

Saskatchewan History

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Medicine Hat, N.W.T., 29 June 1892

Dear Mitchell

I need will write you at length on the subject, so I will merely ask you whether you will join the Executive Committee as the member ~~of~~ from Saskatchewan. A great deal of nonsense has been written in the newspapers on both sides of this question, which should not affect the case at all.

I have always been anxious to keep up the District representation and went a great deal out of my way to induce Clinkskill to remain on the Committee. The School question, upon which he resigned, has not become an open question at all. The Roman Catholic section of the Board of Education as well as the Roman Catholic Press are quite satisfied and I have heard no complaints from any quarter. The true

Saskatchewan History

Volume XXV

Spring 1972

Number 2

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COVER: Letter written by F. W. G. Haultain to Hillyard Mitchell of Duck Lake, June 29, 1892.



Editor: D. H. Bocking

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Published three times a year under the auspices of the Saskatchewan Archives Board.

Yearly subscriptions, \$1.50; special 3-year rate, \$4.00
Bulk orders of 10 or more, \$1.00 per subscription (1 year)

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The Trials of the "White Rebels", 1885

AMONG THE DEFENDANTS brought to trial in connection with the North-West Rebellion in 1885 were two white men, William Henry Jackson and Thomas Scott. Their trials, held in July and September respectively, provided a contrast in many ways. Scott's was preceded by a vitriolic press war which ended rather abruptly before the trial, whereas Jackson's caused almost no comment until after the Riel proceedings, July 30 to August 1, with which it was then contrasted by the French newspapers in Quebec. Scott's trial dragged on for two days, primarily because of lengthy legal debates between the opposing counsel, while Jackson's lasted only a few minutes, mainly due to the co-operation of the Crown and defence attorneys. These two trials, like the others held in 1885, show that although errors and inconsistencies were present, there was a sincere attempt on the part of all involved to serve the cause of justice.

Both the white defendants had taken an active role in protest meetings against the federal government in the months immediately preceding the rebellion. Jackson was the secretary of the Settlers' Union, a group formed to gain responsible government and other concessions for the farmers in the North-West Territories. Both he and his brother, a druggist in Prince Albert, had been in frequent contact with Riel in order to merge their cause with that of the Métis.¹ In March, 1885 William Henry announced his intention to join the Roman Catholic Church and to serve Riel as his personal secretary. It was during the celebration of his baptism that the Métis provisional government was declared. Both Jacksons were in the Batoche camp during the rebellion period, but were kept imprisoned by Riel's council.

Thomas Scott also had considerable contact with Riel in the period before the outbreak of rebellion. He was the spokesman for a community of English half-breeds living near Prince Albert. Riel had repeatedly urged these people to join him, and several meetings had been held to consider what course of action would be followed. Scott had played a prominent part at these gatherings and had reported their results both personally and in writing to the Métis. Once shots were fired at Duck Lake, however, he had gone to the North-West Mounted Police at Prince Albert and offered to organize volunteers against Riel. Because his motives were mistrusted that offer was declined and Scott, like the Jacksons, spent the rebellion incarcerated, a prisoner of the Police rather than the rebels. He was released from custody on May 23, but later re-arrested on the orders of the Crown counsel.

The part played by white men in the Rebellion had been brought to the attention of the entire Dominion as early as March 31, when the issue of "white rebels" was raised by the Conservative Toronto newspaper, *The Mail*.² An editorial on that date contended that certain settlers at Prince Albert had encouraged Riel in 1884 and the early months of 1885 and were thus responsible for the outbreak. From that time until the capture of the rebel stronghold at Batoche on May 12, the question was ignored in favour of the more spectacular campaign reports, but once these were concluded it was once again raised, and articles on the subject

¹See L. H. Thomas, "Louis Riel's Petition of Rights, 1884", *Saskatchewan History*, Volume XXIII, No. 1, p. 16.

²*Mail*, Toronto, March 31, 1885, p. 1.

appeared at least once a week. The names mentioned most often were those of Thomas and William Henry Jackson and Thomas Scott.

The issue quickly became a political one to be used by members of both parties. *The Mail* was accused by its Liberal counterpart in Toronto, *The Globe*, of attempting to draw attention away from the mismanagement of Territorial affairs by the Conservative government of Sir John A. Macdonald which, it alleged, had caused the rebellion. The two major Winnipeg papers, the Conservative *Daily Times* and the Liberal *Free Press*, devoted even more space to the controversy than did the Toronto press, reprinting the latter's articles as well as their own editorials. The question caused almost no stir at all in the Territories, however, where the charge was not taken seriously.

The Prince Albert Times commented,

Telegrams inform us that Sheriff Chapleau intends to apply for the arrest of "white rebels" in Prince Albert. Numbers of citizens are running about trying to procure dyes to change their complexions [sic], while the wild efforts of others to get away have rendered it unsafe to let horses run without an armed guard. The lawyers and magistrates are besieged by an excited crowd desiring a definition of what legally constitutes a "white rebel".³

The Macdonald government was naturally aware of this issue, and wanted it thoroughly investigated. Thus, the letter of instruction sent by Minister of Justice Sir Alexander Campbell to the Crown prosecutors contained the following directive:

It may be, and from the information which the Government has it seems probable, that the rebellion has been actively encouraged by whites, particularly of Prince Albert. Nothing in the whole duty entrusted to you is, I apprehend, more important than that we should, if possible, find out some of the men who have, with far better knowledge than the half-breeds and Indians, stirred them up to rebellion, and your special attention is asked to this point.⁴

This, along with the preparation of the case against Riel, received first consideration from the senior Crown counsel, Deputy Minister of Justice George W. Burbidge and his associates B. B. Osler, Christopher Robinson, T. C. Casgrain and D. L. Scott.

Early investigations, which centered around the boxes of documents captured at Batoche by the government troops, yielded sufficient evidence to charge two white men, Thomas Scott and William Henry Jackson, and to consider proceeding against several others. Burbidge decided, however, that additional information was needed so he despatched two of his assistants to Prince Albert to conduct interviews.⁵ He also applied pressure to the editor of the *Mail* to force him to disclose the names of his reporters and their sources of information.⁶ In doing this he was anxious not

³*The Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review*, Prince Albert, June 26, 1885, p. 1.

⁴Canada, *Sessional Papers*, (C.S.P.), 1886, No. 43, *The Queen vs. Louis Riel and related documents*, p. 12.

⁵Public Archives of Canada, (P.A.C.), *Department of Justice*, Burbidge to Bedson and Sharp, July 25, 1885.

⁶*Ibid.*, Osler to C. W. Bunting, August 3, 1885.

only to strengthen the cases against Scott and Jackson but also to ascertain which other "white rebels" could be charged.

However, because of the special circumstances in the case of Jackson, the Crown counsel decided to proceed without additional information. In the opinion of most of the authorities, the prisoner was mentally deranged. His own family concurred in this judgment as did many of his rebel colleagues. The Métis, in fact, had considered him so irresponsible that he had been kept confined with the other white prisoners until government forces had liberated them on May 12. When reporting his victory at Batoche to Ottawa, the commanding general, Frederick Middleton, had written: "Prisoners all released and safe in my camp. Among them: Jackson, white man who was Riel's secretary, but who now is mad and rather dangerous."⁷ After examining the papers found by his men, the general decided that Jackson's involvement warranted his being detained in custody, and thus placed him under arrest. His brother, however, was released.

Jackson, once in custody, was taken to Prince Albert with the Métis and Indians under arrest, and from there was transferred to Regina in June. During that journey, he had caused considerable trouble. On one occasion, he had tried to seize a rifle from a trooper, and later had attacked a doctor who was trying to examine him. Since he refused to keep himself clean, the soldiers felt it was necessary to take him into the river to scrub him with a horse brush, and during the procedure, he had broken away from them. He "waded out till the water was up to his chin, then he would make the most diabolical faces and duck under."⁸ When the troops attempted to stop this by sending men on horseback after him, he left the river and raced across the prairie stark naked. The soldier who recorded these actions considered the peculiar behavior an act and judged that he was "playing the role of a lunatic."⁹

Once in prison in Regina, Jackson wrote a letter which convinced Lieutenant-Governor Edgar Dewdney that he was insane, an opinion communicated to the Prime Minister.¹⁰ Jackson's letter suggested that he, Riel and certain other imprisoned members of the Métis council be allowed to meet together privately and that all others in custody be released.¹¹ He expressed the opinion that punishment of the rebels would lead to further bloodshed, which the government would obviously be anxious to avoid, and felt that negotiations would overcome this problem.

The opinions held by the government officials as to Jackson's sanity were based on medical reports as well as personal observations. Two of Middleton's physicians had described him as a "monomaniac chiefly on religion,"¹² and the Police surgeon in Regina declared him to be suffering from "a mild form of dementia, probably supervening a melancholia."¹³ This doctor, A. Jukes, had

⁷Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, (D.H.C.), 1885, May 13, p. 1823.

⁸H. S. Nelson, *Four Months Under Arms*, New Denver, B.C., n.d., p. 18.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰P.A.C., *Macdonald Papers*, Dewdney to Macdonald, June 27, 1885.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Jackson to Dewdney, n.d.

¹²*Globe*, Toronto, July 2, 1885, p. 7.

¹³P.A.C., *Department of Justice*, Jukes to Officer Commanding at Regina, July 17, 1885.

had him under observation for three weeks at the time this report was made.

While Jackson was in custody, the members of his family were doing everything possible to secure his release. After appealing unsuccessfully to Middleton and the Police commander at Prince Albert, they decided to use political pressure. His father wrote to Liberal leader Edward Blake asking for his intervention,¹⁴ and his brother to the *Globe* in an attempt to arouse public sympathy.¹⁵ This pressure did have the effect of bringing the case to the attention of the Minister of Justice and thus the Crown counsel.

Additional pressure was applied to Burbidge by J. B. McArthur, the Winnipeg lawyer who Jackson's father had retained to defend him. McArthur was an experienced attorney, having practised since 1873, and had been made a Q.C. in 1884. The senior Jackson had written him that "Willie received such cruel treatment at the hands of Riel that his mind is quite unhinged and he is sinking into idiocy."¹⁶ Thus, McArthur was planning a defence based on a plea of not guilty by reason of insanity, and wrote asking for the date of the trial so he could have witnesses present.¹⁷

The Crown counsel, in their examination of the Batoche papers and their interviews with witnesses, had been able to build up a very strong case against Jackson. Ten documents implicating him in the rebellion had been obtained, and at least three witnesses were available to describe his activities at the rebel camp.¹⁸ His brother Thomas was also mentioned in some of the documents, and the lawyers were considering the possibility of laying charges against him as well.¹⁹ It is therefore understandable that they were unwilling to release William to his family, even at the request of Blake.

But Burbidge did endeavour to consider what would be best for the prisoner's well-being. On July 18, he wrote the Police commander requesting that Jukes and a Regina doctor submit reports on Jackson's condition.

I am particularly desirous of knowing whether in the opinion of the physicians the excitement and strain which may be produced by his trial is likely to be attended by serious results.²⁰

Jukes had already suggested that treatment other than imprisonment was necessary,²¹ and Dr. R. B. Cotton, the civilian consulted, agreed with that diagnosis. He felt that Jackson was "incapable of conducting his own defence," but that with proper treatment in an asylum his condition was curable.²² Burbidge's problem of what to do with Jackson was further complicated by the fact that the federal government was in the process of changing the laws regarding the treatment of lunatics,

¹⁴*Ibid.*, Blake to Campbell, June 24, 1885.

¹⁵*Globe*, July 2, 1885, p. 7.

¹⁶*Mail*, June 26, 1885, p. 1.

¹⁷P.A.C., *Department of Justice*, McArthur to Burbidge, July 8, 1885.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, "Where it is," (Notebook summarizing the case against each defendant), p. 173.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 129.

²⁰*Ibid.*, Burbidge to R. B. Deane, July 18, 1885.

²¹*Ibid.*, Jukes to Officer Commanding, Regina, July 17, 1885.

²²*Ibid.*, Dr. R. B. Cotton to Deane, July 20, 1885.

and thus he had to telegraph his assistants in Ottawa several times to discover what acts were actually in force. However, by July 21, he decided to accept the insanity plea, and notified Jackson's attorney to proceed to Regina at once.²³

Jackson was formally charged on July 24 with treason-felony²⁴ in connection with the events at Batoche on March 26, but B. B. Osler, who appeared for the Crown, indicated that no evidence concerning this would be presented. Instead, both Crown and defence witnesses would testify regarding the defendant's sanity. Osler then called Jackson's brother, who told of finding William in Riel's camp in an "unsound"²⁵ state of mind after the Batoche fight, a condition from which he still suffered. The defence called as witnesses the two physicians who had submitted reports to Burbidge. Jukes testified that Jackson "holds peculiar ideas on religious matters in connection with this trouble . . . [and that] the slightest excitement produces a great effect upon him."²⁶ Dr. Cotton gave a very brief statement to the effect that his observations of Jackson and interviews with those who had associated with him led him to believe he was suffering from melancholia.

After Dr. Cotton had completed his testimony, Osler spoke to the jury. He announced that he could not contest the case put forward by the defence to prove insanity and in fact had "other evidence in [his] possession affirming it."²⁷ He then read the act which stated that a person who committed a crime while insane could not be held responsible for his actions and should be acquitted. The judge, Hugh Richardson, asked the jury if they were satisfied as to the alleged insanity, and they agreed to it without leaving the courtroom. Jackson was ordered held in custody and was shortly thereafter transferred to the asylum at Stony Mountain, Manitoba, from which he escaped in November, 1885.

It should be noted that Jukes' testimony was irrelevant to the matter under consideration, that of Jackson's mental state during the commission of the crime. His statements dealt only with the prisoner's condition since his arrival in Regina in late June. The law, as it stood at that time, was that an insane man could not stand trial, but should be held until he was cured, and then brought before the court.²⁸ An acquittal was justified only if the defendant was proved insane at the time of the crime, and Jukes' testimony made no reference to that. This point should have been brought to the attention of the jury, but since all involved except the defendant himself were convinced of his mental imbalance, this was not done. The trial was only a formality, with the real decision regarding Jackson's fate having been made by his family and the Crown counsel.

²³*Ibid.*, Burbidge to McArthur, July 21, 1885.

²⁴This charge, unlike high treason, on which Louis Riel was indicted, did not carry the death penalty upon conviction, but had a maximum sentence of life imprisonment. It required the Crown to prove only the intention to rebel against the legal authorities, but actual acts of rebellion could be used to prove that intention.

²⁵C.S.P., 1886, No. 52, Transcripts of Rebellion Trials, p. 342. All subsequent references to the testimony at this trial are derived from this source.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 343.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 344.

²⁸Archives of Saskatchewan, Dr. R. E. Turner, *Life and Death of Louis Riel, 1844-1885. A Study in Forensic Psychiatry. Part III—Medico-Legal Issues.* June 1964, pp. 1-4

Since the Riel trial, which took place five days later, also involved testimony concerning insanity, it was inevitable that the two should be compared. This occurred mainly in the French press. At the second trial, there was considerably more evidence presented, and since there was no agreement as to the defendant's mental condition, vigorous cross-examination of the witnesses.²⁹ Four physicians and five other men were called to give opinions as to Riel's sanity. Three of the doctors were well qualified to give judgments on the subject as they were administrators of asylums in eastern Canada; the fourth was Dr. Jukes. The medical testimony centered around whether or not Riel was suffering from megalomania, but revealed little agreement as to its symptoms and if Riel exhibited them. Dr. Roy stated that Riel had been under his care ten years earlier and had suffered from that condition at that time. Both Crown and defence counsel endeavored to pin the witnesses down to specifics, rather than allowing them to use generalizations as had been done in Jackson's trial. Dr. Jukes' testimony that Riel was sane was of little value, as he admitted that he had made no attempt to question Riel on politics or religion matters which were alleged to show his imbalance.

It can be argued with some conviction that considerably more evidence of Riel's insanity than Jackson's was produced during the two trials. Thomas Jackson gave only two specific actions of his brother's which had convinced him of his problem, and Dr. Cotton mentioned that Riel and Albert Monkman, a Métis under arrest, had told them of his insanity but had not cited examples of it. Jukes described his malady as being the possession of "peculiar" ideas on religion, but did not elaborate on this point. However, in spite of the weaknesses in the testimony, there was instant unanimous agreement on Jackson's insanity.

One must therefore strongly suspect that something other than the testimony convinced the jury that Jackson was a lunatic. The most likely factor was the lack of dissent from any quarter. Jackson's brother, his defence attorney and the Crown counsel all agreed that he was insane, and Richardson in his summation said nothing to the contrary. Jackson himself declared he was responsible for his actions and wished "to share [Riel's] fate whatever that may be,"³⁰ but this was not considered significant as very few people ever admit their own insanity. One must conclude, therefore, that it was this unanimity which led the jury to their verdict.

In considering the justness of the verdict, one must therefore consider the evidence upon which Jackson's family and the Crown counsel based their decision. Thomas Jackson had been with his brother for two months in Riel's camp, and thus had ample opportunity for personal observation of him. His judgment of insanity was approved by the rebel leaders who had found it necessary to remove Jackson from his position of responsibility. Almost every official who came into contact with him after the rebellion declared him insane, including Middleton, Dewdney and several Police surgeons. Most of these men could have described specific actions or incidents upon which they had based their opinions. Even men

²⁹The references to testimony at Riel's trial are taken from the transcript published in the *C.S.P.*, 1886, 43c.

³⁰*C.S.P.*, 1886, No. 52, Transcripts, p. 340.

critical of the conduct of the trials, such as the prominent French Canadian Liberal Wilfrid Laurier, could find no fault in the way Jackson was treated.³¹ There is little doubt that justice was well served in this case.

If the Crown counsel made an error in dealing with Jackson, it was in holding the kind of trial they did, knowing that Riel's defence in part would be on the same grounds. Either Jackson should have been declared unfit to stand trial at that time, and confined and treated until his health was restored, or further proof of his insanity should have been offered. His brother should have been pressed to give more reasons for considering him demented, his rebel colleagues should have been called to describe why they felt it necessary to confine him, and Jukes should have elaborated on the "great effect" which excitement produced on him. If this kind of testimony had been given, Laurier could not have stated that the only evidence against Jackson was that he held "peculiar views on religious matters," a diagnosis which applied equally to Riel. There was no travesty of justice as far as Jackson was concerned, but his abbreviated trial might be considered a political error in judgment. It seemed to French Canadians another example of special treatment for someone who spoke English, and was a factor in the nationalist movement which erupted in the province of Quebec.

The Crown prosecutors were unable to proceed so quickly against Thomas Scott as they had to await the report of their investigators at Prince Albert. This arrived the first week of August and provided little new information.

The result of all our interviews has so far been to establish that whilst there were numbers of English half-breeds and whites who were actively in conjunction with Riel and the French *métis* [sic] so long as their movements consisted of preparing petitions, *etc.*, no sooner were they made cognizant of any resort to arms than they withdrew from the movement and expressed their disapprobation of it.³²

In spite of this failure to secure any additional information concerning Scott, the Crown counsel decided to press the charges although they declined to indict anyone else. As the senior attorneys were then preparing to leave Regina, they decided to retain a Prince Albert attorney to work up the evidence. Their choice was Stephen Brewster, a man they had previously employed to investigate the cases against Scott and four others. Although Brewster had advised against charging Scott then,³³ Osler felt that his prior knowledge made him the best man for the job, and instructed him to proceed as he wished, "untrammelled by any detailed instructions,"³⁴ He did urge that special attention be paid to the identification of the handwriting in a letter found at Batoche and signed by Scott. Brewster submitted his brief on September 7, listing seven witnesses and commenting upon the testimony each could be expected to give.³⁵ One of these was a defence witness,

³¹*D.H.C.*, 1886, March 16, p. 182.

³²*P.A.C.*, *Department of Justice*, Sharp to Burbidge, August 4, 1885.

³³*Ibid.*, "Opinion of Stephen Brewster," n.d.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Osler to Brewster, August 17, 1885.

³⁵*Ibid.*, Stephen Brewster, "Regina vs Thomas Scott—Brief for Prosecution," September 7, 1885.

and a possible avenue of cross-examination was suggested. The Crown counsel who took part in the trial made use of the brief, but also called additional witnesses in connection with the handwriting. The trial was considered important enough that B. B. Osler returned from his home in Toronto to assist Regina attorney D. L. Scott in the presentation.

The defendant was also represented by distinguished counsel. W. V. Maclise, a Prince Albert attorney, was joined in court by H. J. Clarke of Winnipeg. Clarke had thirty years experience in the practice of law, having worked in Quebec, Manitoba and several of the states in the United States, and had been Attorney General of Manitoba from 1872 until 1874. When he appeared in court for Scott, he acknowledged that Maclise had done most of the work in preparation for the trial, but he gave the entire courtroom presentation himself. In his address to the jury, he dealt not only with the evidence presented, but also with the political and racial implications of the issue.

The charges laid against Thomas Scott were different than those against Jackson, in that he was not accused of actual participation in the fighting. He was charged instead with having aided and abetted the rebels by encouraging them before the encounters with the Police. He had done this in three ways; firstly by holding meetings to convince the English half-breeds to remain neutral, secondly by travelling to Batoche to confer with Riel, and lastly by writing the following letter:

Ridge, 23rd March, 1885

To the French Council:

At a meeting held at the Lindsay school to-night, which was largely attended, the voice of every man was with you, and we have taken steps which I think will have a tendency to stop bloodshed and hasten a treaty. We will communicate with you inside of forty-eight hours after you get this. Notify us of any steps, if any is [sic] liable to take place.

Yours respectfully,
THOMAS SCOTT.³⁶

All these actions were alleged to have taken place between March 20 and March 23, after Riel had declared the existence of the provisional government, but before the first shots were fired.

The trial had been scheduled to begin before Judge Richardson on September 8, but no witnesses were called that day. Instead the defence submitted an objection to the jurisdiction of the court, and Clarke spoke at length in support of that contention. He traced through the various acts, both English and French, which applied in Canadian territory, and concluded that the judicial system of the Territories was illegal because it did not conform to British practice, including the twelve man jury.³⁷ Osler challenged this opinion, arguing that Clarke had ignored those statutes of Britain which gave Canada exclusive control over the Territories. Since the jurisdiction of the court had also been questioned in the Riel trial, and those

³⁶*C.S.P.*, 1886, No. 52, Transcripts, p. 62.

³⁷The North-West Territories Act of 1880 which established the judicial system in the west provided for a jury of only six.

proceedings were currently before the Manitoba Court of Appeals, Richardson suggested an adjournment until that decision was announced. Osler, however, objected, and the Crown and defence counsel then engaged in a rather petty debate over a one-day adjournment. This type of controversy between the attorneys was more evident in this trial than in any other.

When the court re-opened the next morning, Osler proceeded to present the Crown case. Before calling his witnesses, he stressed to the jury that Scott was not accused of fighting with the rebels, but of encouraging them to fight by lessening the opposition they would face. His first witness simply proved the existence of the state of rebellion, but his second revealed Scott's attitude toward it. John Astley, a Police scout, told of overhearing a conversation between the defendant and his captain in which Scott had urged that no volunteers be enlisted, and that the Police and Métis be allowed to settle their differences themselves. On cross-examination the witness stated that the captain was now in England and thus could not corroborate his story. No other witnesses were called to elaborate upon this point.

Osler had indicated to Brewster his anxiety to prove that Scott had written the letter found at Batoche, and much of his case was devoted to this. In addition to two men who did business with Scott in Prince Albert, he called the soldier who had found the papers at Batoche, a post office employee from Winnipeg³⁸ and a banker of several years experience who qualified as a handwriting expert. The Crown produced seven exhibits with samples of Scott's handwriting which the various witnesses identified, and which were to be used in comparisons with the letter quoted in the charge. The defence produced several sample signatures as well, some of which were not genuine, in an attempt to discredit the Crown's experts.³⁹

Osler also called witnesses to describe the defendant's activities at meetings held just before the outbreak of the rebellion. John McNiven, a settler in the Prince Albert area, told of attending a meeting at the Lindsay school on March 20, at which Scott was chairman. The discussion at that meeting had concerned the safety of the settlement in case of an outbreak of hostilities. Those present agreed that a delegation should be sent to Riel to ascertain his intentions, and Scott and two other men were chosen for this task. The witness told of a private conversation with the defendant after the meeting, at which time he had expressed a fear of being arrested by the Police. On redirect examination, McNiven made the gathering sound more partial to Riel by stating that it had ended with three cheers for the Métis leader.

Another settler was called to testify to Scott's activities at a second meeting held at St. Catherine's church on March 22. At that time, Scott had read a letter from Riel urging the half-breeds to join him, but had himself appealed to them to stay neutral and let the Métis and Police settle their own problems. The witness,

³⁸Thomas Scott served as the postmaster in the settlement in which he lived.

³⁹Since no copies of the exhibits are included in the Transcripts, it is impossible to tell whether or not they were all genuine, and which, if any, were not.

William Craig, had also urged neutrality, but claimed he had done so with the loyal intention of preventing the half-breeds from going to Riel, and thus had helped the government. He brought as an exhibit the neutrality petition passed at the meeting, copies of which had been sent to Riel and the Police.

The Crown called only one witness to prove Scott's presence at Batoche. Thomas McKay, a half-breed, had gone to Riel's council house to endeavor to stop the bloodshed, and had heard Scott's voice upstairs while he was there. The witness did not know the nature of the discussion that had taken place at that time.

Clarke's cross-examination of these witnesses followed a rather clear pattern. He first established that the half-breed settlement at which Scott lived was in a vulnerable position should the Indians decide to attack. He then tried to show that men other than Scott had urged neutrality in an attempt to prevent an uprising. His questioning of Thomas McKay was designed to illustrate the similarity of his actions and the defendant's, in that both had journeyed to Riel on peace missions.

When the Crown's case was completed, Clarke moved for dismissal on the grounds of lack of evidence, but Richardson ruled that this was a matter for the jury to decide and instructed Clarke to proceed. The defence attorney launched his case with a lengthy opening address which ranged all the way from the Magna Carta to the treatment Scott had received in prison. It included a suggestion that Scott was on trial "to please the Province of Quebec."⁴⁰ One theme to which he kept returning was that many men, including most of the Crown witnesses, had urged the half-breeds to remain neutral, but only in his client's case had this action been judged treasonous.

The defence witnesses called by Clarke contradicted those who had appeared for the Crown as well as adding new information concerning Scott's behavior and motives. Two witnesses declared that Scott was at home at the time Astley claimed he had seen and heard him talking to the captain in Prince Albert. Three others denied McNiven's claim that Riel had been cheered at the Lindsay meeting. Four witnesses described what had taken place between Scott and Riel at Batoche, showing that it was in no way illegal.

Two clergymen took the stand in defence of Thomas Scott. Father André, the Catholic missionary at Batoche, told of the general fear of the Indians which existed in the half-breed camp. Reverend Edward Matheson, the Anglican preacher from Prince Albert, had been involved in organizing the meetings under question at the request of Major Crozier of the Police. He agreed with the Crown witnesses that Scott had urged neutrality and the return of the volunteers from Carlton to Prince Albert, but stated that the motive for his action was the safety of the settlement. Another witness called by the defence testified that Scott had made a similar plea for neutrality at the St. Catherine's meeting, and a third described the same kind of action at a second meeting at Lindsay school on March 24.

⁴⁰C.S.P., 1886, No. 52, Transcripts, p. 110.

Four defence witnesses gave testimony concerning Scott's visit to Batoche. His fellow delegates told of their interviews with Riel, and their temporary detention because of his displeasure with the half-breeds. They stated that Scott had asked only for information and had told Riel that "when he took up arms, he wanted to have nothing to do with him whatsoever."⁴¹ Hillyard Mitchell, who had accompanied Crown witness McKay to Batoche, described a conversation in which Scott had stated that his mission was to have the rebels stop and disperse because they were endangering lives. Charles Nolin, a Métis who had dared to oppose Riel and was thus his prisoner, confirmed that Scott had expressed unhappiness with Riel's actions and had done nothing to encourage him.

In an attempt to show Scott's complete loyalty after the rebellion started, Clarke called a telegraph operator who had sent a message for him on March 27. In this message to the Police Commanding Officer at Prince Albert, he had volunteered to raise a force of about two hundred men to defend the settlement against the Métis and Indians.

Osler naturally tried to shake the testimony of these witnesses on cross-examination. He frequently pressed them to remember the details of speeches other than Scott's at the various meetings. He particularly insisted upon knowing how much information concerning Riel's activities and plans Scott had received. He also tried to show that the various witnesses had not been continuously in Scott's presence, so they could not say that he had never conferred privately with Riel, or visited Batoche by himself on other occasions. By objections to the court, he was able to prevent the introduction of two lines of testimony which Clarke wanted. The first of these concerned the activities of the Métis and half-breeds in 1884 in an attempt to show that they had legitimate grievances and had tried peaceful means to redress them. The second dealt with the treatment Scott had received after his arrest. In both these instances, Richardson ruled that the matters were irrelevant.

Clarke's summation to the jury was surprisingly brief, considering his two previous addresses. He stressed that the letter produced by the Crown had not been proved to be in the defendant's handwriting, and even if it had, its contents were not treasonous. He pointed out that other people had expressed their sympathy with the Métis cause, although not with their resort to arms, in much the same language. He also suggested that the Crown had not produced the "best" evidence in connection with that letter, and it should therefore be disregarded. He argued that Scott's actions at the meetings and his journey to Batoche were not unique behavior, but had been duplicated by several other men, including some of the Crown witnesses, and that all those men should have been tried with Scott if those actions were treasonous.

Osler in summation stressed to the jury that the defendant must be given every possible consideration. He told them that the "extraordinary conduct of the learned counsel on the other side" must not be held against his client.⁴² In his review of

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 164.

the evidence, he stated that the best available evidence in connection with the letter had been produced, but that the final decision concerning the handwriting lay with the jurors themselves as they would be given all the exhibits to examine. He asserted that both Crown and defence witnesses admitted Scott's knowledge of Riel's actions at Batoche, and his duty therefore was to urge those following his leadership to arm against him rather than to promise their neutrality. He pointed out that two Crown witnesses had heard Scott uttering treasonous statements. As to the defence witnesses, he suggested that Matheson was unconsciously biased because Scott was a member of his congregation, and the others were to be suspected because they remembered only a small part of what had been said at the meeting. He ended as he had begun, with an appeal for fairness for the defendant.

Richardson then spoke briefly to the jury before they retired to consider the evidence. He criticized Clarke for suggesting that his court was subject to political pressure, and tossed out the defence claim that second-best evidence was to be disregarded. He instructed the jury to base their decision upon what they had seen and heard. His review of the evidence was short, simply describing the Crown's case and mentioning a few of the statements with which the defence had disagreed. He handed to the jury all the exhibits of the trial, including the handwriting samples and the minutes and petitions of the meetings, and told them that if they were satisfied beyond all reasonable doubt that the defendant was "a party"⁴³ to them, then the evidence was sufficient to convict. The jury retired with the documents at two o'clock and returned with a verdict of not guilty one half hour later.

Considering the earlier controversy which had revolved around Scott and the "white rebels," there was surprisingly little press reaction to the verdict. *The Mail* simply described the most important testimony and mentioned the exchanges between counsel.⁴⁴ The Liberal papers in both east and west could not resist using the issue one last time as a vehicle for an attack on *The Mail* and the government. Sarcastic editorial comments were made concerning the "conclusive" proof which the reporters had promised to produce, and responsibility for the rebellion was laid once more at the feet of the government. However, there proved to be little public interest in the issue, and it quickly disappeared from print.

The trial of Thomas Scott showed all its participants at their worst. The Crown case was at best weak, the lawyers on both sides were guilty of misconduct, most of the witnesses were caught in contradictions and confusions, and Richardson did not keep proceedings at a very high level.

The not guilty verdict is one of the strongest indications of the weakness of the Crown's case against Thomas Scott. This weakness is understandable as the case was prepared not by the senior Crown counsel who was familiar with all the rebellion trials, but by a relatively unknown attorney in Prince Albert who had earlier expressed the opinion that Scott should not be tried. Brewster did not prove very adept at anticipating defence witnesses, some of whom he should have been

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁴⁴*Mail*, September 11, 1885, p. 1.

able to predict, and thus the prosecutor was faced with many contradictions. An element of confusion was introduced by the fact that the testimony dealt with three meetings held in a short period of time, and the witnesses themselves were often bewildered as to what had occurred at each. The Crown's case thus was based mainly on the letter quoted in the indictment, a letter which proved difficult to connect with Scott and the contents of which were certainly not an open admission of treason.

Both Clarke and Osler can be accused of misconduct during the actual trial. Both engaged in personal remarks and comments which they knew were out of order. Clarke's references to political parties were the most extreme example of this. Another problem was the type of question asked by the defence counsel. He tried to get material irrelevant to the charge introduced, he asked for vague general opinions and value judgments, and he repeatedly posed leading questions. While he did not ignore the rules of evidence so blatantly or so often, Osler's conduct was not above reproach either. He took advantage of defence witnesses who did not speak English well, and became enraged when Clarke tried to interfere.

Although both lawyers should have known better than to engage in these activities, the final responsibility for their misbehavior lay with Richardson. Instead of putting a stop to the personal exchanges at the beginning of the trial, he allowed them to continue throughout, and even indulged in an indirect attack on Clarke in his charge to the jury. One must speculate as to his reasons for this refusal to act. Possibly he was awed by the rather impressive credentials of the two attorneys, although he should have become accustomed to this during the Riel trial. He may have felt some guilt about his repeated rulings against the defence, but he was correct in his final statement in saying that he had allowed Clarke and Maclise "the widest limit of allowance in putting their case in any shape they desired,"⁴⁵ and should therefore not have been hesitant in correcting Clarke's conduct. In fact, he reversed a ruling concerning the admissibility of testimony relating to the defendant's motives for acting, and allowed Clarke to introduce very questionable evidence.

Richardson should also be faulted for his charge to the jury. His review of the evidence did not include a discussion of whether or not the contents of the letter were treasonous, a point on which the attorneys had disagreed, and which therefore needed elaboration. He himself felt that the evidence presented was sufficient to warrant a conviction, but he did not explain the part played by the letter in arriving at that opinion.

In his various statements, Clarke often referred to the fact that Scott had been mistreated after his arrest. Richardson stated that he saw no evidence of this, and nothing seems to contradict that assertion. Scott was arrested on a properly issued warrant on instructions from the Deputy Minister of Justice. He was detained by the Police in Prince Albert for only a short time and was then transported to Regina where he was held in the same quarters as the other rebel prisoners, who voiced no complaints. He was released on bail on August 15 and remained free until his trial, a freedom not granted to the other defendants. Little information is available

⁴⁵C.S.P., 1886, No. 52, Transcripts, p. 169.

as to his treatment while in custody during the rebellion, but that was not the issue raised by Clarke.

The question of whether or not Scott should have been brought to trial is not an easy one to answer. Burbidge was faced with Campbell's instructions as well as the pressure from the eastern press in favour of prosecution, but his advisers in the Territories counselled against it. It seems that his decision was made prematurely, before his investigators had even left for Prince Albert. There is no doubt that the case was weak at the time the arrest was ordered and little was added to it before presentation, but Richardson stated at the trial that the evidence was sufficient to convict. Scott's was not the only weak case with which the Crown counsel elected to proceed, so they cannot be accused of prejudice against the white man. The decision to press the charge was probably based at least partly on the articles in *The Mail*, which were motivated to some extent by partisan politics, but there is no evidence that this was the only consideration. Thus, one can say only that it was questionable, not incorrect.

There is no way of knowing why the jury acquitted Scott. They may have found the handwriting evidence inconclusive and the statements of the Crown witnesses untrue. They may have been confused by the conflicting testimony concerning the events at the meetings and given the defendant the benefit of the doubt. They may have believed the defence counsel when he told them that even if Scott had written the letter, it contained nothing treasonous and was simply an attempt to prevent bloodshed. They may have taken notice of the fact that the half-breeds whom Scott had led had remained loyal during the uprising, and rewarded him for his efforts in that direction. In some respects Scott might be compared to a native chief such as Poundmaker. He, however, kept his "band" peaceful and removed himself from the scene of the trouble when the fighting broke out. A final consideration which might have influenced the jury was Clarke's innuendo that they were being used as political pawns to allow the government to retain their Quebec support. To decide if the verdict was just, one would have to know which, if any, of these factors influenced the jury.

That the trials of the two white defendants resulted in not guilty verdicts has been the cause of considerable comment. Charges of racial prejudice on the part of the Crown counsel and the Conservative government have arisen because of them. In the case of William Henry Jackson, an examination of the actions of both defendant and attorneys shows this to be unfounded. That Jackson participated in the rebellion is unquestioned, but that he was suffering from mental illness at the time is almost as obvious, as a fair-minded French Canadian such as Laurier admitted. Thomas Scott's case is more open to questions and criticism. There is debate over not only his actions but also his motivation. The evidence at the trial was contradictory, and the issue was clouded by the political and racial questions raised by Clarke. However, there is no one fact or document to which one can point to conclusively prove Scott's treason. Thus, in spite of the controversy which the trials of the two white defendants caused, one cannot find in them any evidence of grave injustice.

Sandra Estlin Bingaman

Reminiscences of the Hon. J. A. Calder

Edited by Allan R. Turner

The Honorable James Alexander Calder was a leading member of the first government of Saskatchewan, 1905-1917, a minister in the Union Government, 1917-1921, and a Senator from 1921 until his death, July 20, 1956. These reminiscences written by him as he entered his 77th year in 1944, relate to his early career as a teacher, school inspector, and Deputy Commissioner of Education in the North-West Territories, and to his service as a provincial and federal cabinet minister. They serve as a record of a distinguished career, reflect the tempo of growth in the prairie west in that period, and recall the remarkable developmental program undertaken by the first government of Saskatchewan. Mr. Calder provides an insight into a number of events, such as the circumstances surrounding the retirement of Premier Walter Scott in 1916 and the formation of the Union Government by Sir Robert Borden in 1917. The original text has not been altered beyond minor revisions of punctuation and the deletion of a few passages, mainly descriptive of the growth of population and the extension of railways. A final section in which the Senator detailed some of the places which he and Mrs. Calder visited after 1921 has also been deleted. The foot notes have been added to confirm dates, identify persons, and briefly to elaborate or modify statements about some events for which the Senator would not have had documentation at hand when he was writing. The original hand-written manuscript was presented to the Saskatchewan Archives by Mr. James A. Calder, Ottawa, through Mr. D. G. Scott Calder, Regina.

AFTER THEIR MARRIAGE around 1861-62 my parents¹ operated their own farm in Oxford county [Ontario] near their own relatives and on this farm as the fifth member of the family I was born on Sept. 17, 1868. Some two or three years later my parents decided to move to the town of Ingersoll in order that the children would have the opportunity to secure the advantages of better educational facilities. At that time Ingersoll had a good public school and a high school as well.

One of my earliest memories related to an event that must have occurred around 1872-73. I can readily recall sitting on the bottom of a tub near our house watching the great fire that destroyed the centre of the town. At one time it looked as though the fire would engulf the entire community but eventually the fire was got under control. Owing to the health conditions then existing in Ingersoll due to the presence of a stagnant mill pond my parents finally decided to seek elsewhere for a new place of residence. For this purpose my father during the last half of 1881 and early in 1882 visited other parts of Ontario and then passed on to Wisconsin, Minnesota, S. & N. Dakota, and finally reached Winnipeg. At the time he reached this city the Big Land Boom was in full swing and it engulfed him as it did everybody else in the neighborhood. He invested most of his savings in farm lands and in the spring of 1882 he arranged for the construction of a new home on the west side of Kate Street, some eleven blocks west of Main Street. This house still stands about midway in the block north of Notre Dame Street.

My father returned to Ingersoll in May or June 1882 and without delay preparations were set in motion for the great trek to the far away unknown West. As at that time the C.P.R. was far from being completed north of the Great Lakes

¹James and Johanna (McKay) Calder.

the long journey would have to be made by rail through Chicago and St. Paul. In due course the date of our departure was set and on the morning of July 4, 1882 my parents with their eight children found themselves comfortably seated in a railway coach and all the links of the past were about to be snapped. That evening I witnessed a great display of fire works in the city of Detroit and in the following days I was thrilled with what I saw of the great cities of Chicago, St. Paul and Minneapolis. Finally we reached Winnipeg around noon on July 7th. As we were being conveyed from the station to our new home we passed along Main Street, then a short stretch of Portage Ave. and west along Notre Dame St. My most vivid recollection of that trip was one of mud, mud everywhere, oceans of black sticky mud and great deep ruts in the streets. I saw many hundreds of wagons and Red River carts drawn by horses and oxen with their wheels clogged with mud struggling to make progress. It truly was a weird unforgettable sight. We got through and finally reached our new home, tired, but all very happy and excited.

In the days that followed all members of the family busied themselves around the new home putting everything in place and tidying up. As the house itself had not been quite completed and some alterations had to be made my father was giving his attention to the same, and then, suddenly, on a day in August a tragedy happened. For some reason or other he had been up on the roof on a scaffold that gave way and he was thrown to the ground 30 or 40 feet below. He never regained consciousness and a few hours later passed to the Great Beyond and was laid to rest in the Old Scottish Cemetery at Kildonan, north of Winnipeg.

This event occurring as it did at that particular time was a great shock to us all. My mother with her eight children left alone, a stranger in a strange land, faced the situation bravely and courageously and decided to carry on. Within a few days she had a family conference and it was agreed that my two oldest sisters and three brothers should seek employment. It was also agreed that my next youngest sister and myself should go to school and that my baby sister should remain at home with her mother. These plans were all worked out satisfactorily during the next few years, and a fairly reasonable family income was assured. A year or so later I was given the opportunity of delivering the Evening Free Press to about 140 subscribers. This I did for two years at a wage of \$4.00 per week.

Early in Sept., 1882 I enrolled as a pupil in the old Central School of Winnipeg. In May, 1885 I passed the matriculation examination which entitled me to enroll as a student in any one of the three colleges then constituting the University of Manitoba. In Sept., 1885 I selected Manitoba College where I pursued my studies till May, 1888 and graduated with honors in a Science course. During these last four years I won around \$500.00 in scholarships and when graduated was awarded the Silver Medal, at that time the highest award of the University. In Sept., 1888 I entered the Manitoba Normal School in order that I might obtain a First Class Professional Certificate.

In 1886 at the age of 17, inexperienced and untrained, I was granted permission by the Manitoba Dept. of Education to take charge of a small rural school

N.W. of Neepawa. I thoroughly enjoyed the experience and decided to look forward to the educational field for a career. In the following summer I taught in another rural school and in 1888 for five months I was in charge of the village school in Morris. In the latter part of that year I took my Normal and in the succeeding years I taught in turn in another rural school for some 14 months, then I became principal of the school in the town of Manitou for around 16 months and finally was appointed principal of the High School in Moose Jaw in the old North-West Territories where I continued as such for three full years. Summed up it will be noted that between May, 1886 and May, 1894 I had taught in three rural districts, one village district, one town district, and in one high school.

In the nine year period between July 7, 1882 and April 30, 1891 my life was spent entirely in Manitoba with the exception of a summer holiday trip in 1889 down the Great Lakes to Eastern Canada. On that occasion I visited Windsor, Detroit, Ingersoll, Toronto, Niagara and Montreal. When we landed in Winnipeg in '82, it had a population of around 25,000.² At that time there were no paved streets and the sidewalks were of wooden structure, the street lighting was poor, there were no street cars or buses, the sewage facilities were inadequate and the water supply indefinite. During the nine years that followed these conditions were gradually improved but the population of the city increased but little, chiefly owing to the collapse of the great land boom.

In those days I was keenly interested in sports of all kinds but chiefly foot ball and lacrosse. I was also a regular attendant at most of the more important political gatherings. The names of many of the speakers are now readily recalled—Norquay,³ Luxton,⁴ Scarth,⁵ Mulvey,⁶ Greenway,⁷ Isaac Campbell,⁸ Hugh John Macdonald,⁹ Hugh Sutherland,¹⁰ Daly,¹¹ Clifford Sifton¹² and others. I still have a vivid recollection of a political gathering in old Trinity Church near Portage Ave. At this meeting Hugh Sutherland was repeatedly howled down by the crowd. Then suddenly at around 2 A.M. he rushed to the platform waving the notorious telegram announcing the shipping that day from Birmingham, England of the rails required for the building of the Hudson Bay Railway.¹³ Then the crowd went wild with excitement, Sutherland was allowed to speak and the crowd dispersed. Politically those were strenuous days in the life of Manitoba and its people.

²*The Census of Canada* in 1881 gave the population as 7,985, but it increased rapidly for two or three years.

³John Norquay, Premier of Manitoba, 1878-1887.

⁴William F. Luxton, Winnipeg journalist and M.L.A., 1886-1888.

⁵William Bain Scarth, M.P. for Winnipeg, 1887-1891.

⁶Possibly John H. Mulvey, prominent Winnipeg educator.

⁷Thomas Greenway, Premier of Manitoba, 1888-1900.

⁸M.L.A. for South Winnipeg, 1888-1891.

⁹Son of Sir John A. Macdonald; M.P., 1891-1893, 1896-1897; Premier of Manitoba, 1900.

¹⁰M.P. for Selkirk, 1882-1887.

¹¹Thomas Mayne Daly, Minister of the Interior, 1892-1896.

¹²Then M.L.A. for North Brandon, 1888-1896.

¹³In 1887 Hugh Sutherland, encouraged by a land grant subsidy from the federal government, built forty miles of a Hudson Bay Railway, from Winnipeg to the neighborhood of Shoal Lake.

During this same period in 1885, at the age of 16, I had the opportunity of witnessing and experiencing all the excitement and thrills that surrounded the second Riel Rebellion. Several of my older friends joined the Forces and as regiments poured into Winnipeg from the East I had an opportunity of witnessing their arrival. When the rebellion ended and our own Little Black Devils returned to their home city I was present to greet them at the station.¹⁴ Those surely were stirring days for a lad of my age.

* * *

As this is being written more than a half century has rolled round since I had my first glimpse on May 4, 1891 of the small compact town of Moose Jaw, then the chief divisional railway point between Winnipeg and the Rockies. At that time it had a population of around 1200 and as it had a high school it was regarded as one of the educational centres of the vast region lying between Manitoba and the mountains.¹⁵ On the following day I took over my duties as principal of this school at the age of 22.¹⁶ For three long, happy and profitable years I continued in this work, and then suddenly I was appointed a school inspector at an annual salary of \$1500.00, a fortune in those far away days.¹⁷

When living at Moose Jaw my chief hobby was hunting. In the surrounding and adjacent country side and adjacent lakes there was an abundance of game, chiefly prairie chicken, duck and geese. At that time the Canada Goose migrated southward from the Arctic regions in a narrow band that centred on Buffalo Lake about 20 miles north of the town. They came by tens of thousands and chose this lake and the wheat fields south of it as their resting and feeding place for a period of from four to six weeks. Outside of this narrow band very few Canada Geese were to be seen anywhere except along the eastern slope of the Rockies where another band existed. Toward the east in Manitoba the Canada Goose was a rarity. In its place however they had huge flocks of white geese called Wavies. For the purpose of indicating the quantity of game then available I recall that at one camp with an average of around four guns for five days we brought down and shipped to town about 475 Canada Geese. Shortly afterwards we turned over the same camp to two other hunters who bagged in a week's time slightly more than 600. In those days there were no restrictions regarding the kill.

In 1892 I decided to take the preliminary step necessary to qualify for the legal profession and for this purpose articulated myself as a Clerk at Law with William Grayson, then the leading barrister of the town. As will be indicated hereafter many years passed before my wishes in this direction were realized.

¹⁴"The troops reached Winnipeg on the 15th [July, 1885], and on the following day had a grand review, preparatory to disbandment." (*Saskatchewan Herald, Battleford, July 20, 1885*).

¹⁵The Report of the N.W.T. Board of Education, 1890-1891, indicates that the High School Department of the Moose Jaw Union School No. 1 had 44 pupils at that time.

¹⁶Mr. Calder's salary was \$1,000.00 per annum.

¹⁷Mr. Calder was appointed Inspector of Schools by an Order-in-Council dated April 13, 1894, and appears to have assumed his duties May 1, 1894 (*N.W.T. Public Accounts, 1894*).

The Soo Line Railway running S.E. from Moose Jaw to Estevan and on to St. Paul was completed around 1893.¹⁸ It gave to the C.P.R. a short cut for traffic from the western parts of Canada to many parts in the United States. Previously all this traffic had to be handled through Winnipeg. Prior to the year 1883 there was not a single mile of railway in the N.W. Territories lying north of the International Boundary between Manitoba and the crest of the Rocky Mts. At that time the only inhabitants of this vast region were the Indians and half breeds, the fur traders and a few merchants, a limited number of professional men, clergymen and missionaries, the mounted police, magistrates and the necessary government and court officials. Among these people gardening and farming were carried on to a certain extent but there were no farming communities such as existed in after years.

During the following 12 years, 1883-1894, the C.P.R. was very active in extending its system. It completed its main line from Manitoba to Vancouver and in addition it constructed the following branch lines—from Regina to Prince Albert,¹⁹ from Calgary to Edmonton²⁰ and Calgary to Macleod,²¹ and the Soo Line from Pasqua to Estevan and on to St. Paul. Two Manitoba branches were also extended into the Territories, one in the south through Oxbow to Estevan²² and the other in the north through Saltcoats and Yorkton²³ and a short distance west thereof.

As this railway development progressed a flow of immigration followed. These migrants came from Manitoba, Eastern Canada, the United States, Great Britain and Europe. As the settlers arrived they selected their lands and built their homes mostly within a distance of 20 or 30 miles from the nearby railway. Occasionally however communities were established further away. As a consequence of the sum total of all these settlements there were established in the Territories about 540 school districts employing around 600 teachers at the time I was appointed inspector in 1894.²⁴ At that time four inspectors were employed to supervise these schools and report upon the efficiency of the teachers.

The area of the inspection district to which I was first assigned comprised the whole of Alberta as it now exists and all that portion of the present Province of Saskatchewan that lies south of the South Saskatchewan River to a point a few miles west of Moose Jaw. In 1898 the area of this district was reduced in size and my activities were confined to that part of Alberta lying north of Calgary. This was due to the ever increasing growth of the number of school districts and teachers. Later on in 1900 I was assigned to a district farther east. Roughly it comprised the towns and villages and the adjacent farming communities along the Estevan

¹⁸In operation, Sept. 24, 1893.

¹⁹Commenced by the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake and Saskatchewan Railway Company in 1886, and completed to Prince Albert in 1890, this line was leased to the C.P.R. and later acquired by the C.N.R.

²⁰In operation, August 23, 1891.

²¹In operation, November 9, 1892.

²²In operation to Oxbow, Feb. 19, 1892, and to Estevan August 1, 1892.

²³Commenced 1885-1886; in operation to Yorkton in 1890.

²⁴325 public school districts and some 26 separate school districts had been erected by May 1, 1894.

branch of the C.P.R., thence N.W. along the Soo Line to Pasqua and along the main line to Regina and from there northward along the branch railway to Prince Albert. For two years I covered this area and was then appointed Secretary of the Department of Education,²⁵ or in other words Deputy Minister in charge of the administrative work of the department.

For the purpose of carrying on the routine work of inspection each inspector was required to provide his own horses and conveyance. Then he set forth on his wanderings over the trails and crude roads of those days to inspect as many schools as he could prior to early November. During the winter months he travelled by rail and his duties were confined to the inspection of town and village schools.

The above details have been set out to give some indication of the immense distances to be covered by an inspector in those primitive days. During the seven years, 1894 - 1900, sitting in a light democrat behind a team of horses I visited all the farming communities large enough to support a school along the Estevan railway branch, the Soo Line, the Regina, Prince Albert branch, the main line of the C.P.R. from Moose Jaw to Banff and the branch railways to Edmonton and Macleod. As a rule I travelled by road around 3000 miles a year and it was often said in those days that I knew more trails and roads than any other person living in the N.W. Territories at that time.

As my horses jogged along the countless trails of the farming settlements, along the railways, I rarely knew where I would find my next meal or bed. However, wherever I knocked the door was opened and I entered with a welcome. Kindness, helpfulness existed everywhere and I cannot recall a single instance when I was turned away. In all my travelling through farm settlements during the years 1894-1900 I must have entered and my needs must have been cared for in at least 2500 farm homes. This was a great experience as the people I met were of many nationalities, races and creeds. In addition I had ample opportunity to acquire a thorough knowledge of the struggles, fears and needs as well as the hopes and ambitions of these courageous early pioneer settlers. In after life this knowledge and experience were of very great value to me in my future work and activities.

* * *

I cannot now recall the date of my appointment as Secretary of the Department of Education. It must however have occurred late in 1900 or early in 1901.²⁶ Hon. Frederick Haultain was then Premier of the Territories and Minister of Education. Later on after the Province was established he became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and acquired the title of Sir Frederick. The duties of my new office embraced the supervision of all the details of the administration of the then existing law respecting the education of children in the N.W. Territories including the creation of new school districts, the maintenance of Normal Schools, the qualification of

²⁵The office was Deputy Commissioner of Public Instruction until August 3, 1901 whereupon it became Deputy Commissioner of Education.

²⁶The appointment was effective February 11, 1901.



J. A. Calder when he was Deputy Commissioner of Education, 1901-1905

teachers, the fixing of courses of study, approval of text books for use in all schools, examinations and all such like matters. As new settlers continued to arrive the work the Department continued to expand. At one time around 1904 we were creating on an average one new school district for every day in the year. In those days our greatest difficulty was to settle disputes among settlers [about] the location of the boundaries of the districts and the location of the places where the new schools were to be erected. In one sense it was a hectic time but in most cases the disputes were amicably settled and peace finally prevailed.

Late in 1902 or early in 1903 I again turned my attention to law and I had my articles as a student transferred to Mr. Haultain, then practicing in the law firm of Haultain and Wood in Regina. Later on when Mr. Haultain resigned from the firm they were again transferred to his partner Mr. Wood.²⁷ Meanwhile in my spare time I poured over my law books and finally in the early spring of 1905 I passed the one examination required of University graduates and was called to the Bar. At that time I had as student companions James Cross,²⁸ the present Commissioner of Railways, and Alex Ross, who distinguished himself in the last War as a Brig.

²⁷C. E. D. Wood, who was Deputy Attorney General of the North-West Territories, 1904-1905, and of Saskatchewan, 1905-1906.

²⁸James Albert Cross was Attorney General of Saskatchewan, 1922-1927, and subsequently appointed to the Board of Railway Commissioners.

General and now is acting as Judge of the Saskatchewan Courts.²⁹ Shortly after passing my law examinations I resigned my government position³⁰ and entered the law office of T. C. Johnstone, afterwards appointed a Judge of the Territorial Court.³¹

Prior to 1905 for several years a persistent, aggressive agitation for provincial autonomy swept the N.W. Territories. As a consequence the federal government presented to Parliament the necessary legislation and the two provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were established as of date Sept. 1, 1905. Then followed wide spread discussion, rumor and gossip respecting the political possibilities of the immediate future, all of which centered around the choice of the first premier of the province and the possible composition of his cabinet. At that time at the age of 37, still comparatively young, my mind was centered on my law work and my one hope and ambition was to so qualify myself that I might succeed in my chosen profession. However, from time to time I was approached by close friends and others who suggested or hinted in various ways that the time had arrived when I should seriously consider the possibility of taking an active part in the public life and development of our new Province. To all such suggestions I turned a deaf ear and invariably firmly indicated to my closest friends that I had not the slightest desire or ambition to get mixed up in politics. Later on I learned on good authority that Walter Scott, then a member of the House of Commons, was likely to be appointed as our first provincial premier. Shortly afterwards he arrived in Regina and a day or so later I was asked to call at his office. This I did and there followed a lengthy discussion and an intimation by him that he desired to know definitely if I would be willing to join his new cabinet if circumstances were such that he could extend to me an invitation to do so. This I gave a very negative reply but he requested me not to be too hasty, to think the matter over, and that he would see me again in a few days. Shortly afterwards I received a message one evening to call at his home. When I reached there I found he had several of my closest associates with him. Then followed a statement by Scott to the effect that those present had fully discussed and considered the situation and that all were agreed that it was my plain duty to comply with Scott's wishes. I then gave no reply but simply indicated that my final decision would be given to Mr. Scott the following day. That evening I talked the whole matter over with my mother who was then living with me and early next morning advised Mr. Scott that should it be necessary I would be willing to comply with his wishes. Thus ended the most difficult situation confronted during my entire life, a decision that profoundly affected all my future activities.

In due course, on Sept. 1, 1905, the Hon. Walter Scott was appointed as the first Prime Minister of the Province of Saskatchewan and shortly afterwards the four members of his first cabinet took their oaths of office.³² The members of this first cabinet were Walter Scott, John Lamont, William Motherwell and myself. Scott

²⁹Until 1956 he was District Court Judge at Yorkton where he lives in retirement.

³⁰His resignation was effective July 31, 1905.

³¹Hon. Thomas Cooke Johnstone, appointed to the Supreme Court of the North-West Territories, October 8, 1906, who continued as a member of the Supreme Court of Saskatchewan, after it was formed in 1907, until his retirement in 1913.

³²The precise sequence was the appointment of Premier Scott on Sept. 5, 1905 and the swearing in of his ministry on September 12, 1905.

carried on till 1916 when he retired due to illness. Lamont retired in 1908³³ and was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of the Province. Motherwell continued in office for some years after 1917³⁴ and later on became Minister of Agriculture in the federal government. At the time of writing this I alone remain as the others have all passed along to the Great Beyond and a due reward for their long successful public service.

For a period of twelve years after the province was established the Scott Government carried on its work of administration. Able, energetic, popular and endowed with an abundance of good sound common sense, Premier Scott had no difficulty in winning his three successive elections. In addition to his first four cabinet ministers others were selected from time to time as conditions made it necessary. These included Alphonse Turgeon, Geo. Bell, Geo. Langley and Archie McNab. . . .

Throughout this period as circumstances and conditions made it necessary I held at various times the following portfolios, Education, Highways, Railways, Telephones and Provincial Treasurer. In the meantime owing to my many activities, I gradually forgot my law and with growing age fully abandoned all my ambitions in this direction. This, of course I had always regretted, but fate willed otherwise.

During the years following the creation of the province the government naturally gave a great deal of attention to the revision of the existing laws of the old N.W. Territories and in addition to the preparation and passing of many others that would be required to provide for the needs of its people in future years. Among the matters thus dealt with were the following: the whole field of education including the creation of Collegiates, the establishment of proper Normal Schools and the creation of a University; the creation of an efficient Health Department; suitable provisions for hospitals, mental and tuberculosis cases and the care of needy children; the establishment of new Courts of Law and better facilities for taking care of Land Titles; the creation of an entirely new system of Rural Municipalities; provision for assistance in the building of branch railways; better laws for the management of all urban centres; a state owned and operated system of telephones and other like matters.

In all this work I took an intense interest and when I resigned in late 1917 I could not help but feel that in its twelve years of office the Walter Scott government had done its best to create the fundamental laws that would reasonably take care of the lives, needs and activities of the people of Saskatchewan. Around midway in this twelve year period, 1905-1917, the province experienced its most rapid growth and development. Nothing like it was witnessed thereafter or previously in the day of the N.W. Territories. It was due largely to two main causes—the rapid development of railway facilities and the aggressive policy of immigration then adopted by the Government in office at Ottawa. During these years the Grand Trunk Pacific from Winnipeg to Prince Rupert was constructed through the northern part of the province and in addition the Canadian Northern Railway extended

³³Hon. John Henderson Lamont resigned September 23, 1907.

³⁴Hon. William Richard Motherwell resigned December 10, 1918.

its Manitoba branch into the N.E. area of Saskatchewan. Then followed for a short period keen competition among the three railway companies concerned for the construction and location of branch lines. As a direct consequence it was only a matter of a very few years till the picture of our railway facilities was completely altered and greatly improved.

Since writing the above it has been recalled that shortly after 1905 the Federal Government advised the two new provinces that in future years all matters relating to branch railways within these provinces would have to be attended to by the provincial government concerned. Soon afterwards a Department of Railways was provided for in Saskatchewan and I was appointed as the first Minister of Railways.³⁵ During the years that followed I had at times to give a great deal of attention to this branch of my many duties.

I now propose to close this chapter of life and activities by referring to a series of incidents, happenings and events with which I was closely associated or that may have some historical or other value. In January and February of 1907 a serious fuel famine swept the prairies from Winnipeg to the Rockies and much suffering followed in its wake. It was caused by a series of heavy snowfalls and violent blizzards such as had never been witnessed since the West was opened for settlement. Many thousands of cattle and horses died. In addition very many settlers were compelled to use for fuel parts of their buildings, and in some cases even their furniture and grain. In many instances telegraph and telephone poles were chopped down and carted away. For days and weeks at a stretch railways were completely blocked and it was impossible to move fuel of any sort to the communities where it was most needed.

In the years 1906-07 the government gave a good deal of attention to the question of erecting a parliament building in Regina that would house a legislative assembly chamber and in addition provide ample accommodation for all the Departments of the public service. Eventually a decision was reached to proceed with the construction of such building at a fixed total cost of not more than two million dollars. It was further agreed that the design, plans and details for the building should be decided by competition among a group of leading architects carefully selected for this purpose. Then shortly afterwards the premier and one of his members journeyed east to get in touch with a few noted architects in Canada and the United States with a view to making all necessary arrangements for the competition to be held.

At the time of his departure Mr. Scott explained to me the necessity of determining the location of this new building without delay and he requested me to make a thorough examination of all possible sites and forward my decision to him in code by telegram to Montreal. For three full days with horse and buggy I inspected every possible site from every angle and in the end chose the land upon which the Capital Building of the Province now stands. Later on the necessary competition was held, the architect was chosen and tenders were called for. Then followed

³⁵June 16, 1908.

trouble, somewhat serious political trouble. All the tenders were within the fixed limit of two millions but the lowest was from a Winnipeg contractor of whom every member of the government was suspicious. The decision that confronted us was difficult but in the end the contract was awarded to the second lowest tenderer. In the election that followed this decision was very severely criticized by our opponents. Years afterwards the lowest tenderer above referred to was sent to the penitentiary for several years. When the building was finally completed and handed over only one extra, of around \$40,000.00 had to be taken care of and this extra was never criticized by anybody within or without our Legislative Assembly.

Another political monster that had to be faced and eventually conquered came out into the open in the general provincial election of 1908. Sometime previously the government had decided to adopt a policy for the free distribution of certain school books to junior pupils in public schools. As Minister of Education I deemed it best to make a beginning with the primer or first reading book. In due course a contract was entered into with the Morang Publishing Co. of Toronto, the books were prepared and printed and subsequently distributed to all schools in the Province. Then, without warning, in the midst of a general election, Mr. Haultain, Leader of the Opposition, appeared on a public platform and denounced this contract as extravagant and unjustifiable. This was at once followed by a flood of leaflets plainly intended to create an impression that the contract was fraudulent and based on corruption. As a consequence I was defeated by a very small majority in my constituency of Milestone,³⁶ but later on in a by-election was elected in Saltcoats with a very large majority.³⁷

When I returned to Regina after the election I at once got in touch with Mr. Scott and insisted that a Royal Commission should be appointed without delay to deal with the matter. I further advised him to consult with Haultain for the purpose of securing his complete approval of the Commissioners to be appointed. This was done and two members of the Supreme Court of the Province were appointed.³⁸ Then followed the inquiry which lasted around ten days. When all my witnesses had been heard and Mr. Haultain was called upon to produce his he replied that he had none. As the time had then arrived for both sides to address the Commissioners Mr. Haultain at once arose and publicly apologized to me for having made his charges and withdrew them.³⁹ This manly courageous action on his part enabled me to renew a friendship of long standing. Thus the monster disappeared and was never heard of again.

³⁶The results in Milestone were A. E. Whitmore, Provincial Rights, 1,097; Mr. Calder, 1,031.

³⁷In the Saltcoats by-election on December 7, 1908 Mr. Calder polled 1,101 votes, his Independent opponent only 254.

³⁸Chief Justice E. L. Wetmore and Hon. H. W. Newlands.

³⁹Haultain, although contending that the contract was improper, stated: "I acquit the Commissioner [Calder] of any charge of personal graft, as I have always done; . . . I admit, in the face of the evidence which has been given, there was no graft . . . because the profits were not unreasonable." (*Regina Leader*, March 23, 1909).

In the earlier years following the creation of the Province the University of Saskatchewan was created, an event that was certain to have a profound influence on the lives and activities of all its people for many decades or centuries in the future. At the time I was Minister of Education and I can now readily recall the long intense study I then made of the Charters of many other Universities located the world round. In the end I drafted a Bill for the creation of a University, state owned and financed, to be under the control and administration of an absolutely independent Board of Governors appointed by the Government. This Bill was approved by the Legislature⁴⁰ and so far as I know its original provisions have never been materially altered. Shortly afterwards Premier Scott became Minister of Education and it became his duty to decide upon the location of the Institution, purchase a site, appoint a president and proceed with the construction of such buildings as would be required at an early date. All these duties were successfully discharged and today the University stands as a perpetual memorial to his memory.

In the memories previously recorded herein reference is made to the construction of branch railways but no explanation is given as to the reason why it was found necessary at that time to provide for a provincial department of railways. Prior to 1905, when the new provinces were created, the Legislative Assembly of the N.W. Territories never at any time exercised any jurisdiction in the field of railway building. Then all matters relating to railways including branches thereof were under the jurisdiction of the Federal authorities and assistance required for such construction was provided by the Parliament of Canada. Then suddenly these conditions disappeared. Within a short period after the new provinces were established notice was given to them to the effect that except in the case of the C.P.R. all matters pertaining to the construction of provincial and branch lines would have to be attended to solely by the Government of Saskatchewan, as a consequence the provincial Department of Railways was shortly afterwards established and I became its first minister.

Then followed a comprehensive study of all the railway facilities of the province with a view to determining and listing in order of priority the various farming communities that were in urgent need of relief from the transportation conditions then prevailing. This naturally took time and much study. At that particular time three railway companies were interested, the Canadian Pacific, the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific. As the C.P.R. operated under federal charter it had full authority with the approval of Ottawa to locate and construct its branch lines wherever it pleased. On the contrary the C.N.R. in western Canada obtained its original charters from the Manitoba Government and their first construction programmes were aided by bond guarantees. As a few C.N.R. lines were then near our eastern boundary their future extensions into Saskatchewan would have to be provided for under the jurisdiction of our own Legislature. This also was true of the G.T.P. which at that time operated only its main trunk line through the province. Quite naturally all three of these companies were certain to become

⁴⁰The University Act, *Statutes of Saskatchewan*, 1907, Chapter 24, assented to April 3, 1907.

keen competitors for securing the most desirable areas for the extension of their systems. As a result it became necessary to have almost endless conferences and discussion to iron out their differences of opinion respecting the location of their respective branch lines. However in the end most of these difficulties were gradually overcome and railway development throughout the province gradually but surely increased in pace. When I retired from the Government late in 1917 much had been accomplished and in the many years since this, this one-time nightmare was well taken care of.

During these earlier years in the life of the province the telephone facilities then existing continued to be extended to urban centres and in a limited way to rural communities as well. The service provided however was never regarded as satisfactory with the result that many complaints reached the government from many directions. Eventually somewhere around 1911-13⁴¹ these complaints increased to such an extent that the Government decided drastic action of some sort would have to be taken. Then followed a comprehensive study and review of existing telephone facilities for the purpose of ascertaining needed improvements in every branch of the service and their probable cost. In the end the Government concluded there was but one way to deal with the situation, namely, to create a telephone system for the entire province that would be publicly owned and operated. Shortly afterwards at the next meeting of the Legislature a Telephone Department was created.⁴²

In the framing of our first telephone legislation every care was taken to embody therein the basic principles that should govern the development of a system that would efficiently provide service for all sections of the province. These principles included the following:

- (1) The government was to provide, own and operate the exchanges required for all urban communities;
- (2) All these exchanges are to be connected by trunk lines provided by the government for long distance calls;
- (3) In the case of rural communities provision was made for the creation of rural telephone districts under the control and management of boards to be elected by the residents;
- (4) The location and area of each such district subject to the approval of the government was to be determined by the residents;
- (5) Each district was required to provide, own and operate its own system and its original capital costs were to be taken care of by debentures within the district;
- (6) Where desired provision was to be made for long distance connections and revenues therefrom were to be equitably divided between the province and the district;
- (7) In the case of the provincial system all its revenues and expenditures at all times were to be kept entirely separate from those of all other branches of the public service.

⁴¹Actually about 1907-1908.

⁴²The Department of Railways, Telegraphs, and Telephones was established June 12, 1908 (*Statutes of Saskatchewan*, 1908, Chapter 5) and Mr. Calder was appointed Minister on June 16, 1908. This Act followed the tabling of the *Dagger Report* on telephone service in the province in the Legislature, April 6, 1908 (*Sessional Papers*, 1908 Session, No. 1).

In due course the Telephone Department was organized, staffed and in operation. One of its first duties was to acquire all the properties and facilities of the Bell Telephone Co. within the province. This was quickly arranged for, at a very reasonable cost. Then followed a long period of extensive development and construction which resulted in an ever increasing betterment of the entire telephone service of the province.

One day in the midst of all our activities the Regina telephone exchange with all its equipment was completely destroyed by fire. At the time my staff regarded this event as a great disaster but as will be related later herein it turned out to be a great blessing for all telephone users. Within thirty-six hours after the fire a stranger was ushered into my office. He at once stated that he represented a Chicago manufacturing firm and reaching for a small valise placed a dial telephone on my desk. As it happened he had heard of our fire in Winnipeg and jumped on the next train to Regina. Then followed a lengthy discussion regarding the purpose and operations of this mysterious contraption. Later on I talked the whole matter over with Premier Scott and on the following day I was on my way to Chicago. At that time in Chicago and near by there were at least two large exchanges equipped with dial telephones in full operation serving some thousands of customers. As a consequence I had the fullest opportunity to obtain all the information I desired, the making, cost, durability, and use of the dial telephone. Then after eight full days of intensive study I returned to Regina and made my report to Mr. Scott. On the same day a Cabinet meeting was called and I was given the green light signal to proceed with the job.⁴³

During the years 1916-17 I held the portfolio of Minister of Highways. So far as I knew all our work relating to bridge and road building was proceeding satisfactorily and complaints were few and far between. Then suddenly out of the blue came a flash and a crack that indicated the approach of a storm or even another cyclone. At the time the Legislature was in session and shortly after its opening proceedings were ended, a member of the opposition, Mr. Bradshaw of Prince Albert,⁴⁴ rose in his place and announced in effect that he desired to place on record a very serious statement regarding one branch of the public service. Then slowly, definitely, and deliberately he charged that the government had expended over \$60,000.00 on road contracts and that not one single day's work had been done for this huge sum. He gave no particulars regarding the contracts, he mentioned no names and he gave no indication of the location of the roads referred to. In reply I at once stated in effect that the charge made was a complete surprise to me, that I had not the slightest knowledge of the matter referred to, that I could not conceive it possible that the charge was well founded and that I doubted very much

⁴³According to the Department of Telephones Report, 1912-1913, p. 12, it was the Regina tornado, June 30, 1912 which "completely destroyed the exchange building together with the switchboards and other equipment." A temporary building was erected and replaced in 1913 by the permanent exchange in connection with which the automatic telephone system went into operation in Regina on January 17, 1914. (See *Regina Leader*, Jan. 15, 1914, p. 4).

⁴⁴Mr. J. E. Bradshaw, M.L.A., on February 10, 1916.

if the author of the charge had any real evidence to substantiate it. Then I indicated that I would inquire into the matter and make a further statement to the members as soon as possible.

Without delay I left the chamber, went to my office and arranged to interview, separately the following officers—the Highways Commissioner, his assistant, the Deputy Treasurer and the Provincial Auditor. Briefly I was unable to obtain the slightest information from any of them relating to the charge that had been made. Shortly afterwards I recalled the Auditor and Deputy Treasurer and instructed them to have a complete check made of all recent files in the Highway Department with a view to locating any clues that might be of assistance. In the course of two or three days the Deputy Treasurer called at my office and informed me that he had located a likely forgery that might be a clue to our riddle.

I then instructed him to get in touch with the Auditor and pursue the matter further as rapidly as possible. On the following day these two officials returned to my office with a number of files. These were examined and I was convinced that grave frauds had been committed based on a series of wholesale forgeries. Without delay I reported to Premier Scott, and recommended the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the Bradshaw charges and strongly suggested that he should consult Mr. Haultain⁴⁵ and insist that he should select the member or members of the Royal Commission to be appointed. That afternoon I reported to the Legislature, disclosed the nature of the evidence that had been located, admitted that charges made were well founded and that a Royal Commission would be appointed to inquire into the charge that had been made.

On the evening of the same day around midnight I was informed by phone that Brown,⁴⁶ Assistant Highway Commissioner, the apparent author of the forgeries had disappeared and could not be found. I at once got in touch with our Chief of Police and instructed him regardless of costs to have Brown traced and brought back to Regina under arrest. Later on when it was ascertained that Mr. Devlin,⁴⁷ a member of the Legislature, was also connected with these frauds we learned that he also had disappeared and similar instructions were given for his arrest. Luckily both were traced and apprehended, Brown on a train in southern California and Devlin in a lumber camp in the State of Washington.

Following the prorogation of the Legislature no time was lost in making all necessary arrangements for the inquiry to be held. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province, Mr. Wetmore, was appointed Royal Commissioner;⁴⁸ counsel for Mr. Bradshaw and the government had been selected and all necessary witnesses were available; so the inquiry opened and got under way. It lasted some two or three weeks and throughout its proceedings counsel for Mr. Bradshaw attempted

⁴⁵Chief Justice since October 29, 1912.

⁴⁶J. P. Brown.

⁴⁷E. H. Devlin, Liberal M.L.A. for Kinistino, 1912-1916.

⁴⁸Hon. E. L. Wetmore, former chief justice, had retired October 14, 1912. Associated with him on this Commission were H. G. Smith, Regina, and G. D. Mackie, Moose Jaw. There were two other commissions, chaired by Judge J. T. Brown and Chief Justice F. W. G. Haultain, which enquired into charges by Mr. Bradshaw respecting other matters.

in every conceivable way to unearth some evidence that would reflect upon the government and more particularly on myself. In this he utterly failed. When the Commissioners' report was finally received there was not a line or word in it to indicate that the government or any member of it had any part in the frauds committed. Then followed the trials of Brown and Devlin. Both were found guilty and given prison terms of several years. In addition a friend of Brown's apparently connected with the frauds in some way committed suicide. Thus ended what at first appeared to be a very ugly political scandal reflecting on the integrity of the Scott Government and its members.⁴⁹

In the year 1914 Premier Scott began to show definite signs of illness and as the months passed his ailment gradually grew worse and worse. Finally in 1916 his condition became somewhat serious. As throughout this period I was called upon from time to time to take over his duties and responsibilities I began to feel the strain myself. As a consequence I decided to consult our mutual friend Senator J. H. Ross of Moose Jaw. Together we had several conversations with Mr. Scott and then with a few of his closest friends. In the end we decided that in his own best interest he should resign. When we broached the matter to him a day or so later he fully agreed, without hesitation. That same evening he handed his resignation to Senator Ross on the understanding that it would be handed to the Lieutenant Governor as soon as his colleagues and supporters agreed on his successor.⁵⁰

A day or so later I arranged for a gathering of all our supporters. When assembled later on I briefly told them of Mr. Scott's decision and wishes. I further intimated that I had heard of my name being mentioned as a possible successor. Then in simple words that should have been clearly understood I declared that under no circumstances would I accept the position vacated by Mr. Scott. Then I left the meeting and returned to my office in order that the gathering might have the fullest opportunity to discuss the matter from every angle. Within the course of half an hour a delegation reached my office and advised me that their colleagues had unanimously agreed that I should succeed Mr. Scott as premier. After a very short discussion I requested the delegation to convey my thanks to our supporters and at the same time remind them that the decision I had reached and announced was final and unalterable. In the course of about an hour the delegates returned and informed me that all of our supporters hoped I would reconsider my decision. Thereupon I went to the meeting, a brief discussion followed and finally a decision was reached to hold a Provincial Liberal Convention for the purpose of selecting Walter Scott's successor. At that convention when held I was repeatedly placed in the same difficult position but finally my decision was accepted and Mr.

⁴⁹Note that in connection with these charges one other member of the Legislature was sentenced to jail, the Premier demanded the resignation of still another member, and the Speaker was forced to resign. See *Canadian Annual Review (C.A.R.)*, 1916, for a summary of the charges, investigations, and convictions.

⁵⁰Premier Scott's resignation was accepted by the Lieutenant Governor on October 20, 1916.

Martin, then a member of the House of Commons, was chosen as leader of the Liberal Party in Saskatchewan. In the election that followed the Martin Government had a large majority including Saltcoats where I was a candidate.⁵¹

Here I wish to add a footnote to the above record of my memories of the years 1905-1917. They were years of intensely interesting work, great activity, hard work, long hours, much travelling and many difficulties accompanied, however, at all times with a feeling that something real was being accomplished for future life of the province and its people. Towards the close of this period its strains and stresses began to have their natural results. As a consequence I deliberated with myself for many days and weeks with a view to reaching a decision respecting the future. Finally I decided to retire from political life in order that I might take a long vacation and enjoy a long rest.

During the last Great War Sir Robert Borden, likely in 1916, publicly announced that he was in favor of the formation of a national or union government composed of members representing all political parties in Canada. News of this spread rapidly from coast to coast and a great deal of discussion followed. At the time I was very busy and I paid but little attention to the buzz around me. Besides my mind at that time was busily engaged with the problem of how and when I would be able to find an escape from political life. From what I learned afterwards Sir Robert for several months endeavored to carry out his proposal by endeavoring to make arrangements for the inclusion in his Cabinet of several prominent liberals then in the House of Commons. In this he failed and then decided to turn elsewhere for the support he needed.

Shortly afterwards Sir Robert took such steps as he deemed necessary to ascertain the situation and possibilities in western Canada. At the time I knew nothing of this but in due course I received a letter from Sir Robert inviting me to Ottawa for a discussion of the whole situation. Other westerners received similar letters. I discussed the matter with my colleagues and a few days later I reached Ottawa and learned that several other persons from eastern and western Canada were there for the same purpose. A day or two later Sir Robert accompanied by one or two of his ministers met those who were invited and a somewhat lengthy discussion ensued.⁵² At its close Sir Robert intimated that he hoped for an early decision on the part of each person present. However those from western Canada announced they would have to consult their friends at home before any decision could be reached. Thus the gathering ended.

On returning to Regina I reported to our Premier and the other members of the government and suggested arranging for a conference of members of the three Liberal Governments then in office in the prairie Provinces. This was agreed to and shortly afterwards the meeting was held. At the conference a dozen or so members

⁵¹The vote in Saltcoats was Calder, 2,699; H. Leppington, Conservative, 1,095.

⁵²Possibly July 6, 1917. (See *C.A.R.*, 1917, p. 565.)

were present and with one exception all were in favor of a national government and agreed as well that should I be invited to join that Government it would be my duty to do so without hesitation. I was further advised that with the exception above referred to all members of the government of the three prairie provinces held the same views and opinions. Under the circumstances I could not help but feel and realize the extent to which public opinion in the prairie provinces had developed in favor of Sir Robert Borden's proposal.

Then followed another meeting in Winnipeg of those who had attended the Borden conference at Ottawa. Also present were Dafoe of the Free Press and two or three other prominent Liberals. Again the problem was analyzed from every conceivable angle, and it was unanimously agreed that a national government should be formed provided it could be attained on terms and conditions that would be reasonably equitable to all parties concerned. In addition the majority present held the view that Sir Robert should retire in favor of a new leader to be selected. Then followed a telegram to Sir Robert announcing our views.

On the following day Tom Crerar, myself and three or four other companions left The Pas in N. Manitoba for a vacation. From there by boat, canoe and on foot we journeyed to the Mandy and Flin Flon Mines in order to be out of touch with the outside world and have a chance for a real rest. In about ten days we returned to Winnipeg. Shortly after we had reached the city we were advised that another messenger of Sir Robert's had arrived and wished to consult us. So a meeting was arranged for the same evening. When we gathered those present included all who had been in attendance at our former meeting and the messenger turned out to be Arthur Sifton⁵³ who informed us that Sir Robert was extremely anxious to have another conference with us for the purpose of determining whether or not it would be possible to form a union government. At the same time he explained why it was impossible for Sir Robert to resign at that time.

Again the problem with all its difficulties and perplexities was surveyed and a unanimous decision reached that we would go to Ottawa on certain definite conditions to be agreed to by Sir Robert. In effect these conditions were as follows:

1. that all our negotiations should be carried on with Sir Robert alone, that no one else should be permitted to interfere and that all our proceedings should be strictly confidential;
2. that Sir Robert should freely and frankly discuss with us the principles that should govern the formation of a national government, the selection of its members and the distribution of their duties.

A message to this effect was at once forwarded to Ottawa and on the following day Sir Robert replied approving our proposals and suggesting that we should reach Ottawa as soon as convenient.

Shortly after our arrival at Ottawa⁵⁴ I arranged for an interview with Sir Wilfrid Laurier at his home. Our meeting as usual was friendly and cordial. In

⁵³Premier A. L. Sifton of Alberta.

⁵⁴Probably October 2, 1917. (See *C.A.R.*, 1917, p. 582.)

the conversations that followed I told him frankly that the proposal of a national government had my full approval. I further outlined to him the view of practically all the members of the Governments of the Prairie Provinces. Finally I referred to my own desire to find an escape from political activities. In turn he told me of his own position and the reasons therefor. In the end each of us had a much better conception of the position of the other. At the door when we parted Sir Wilfrid with a smile and his hand on my shoulder uttered these words which I have never forgotten, "My dear Jim, it is not for me to advise you as to what you should do, do what you think to be right and may God bless you. Good night." Thereafter our friendship continued to the end of his days and my family and I were always welcome at his home where we spent many pleasant hours together.

When we gathered on the morning fixed for our conference those present were much the same as those in attendance at the meeting held a month or so previously. Seated at the head of a long table in his outer office Sir Robert called the meeting to order. Then he briefly thanked us for our presence and expressed the hope that after a full and free discussion we would be able to join him in the actual working out of a truly national government. Then he referred to the message he had received from us and agreed that we were entitled to obtain from him the fullest information possible respecting his proposal. Then for more than an hour he addressed the gathering. In closing he stated that should any person present desire any further information he would endeavor to furnish the same if at all possible. The conference was then thrown open for free discussion and inquiry. When those present finally indicated they had received all information desired, Sir Robert suggested that we should appoint one of those present to negotiate with him should any problems or difficulties arise that needed to be ironed out. I was then selected for this purpose and the conference adjourned.

When my colleagues left I remained with Sir Robert for a short talk. I assured him frankly that I fully concurred with his views respecting union government and that I would assist in every way possible to carry them out. Then I told him of the decision I had reached to retire from active public life at the earliest possible date and expressed the hope that matters could be so arranged that I might do so. At the same time I intimated to him that if he and all my Colleagues insisted that I should become a member of a new government I would do so only on the condition that I would not be required to take charge of a department necessitating constant, long hours of arduous work. As we parted I noted tears in his eyes—tears of gratitude. And as I walked the long corridor outside his door I could not help but feel that this was the first glimpse I had of the real Borden that I knew so well in after years.

Early that afternoon we met at headquarters in the Chateau Laurier and shortly afterwards were joined by other delegates from British Columbia, Ontario and eastern Canada. These delegates had all previously conferred with Premier Borden and were all in favor of Union Government, if it could be arranged for on a sound equitable basis. Then we at once got down to work and our discussions continued all afternoon and in the evening till around 11:30. Throughout this period from

time to time it was necessary for me to confer frequently with Sir Robert. Eventually all differences were ironed out and on the following morning the new Ministers were sworn in⁵⁵ and Union Government was duly established. Needless to say I had my wish and was appointed Minister of Immigration—not wanted by anybody else.⁵⁶ Thus ended an extremely difficult political situation, the solution of which a few months later was overwhelmingly endorsed by the electors of Canada.⁵⁷

Whilst I remained a member of the government during the years 1917-1921 my purely departmental work was quite light but in those days there was an abundance of work in other fields and I was called upon at all times to carry my full share. In May 1918 with two other colleagues I accompanied Sir Robert Borden to Great Britain. Within a week after reaching London we were well in touch with the Government Departments and Boards, as well as other organizations with which we were to have certain dealings and conversation. In addition we attended a meeting of the Imperial Conference which had been arranged for and as well a meeting of the War Council. My most vivid recollection of that first week is one of gloom—deep gloom. It prevailed everywhere in higher government circles. At that time Lloyd George seemed to be the only one who could smile or crack a joke. All others had long serious faces. A little later on I attended a large meeting where the chief topic of discussion was the ways and means to be adopted to bring our forces to England after France collapsed. Still later on when I visited our troops in France I found conditions entirely different. There the forces of all ranks were in high spirits, cocksure they could defeat the huns and anxious to get going as soon as possible.

Late in June I joined Sir Robert Borden and another colleague for a visit to our forces in France. There I joined Commander Arthur Currie at his headquarters and remained with him for a full week. At that time most of our Canadian Troops were out of the front line and for the most part that line was quite inactive. As a consequence I had the fullest opportunity to have a splendid visit with most of our units and meet scores of lads that I knew personally. On two occasions I addressed large meetings in the open fields with many hundreds of lads around me sitting on the grass. On July 1, not far from Arras I had the privilege of attending a very large Dominion Celebration on a bright sunny day. It was a huge success and all present had a glorious time. My evenings for the most part were spent with Currie and his staff. As a result, from our many conversations and discussions I learned much about the existing military situation, the possibilities for the future, the number of reserves including conscripts, the needs and requirements of our services and other details all of which were very helpful to me during the remainder of the War period. . . .

⁵⁵October 12, 1917.

⁵⁶Mr. Calder was appointed Minister of Immigration and Colonization, a portfolio he held until Sept. 20, 1921. He was also President of the Privy Council, July 10, 1920 - Sept. 20, 1921, and Minister of Health, July 19, 1920 - Sept. 20, 1921.

⁵⁷Mr. Calder was elected to the House of Commons for the constituency of Moose Jaw as a Liberal Unionist in the general election of December 17, 1917.

With the War ended a long list of new and difficult problems faced the government of Canada, Great Britain, the United States, France and many other countries. As we know now none of them was prepared to cope with this aftermath with the result that many mistakes were made that had far reaching consequences on the lives of millions of people the world round. As we look back over the years that followed after 1918 we are reminded of the old adage that hindsight is much more reliable than foresight. . . .

When Sir Robert Borden returned to Ottawa after the Peace Treaty had been signed he at once joined in the task of dealing with the many problems that had arisen as a result of the sudden collapse of the War. For long months in the midst of his other duties he struggled with these and as might be expected his health failed and he decided to resign. Shortly afterwards Arthur Meighen was sworn in as Prime Minister⁵⁸ and a few changes were made in the then existing cabinet. As at that time an election was well in sight I decided to remain a member of the government till the election was ended when at long last I would be able to secure my release from the activities of active public life.

In the autumn of 1921 I was appointed a member of the Senate.⁵⁹ As I was always greatly interested in the constructive work necessary for the construction of new laws and the improvement of old ones and as in addition I considered myself sufficiently moderate and liberal minded in my views respecting the problems of minority rights I looked forward with pleasure to my new duties. In this I was never disappointed and my hope is that through the years I have been able to contribute something of real value to our people.

⁵⁸July 10, 1920.

⁵⁹September 21, 1921.

Book Reviews

THE OPENING OF THE CANADIAN NORTH, 1870-1914. By Morris Zaslow. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971. Pp. xii, 340. Illustrated. \$12.50.

This book is one of the last of the McClelland and Stewart Centenary 18-volume series on the history of Canada. Authors of earlier volumes worked in areas that had been explored by scholars of earlier generations. To Professor Zaslow has been assigned a vast and relatively virgin territory. His book reflects vast industry and the temperate, fair-minded, well-informed interpretations of scholarship at its best.

Here we have an account of pioneer development in Canada from the founding of the Federation to the commencement of World War I. The term Canadian North is held as including all those parts of Canada which were undeveloped in 1870. Hence Professor Zaslow's study embraces in greater or less degree all the provinces and territories lying west of the Maritimes. Briefly summarized his topics are the young Dominion's entry into the Northwest, development on the Pacific shore, the work of traders and missionaries in the Middle North, the Klondike gold rush and its aftermath, the northward thrust into the hinterlands of Quebec and Ontario, growth in western Canada in the early years of this century (the great epoch of railway construction), and expansion to the Arctic shore and beyond. The author is faced by the difficult task of recording manifold pioneer activities in a number of regions in a state of geographic isolation and in the early days only tenuously linked by common Federal authority. The essence of the large and diverse material with which he has to deal he compresses into less than 300 pages. A work so condensed and full of meat is not for the casual or indifferent reader. But subject to his limitations in space the author's style is dignified, easy and vigorous. His thoroughness and integrity command respect: one feels that he can be trusted without reservation. His praise is the more weighty for his temperate and judicial tone. The patient and diligent student will find his interest maintained and will be rewarded by a coherent vision of the entire panorama of Canada's growth during the first half century of Confederation. Individual chapters furnish excellent starting points for study in more specialized fields.

One's understanding of the agents of development is much enhanced by this book. The policeman and missionary are apt to be portrayed with undiscerning eulogy or ill-natured detraction. Both emerge with a substantial balance of credit from this objective appraisal. The often neglected scientist comes into his own. The magnificent work of the Geological Survey of Canada is recorded at some length and with the appreciation which it so well merits. It is unfortunate that the plan of the work precluded the treatment of the Indian question as a separate unit. The injustices of which he has been the victim are mentioned in different sections with no palliation or disguise.

Of particular interest are the accounts of the contrasted forms of development in the northern lands of Ontario and Quebec. From the former one gathers that the exploitation of our natural resources by American capital with inadequate returns

to our national revenue is an abuse of long standing. In the largely church-directed expansion of Quebec one finds the germ of the present discontents of that province. Of particular interest and contemporary "relevance" is the survey of the uncertain and halting steps by which Canada obtained what sovereignty she now possesses in the High Arctic.

By definition the pioneer is one who smooths the way for those who are to follow him. Professor Zaslow acquits himself well in that character. His 20-page Bibliographical Essay with a multitude of titles and some illuminating appraisals is a godsend to the student in any or all of the topics here dealt with.

Readers of *Saskatchewan History* will be interested to note that the author is a native of Rosthern, Saskatchewan.

L. H. Neatby

ON THE EDGE OF THE SHIELD. Fort Chipewyan and its hinterland. Edited by John W. Chalmers. Edmonton: The University of Alberta, The Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, Occasional Publication No. 7, 1971. Pp. 60. Illus., map. \$2.00.

In this slim volume are brought together seven talks, by six different authors, presented over the University of Alberta's FM radio station. Little more has been done by the editor than to bundle them together, place an Introduction in the front, and Appendix by a seventh author plus Notes in the back, and add some illustrative material. The resultant lack of cohesion is confusion, particularly to the interested but as yet ill-informed reader who has seen fragmentary newspaper reports about the Athabasca Delta and who is looking for firmer ground on which to base his opinions. It is doubtful if this booklet will be of much help to him.

The spoken word does not lend itself to a ready transformation into print and what could be made to sound acceptable ("Fort Chip" or even "Chip") looks pedestrian or worse in print. Moreover, no attempt has been made to eliminate repetition. Again, this may be hardly noticeable by the casual listener but it becomes tedious for a reader to be told in a general way on page 8 and again more specifically on page 17 that the stream flow in the Chenal des Quatre Fourches and the Rivière des Rochers (both, incidentally, misspelled on page 17) reverses in the spring when the Peace River is in flood.

More serious is a repetition which also provides contradictory information. The author of the first chapter, Wm. G. Laatsch, leaves one with the impression that the voyageurs did not encounter any bad obstacles in their annual canoe trip: "The vast Churchill River System and Hudson Bay were, except for short portages, accessible by water to the east." Author James M. Parker, on the other hand, speaks in his chapter of the "treacherous Churchill River" and the "backbreaking Portage La Loche". Having traversed this 13 mile portage some years ago in relative comfort with a horse and wagon wondering at the time how it would feel

to have to carry a 90-pound "piece", I tend to agree with Mr. Parker. Let us just hope that armchair historians and travellers will ignore Mr. Laatsch' picture of easy access.

Of the seven talks (they do not deserve to be called essays) three deal with history, one with education, one with social anthropology, and one with ecology. This last one, "Death of a delta" by Wm. A. Fuller, is the most disappointing of the lot. It deals more with the Nile Delta and water diversion schemes in the U.S.S.R. than with the Athabasca Delta. The purchaser of this booklet has a right to expect a more convincing treatment of this important subject.

The well-executed map by G. A. Lester is a welcome addition to the talks and an important visual aid to the reader. Outside the immediate area of Fort Chipewyan, however, it lacks some crucial detail which may mislead the reader into regarding the Churchill River as the only route to Hudson Bay and York Factory as an isolated post without connections to its hinterland. Anyone wanting to fill in the gaps of this map would be well advised to consult E. W. Morse's "Fur trade canoe routes—then and now" published in Ottawa by the Queen's Printer in 1969.

Lastly, the booklet is not without its misprints, some causing havoc with the English language (architectural lanscape; on p. 10), some with the history of Fort Chipewyan (on p. 8 we learn that the old Fort was moved from its original site in the 1890's, on p. 16 in the 1790's; the latter is correct). Some other misprints are merely amusing. The one I liked best is the "Half-bred Commission" on p. 35. Was this organization perhaps responsible for the publication "On the Edge of the Shield"?

W. O. Kupsch

THE CARLTON TRAIL. By R. C. Russell. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1971. Pp. 158, Illus., maps. \$6.95.

This is a revised edition, in hard cover, of the excellent history of the Carlton Trail, first published by the late Dr. Ralph C. Russell in 1955. This trail, extending 900 miles from Fort Garry to Fort Edmonton, was the principal overland route of the north-west for much of the 19th century. Its heyday was the period from the late 1850's, when travel into the area became more frequent and after which shipments of furs and trade goods from and to the interior were increasingly routed via Winnipeg and the railhead in the United States, until the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880's. It was largely superseded as a transportation route after branch railway lines were constructed to Edmonton, Saskatoon and Prince Albert at the end of that decade, but sections of it were used locally by settlers for years thereafter. Meanwhile, it had been the thoroughfare for fur traders and brigades of Métis and their Red River carts. Travelled also by many of the early explorers and surveyors, distinguished visitors, and government officials, it

was the route of the northern expedition of the N.W.M.P. in 1874, subsequently used by police patrols, and the first mail route in the North-West Territories.

Dr. Russell has quoted liberally from the accounts of travel on the trail, thus recreating the atmosphere of the period and providing an insight into both the traffic and the travellers on it. The stimulating narrative is complemented by excellent illustrations and, in this edition, by the dust jacket by R. N. Hurley, and the very appropriate tribute to Dr. Russell, written by Dr. C. G. Riley.

A. R. Turner

GOLD RUSH. A pictorial look at the part Edmonton played in the gold era of the 1890's. By James Blower. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1971. Pp. 199. \$9.95.

Gold Rush is a pictorial review of a frequently overlooked chapter of Canadian history—the attempt by gold seekers to reach the Klondike by the all-Canadian route. This route to the Klondike from Edmonton took the potential prospectors by way of main river and lake systems to the Mackenzie Delta from which place they continued to the goldfields by either the Porcupine or Peel River systems. During the gold rush Edmonton boomed and merchants prospered although much suffering and many needless deaths occurred amongst those who attempted to use the route. The author has done a capable job in portraying the folly of the gold seekers and the resultant tragedies by using a wide variety of photographs that range from prospectors beginning their journey with utterly impractical transportation to those of a “scurvy shack,” where a prospector could go to recuperate—or to die in solitude. Reproduction is excellent considering the state of some of the glass plates that were used. The photographs are evenly divided among five topics—Trail to the Yukon, Transportation for the North, Merchants and Their Wares, Edmonton and Her Gold, and the Golden Era. Perhaps the section on the methods of obtaining gold out of the Saskatchewan River, from panning to dredging, is the most instructive in the book.

The book suggests the need for an historical study on the search for gold in the Edmonton area as well as a further examination of the all-Canadian route. Unfortunately, the lack of footnotes and a bibliography, not to mention a table of contents and index, seriously weakens the reference value of this book. Moreover, the reader has no idea as to the accuracy or extent to which the writer has researched his topic.

Historical reliability of the study is brought into question when the author mentions on page 8 that, “some miners succumbed to the aroused Indians of the Beaver tribe” The fact is that the Beavers were driven out of the area in question before the 1890's. The sparse Indian population coupled with weak tribal organization, a scarcity of game, and the influx of white man's diseases made it highly improbable that any Indian group would be able to attack the well-armed miners. Also, the author does have a tendency to write more for color than relevance or fact which is especially evident in his statement that the

Lang party left for the goldfields using a Red River cart that once belonged to Louis Riel and an Indian pony that once belonged to Poundmaker.

Despite the historical errors and lack of interpretation this is still an interesting and worthwhile book. The strength of the book is in the photographs which are organized in such a way as to present an interesting and meaningful story.

G. Brandak

Notes and Correspondence

We recently received a copy of a new magazine of western history called "Sagas of the West Magazine". Edited by Frank W. Anderson the magazine is being published by the Frontier Publishing Company, 3518 Third Avenue S. W., Calgary 4 at a subscription rate of \$3.60 a year. Each issue of the magazine is to have a series of articles on a common theme. Issues to date have been on the following themes, "Sheriffs and Outlaws", "Wild Women", "Stage Coach Hold Ups", and "Famous Indian Outlaws". The articles are all written in a popular vein but they appear to be well researched. We wish the new publication all success. Anyone interested in securing copies of this magazine should write to the address given above.

An excellent series of booklets on topics related to historic sites research have been published by the National Historic Sites Service and are available through Information Canada, Ottawa. Entitled "Canadian Historic Sites Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History" the booklets cover a number of topics and include general as well as detailed papers. Included, for example, is an article on "Archaeological Investigation of the National Historic Sites Service, 1962-1966" and an article on "Classification System for Glass Beads for the Use of Field Archaeologist." Anyone interested in the publications and the cost should write to Information Canada, Ottawa.

The Wolverine Hobby and Historical Society has just published a book called *The Spy Hill Story*. Intended as a history of the district the book includes many personal histories of pioneers and a number of stories of pioneer life. It also has historical information about the community, on the fur trade in the area and the Hamona Colony. Well illustrated and bound in hard covers the book sells at a cost of \$8.50. Readers interested in purchasing a copy should write to Mrs. Florence Barker, Spy Hill, Saskatchewan.

* * *

Contributors

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This article is based on her M.A. thesis entitled "The North-West Rebellion Trials, 1885".

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test is the practical working of a law, and it is idle to discuss and fight over abstract questions.

I know what your opinions are on the School question and consider that holding those opinions and representing a French Roman Catholic constituency, you are more likely to be able to give effect to your opinions and protect the particular interests you represent, by taking a place on the Committee, than by fighting outside. I think that judging from our past experience we can work well enough together.

Hoping to have a favourable and early answer through Tweed

I am
Yours faithfully
J. W. S. Hamilton