel's many French-Canadian sympathizers in Quebec.

On February 4, 1885, Lieutenant Governor Dewdney was informed by telegram from the Minister of the Interior, Senator D. L. Macpherson, that "the Government has decided to investigate the claims of the half-breeds, and, with that in view has directed enumeration of those who did not participate in grant under Manitoba Act. No representations received recently."[5] This last sentence, of course, ignored the existence of the petition. But in fact the petition had been referred to William Pearce, the government's choice as investigator.

Pearce was a land surveyor who had risen rapidly in the civil service.[6] He had become thoroughly familiar with the West as a result of extensive surveys throughout the area. In 1884 Pearce was appointed Superintendent of Mines with authority extending from Winnipeg to the Rockies. It was in this capacity that he prepared his comments on the petition, but it is amazing that these were not received by the Department until June 27, 1885, after the Rebellion had been quelled, and his remarks had ceased to be relevant. After the Rebellion the Government called him to Ottawa to prepare an analysis of its handling of North-West grievances. Pearce's 1886 report completely exonerated the Government and it was published as a government document: *Detailed Report upon All Claims to Land and Rights to Participate in the North-West Half Breed Grant by Settlers along the South Saskatchewan* . . . (Ottawa, 1886). Not content with a written defence, Pearce took to the public platform during the election of 1887 to defend his report and the Government against Liberal attacks. He seemed to see no incongruity in a civil servant behaving in this fashion.

Pearce's earlier report on the petition, like the petition itself, has never before been published. Most of his comments on federal land policy as it affected the pioneer settlers are based on reasonable principles. However he dismisses as "not very weighty" a most important feature of the petition, namely that the Territories be given parliamentary representation and that the Provisional District of Sas-

[3]G. F. G. Stanley, *Louis Riel* (Toronto, 1963) refers to the existence of the petition in the Department of the Interior Correspondence but it has never been printed.

[4]The definitive account is Stanley's work referred to above.

[5]The telegram was quoted by Blake: see *House of Commons Debates*, 1885, p. 3092.

[6]See E. Alyn Mitchner, "William Pearce and Federal Government Activity in the West, 1874-1904", *Canadian Public Administration*; Vol. X, No. 2, June, 1967.

katchewan be established as a province with responsible government and control over its natural resources.

Forming part of the same file of correspondence is a letter from the editor of the Regina *Leader,* Nicholas Flood Davin, a member of the English bar who had migrated to Canada and who had been defeated as a Conservative candidate in Ontario in the election of 1878. Although his paper was subsidized by Conservative interests, Davin was an independent minded man who conceived it as his duty to serve as a spokesman for the North-West, at the same time retaining a warm loyalty to Sir John A. Macdonald. Davin's letter of January 15, 1885, to the Minister of the Interior advances a claim for the establishment of provinces in the North-West, and the grant of parliamentary representation to the three Provisional Districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.

Davin's letter in effect supports the same proposal advanced in the petition. Belatedly, the constitutional proposals of the petition were all conceded. In 1886, in an unadmitted response to the Rebellion, the Macdonald administration introduced parliamentary representation for the Territories. And after years of agitation under F. W. G. Haultain's leadership responsible government was granted to the Territories in 1897.[7] In 1905 the two provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were established, but without control of their natural resources. Ottawa did not relinquish control until 1930. Thus at long last all of the constitutional demands of the petitioners of 1884 were conceded.

Lewis H. Thomas

[7]See Lewis H. Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories,* 1870-97 (Toronto, 1956).

To the Honorable J. A. Chapleau,
Secretary of State for the Governor of Canada.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit to you herewith for the consideration of His Excellency in Council a copy of the petition which the people of this District have decided to forward under present circumstances.

From your knowledge of the matter referred to, you will perceive that the petition is an extremely moderate one. I may say in fact that to the Canadian and English wing of the movement a more searching exposition of the situation would have been much more satisfactory. The opinion has been freely expressed that our appeal should be directed to the Privy Council of England and to the general public rather than to the federal authorities, on the ground not only that our previous petitions would appear to have gone astray but that even the benefit of federal representation might be largely neutralized by the placing of obstacles in the way of our choice of leaders or the disregard of those leaders. . . . [Jackson's original covering letter was transcribed in Ottawa, and the copyist found the next line unintelligible].

It is therefore to be hoped that His Excellency and Advisers will not fail to appreciate the attitude which our people have adopted on the assurances of the now resident councillors and that a speedy and satisfactory response will be accorded to our present appeal.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
W. H. Jackson.
Secretary General Committee

District of Lorne,
Grandin P.O.
St. Laurent, N.W.T.
Dec. 16, 1884.

To His Excellency the Governor General of Canada, in Council.

We, the undersigned, your humble petitioners, would respectfully submit to Your Excellency in Council, the following as our grievances:

1. that the Indians are so reduced that the settlers in many localities are compelled to furnish them with food, partly to prevent them from dying at their door, partly to preserve the peace of the Territory;

2. that the Half-breeds of the Territory have not received 240 acres of land, each, as did the Manitoba Half-breeds;

3. that the Half-breeds who are in possession of tracts of land have not received patents therefor;

4. that the old settlers of the N.W.T. have not received the same treatment as the old settlers of Manitoba;

5. that the claims of settlers on odd numbers, prior to survey, and on reserves, prior to the proclamation of such reserves, are not recognized;

6. that settlers on cancelled claims are limited to eighty acres Homestead and eighty acres of pre-emption;

7. that settlers are charged more than one dollar per acre for their pre-emptions;

8. that settlers are charged dues on timber, rails and firewood required for home use;

9. that customs duties are levied on the necessaries of life;

10. that settlers are not allowed to perform the required amount of breaking and cropping on their pre-emption, in lieu of their Homestead, when, as frequently happens in the vicinity of wooded streams, it is convenient to have farm buildings and grain fields on separate quarter sections;

11. that purchasers of claims from bona fide settlers who have not completed the required time of actual residence, do not get credit for the term of actual residence, by sellers;

12. that contracts for public works and supplies are not let in such a manner as to confer upon North West producers as large a benefit as they might derive therefrom, consistent with efficiency;

13. that public buildings are often erected on sites little conducive to the economical transaction of public business;

14. that no effective measures have yet been taken to put the people of the North West in direct communication with the European Markets, via Hudson's Bay;

15. that settlers are exposed to coercion at elections, owing to the fact that votes are not taken by ballot;

16. that while your petitioners wish to give the eastern government every credit for the excellent liquor regulations which obtain in the N.W.T. yet they must express their anxiety, lest those beneficial restrictions should be loosed, more especially as the country is sparsely settled and the Indians numerous and dissatisfied;

17. that they may humbly state their case, without intending to intermeddle with the affairs of Manitoba and other parts of the N.W.T. your petitioners respectfully submit:

(a) that in /70, when, on invitation of the Dominion, the Delegates of the N.W. arrived in Ottawa, claiming the control of its resources as one of the conditions of the entry of the Territory into Confederation, they were arrested;

(b) that after releasing those Delegates, at the interposition of the Imperial authorities, after explicitly acknowledging and receiving them, "as the Delegates of the North West" the Dominion treated with them amid preparations for war; and dispatched to the Northwest an expedition of federal troops while the negotiations were pending;

(c) that a Commissioner of the Then Governor General and of His Government having averted the conflict which he saw would be the consequence of these hostilities, by giving his word of honor as commissioner that however threatening the outlook of the situation might appear, Canada would act in good faith, the response to that peace preserving act was repudiation;

(d) that an understanding having thus arrived at with the Delegates, subject to the consent of the North West, the order-in-council by which the Queen annexed the North West Territory and Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada bears date 23d June/70, at which time that consent had not been obtained;

(e) that having thus dispensed with one of the most important conditions of the "Union" the imperial government seems to have followed, ever since, a policy calculated, in the opinion of your humble petitioners, to make of the Northwest a mere appendage to Canada;

(f) that although the existence of the above-mentioned word of honor an extra-ordinary treaty has been established, four years after, by special inquest of the House of Commons of Canada, supported, another year later, by the government and recorded in the most conclusive official documents, there are nevertheless, today, in that part of the N.W. called Manitoba extant proof of their continual violation;

(g) that although, by the last clause of the "Manitoba act" Rupert's Land and the North West Territories were to have been under temporary government until the 1st of January 71 and untill the end of the session then next succeeding, those Territories are nevertheless, today, under a government, which has remained temporary for fifteen years and which, by the nature of its constitution is destined to remain temporary for an indefinite period;

(h) that the N.W.T. although having a population of 60,000, are not yet granted responsible government, as was Manitoba, when she had less than 12,000 of a population;

(i) that the N.W.T. and its Premier Province [the District of Saskatchewan] are not yet represented in the Cabinet, as are the Eastern Provinces;

(j) that the North West is not allowed the administration of its resources [sic.] as are the eastern Provinces and British Columbia.

In submitting this as a fundamental grievance, your petitioners would disclaim any intention of defrauding the Federal Government of the Monies which they may have contributed to the improvement of the N.W.

In Conclusion, your petitioners would respectfully state that they are treated neither according to their privileges as British subjects nor according to the rights of people and that consequently as long as they are retained in those circumstances, they can be neither prosperous nor happy;

Your humble petitioners are of opinion that the shortest and most effectual methods of remedying these grievances would be to grant the N.W.T. responsible government with control of its own resources and just representation in the Federal Parliament and Cabinet.

Wherefor your petitioners humbly pray that your excellency in Council would be pleased to cause the introduction, at the coming session of Parliament, for a measure providing for the complete organization of the District of Saskatchewan as a province, and that they be allowed as in/70, to send Delegates to Ottawa with their Bill of rights; whereby an understanding may be arrived at as to their entry into confederation, with the constitution of a free province, And your humble Petitioners will not cease to pray.

Department of State
Ottawa, Jan. 5th, 1885

To

W. H. Jackson, Esq.,
Secretary General Committee,
Inhabitants District of Lorne,
Grandin P.O., N.W.T.

Sir:

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th ulto. transmitting a petition to His Excellency the Governor General in Council, from the inhabitants of the District of Lorne, in the North West Territories, praying for the introduction, at the coming Session of Parliament, of a measure for the complete organization of the District of Saskatchewan as a Province, and to be allowed to send Delegates to Ottawa with a bill of rights with a view to the District being admitted into the Confederation as a Province of the Dominion, and to state that the matter will receive due consideration,

I have the honor to be, etc.
Henry J. Morgan
Acting Under Secretary of State

Referred to the Hon. the Privy Council by Command
sgd. J. A. Chapleau

Referred to the Minister of the Interior
sgd. J. A. M. D. Jan. 9/85

Ottawa
Jany 15th 1885

Sir,

I have the honour to call your attention to the necessity which exists for the representation of the North West in the Dominion Parliament. I have little to add to what I have urged on those occasions when I have had interviews with you. But there is at present in Ottawa a leading member of the North West Council Col. Richardson, and a stipendiary magistrate, who is well acquainted with the sentiments of the people, and, as it is probable you will consult with him on certain measures, I hope that the question so near the heart of the people of the North West will be brought up, and his testimony taken. There is a widespread feeling that this important subject will be dealt with this session. Rightly or wrongly the Minister's language in the Senate in reply to Mr. Plumb, was thought to convey the suggestion, that this would be the case, and if the impression should prove at fault and the hope be balked, the discontent will be in proportion to the earnestness of the anticipation.

The time has in fact come to erect provinces in the North West. There are now 60,000 persons in Assiniboia and 120,000 in the whole of the North West. I need not remind you, Sir, of the population of Ontario when it was given Representation. Today the least informed know that British Columbia has not more than 30,000 whites. Manitoba had hardly a sixth of the population of Assiniboia when it was made a province.

Numerous letters from various parts of the North West make me aware that what the people expect is that Assiniboia shall send four members and Saskatchewan and Alberta two members each, to the Dominion Parliament.

I have the honour to be
Sir
Your obedient servant
Nicholas Flood Davin

To the Honourable
Sir David Macpherson,
K.C.M.G.
Minister of the Interior
Ottawa

Confidential

Department of the Interior
Ottawa
Received June 27, 1885

MEMORANDUM

The first letter on file is from Nicholas Flood Davin Esq., urging that representation should be given the North West, stating there are 60,000 persons in Assiniboia, and 120,000 in the whole of the North West; that 4 members should be given to Assiniboia and 2 to the remainder: states that British Columbia with 30,000 has 6 members, and Manitoba was made a Province when it had scarcely one-sixth of the present population of Assiniboia.

The second letter is from W. H. Jackson as Secretary of the inhabitants of the District of Lorne who are agitating for certain *rights* to be accorded to the North West, and enclosing a petition.

This Jackson is the leader of the white portion of the community who are taking part in this agitation. That wing is a very small one; there are, however, among them quite a number of English half breeds who came from Manitoba. They are as a class very ignorant; lack energy; and subsisted either by hunting or freighting or both. The hunt has failed and very little freighting is now required owing to the construction of the C.P.R. and the placing of boats on the Saskatchewan River. The result is that they find themselves in extreme poverty and naturally become discontented and are easily led by agitators. They have so much idle time on their hands that many attend these meetings for amusement. As to Jackson himself he was a machine agent in that District, had I think still has a homestead. His father has not been able to obtain what he wishes. His brother is a druggist or keeps a drug store in Prince Albert and laid claim to a piece of land in that neighbourhood which was also claimed by another party. Jackson did not obtain what he wanted, consequently he also became dissatisfied. Such men as Jackson—and fortunately they are very few—joined this agitation to advance their own ends and if nothing else is accomplished, their vanity is flattered by being brought into prominence.

Your attention is directed to his statement that this petition is much more moderate than the "Canadian and English wing of the movement desire." Further that the opinion has been fully expressed that they should petition directly the Privy Council and that the Federal authorities in the past have either ignored their petitions or that they have gone astray. Further the Federal authorities would probably throw obstacles in the choice of leaders.

The claims in the petition will be commented on paragraph by paragraph.

1. There is no doubt that when they have provisions they are generous therewith.

2. They claim 240 acres of land the same as half breeds in the North West. Reply that an enumeration of the half breeds will very shortly be made with a view of making grants thereto.

3. All persons, half breeds or otherwise, who were in possession at the time of transfer have received or shortly will receive a free grant for the portion so occupied when it does not exceed 160 ac. Those who have gone into possession have been treated as liberally as the Dominion Lands Act made provision for at the time they took such possession. In all such cases the most liberal interpretation has been placed thereon. So far as those at Prince Albert and St. Laurent are concerned all who have made application or filed evidence have been adjusted, and so soon as they comply therewith the patents will issue. So far as Homesteads are concerned they merely require to make the entry payment of $10.00 office fee and make application for the patent which will issue immediately. As to the pre-emptions all those who commenced residence on their homestead prior to the 1st of June, 1880, and have completed the three years residence since, have been granted Homesteads when available at $1.00 per acre.

4. With what has been and probably soon will be done, the old settlers of the North West will be as liberally treated as those in Manitoba under the Manitoba and subsequent Acts.

5. All persons who have bona fide settled on odd numbered sections before survey, or on lands which have been set apart as Indian Reserves have had their claims granted. Also when pre-emptions were available they have been granted.

6. Settlers on cancelled claims are not necessarily limited to 80 acres, but by paying a small advance on pre-emptions are accorded 180 ac. The cancellation regulations have been arrived at after a great deal of thought and consideration and it is found that where tried thoroughly, as it has been in the older portions of the community, the present regulations give general satisfaction. Two dangers in cancellation are to be avoided: one that facilities for such be not curtailed so that parties will not apply, and hence the homestead duties will not be carried out; the other to make them so liberal that applications will be encouraged so as to aid the speculative applicant for cancellation, or give annoyance to those who are trying fairly to comply with the homestead requirements of the Dominion Lands Act.

7. The price of pre-emption in that District is placed at $2.00 per acre—not a high price when it is considered that it is optional with the settler to take one or not, he being given a free grant of 160 acres, which experience has shown to be much more than the average settler is able to cultivate properly within the three years, in fact more than most will require in ten years.

8. The Dominion Lands Act makes liberal provisions for the bona fide homesteader obtaining a free permit for building material and fuel required for his own purposes.

9. As to custom duties, no civilized country in the world has custom duties in one portion of the community and none in another. Even if desired, such a condition of affairs is not permissible. Besides if this matter be investigated it will be found

that what are termed the necessaries of life are generally free, or only so much burden as should be, to support the Government of the country; or in some cases to encourage home production or manufacture.

10. No one has yet been refused patent for his homestead when he had resided thereon and had performed a reasonable amount of cultivation, even if it were on his pre-emption.

11. In adjusting the claims of the old settlers when it could be shown by improvements that the old settler had been a bona fide resident, that is, had made his residence thereon and the cultivation thereof his chief occupation, such residence has been allowed in favour of the purchaser; but Parliament has wisely provided that such shall not count where facilities existed for making entry and applying for patent in the usual way, as the object of the Homestead Law is to encourage to development of an agricultural population resident on their farms or claims.

12. In the future, if it has not been so in the past, care will be taken in letting contracts to give the inhabitants of the North West every reasonable opportunity to tender for works and supplies.

13. This is too vague a charge to be answered. You should specify the sites to which you allude.

14. The Government has made a liberal land grant to promote the Railway to Hudson's Bay, and has also sent an expedition thereto, and established observation stations at several points on the same. Before capitalists will put money in an enterprise of this kind they must have assurances of the practicability of the scheme.

15. In Manitoba, when a population existed similar to that at present in the North West, a system of voting by ballot was introduced; but was repealed almost unanimously after the first trial. It is probable that if voting by ballot was introduced in the North West it would also be repealed. However, if there should be a strong expression of opinion in its favour, it will no doubt be introduced.

16. The modification of the Liquor restrictions in the North West rests with Parliament. If it should prove that the majority wish a continuance of the present system no doubt it will be maintained.

17. This and its corollaries are matters which I am not in a position to answer. However, they are not very weighty.

Respectfully submitted,
Wm. Pearce.

Cypress Hills Reminiscences

by MRS. JAMES McDOUGALD

In the fall of 1882, the Canadian Pacific Railway grade ended at Maple Creek and this was the beginning of the town. There was a boarding house and some of the men built shacks and shelters for their horses and spent the winter here waiting for spring when they could continue building the grade westward. There was very little settlement along the Hills although Fort Walsh had been established on Battle Creek some 38 miles to the south west in 1874.

Among the early settlers here were the Cheeseman and Pollock Brothers, who had left their homes in Quebec and moved to Nevada, from there they trailed their horses overland and settled in the Fish Creek area. Also among the early settlers were a few freighters who had hauled supplies from Fort Benton to Fort Walsh, these goods had been brought up the Missouri River and unloaded at Fort Benton. Then there were those who had worked on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and who felt the urge to put down roots here and several policemen whose term of enlistment had expired became permanent residents. The ranches were situated mostly on the north slope of the Cypress Hills along the creeks. The uplands between the creeks were considered common open grazing areas. Small pastures to hold saddle horses and milk cows near the buildings, and gradually small fields of oats and wheat were established, but these were the only enclosed areas.

Among the earliest business men here were the Dixon Brothers, John and Chester who shipped a car of merchandise from Ontario destined for Calgary; however, the Canadian Pacific Railway rails ended at Colley about twelve miles east of here and on learning that the Canadian Pacific Railway bridge over the Saskatchewan River at Medicine Hat would not be completed for over a year, they freighted their supplies to Maple Creek and opened their store in the spring of 1883, in a tent, later moving to temporary quarters and building a frame store in 1885. Other early stores were opened by Mr. Jean Clauster, a Frenchman, and by T. C. Powers and Company who moved their business in from Fort Walsh. Also Mr. J. O. Beesley was a very early merchant and a grocery business here is still carried on under the Beesley name.

One important factor in the development of this town was the re-location of the North West Mounted Police Barracks just south-west of the town, when Fort Walsh was abandoned in 1883 in order to take advantage of the railway facilities. I have read that there were 225 men stationed here then. Later several officers' families were in residence at the Barracks and this increased the population and added to the shopping and general life of the community. One outstanding social event of those early days was the Barracks Ball. The North West Mounted Police

sent out invitations to the settlers and village residents to this gala affair, where treasured frocks and dress suits from far-off days and places lent a formal touch to this frontier community party. Later when accommodation was available, a Citizens' Ball was organized to return this hospitality.

The religious life was represented by the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, who quite early had resident clergymen and built churches which were creditably furnished. The Catholic Church was served by visiting Priests. The Presbyterian Minister drove out into the south-west country to hold services and a church was built in the Fish Creek area, quite close to the present Reg Small home. The Methodist Minister went out south-east and held services in the ranchers' homes, and Bear Creek Church was organized. It was dedicated in 1894. One incident in this connection that I was told of was that due to the lack of a pulpit, they used an empty lime barrel to support a buggy seat which was covered with a woollen lap rug. This served the Superintendent of Missions "who came from Winnipeg" as a pulpit or reading desk for the dedication service. The ecumenical spirit was in evidence here long before Pope John's time. Mr. Dan Braniff, a staunch Roman Catholic, and my Uncle John Cumberland, the son of a proud Presbyterian family each lent their skill as axe men when this frontier house of God was built with logs out on the slopes of the Cypress Hills. It still stands straight and true about halfway between Piapot Creek and Bear Creek, although seldom used. Mr. Cunliff, who served St. Mary's Anglican Church, also drove out into the country carrying his little portable organ in his buckboard and held services in the homes of his far-flung parishioners.

The first country school in this locality was Hay Creek School organized in 1897 by Mr. F. W. Peecock, Mr. W. S. Joans, and Mr. Geo. Hammond. Cypress School, the second country school, was established in 1902 in the Fish Creek area. A town school was started in 1885 or 1887. A four-room stone structure was built in Maple Creek in 1895 which replaced the first log school house; this log building was later converted into an apartment house by Mr. W. F. Lawrence and still provides living quarters for several tenants. The stone school served the town until it was replaced by the present brick structure known as Jasper Street School in 1910. The education of their families was a major problem for the ranchers. Some solved it by building a house in town, and others by employing a governess in the home, some by teaching their children themselves and, alas, some young folk grew up without benefit of "Reading and Writing and Rithmetic". My parents taught us our early lessons and when possible my mother moved to Maple Creek or to a house near Hay Creek school for a part of the school year. I think I really learned more about far-off people and places from my parents and from listening in on adult conversations when friends and various travellers called at our home, than I did from formal school attendance.

An Agricultural Society was formed and the first Fair was held in 1894. Early records tell of a $1.00 membership fee; it is noteworthy that in this day of rising costs, 75 years later, Maple Creek Agricultural Society membership fee is still $1.00. Horse racing at those early fairs added colour and entertainment to the day. This

summer our daily papers gave considerable notice of the first female jockey competing with the regular jockeys in our western race circuit. Well, they were over 65 years late with their news. Miss Addie Braniff who in her teens rode her father's race horse at Maple Creek and as far away as Lethbridge in competition with male riders in public races.

In 1890 my father and his brother, John Cumberland, arrived here and settled about 18 miles south-east of Maple Creek. They built a log house, stable and corral then drove to Montana, bought sheep and trailed them from beyond the Maria River. Late in that fall, my mother and my brother, Harry, arrived from the Winnipeg area. As the years went by a few more ranches were established; in some cases marriages reduced the number of bachelors and added to the social life of the community.

The hard winter of 1892-3 dealt a devastating blow to the livestock business; however, most of the ranchers held on and in time built up their herds again. My father went to work for ranchers who had sufficient stock to carry on with. In 1897 my parents re-settled on my father's homestead ten miles east of Maple Creek on Piapot Creek. Hard times and the lack of educational facilities were among their problems, but a "Do-It-Yourself" spirit prevailed. Bit by bit, cattle and horse herds were built up; a bridge was built by my father over the creek, an irrigation system was eventually constructed.

One great improvement in the communication area was the establishment of a weekly mail route. The stage left Maple Creek Friday morning, calling at Skibbereen post office, on to Skull Creek post office where they changed horses, then on to South Fork and Eastend, returning Saturday and revisiting these post offices carrying letters from those ranchers to far-off homelands, also providing transportation for the odd traveller to and fro. In heavy winter roads this two day journey took much longer, but the "mail got through", thanks to such early stage drivers as Joe Reanow and Billy Mutrie. Skibbereen Post Office was named for the hometown in County Cork, Ireland of the first postmaster, Mr. Sandy McCarthy.

In the beginning this little frontier town depended on the doctor in residence at the Barracks, but by the late nineties there were two doctors here and in 1904 Maple Creek Hospital was opened, in a house loaned "rent free" by Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Pollock. Before her marriage Mrs. Pollock had been Superintendent of Nurses in Medicine Hat Hospital, which had been established in 1889. In 1908 a brick hospital was built; Mr. Charles Saunders, a successful horse rancher who had been cared for in his terminal illness in the little hospital, bequeathed his estate. Also the estate of Mr. Scotty Nicholson provided funds for this hospital building. In 1904 the Hospital Aid was formed. This organization provided valuable assistance, especially in those early years.

My world was small, bounded by folk who lived on Bear Creek, Piapot and Hay Creeks. Among them were some very fine folks who had hailed from various parts of the world. Quebec, Ontario, P.E. Island, Scotland, Ireland, the United States and England were well represented. Also, the Baltic States, Poland and the

Scandinavian area had all provided at least one settler for this area. A couple of weddings that it was my privilege to attend, stand out in my memory. The Canadian Pacific Railway section house at Colley three miles north of our home was occupied by Lithuanian, Polish and Russian folk who invited us to the marriages of their kinfolk. The Priest and many of the guests came by train; the pretty paper flowers, gay dresses and festive food really impressed my childish eyes and mind. In looking back I marvel at those people so far from their Homelands, keeping up their old country customs and dances, but we must remember that this was how western Canada was built. Bear Creek Picnic held first about 1902 was a pleasant social gathering enjoyed by young and old.

Local roundups were held spring and fall to brand the calves and gather the beef for sale. Shearing gangs went from ranch to ranch in late spring to shear the sheep at so much per head. The very earliest threshing that I remember was my father using a homemade flail to thresh oats and I also saw a horsepower treadmill threshing grain on the McCarthy ranch. Mr. Dan Braniff later went far and near threshing the little stacks of grain with his horsepower-driven threshing machine. Early in the nineteen hundreds an epidemic of mange in the cattle plagued the ranchers and it became compulsory to treat all the animals by dipping them until completely covered in a vat that held the prescribed solution. Dipping vats were dotted here and there and ranchers who did not have a vat paid a small sum per head for this service.

Sports such as baseball and lacrosse were organized even in this isolated community and in the early nineteen hundreds tennis was a popular game here and later Mr. Clem Blythman became the champion tennis player of the province. Football flourished in the Bear Creek area and after the town of Piapot was started, games at local picnics and sports days were played between the country and town teams, but when the Piapot team ventured far afield the best players of the district formed a team that became Provincial Champions. Early in 1900 a Dominion Government Rifle Club was formed and regular target practises were held on Bear Creek. Scores were kept and a silver plate presented for the highest score for the seasons. Local fall shooting matches and dances added to the social life of the area. The town of Piapot was a great boon to the settlers on both Bear and Skull Creeks, bringing a shopping center many miles closer.

The building of branch railway lines from Assiniboia to Lethbridge and from Swift Current to Empress greatly reduced the shopping area served by Maple Creek; however, a great influx of homesteaders starting about 1906-7 and lasting until the war years added to the population. Country schools and organized municipal districts were formed and the era of the open range had ended. The Arbana District southwest of Maple Creek settled by good Russian immigrants and Fox Valley district about forty miles to the north settled by German folks were the only areas that had a regional background. The other farmers came from various parts of the world to establish homes here in the southwest corner of Saskatchewan and I cannot close without paying tribute to those very early settlers as well as the homesteaders who came later.

Book Reviews

ALL SILENT, ALL DAMNED/THE SEARCH FOR ISAAC BARR, by Helen Evans Reid. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1969. $6.95.

The power of the imagination to triumph over the world of practicability was never better revealed than in the person of a clergyman of the Church of England who at the age of fifty-four emerged from an ineffective career as a parish priest to become the self-appointed leader of a colonization scheme which was declared by a contemporary newspaper account to be "the greatest emigration from England since the departure of William Penn." The architect of this venture was the Rev. Isaac Montgomery Barr, and his scheme, in which he was assisted by another clergyman, the Rev. George Exton Lloyd, led to the establishment of an "all-British" colony located at Lloydminster, Saskatchewan. The colony gained considerable notoriety in at least three countries, aroused interest in the Canadian northwest, and made a valuable contribution to the development of the country between Bresaylor and Vermilion.

Gossip and anecdotage about Isaac Barr have been abundant in the memoirs of Barr colonists and in popular accounts of the colony and its affairs. An article a few years back, based largely on these accounts, crystallized, ironically, the legend of Barr as "the clerical con man who helped settle the west." From this portraiture, Dr. Helen Evans Reid now unreservedly disassociates herself. A native of Ontario and an M.D., she has, according to the book jacket sketch, "spent her youth in Western Canada and has been interested in the Barr colonists since childhood when she knew some of them well and listened to their tales of the Colony." Her *All Silent, All Damned/The Search for Isaac Barr* is a biographical study, taking her subject from his origins as one of five children in the Irish clerical family of William and Catharine Baird Barr, through childhood in Halton County near the village of Hornby, Ontario, education and training for the ministry, the first of several marriages, some ten years as "an insignificant rural clergyman in Canada who spent his pastoral days shifting from field to field," another eight years of continuing ministerial service in the United States accompanied by a gradual disengagement from the desire to follow his chosen career, to the great moment in his life when he headed the Barr Colony movement, followed by disaster and disgrace, then a return to the United States, and finally departure for Australia—only this time as a colonist rather than as the leader of an emigrant party to a far-off dominion. For those who believe that Barr was unjustly vilified in connection with the Barr Colony, this book will prove a pleasant journey through the life of a restless adventurer.

Emigration from Great Britain was on the upsurge. Economic exploitation was no longer a factor. The Barr colonists saw in the Barr scheme the open road to achievement, while the Boer War injected into the popular mind of Britain a faith in an unshakeable empire. This is the only frame in which Barr can be understood and Dr. Reid has unerringly placed him within this frame. Her prose style is rich, the story though digressive is interestingly told, and the sources are

diverse. She has brought to light new facts about Barr's origins, his marriages, and the last years of his life, and she has added to the documentation of his life.

While the picture of Barr is well-rounded, the faults are clear enough even though they are sometimes made to appear haloed. Such descriptive adjectives as "bungling, unscrupulous, autocratic" are now replaced by "impractical, naive, enthusiastic, persuasive, idealistic." Coming so closely on the heels of "the con man who helped settle the west," Dr. Reid is disposed to favor Barr's accomplishments and to lean heavily on those who think likewise. It is not difficult with the wisdom of hindsight to see the denigration of "what makes Sammy run" of contemporary accounts as a natural misunderstanding. Few promoters are good managers. Certainly, the intensity of feeling at the time of the establishment of the colony was aggravated by thinking in terms of stereotypes. Dr. Reid shoots down some of these stereotypes, makes an effort to find a more rational explanation for the problems which arose, and has little difficulty in exposing the prejudices. Neither the presentation of Barr nor of Lloyd is quite convincing but Barr emerges as a complex figure, a cut above most men in intelligence and imagination but not fitted to take on a job much too large for his administrative capabilities.

The significance of Barr's life story lies in the light that it sheds on the true, unvarnished history of the Barr Colony. This said, we must regretfully note the various moments when this book is less than it might have been. "Isaac Barr was tragic in the classic sense," writes Dr. Reid, whereas the facts she reveals about his handling of the Barr Colony settlement deny him any claim to the dignity of tragedy. It is true that the facts reveal no evidence of criminal dishonesty,[1] but this does not permit special pleading on his behalf in a way that many readers will find excessive. The claim that he "was neither a con man nor a thief" is one thing; the claim that

> one man did it all: he arranged for the local travel, for the steamships, for the CPR transportation in Canada; for the supplies, the farm animals, the implements at the railhead and at Battleford; for the homestead allotments so friends could be near friends; for the government agents, the land guides to be on the site; for the temporary housing in tents; the groundsheets and blankets; all with no capital and the indifferent communications of telegraph and slow mail

is of a different order, which leaves the lay reader with an impression of Barr's accomplishment which is hardly less misleading than the traditional view.

In her readiness to rehabilitate Isaac Barr, the author produces monsters in the forms of the Rev. George Exton Lloyd, the Canadian government officials, the newspaper reporters, and the historians who have compounded the errors of the colonists and writers about the colony. About Lloyd she has nothing to say that is not contemptuous. She charges that he assassinates her hero "with calculated malevolence," a charge based on Lloyd's *The Trail of 1903*, which was

[1]But as a character in Michael Gilbert's mystery, *The Doors Open*, once said "A lot of little errors came to light. None of them definitely dishonest but some of them a little near the bone."

written when the Bishop was a very old man and not in the best of health. In fact, he died before it was completed. Anyone who knows his sources well is not led astray by popular misconception or the malice of contemporary memorialists.

In spite of this, however, there is no question that the truth about the Barr-Lloyd relationship from the very beginning of the Barr colony affair needs a thorough airing, particularly the circumstances of their first meeting and early days of working together on the emigration scheme and the affair at St. John, but the documentation is apparently not yet available. Lloyd's private papers were in the hands of his daughter some four or five years ago when this writer tried unsuccessfully to secure permission to examine them. If Dr. Ried had access to these papers, she makes no mention of them in her footnotes and bibliography. This is not to suggest that she finds no fault with Isaac Barr; rather, she tends to skate over his less endearing traits—his hot temper, his habit of capitalizing on verbal promises, his towering egotism, and his sensitivity to criticism—and leaves one with the impression that if he had only had guts enough to hang on, he would have been proclaimed a hero in his day. In fairness, this view must be placed in personal context. Few men condemned for dishonesty and fraud have the good fortune to be applauded later in the day by those who were once the accusers. Dr. Reid is admirably frank in dealing with this episode, but there is no doubt that it has influenced her argument and approach to this biography. No person of her high intelligence and principle could do otherwise.

The more vexed question which troubles this reviewer is Dr. Reid's failure to discover or to cite Eric J. Holmgren's unpublished master's thesis *Isaac M. Barr and the Britannia Colony,* completed in 1964 under the direction of the Department of History of the University of Alberta. Holmgren's work is the first completely documented account using government correspondence, annual reports, histories, diaries, letters, and reportage. While the official papers are his primary source, he is sensibly aware that in their correspondence government officials were at times seeking to protect their positions. He makes some use of diaries and contemporary newspaper accounts, but reminds us that such documentation is not always reliable and that most secondary accounts are worthless. While he draws a faithful picture of Barr and dissects with fairness the circumstances which led to his shelving, he wastes no sympathy on him. Holmgren's work is therefore a foundation work on the Barr Colony and the beginning of the re-evaluation of its leadership.

Surprisingly, Dr. Reid lumps Clive Tallant with McCormick, Wetton, and "the historians [who] have copied the historians who copied some of the colonists and writers about the colony." Mr. Tallant was a serious scholar, and his two articles in *Saskatchewan History* (Spring 1953 and Spring 1954), one of which is cited by Dr. Reid, were the first to give a select portion of the primary documentation a good airing.

Finally, although not seriously misleading, there are numerous minor errors, omissions, and tampering with quotations which a good editor would have spared

the author. There is also more imprecision or reticence about sources than one would like in a book which aims to set the record straight. It would be ungenerous and take up too much space to parade a list of samples, but one example will illustrate what is meant. The author writes:

> Two years later a local policeman wrote to Professor Mavor: 'The Reverend Lloyd has happily for all concerned been promoted or translated, or whatever is the correct ecclestiastical term and will shortly go away. I often think he lived some centuries too late; what a glorious Inquisitor he would have made!'[46]

Now footnote 46 reads simply, "The Mavor Papers", which is less puzzling than it at first appears since the author informs one at the beginning of the book that the Mavor Papers are at the University of Toronto Library. But a more precise reference to the date of the letter (November 18, 1905) and the communicants (A. C. Macdonell to Professor James Mavor) would be meaningful. And a word of explanation in the note stating that the "local policeman" was the Supt. Commanding "C" Division of the Royal North West Mounted Police, stationed at Battleford, and that his letter was in response to an inquiry from a man who was feuding with the Rev. George Exton Lloyd would help one to evaluate the letter. Spelling, punctuation and words in the quote have been altered; the student of history would prefer quotes straight. A more precise documentation than a footnote reference to the "Archives, University of Saskatchewan Library, Saskatoon", or "Public Archives, Ottawa" would be helpful and time-saving. The author's anecdotal material and descriptions, including dozens of quotes from relatives of Isaac Barr, must be taken on faith. The book contains a model list of illustrations whose source is acknowledged on two pictures only. There are nine pages of notes, a bibliography, an index, and end-paper maps.

Guy R. Lyle

* * *

TATANGA MANI: Walking Buffalo of the Stonies. By J. W. Grant MacEwan. Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd. 1969. Pp. 208. $6.95.

This biography of Chief Walking Buffalo of the Alberta Stonies comprises yet one more of those boldly coloured annals in the epic story of The West. It presents just the variety of material to appeal to Mr. MacEwan, and he accords it the kind of treatment we have come to expect from him. The style, in fact, is so reminiscent of Edwardian boys' adventure stories that one constantly expects to encounter a tear-out application form to join the Boy Scouts at every turn of the page. Not that the book isn't handsomely produced. The format is lavish and portends well for Mel Hurtig and his excursion into publishing. The wrapper is gorgeous orange and brown Disneyesque, the end-paper map bold and straight forward, and the illustrations well reproduced if well-used and sometimes of marginal significance to the story. But what of the text?

The theme is Walking Buffalo's life story, which is made to impinge, however tenuously, upon almost every major happening in interior Canada since before the

Blackfoot Treaty in 1877. As garnish, there is much extraneous exotica, such as the scalping of the Beothuks in Newfoundland, whilst the ethnographic data, particularly a very simplistic account of the Sun Dance, does little to foster trust. So much of the narrative is so obviously a concoction of conjectural history that the man comes through in little more depth than does his coloured picture. Simplistic platitudes, inflated into profundities, abound; one winces at the patronizing condescension of the exchanges: "Flora knew that Walking Buffalo had taken manual training at Red Deer and was sure that he could construct a handsome log house for them. She smiled approvingly and then offered a hint based on feminine intuition. 'Will you make it large enough for many children? I think we may be needing a big house'."

Mr. MacEwan's image of his subject fits in well with that used by Moral Rearmament which flew the chief all over the world in the propagation of its doctrines. Natural goodness, innate wisdom and unity with nature are qualities ascribed to the noble savage and possess considerable appeal to prospective M.R.A. adherents, just as they did to the spectators at yesterday's Western. These are well to the fore here, usually set out in contrast to the baneful inanities of white society. This last, not individuals, is the oppressive evil from which salvation is to be attained through "Nature's university" and the pursuit of simple personal goodness. The myth conveniently reverses those aspects of present Western society increasingly suspect to the liberal mind: competitiveness, "artificiality," then regulation of life by a clock. All of which are deserving of thought, yet MacEwan's hero cannot emerge as a man because neither he nor his society has much reality in the book which often resembles a puppet theatre of cardboard cutouts acting out a banal and predictable script. Our hero rescues a schoolboy who'd done him wrong. School principal: "Lad, you're a hero. St. John's School is proud of you." Bounder: "I've been an ass. But if you can forgive me, I'll try to be as good a man as you. Thank you for treating me better than I deserved."

It is unfortunately never clear whether an incident or remark is conjecture or on record, which confuses the reader, increasing his dependence on the author. Though if the natural man is ideal, wouldn't the earthiness of "Nature's university" show, as it does in Lavie's ethnography of the Assiniboine? Wouldn't Walking Buffalo be a little less like the docile M.R.A. saint, wholesome but never on fire? But then, fire can be a threat.

Yet the book does say something of the basic differences between some Indian and White values and world views, particularly with respect to possessions and competitiveness in their acquisition. Of these matters better things have been written elsewhere with far less naivety or sentimentality, as is also true of the sermons on natural theology with which the text abounds.

S. Raby

THE PAPERS OF THE PALLISER EXPEDITION 1857-1860. Edited with an introduction and notes by Irene M. Spry, Toronto: The Champlain Society, Publ. 44, 1968. Pp. CXXXVIII, 694, XIX. Frontispiece, map. Available only to Members of the Champlain Society and Subscribing Libraries.

This book consists of several quite distinctively different parts. The first 138 pages comprise a Preface and an Introduction by Mrs. Irene M. Spry, who started her study of the Palliser Expedition in London, England, at Saskatchewan House, where her husband was then Agent General for the Province. She finished the undertaking at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, in March, 1968. Saskatchewan House is within a few minutes' walk of the Palliser's London home; his expedition passed the site of modern Saskatoon on the left side of the river opposite from the University in October, 1857.

After having obtained a Canada Council grant, Mrs. Spry travelled across the country to study written material in libraries and archives from coast to coast. She also attempted in 1960 and 1964 to retrace the more problematic sectors of the expedition's journey through the prairies and in the Rocky Mountains, mostly on the ground, but on one occasion from the air when she made a helicopter trip for the express purpose of studying the two Kananaskis passes. The thoroughness with which she approached her historical research and the most intimate knowledge of her subject thus acquired shines all through her detailed introduction and the numerous footnotes which accompany the text. For serious students of any specialized aspect of the Palliser Expedition—be they geologists, botanists, zoologists, geodesists, geophysicists, or anthropologists (the expedition made some contributions to all these sciences)—the Introduction of this book is from now on to be the logical starting point. As yet, nobody has studied the Palliser Expedition in such meticulous detail as Mrs. Spry.

The official sources of the Palliser Expedition consist of Papers, Further Papers, the Report, and an Index with maps to accompany the Report. Surprisingly, all four volumes are rare; fewer than 100 copies can be located of each. In Saskatchewan we are fortunate in having several copies, including one of the Report (in the Saskatchewan Archives, Regina) bearing handwritten annotations by Dr. (later Sir) James Hector, the geologist-naturalist of the expedition. But it is not easy for historians elsewhere to inspect this printed record. The major part of the book (493 pages) therefore justifiably consists of a reprinting of part of the "Journals, detailed reports and observations relative to Captain Palliser's Exploration of a portion of British North America", the volume referred to above as the Report. Here again, the footnotes by Mrs. Spry are the contribution of real value to other historians. Those interested in the history of science rather than geographical exploration, however, have cause to regret that only the introductory and journal part of the Report has been reprinted and that the detailed reports and observations, including a series of 51 geological cross sections, have been omitted. Moreover, any reprinting that has been done does not provide a facsimile reproduction, which necessitates going to the hard-to-get original to find the correct

page numbering for references. Only the General Map has been reproduced, not the equally interesting geological sketch maps and sections by Hector. It should be mentioned, however, that Mrs. Spry recognized these shortcomings which were imposed on her solely by financial considerations: the Report as a whole is too voluminous to warrant reproduction in this book.

The Journal is followed by eight appendices. The first three deal with correspondence about and from the Expedition. Appendix IV is a compilation of those parts of the Further Papers that did not also appear in the Report. Blakiston's reports, Sullivan's records, and Bourgeau's summary make up the contents of Appendices V, VI, and VII. Biographical notes on some of the personnel of the Expedition and other *dramatis personae* (curiously omitting Sir Roderick Impey Murchison and Sir William Hooker) are provided in Appendix VIII.

The last part of the book, followed only by an Index, is a Note on Sources. It is indispensable for anyone intending further study. More than any other part it shows the painstaking research undertaken by Mrs. Spry.

Inevitably, when dealing with such a complex subject as that written about in this book, any author will be limited by his own interests in both choice of topics and the evaluation of the achievements of others. Mrs. Spry is no exception to this. But it has to be added immediately that this is fortunate rather than regrettable. There is still an opportunity for botanists to look into the contributions made by Bourgeau and Hector to our knowledge of the flora of western Canada; for geologists to review the influence Hector had on modern Canadian geological maps or on his role in the development of Cretaceous stratigraphy. Mrs. Spry's research embodied in this book points the way toward the sources that will provide possible answers to these and numerous other vexing questions raised by scientists dealing with historical aspects of their particular limited fields.

The Papers of the Palliser Expedition 1857-60 is a research tool and because of this its limited distribution (only 825 copies were printed and these are not available on the open market) may not be a great handicap. For those interested in a general account of the Palliser Expedition there is Mrs. Spry's earlier book (1963) bearing that the title published in Toronto by the MacMillan Company. Those whose appetites for further information have been whetted by the latter book can then satisfy their desire by borrowing *The Papers of the Palliser Expedition 1857-60* from one of the libraries subscribing to the publications of the Champlain Society. To complete their sources of information these readers are well advised to also consult the original publications, parts of which are now available in facsimile reprint through the Greenwood Press and the Paladin Press, both of New York.

W. O. Kupsch

Notes On Books Received

SOLITARY RAMBLES AND ADVENTURES OF A HUNTER IN THE PRAIRIES. By John Palliser. Introduction by Hugh A. DempseybpI25ic28
Pp. 326. Illus. $5.95.

First published in 1853, this book is an account of Captain John Palliser's experiences on a hunting trip in the wilds of North America in 1847-48. Palliser spent nine months travelling through what is now Montana and North Dakota. It is possible that in the course of this hunting trip Palliser may have crossed into present-day Saskatchewan. Often on his travels his only companion was his dog Ishmah. As Hugh Dempsey states in his excellent introduction to this new edition "Palliser wrote what he wished, mostly to please himself. The result is the warm, exciting adventure story of a man and the wild land he came to love." Palliser later became famous as the leader of the British North American Expedition of 1857. The earlier adventures described in this book led to Palliser's desire to explore the Canadian West and indirectly to the famous expedition.

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INDIAN NAMES FOR ALBERTA COMMUNITIES. By H. A. Dempsey. Occasional Paper No. 4, Calgary, Glenbow-Alberta Institute. 1969. Pp. 20. Illus. .75.

This booklet traces the names the various Indian tribes used for places in Alberta. In some cases the names used predate settlement but in other cases they are the Indian version of the names used by the settlers. The names more familiar to us are the Indian words which have been adopted for place names. This study does remind us that Indians had names for places also and goes a long way to preserving many of these names which are passing from use. It is on the whole a very interesting and useful study.

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LOOKING BACK. R.M. King George South. By Suncrest Homemakers History Committee, 1969. Available from Mrs. T. Hauta, Lucky Lake. Pp. 64. Illus. Maps. $3.50.

Looking Back is the history of a Saskatchewan community told largely by means of family biographies. This is an interesting way of presenting the history of the community and while it lacks many of the features usually associated with formal histories it does present a detailed story of the settlers and their families. While it will be of particular interest to residents and former residents of the community there is much in this history to interest genealogists and others concerned with the history of the development of communities on the prairies.

SASKATCHEWAN JOURNALS AND CORRESPONDENCE, 1795-1802. Edited by Alice M. Johnson. London. Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1967. Pp. cii, 368. Available to members only.

In the later part of the eighteenth century the Hudson's Bay Company in response to competition developed fur trading posts along the north and south branches of the Saskatchewan River. This volume contains the journals of two of the more important posts Edmonton House, 1795-1800 and Chesterfield House, 1800-1802. This first Edmonton House was located east of the present city of Edmonton which was the site of a later post. Chesterfield House was on the south branch of the river near its junction with the Red Deer River. The entries in the journals give information about the comings and goings of the Indians and the men, the employment of the men, food supplies and the state of the weather. It is clear that Peter Fidler's two seasons at Chesterfield House must have been very uneasy because of the constant fear of attacks from Indians. There is also evidence of a certain amount of cooperation between the various companies involved in the trade in the face of common danger but on the whole the journals give the reader little insight into the attitude of the traders.

The notes and introduction prepared by Alice Johnson are excellent. They provide the reader with useful background information and make the *Journals* much more meaningful. This is an interesting book to read and it is certainly a must for any student of the history of the fur trade.

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THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE. By Robert Le M. M'Clure. Preface by W. C. Wonders. Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd. 1969. Pp. 405. Illus. Maps. $5.95.

This is an account of the voyage of H.M.S. *Investigator* which sailed into arctic regions in 1850 in search of traces of the Franklin expedition and to make a west-east attempt at navigating the North West passage. In May, 1853, the ship had to be abandoned owing to being caught in ice packs and sickness among the crew having reached the extent that it was doubtful many could have endured another winter in arctic regions. The crew transferred to ships from the eastern arctic which in turn had to be abandoned but the crew eventually returned to England in September 1854. The expedition had discovered the long-sought North West passage although almost a century would elapse before one ship made the entire voyage.

The book, based on the logs and journals of Captain M'Clure of the *Investigator*, was first published in 1856 and republished in 1969 by M. G. Hurtig Ltd. In days when a modern tanker equipped as best as modern technology can provide has difficulties navigating in arctic waters, this book makes an absorbing account of the labours and hardships of the crew, and the tremendous difficulties faced in an era when wind, sail and oar were the only means of overcoming obstacles.

Notes and Correspondence

A subscriber to *Saskatchewan History* would like to purchase back issues of the magazine which are no longer available from the publisher. Any reader who has any of volumes I to VII inclusive or Volume XV, No. 1 and would like to sell them should write directly to Sergeant R. C. Stone, Apartment 702, 1801 Riverside Drive, Ottawa 8, Ontario.

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The Wolverine Hobby and Historical Society at its October meeting at Spy Hill had as its guest speaker Mr. Tom Beck, Curator of Cannington Manor Museum and Park. Mr. Beck reviewed the history of Cannington Manor and told of plans for the future development of the site.

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In cooperation with the Public Archives of Canada and the Archives Section, Canadian Historical Association, Carleton University announces a course in Archival Principles and Administration June 29 - July 31, 1970. This course, first given in 1959, and again in 1964 and 1968, is designed to cover basic archival techniques and also to give special attention to archival problems peculiar to this country. The course will include both formal and practical work, with an opportunity for students to concentrate their studies in either the field of archives or of records management. Tuition fees will be $150 per student. Living accommodation and meals, at additional cost, will be available in the Men's and Women's Residences of Carleton University. Application forms and further information can be obtained by writing to "Archives Course", Department of History, Carleton University, Ottawa 1.

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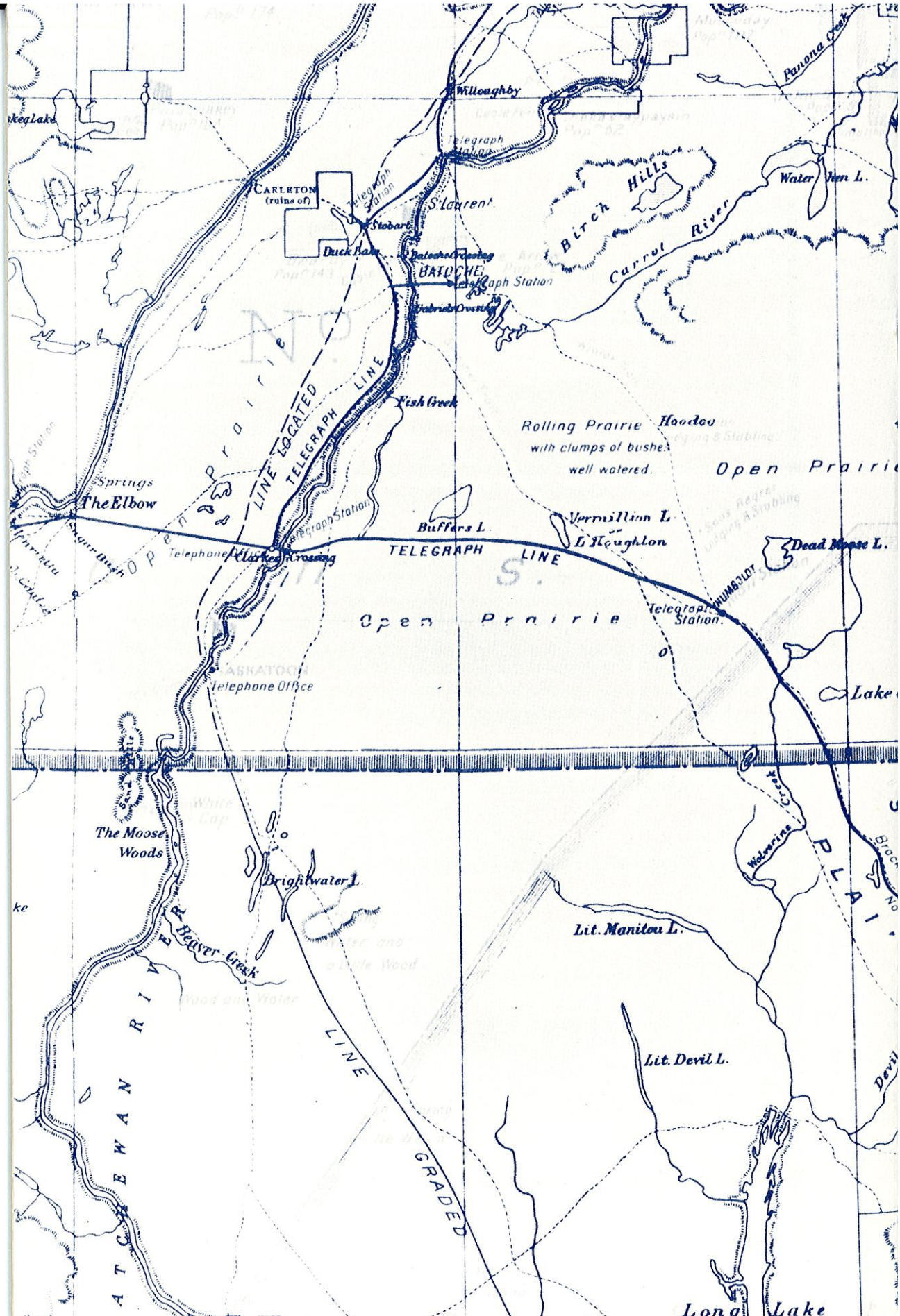
Willoughby
Telegraph Station
CARLETON (ruins of)
Telegraph Station
St Laurent
Stobart
Duck Lake
Telegraph Crossing
BATOCHE
Telegraph Station
Gabriels Crossing
Birch Hills
Carrot River
Water Hen L.
Parona Creek
Fish Creek
TELEGRAPH LINE LOCATED
Rolling Prairie Hoodoo with clumps of bushes well watered.
Open Prairie
Springs
The Elbow
Telegraph Station
Buffers L.
Vermillion L.
L Houghton
Dead Moose L.
Telephone
Clarkes Crossing
TELEGRAPH LINE
Telegraph Station
Telegraph Station
Telephone Office
Lake
The Moose Woods
Brightwater L.
Wahwaring Creek
Lit. Manitou L.
Beaver Creek
Lit. Devil L.
GRADED LINE
Long Lake