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Canada, 1885: —
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THE NORTH-WEST REBELLION, 1885
A MEMOIR BY COLOUR SERGEANT
(LATER GENERAL) C. F. WINTERS

Edited by D. S. C. Mackay

An armed clash between a force of North-West Mounted Police and Métis near Duck Lake on 26 March 1885 signalled the outbreak of hostilities in the North-West Territories. The response of the Dominion Government in Ottawa was to dispatch a military expedition to the Territories in order to quickly suppress the rebellion.

One of the volunteer militia units which was called out on active service during this crisis was the Ottawa or Guard's Company of Sharpshooters. Under the command of Captain A. Hamlyn Todd, the company was composed entirely of marksmen drawn from various Ottawa militia units including the Governor General's Foot Guards, the Forty Third Regiment, the Ottawa Field Battery, and the Princess Louise Dragoon Guards.

The activities of the “Sharpshooters” during the North-West campaign were recorded some years after the event by Captain Todd. Based primarily on entries taken from his personal diary, Captain Todd’s account omits the important action fought between Colonel Otter’s “flying column” and Poundmaker’s warriors on 2 May 1885. This was due to the fact that Captain Todd did not accompany the column as he was ordered to remain behind at Battleford as second in command of that place in order to assist the officer in charge who was ill. Thus, in his own words Captain Todd stated that he “shall give no account of the fight, not having been in it, lest (he) might fall into error, but would suggest General Winter or Captain Gray might do so.”

Fortunately, General Winter shortly after the 1885 campaign did record his impressions and prepared a lecture based on them which he called “North-West Canada, 1885: — the Regiment's first experience of Active Service in the field.” A popular speaker, General Winter delivered this speech on numerous occasions. General Winter was well qualified to speak on this subject from a military point of view. Born in Montreal on 3 February 1863, he was educated at the Prescott Grammar School after which he served first as a clerk in the Merchants Bank of Canada and later as a purser on a Lake Ontario steamer. In 1881, he travelled to England with the express purpose of joining the British Army. He was eventually enrolled in the 7th Royal Fusiliers and accompanied that regiment to Egypt as part of the British expeditionary force sent there following the bombardment of Alexandria in 1881. He saw action first at Kassassin and then again at Tel-el-kebir after which he was a member of the occupational force in Cairo. The following summer, Winter, now a sergeant, took his discharge from the army and returned to Canada where he was employed with the civil service. It was at this point in his career that he joined an Ottawa militia regiment, the Governor General's Foot Guards. When the Riel rebellion broke out in 1885, Winter, who was now a Colour Sergeant, immediately volunteered his services.
Upon his return from the North-West, Winter resumed his career in the Civil Service. Between 1886 and 1899, he was employed by several Government departments including the Department of the Interior, Department of Marine and Fisheries and Department of Revenue. Worthy of note during this period was his appointment as secretary of the first conference of Fishery Inspectors (1891) and secretary of the British Columbia Salmon Fishery Commission (1892). He also served as a member of the Canadian staff of Her Britannic Majesty's agent in the Bering Sea arbitration with the United States (1893-94) and private secretary to a number of cabinet ministers including the Hon. Sir Charles Tupper and the Hon. John F. Wood.

Winter continued to be an active member of the Governor General's Foot Guards. In 1886, he received his commission as a Second Lieutenant. After gaining experience in various positions, he was appointed Captain and Adjutant of the Guards in 1896.

The outbreak of war in South Africa in 1899 and subsequent call for volunteers from Canada resulted in Winter yet again offering his services to the Government. His offer accepted, he was appointed Assistant Adjutant of the 2nd (Special Service) Battalion, The Royal Canadian Regiment. In this capacity, Winter took part in operations in the Orange Free State and Transvaal during April and May 1900 including the actions at Zand River (May 10), Johannesburg (May 29) and Pretoria (June 4) and subsequent operations in the Orange River Colony and east and west Transvaal.

Following the South African War, Winter returned to Canada where he took up duties in the Department of Militia and Defence. In 1907, he transferred to the Canadian Permanent Staff. After a tour of duty in Quebec Command where he was in charge of administration for the Fifth Division, he was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel (1912) and appointed military secretary at Headquarters.

When War was declared on Germany in 1914, Winter volunteered his services for overseas duty. This request was denied as his abilities as a military secretary were required at Headquarters. He was promoted Colonel in 1915 and sent to Bermuda and St. Lucia W.I. in order to inspect and report upon Canadian garrison there.

Colonel Winter remained in the permanent force until 1921 when he retired on pension with the rank of Brigadier-General. His ties with the military did not end with his retirement as he continued his long association with such organizations as the Dominion of Canada Rifle Association, the South African Veteran's Association and the Red Cross Society.

Winter remained active in military and community affairs until his death in October 1946. He was buried in Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa, with full military honours.

The following is the text of General Winter's speech on his experiences with the "Sharpshooters" during the 1885 campaign. The speech has been edited for publication by the deletion of some sections dealing with more general aspects of the rebellion and the campaign which were not considered essential to the account. Some minor changes have also been made in punctuation and capitalization and the abbreviations used in the original have been spelled out in full for the sake of clarity.
NORTH-WEST CANADA 1885: — the Regiment’s first experience of Active Service in the field

... At Ottawa the news of the outbreak came as a “bolt from the blue,” when in the early evening of March 27th, the Prime Minister of Canada, the Rt. Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, rose in his place in the House of Commons and read a telegram just received from Prince Albert, announcing the attack the day previous on the Mounted Police and Volunteers at Duck Lake and their forced withdrawal back to Prince Albert, with 12 killed and 11 wounded ... The news for a short time seemed to stun the House, but the Government rose to the occasion — at once authorized the Militia Department to organize an expeditionary force to proceed to the west as soon as possible, and took necessary steps for its despatch and transportation. The writer of these reminiscences, then a very recent arrival in Ottawa, had by pure chance gone up to the Parliament Buildings that afternoon and happened to be present in one of the public galleries when the telegram was read by the Prime Minister; and was immediately impressed by the concern and anxiety manifested on all sides. The news quickly spread outside and there was intense excitement that evening throughout the city, strongly reflected in the strength of the parades at the drill hall, where the “Foot Guards” were having one of their evening drills.

Since its formation and organization from a nucleus of the old “Civil Service Rifle Company,” which had come to Ottawa from Quebec with the transfer of the Government from that city to Ottawa at Confederation, the regiment had performed the usual rudimentary infantry training of our active militia units by evening drills and parades at its local headquarters, and at the time of the outbreak in the Canadian North-West in 1885, had just begun its period of spring drills for that year. It had long been noted as having amongst both officers and other ranks many expert rifle shots, and had for some years previously contributed regularly to the membership of the Canadian Wimbledon Team, sent annually to compete in the National Rifle Association’s Open meeting with the riflemen of the Mother Country in England. This had inculcated a relatively high standard among the majority of its personnel, who took pride in handling their weapons with skill and efficiency. Hence when the offer to raise a Company of Sharpshooters was made by Captain A. Hamlyn Todd, Commanding No. 1 Company of the “Guards,” for prompt service in the emergency, it was at once accepted by the authorities as one of the very first units for despatch to the scene of the trouble. Owing to the establishment of all our militia units at this time being in a very low category, the strength of the proposed company was small in numbers — being only 3 officers and 50 other ranks, but the avidity with which all ranks in the Regiment, as well as those in other local units, sought to be among those selected for service was so great that there would have been no difficulty in filling the cadres several times over, had greater numbers been required and time permitted a more extended selection. On the 27th March, Captain Todd’s offer had been accepted, and the following day he reported his little company ready to proceed wherever they might be required ...

Nominal Roll — Ottawa Sharpshooters: Captain Todd, A. Hamlyn; 1st Lieutenant Gray, Henry H. Ormond; 2nd Lieutenant Todd, Walter; Colour Sergeant Winter, Charles F., wounded in action; Staff Sergeant Newby, Frank; Staff Sergeant Rogers, S. Maynard; Sergeant Ross, H. Le B.; Sergeant Taylor, Plunket B.; Corporal Dunnet, James; Corporal Nash, Ernest A.; Corporal Taylor, Edward; Lance Corporal Tasker, Charles; Lance Corporal Davis, Thomas; Lance Corporal
Pardey, William H.; Bugler Cowan, Alfred; Bugler Modener, William; Privates Anderson, Daniel; Bell, Basil H.; Boucher, Edward J.; Boville, John; Brophy, Louis L.; Brummell, Henry P.; Cameron, Henry H.; Cassidy, James; Choppell, Henry L.; Chester, Arthur; Clark, John; Cunningham, F. H.; Firth, Joseph; Fuller, Thomas; Hamilton, J. W.; Humphrey, W. L.; Jarvis, Herbert M.; Kingsley, Charles; Loonay, Thomas; McCarthy, Hugh; McCracken, Wm.; McDonald, Duncan; McQuilkin, J. St. C., wounded in action; Matheson, Donald; May, Henry H.; May, J. Vashon; Mullin, John; Osgood, Wm., killed in action; Patterson, William H.; Patterson, James W.; Phillips, Arthur T.; Rogers, John, killed in action; Ring, Edward; Sparkes, George A.; Taylor, J.D.; Weston, Thomas C.; Wiggins, Charles M.

Canada, at that time, was prepared with very meagre supplies of war time equipment, and the embryo “Sharpshooters” went off to the front in their ceremonial scarlet tunics, “with the buttons two by two,” their ordinary civilian shoes, and very little else but what they stood up in, and “hoped for the best.” Old style “blackening-box” knapsacks, with pipe-clayed belts, and heavy pouch of Crimean days, canvas haversack, and Snider .57 calibre rifle with bayonet, and heavy greatcoat completed their outfit. A few days later at Winnipeg the stores of the Hudson’s Bay Company were able to furnish suitable boots, socks, underclothing, and other essential articles of kit, as well as blankets. The passage to Winnipeg by the new Canadian Pacific Railway, then uncompleted in many sections east of Port Arthur, took 8-9 days and was both interesting and exacting. Rifle practice on the ice during a delay at Biscotasing was a feature of the journey; while it will be appreciated that the sudden throwing of some 6,000 men — the full strength of the expeditionary force — upon a railway in progress of construction and not expecting such visitors, entailed a very heavy strain upon its resources of commissariat and supply; — more especially as the troops kept coming in rapid succession, day after day, for about two weeks. Meals were provided at the various contractors’ camps — one in the early morning and one in the evening, while temporary sleeping accommodation was arranged as best could be done under local circumstances and conditions. Gaps in the completed “steel” were numerous, and ranged from 30 to 50 miles, which had to be traversed on foot in some instances, — in others, from the contractors’ camps, by horse and sleigh. In a couple of cases marches were made over the ice of Lake Superior in crossing bays around which the permanent way of the new railway had been graded, but the steel not yet laid. The weather for the time of year and place was on the whole considered good, but extreme below zero at night entailed considerable suffering in some instances where the troops had to proceed after dark in open flat cars used for graveling the line and fitted up with rough benches and screens, but open to the wind and snow. Most of the men were more or less frost-bitten at one time or another.

Winnipeg was reached on the 8th April, whence the Company proceeded the next day to Qu’Appelle — or Troy, as it was then called, — and where Major-General F. D. Middleton, C.B., the Commander of the Expeditionary Force, was sorting out his hastily despatched levies and forming the three mobile columns that were to advance into the Indian country and restore order and the prestige of the Government . . . .

After a day or two at Qu’Appelle, the Guards Sharpshooters were despatched by rail to Swift Current, on report that an Indian raiding party from the North had visited and held up that place. Here the Company joined and was incorporated into the Battleford column, under the command of Colonel W. D. Otter of the Canadian
William; Privates Brophy, Louis; Funnell, Henry L.; Fuller, Thomas; Charles; Loonay, J. M.; McQuilkin, J. H.; May, J. Vashon; John H.; Patterson, Edward; Ring, Edward; Charles M.

Theities of war time front in their ordinary civilian for the best.” Old heavy pouch of a dark bayonet, and in the stores of the underclothing,
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Permanent Force, and Commandant of the new Infantry School Corps, afterwards The Royal Canadian Regiment.

On the 13th of April in a heavy snow storm the column moved out on their march northward of some 215 miles across the prairie to Battleford, from which town there had come repeatedly urgent messages for assistance, and relief from their besieged condition... The march over the prairies to Battleford was devoid of any outstanding incident, the 215 miles from Swift Current having been covered in twelve days, not a bad achievement for green men not in training, but was largely helped out by the numbers of wagons in the supply convoy that became available for carrying men in increasing numbers daily, as the consumption of food and forage emptied them of their loads... At night the Column bivouaced in "laager" — the wagons of the supply train forming an enclosed space for the protection of the men and the animals, with suitable outposts beyond to guard against surprise. It was a welcome sight in the late afternoon, to see the advanced troops halted and resting on the grass, with the long string of wagons forming their oblong, wheel to wheel, with wagon tongues and horses inside, while the tents went up, with the smell of cooking in the air, and among all ranks that joyous feeling of tired restfulness that succeeded the fatigues of the long days' march with rifle and equipment. Among many of the young fellows it became a point of honour to do the whole march on foot, and leave the wagons that were daily emptied of their supplies, to the footsore and those not specially enamoured of spartan practices. Thus, by the time Battleford was reached, the open air, plain fare and restful sleep, had quite offset the effect of the long marches daily and the men were as "hard as nails," and in first class physical condition. Up to the time of reaching the objective of the Column, the "Sharpshooters" had had but one man sent to hospital, and this small ratio of casualties was common also throughout the other units.

In front of the advance an almost invisible small screen of the enemy scouts retired leisurely and made no attempt to delay the column until the final day before reaching Battle River, when a few shots were exchanged with our scouts before darkness set in. This was on the evening of St. George's Day, 23rd April, and the next morning it was found the Indian force which had been surrounding Battleford had withdrawn during the night, after looting the Hudson's Bay Company's store and holding a grand jamboree in the previous Government House on the east side of the river. Communication was established by a Mounted Police party under Superintendent Morris coming out to the column. Thus Battleford was successfully "relieved." We found some 500 people living in tents made from bed sheets and table cloths and getting very short of food — there had been no milk available for small children for some time, and great was the joy expressed at the arrival of the troops. The bulk of the column bivouacked on the open ground outside the fort, while the "Sharpshooters" were assigned as garrison to the old Government House on the east side of the Battle River, which was hastily put as much as possible in a state of defence, and was looked upon as an important outpost of the main position, covering the bridge over the Battle River on the way to the town. This post was named "Fort Otter" in honour of the Column Commander.

With the relief of Battleford the primary objective of the Column had been achieved, but the new problems now confronting the Commander appeared to be much more difficult. Poundmaker and his elusive hostiles had disappeared; — our scouts and mounted men had entirely lost touch with them after their withdrawal upon our first arrival, and for a week afterwards nothing was positively known as to their exact whereabout, to unite with Big Bear and Big Dog and spell menace an ever increasing threat. It was our role now to unite with Batoche by the 12th May, the General Middle had been in touch with scouts of any Indian who had seen the Battle of Lethbridge River, Charley Gray, was assiduous in his reconnoitering of the country. Big Bear, Charley Gray, were assiduous in their duties. The other days prior to the 12th were spent in sending out scouts as usual on the Swift Current and the east of Cut Knife, by a Cree raiding party reported. Pounds' "young bucks" were sent in to Battle by the 25th to tramp, and get up the spies of the day they believed their forces were now being able to press forward...
their exact whereabouts. Had they gone off to join Riel and Dumont in the East, or to unite with Big Bear in the Fort Pitt direction to the West? Either course seemed to spell menace and trouble. The first possibility seemed the important one, and which it was our role to prevent if possible, since the augmentation of Riel’s force at Batoche by the arrival of mounted men from Poundmaker’s and Big Bear’s bands would have increased greatly the difficulties of the main or Eastern Column, under General Middleton. Up to the last days of April, however, no trace was found by the scouts of any Indian movement to the East, whereas to the westward along the Battle River, Charley Ross and his men were convinced that all the signs indicated a concentration somewhere in that direction. This was indeed all the more likely since Poundmaker’s own reserve was out that way some 40-50 miles. At any rate it was decided to strengthen the scouts by a “reconnaissance in force,” and on the 1st of May, the Commander of the Column with his staff and about 300 men travelling in wagons left Battleford to make a quick movement to the Reserve to ascertain if possible just where the hostiles were and what they were doing. To this reconnoitring party about half of the “Sharpshooters,” under Lieutenant H. H. Gray, were assigned, the balance of the Company remaining at Fort Otter. A few days prior to this the “Sharpshooters” had furnished a detail of one officer and 20 other ranks as guard for a convoy of some 100 wagons returning empty to the base at Swift Current for refills and return. Some 30 miles out they were met by an incoming convoy with supplies for the column and were transferred to them to return to Battleford, as the danger zone for possible attack and molestation was thought to be at about that distance from Fort Otter. The detachment spent one night in the open and returned without incident. A short time afterwards, however, a similar convoy of supplies following the same trail, but without escort, was attacked by a Cree raiding party, captured, and taken to the Indian Camp, where, it was reported, Poundmaker had to exert all his authority as old-time Chief to prevent the “young bucks” maltreating the teamster prisoners. These were released next day and sent in to Battleford on foot. They arrived much exhausted after their 25-30 miles’ tramp, and greatly dejected over their loss of horses and wagons; but loud in their praises of the decent treatment accorded them by Poundmaker, whose intervention, they believed, had undoubtedly saved them their lives.

Otherwise the mail and supplies came in regularly.

On the afternoon of Saturday, 1st of May, Colonel Otter and his 300, all ranks, left Battleford by wagon for the westward, with rations for four days and a small supply of ammunition. Preceded by the Mounted Police and Scouts as “advanced Cavalry,” rapid progress was made by the good road along the south side of the Battle River, which led in the direction of the Cree Indian Reserve situated to the east of Cut Knife Creek, a small stream draining the prairies to the southward and emptying into the Battle River, a short distance to the northward. At about 8 p.m. on reaching a rather difficult and wooded piece of country the column was stopped to permit the scouts to investigate ahead, and to water the horses, etc. Advantage was taken of the halt to have a good meal and rest, and after the moon rose in brilliance about 11 p.m., the march was resumed — the advance guard in front moving with great caution and circumspection, as what were said by the scouts to be signal fires from Indian watchers in our front had already been remarked immediately after our advance had been resumed from the halting place referred to. The question of our now being able to effect a surprise upon the hostiles being eliminated, the party pressed forward rapidly, slightly delayed by one or two rough crossings of ravines
and little stream. Just as the Column four abreast entered the abandoned Indian village, the previous occupants were observed across the creek, evidently turned around. Thus far, the Column had been following the evasive maneuver, but just as daylight appeared, the Column rode around in a circle, and trailing it behind were the Indians, all in full view. It seemed in keeping with the idea of keeping the writers of former intent and said to be a signal to the other troops to oppose the troop advance of this interpret.

Shortly after, the advance guard of the artillery and infantry were also engaged. They lost all visibility of the reports of rifle fire, as the Column moved forward. The Column was extended to a length of about 400-500 yards, with sprouting grass where there was no cover, which the Comanche Indians knew well. Suddenly, the Indians were seen. It was a surprise attack, and the Column, who had just passed, were killed and wounded, dismounted and pursuing the Indians briskly to the east. The small trees and position of the Column were plainly visible, with the Comanche attackers encircling him. The Column, having few numbers, streamed into the nearby infantry.
and little streams flowing northward to the Battle. At or about daybreak, 2nd May, the Column found itself just east of the Cut Knife Creek, and upon the site of a large abandoned Indian Camp, with remains of fires but recently extinguished and all sorts of camp debris scattered about; indicating a rather hasty withdrawal of its previous occupants. The main road we had been following led through this area and across the creek up high ground to the right of quite a prominent elevation which we learned afterwards was Cut Knife Hill, and which dominated the landscape all around. Thus far no enemy had been seen, though at intervals throughout the hours following the evening halt already referred to, fire and smoke signals in front and on the flanks had been visible to all ranks. While passing through the abandoned camp and just as daylight made clearly visible distant objects, a solitary enemy horseman appeared over the brow of the high ground where the road up from the creek crossed the summit — rode towards us a short distance, then putting his horse to the gallop rode around in a circle three or four times, waving a blanket at the side of his mount and trailing it behind him — then disappeared over the top of the high ground. It was all in full view of our people and the men were intensely interested — it all seemed in keeping with their boyish readings of Fenimore Cooper and other Indian writers of former days. Our scouts interpreted the manœuvre as of distinct hostile intent and said that it was meant not only as a challenge for us to come on, but was also a signal to other Indians to concentrate for some preconceived movement to oppose the troops' advance. They were not to be long in appreciating the correctness of this interpretation!

Shortly after the disappearance of the horseman signaller, the Mounted Police advance guard was crossing the creek and mounting the rising ground beyond, with the artillery and wagon train entering the river bottom from which in a few moments they lost all view of those preceding them, when they were startled by the rapid reports of rifle shots coming from beyond the top of the hill. Everybody hastily scrambled out of the wagons — the units were quickly formed up in some kind of order — Colonel Otter galloped off to the front, while the officers of his staff followed with such parties of the little force as were more immediately available, extending them to the right and left as they “doubled” up to the top of the hill some 400-500 yards from the side of the creek. The ground was perfectly open, covered with sprouting grass and quite devoid of any cover, except beyond the top of the rise where there was quite an extensive depression of about 150 yards each way and in which the Commandant established headquarters, as already the advance guard who had just passed beyond it when first fired upon and had retired with several killed and wounded, were found there when he came up. They had at once dismounted and retired their horses to this comparative shelter and were responding briskly to the enemy's fire which came from ravines about 300 yards away, full of small trees and brush, with the fire already spreading fast to right and left of their position. To Colonel Otter the situation must have appeared ominous, since he had been caught on an open hillside surrounded in front and on both sides by ravines leading down to the creek bottom behind him and now apparently filled with armed warriors gradually creeping down to the creek. This, once secured by them, would enclose him on all sides. The large Indian camp some two miles beyond was now plainly visible, with its many “teepees,” a large herd of horses and cattle, and men in numbers streaming down to fill the ravines above referred to. As the artillery and infantry came up they were allotted positions — the artillery opening fire on the
camp in the distance, and the riflemen deployed to right and left and gradually to the right and left rear of the position in the depression, whilst the wagons as they came up formed in larger in the hollow with all horses inside and the bags of oats and forage piled up to give added protection against the enemy's fire, very soon singing overhead with an ever increasing crescendo. By the time the wagons were all up puffs of white smoke began to show from the willows and scrub that lined the banks of the creek behind, and it was apparent to all that they were completely surrounded! A nice little ambush, and creditably to Little Poplar, who was the Indian War Chief for the occasion and who directed their movements during the day! We were told some time afterwards that the Chief Poundmaker, who had opposed the idea of active conflict with the Whites, but had been overruled in the Indian Council, when he insisted on them selecting a War Chief to take the responsibility, he himself saying that while he would not take the responsibility of giving orders, he felt it his duty to his people to share their dangers and would take his rifle and serve in the firing line as a simple “Nitchie” (warrior)! Upon the first deployment the “Sharpshooters” had been placed along the left front, with some of the “Queen’s Own,” but with the fire of the enemy constantly working farther to their left and rear they were extended down the left side of the hill about half way to the creek, and it was here they met with three of their casualties — 1 killed and 2 wounded — killed, Private W. B. Osgood; wounded, Color Sergeant C. F. Winter; Private J. S. C. McQuilken — the other man killed — Private John Rogers — occurred up at the top of the hill just as the whole affair came to an end and all firing had practically ceased for some time.  

For the first hour or so the firing was heavy and continuous — most of it at only 250-300 yards, owing to the nature of the ground — yet at that short range even with good shots on both sides, one soon realized how difficult it is to hit a man, lying down and shifting his position a bit to right and left as he finds the bullets coming closer. As a matter of fact, the targets presented by the enemy were only the puffs of smoke from the underbrush where they had covered. The Indian fire was quite good, but they were greatly handicapped for want of ammunition. Afterwards we were told by the Rev. Father Cochin — a French missionary priest who had been held as a hostage in the Indian camp at the time of the action — that the half-breeds, all of whom had the latest type (1884) Winchester repeating rifle, had an average of only 30 cartridges apiece, while the great bulk of the Indians who had only smooth bore muskets and shotguns, were so hard up for bullets that they had the squaws in the camp dumping out the tea looted from the Hudson's Bay stores at Battleford, so as to get the lead foil from the tea chests to wrap around small stones and slugs to make them fit the bores. To be perfectly candid and fair to our opponents, this shortage of ammunition really saved the situation for us. In their excitement at the beginning of the fight, the breeds and Indians fired away almost all their ammunition — certainly the great bulk of it — in the first hour, and then found themselves, although in an excellent tactical position, unable to take advantage of it for lack of the necessary ammunition to do so. For some time after early morning our men had all noticed the gradual dying away of the enemy's fire; the camp in the distance was seen to be breaking up, the cattle herd being driven off, and all signs pointed to an Indian withdrawal. The “Battleford Rifles” were sent down the hill to the rear, under cover of the gaiting, to clear and occupy the bed of the creek. This they did handsomely, the Indian warriors moving off promptly upon their approach; and amid the clatter of the new gun, making history as probably the first use of the machine in action by Canadian troops. Meanwhile our artillery had been quite busy, but I digress.

Before leaving the battery's nine-pounders, it would be wise to take note of the two Police Detachments in the ravines and wait for the rest of the Mounties to arrive and saluting purpose. The mounted police of Magdala and the Red River Expr. Mounted Police, saluting purpose for many years, met the second round at the force of the rifle fire, and for the rest of the battle they were the mainstay of the ravine, facing it for a dash over the ridge opened fire, which was inclined and emplaced at a range of 500 yards and less, away. To do this without loss of a man, they had to cover the big nine-pounder, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indians being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it. The fire of the Indian soldiers being hit by the big gun, in order to fire it.
and gradually to give way to the wagons as they approached the bags of oats and grain in the ravine. The wagons were all so often blown up that lined the road as far as the battle was near, who was the enemy. The Mounted Police, after having served their duty, were completely out of the way, and had opposed the Indians. They were led by the Indian scouts, who gave the order to give orders, he gave the order of his rifle and serve as a gun. His rifle was of the “Queen’s Model.” His left and rear. The Indian fire was a mix of ammunition. The missionary priest had given the men the action — that was the only weapon. The Indians who rounded the bend saw the bullets that they saw going up and down. The Hudson’s Bay men were hidden and safe to the right and left of the Ravine. In their movement, they were almost all hidden, and then found their advantage of it early morning. The camp in the ravine was driven off, and all the men were sent down the bed of the creek. As they were sent down their paths, the first piece of artillery had been quite busy, but had met with difficulties that at the time much chagrined the gallant gunners.

Before leaving Battleford the scouts had convinced Colonel Otter that "B" battery’s nine-pounder guns were likely to give trouble in crossing some of the ravines and water courses on the way out to Poundmaker’s reserve, and that it would be wise to take a lighter piece for the reconnaissance. This was found in a smaller muzzle-loading 7 pounder brass gun that was part of the equipment of the Mounted Police Detachment garrisoning Battleford. Originally the gun had been used as a mountain howitzer in the Abyssinian Campaign of 1868, under Lord Napier and Magdala, and had been brought up to the West with General Sir Garnet Wolseley’s Red River Expedition of 1870 — left at Fort Garry, and then turned over to the Mounted Police after their formation in 1874. The gun had been used mainly for saluting purposes and ceremonial, and had not been tried out with service charges for many years. It was mounted on a low wooden carriage which on the firing of its second round at Cut Knife with the heavy service charge, was wrecked so badly by the force of the recoil that the gun was rendered unserviceable, and was quite useless for the rest of the action. Shortly after this misfortune a number of the [Indians] in the ravine facing our right flank were seen crawling out from cover and preparing for a dash upon our position. The new gun was hastily brought over and opened fire, when an amusing incident occurred. The [Indians] at the bottom of the ravine facing our right flank were seen preparing for a dash. However, the moral effect was great, there was no evidence of any of the enemy being hit, but it did have the effect of keeping them down in the ravine, from whence owing to the configuration of the ground their fire was ineffective.

Shortly after, about 10 a.m., firing from the enemy practically ceased, and for a couple of hours thereafter men lay on the grass in the bright sunlight of a beautiful May day, resting, discussing the morning’s doings, and wondering what the next move would be. A summing up of our casualties disclosed that 8 men had been killed and 15 wounded, with a considerable number in addition having experienced "close calls." Among these, one senior officer had his forage cap shot off his head without causing him the slightest injury; several had bullets through their clothing, with only a slight scratch or graze of the flesh. One of the Battleford Rifles had been struck by an arrow, but owing to distance its force was almost entirely spent as it glanced off the leg of one of his long boots. Probably the last time arrows have been used in battle in our Canadian Dominion! . . .

As the morning grew on amid continued activity, much wonder was expressed that we did not push on to the enemy’s camp, but evidently our Commander felt that the object of the reconnaissance had been achieved in locating the Indians and preventing them — at any rate for a time — from joining the force under Riel at Batoche. In addition he had to consider the security of Battleford, upon which it would have been quite possible for Poundmaker, if Big Bear had joined him,
throw a mounted force, while he, the Commandant, was absent. There were also two or three places on the way back to Battleford where a mounted party getting around and in advance of the retiring column could ambush and worry the small force on its return journey, encumbered as it would be with its dead and wounded, and having small reserve of ammunition. These considerations evidently determined the Command to return to Battleford without further delay, and between one and two o’clock in the afternoon the return journey was begun. As soon as the wagons were seen re-crossing the Creek, a few enemy snipers returned and opened a weak fire at long range, but no movement of mounted men was seen and the trip was made without molestation. Fort Otter was reached about 10 p.m., and the casualties placed in a Field hospital, temporarily arranged and managed by a party of some 20 to 30 Medical students from Toronto University, who had arrived up from the railway at Swift Current during the absence of the party on reconnaissances. These were all members of “K” Company, Queen’s Own Rifles, and had been given the status of “Dressers” in a Temporary Field Dressing Station Unit. They hastily collected some cotton sheets and red flannel and made up a Red Cross flag which was flown over their “Station,” the first Red Cross emblem to fly in Canada on active service over Canadians actually wounded in the field. This was some ten years before a Canadian Society of the Red Cross was organized at Toronto, and which has since rendered such invaluable service throughout the Boer War in South Africa, and the following great conflicts of World Wars I and II.

On return to Battleford, the first aftermath of the expedition to Cut Knife Hill was the criticisms to which our Commander was subjected from certain newspapers in the East for his “unwarranted attack upon the Indians on or near their own Reserve.” This was rather far-fetched, for while it was a fact that he had gone out to their reserve after they had withdrawn from hostile proceedings in besieging Battleford, destroying farm buildings and seizing horses, cattle and other property, the actual attack had not first been made by the troops. The advance guard of Mounted Police had been fired upon from ambush at the top of the high ground beyond the Creek, and had only themselves escaped fire after some of their number had been killed and wounded. How Colonel Otter, after the relief, could be expected to sit down quietly in Battleford, while in all probability the force that had been besieging the place had gone off to reinforce Riel at Batoche, or some other place, was a puzzle to all ranks, since the very essence of military action is to find out where your enemy is, and then get busy to reduce his effectiveness in every way as much as possible. Any other softer policy would but mitigate against one’s own side, and nullify any successful war effort.

About a week or ten days after the action at Cut Knife the Indians made a move to assist their friends at Batoche but it was now too late. More or less reinforced by additions from Big Bear’s contingent from the northward, Poundmaker’s people moved out to the eastward, but when only part of the way received news of the capture of Batoche by General Middleton’s column, and shortly after the taking of Riel himself. They quickly realized that the “game was up” and at once stopped their advance and sent in emissaries to Battleford for a talk, or “pow-wow,” over the situation. A few days later General Middleton arrived by steamer with the main portion of his command, and demanded of Poundmaker immediate surrender, or he would move at once with the whole force now at his disposal at Battleford and destroy them. They hadn’t, of course, now any choice, and the Chief and his Council came in under the white flag and surrendered. The actual meeting of the General

with the Indian the “pow-wow,” translated sent the character of the all-engrossing. I and made a very the treaties ent people, now that buffalo — the n accepted the s grievances to the needed supplies and other vic people must h aggression. Am “Poundy,” as the h decent treat

With Riel hostiles farther Batoche and Ba column up the C Column was de and prevent an interesting feat the Squirrel Pl entirely surrou position in the c counter-marchin then rapidly c more rapidly th always withdraw that Big Bear a May, by the Th general Strange, at their splitting u later Big Bear F a band, and were the return of the C July 1885, af everyon our marches on North West F the return to th Passage to Winn and Lake Winn by the steamer Comma "The Guards S
there were also two small forces of some 20 to 30 strong, and having been determined the to be one and two days, some of the wagons were driven to the west, and a weak force at the head of the trip was made up to the railway to keep the old gentlemen and other property in the high ground of their number would be expected that had been some other place, to find out where they way as much as the Chief Poundmaker's own side, and Indians made a movement reinforced by Poundmaker's people and news of the their taking of a village at once stopped the "pow-wow," over the surrender, or he will be killed. Battleford and his Council of the General with the Indians was an interesting and colourful affair. The General consented to the "pow-wow," so dear to the red man, and listened patiently to long speeches translated sentence by sentence by the Interpreter, Peter Hourié, a well-known character of the West. To all the men from the East the whole ceremony was all-engrossing. Poundmaker was known as the "Silver tongued" among the Indians and made a very good speech, stressing the lack of faith of the white man in keeping the treaties entered into with the tribes, and pleading for favourable treatment of his people, now that their lands were being taken from them after the destruction of the buffalo — the mainstay for so long of their livelihood and well-being. The General accepted the surrender, guaranteed protection, and promised to bring their grievances to the attention of the Government, and to recommend the granting of needed supplies, etc.; but warned them that the murderers of certain farm instructors and other victims of the outbreak in its early stages would be punished, and that his people must henceforth live peaceably on their reserves and refrain from all aggression. Among the troops was a certain feeling of regard and consideration for "Poundy," as they called Chief Poundmaker, in view of his action at Cut Knife, and his recent treatment of the teamsters who had been his prisoners.

With Riel and Poundmaker disposed of, there remained but Big Bear with his hostiles farther to the west, and after holding a review of the troops of the combined Batoche and Battleford Columns on the 24th May, the General proceeded with his column up the North Saskatchewan to Fort Pitt. Colonel Otter with his Battleford Column was despatched northward some 60 or 70 miles to Birch Lake to co-operate and prevent any movement of the enemy eastward towards Prince Albert. An interesting feature of this excursion was the passage through and patrolling about the Squirrel Plains — a beautiful bit of wild country about 15 miles across and entirely surrounded by high hills. Some small bands of the hostiles had taken position in these hills and for three or four days the column, marching and counter-marching in response to smoke signals appearing at different points and then rapidly changing position as the enemy's mounted men moved about so much more rapidly than could our column. There was, however, no contact — the hostiles always withdrawing as the troops approached to within long range. Then came news that Big Bear and the main body of his men had been brought to action on 28th May, by the Third, or extreme westward column from Calgary, under Major-General Strange, at Frenchman's Butte. The result had been the retreat of the enemy and their splitting up into small parties and dispersal in various directions. A few days later Big Bear himself had been intercepted and taken prisoner. The "Sharpshooters" shared all the fatigue and discomforts of the long marches after the Big Bear's band, and were not sorry when the news of the above occurrences brought about the return of the Column to Battleford — reached on the evening of Dominion Day, 1st July 1885, after a march that day of some 24 miles in a broiling hot sun with everyone much plagued by the heat and mosquitoes. This, however, was the last of our marches on the prairie; a few days later orders came for the breaking-up of the North West Field force — with its component parts in the various columns — and the return to the East of the volunteers from the Maritimes, Ontario and Quebec. Passage to Winnipeg was made by river steamers via the North Saskatchewan river and Lake Winnipeg to Selkirk, and thence by train. The "Sharpshooters" travelled by the steamer North West an old stern-wheeler, conveying the General Officer Commanding, and his staff with the 90th Rifles of Winnipeg, numerous details, "The Guards Sharpshooters," and the 65th Mount Royal Rifles of Montreal. Four
hectic days were the "Sharphooers" linked up the victory, the troops were at advantage was taken by steam. "Sharphooers Athabasca and A most cordial welcome was most fervent. Parliament Hill, Ottawa Valley, felicitations to the rank and file."

To all ranks much prized address the unknown to the prestige of the fellow citizens, members of the traditions, and to two by two." A little company, Major, while a the Colour Sergt. approved the "Saskatchewan"

In the light of World Wars I and II, local moment, but Dominion. For Forces had never been voted grants of a military supplies organization of necessary for a preparation against any sudden movement. Middleton took this and recommended upon for service equipped volunteers. The Government agreed that the trouble and could put the country get...
hectic days were spent in Winnipeg and then the journey back home began. Since
the “Sharpshooters” had left Ottawa in March, the Canadian Pacific Railway had
linked up the various gaps at that time in the line north of Lake Superior, and now
the troops were able to travel straight through, but, to hasten their movement,
advantage was taken of the navigation on Lake Superior, and various units were
taken by steamer from Port Arthur to Owen Sound, and thence again by rail. The
“Sharpshooters” were passengers on the Canadian Pacific Railway steamer
Athabasca and from Owen Sound reached Ottawa, via Toronto, on 24th July 1885.
A most cordial reception awaited the troops at all points, and in Ottawa the welcome
was most fervent and sincere. Seldom since has a larger crowd been seen on
Parliament Hill. Excursion trains were run from many surrounding points in the
Ottawa Valley, and localities vied with one another in extending courtesies and
felicitations to the returning volunteers.7

To all ranks of the “Sharpshooters” it had been a never-to-be-forgotten and
much prized adventure. Called upon suddenly, they had cheerfully gone forth into
the unknown to do what they could to uphold the supremacy of the Queen and the
prestige of the Government, and it was a great satisfaction to find that now their
fellow citizens were satisfied with their services and approved their conduct. As
members of the old regiment they felt proud that they had been true to its old time
traditions, and had maintained the prestige of its historic scarlet with “the buttons
two by two.” Official approval was demonstrated by the Officer Commanding the
little company, Captain A. Hamlyn Todd, going away a Captain and returning a
Major, while a Commission as 2nd Lieutenant for services in the field was awarded
the Colour Sergeant, Charles F. Winter — also Her Majesty the Queen subsequently
approved the issue of the North West Canada 1885 War Medal, with clasp
“Saskatchewan” to all ranks qualified by their personal war services.

In the light of more recent services of the regiment and its members in the Great
World Wars I and II, the experience described above will appear small and of only
local moment, but at the time they were of tremendous importance to our Canadian
Dominion. For the National Militia they were all important. Previously the Defence
Forces had never been treated seriously; necessary funds for their maintenance had
been voted grudgingly, and the real up-keep of the units left to the enthusiasm and
devotion of a few. No real reserve of arms, ammunition, or the most essential
military supplies of clothing and equipment existed, and there was no practical
organization of the Medical, Ordinance, and Supply Departments, absolutely
necessary for a force to take the field. All this, of course, invited disaster in the event
of any sudden emergency arising — a fact which must have prompted General
Middleton when he first became aware of the outbreak in the West in March 1885,
and recommended that the Imperial Regular Troops at Halifax be at once called
upon for service, as he felt it was too much to call our partially trained and poorly
equipped volunteers for action on the prairies. To the credit, however, of our
Government at the time — backed by spirited Canadian opinion — they insisted
that the trouble in the West was a purely Canadian affair and they felt they should
and could put their own house in order; and intended to do so with such means as
they had, and could improvise for the occasion. By prompt action and a train of
fortunate circumstances their view proved successful, gave the Militia a much
needed prestige, and led to a more generous provision of its essential requirements.
On through the after years this all led to a more general appreciation of the Force by
the country generally, and rendered possible the provision of those great numbers of
volunteers, with at least some smattering of military knowledge, whose services in the two Great Wars, as well as that of South Africa, has reflected such credit upon our Dominion.

In providing the regiment with its "baptism of fire" in 1885, the little Company of "Sharpshooters" from the "Foot Guards" deserves to be remembered.

FOOTNOTES
2 Winter, C. F. North-West Canada 1885;— the Regiment's first experience of active service in the field. No date, unpublished. Original manuscript is in the Governor General's Foot Guards Regimental Museum.
3 Otter gave total all ranks for his column as 325. See Department of Militia and Defence, Report Upon the Suppression of the Rebellion in the North-West Territories and Matters in Connection therewith in 1885, Appendix B, p. 23.
4 The bodies of Oggoode and Rogers were subsequently exhumed and returned to Ottawa by rail. After lying in state at the Drill Hall, Cartier Square, the bodies were removed to Beechwood Cemetery where they were laid to rest with full military honours.
7 Public enthusiasm for the Sharpsshooters did not end with the huge civic reception they received upon their return. Indeed, a citizens' committee was formed to raise funds in order to commission a statue commemorating the deaths of Private Rogers and Private Oggoode. The executive members of the committee included His Worship Mayor Macleod Stewart as Chairman; Colonel Walker Powell (Adjutant-General of Militia) Chas. Magee, W. H. Rowley the Honorary Treasurer; F. McDougall, Major A. H. Todd and Frank Newby as Honorary Secretaries.
The committee selected an Englishman, Mr. Percy Wood of London to be the sculptor. The design approved was that of a Guardsman in full dress at the position of reserve arms. Just prior to the completion of the monument there arose a bitter controversy over the wording to be inscribed on the bronze plaque affixed to the base of the statue. The dispute centred around the official name of the Sharpshooters. On the one hand the Governor General's Foot Guards considered them as a special company of that Regiment called out for active service. They contended that the proper title should be the Guards Company of Sharpshooters. In support of their position they referred to all official correspondence from the Rebellion all of which referred to Captain Todd's company as G.G.F.G. or Guards. Others disagreed with the Guards' contention. One Officer of the 43rd Regiment was quoted in the Ottawa Journal as saying that "the 43rd would not turn out (to the unveiling ceremony) and they considered themselves as a corps badly used." He claimed that "the sharpshooters were not a company of the Governor General's Foot Guards, as the six companies were intact in Ottawa during the rebellion. The company was composed of all city corps and wore the uniform of the Guards simply because it was most convenient."
In these final months before the official unveiling, the dispute intensified, the Journal reported that neither the Princess Louise Dragoon Guards nor the Ottawa Field Battery had paid their subscriptions to the committee. Moreover, some officers were quoted as stating "they were hoodwinked and will not pay the subscriptions unless the name "Guardians" is changed to "Ottawa sharpshooters."

The Committee resolved the dispute in favour of the Guards and so the following inscription was placed on the plaque:
"ERECTED BY THE CITIZENS OF OTTAWA TO THE MEMORY OF PRIVATES JOHN ROGERS, WILLIAM B. OSGOODE, OF THE GUARDS COMP. OF SHARPSHOOTERS WHO FELL IN ACTION ON THE SECOND OF MAY 1885."

Interestingly enough, the official program of the unveiling ceremony printed in 1889 deleted the words "OF THE GUARDS COMP. OF SHARPSHOOTERS" from their version of the inscription on the plaque:
The unveiling took place as planned on 1 November 1888 at 2:30 p.m. in the presence of His Excellency, Lord Stanley, of Preston, Governor General of Canada. Other dignitaries on the dais were Sir Adolphine Caron the Minister of Militia, General Sir F. Middleton and the sculptor Mr. Percy Wood.

They were joined by a large crowd of the public which included a special area marked off for ticket holders.

Despite previous objections to the plaque all the city corps were represented on this occasion: 150 men from the Governor General's Foot Guards under Major Tilton, 100 men from the 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles under Captain Sherwood, 35 men of the Princess Louise Dragoon Guard under Captain Bourdeau and 80 men of the Ottawa Field Battery under Major Stewart. (For the entire proceedings of the unveiling ceremony see "Ceremony of Unveiling of Bronze Statue erected on Major's Hill Park . . . Mason and Jones Ottawa, 1889."

BATTLEFORD

The same year that the Battleford was chosen as the site for the concentration camp, the community of Eagle Hills to the east of the Battleford site was suffering from the consequences of the growth of its population.

Once Battleford was completed, the Government provided the buildings for the residences for the Mounted Police officers and their families. The project was designed by the architect of the Swan River Police Depot.

Although the construction of the buildings was delayed by the difficult conditions of the site, the Government's decision to locate the camp at Battleford was a wise one, given the historical significance of the site and the political importance of the Mounted Police.

The Battleford camp was initially intended to be a temporary measure, but it soon became a permanent feature of the Northwest. The camp was not only a centre of military operations, but also a hub of social and cultural activities. It was here that the Mounted Police developed a strong sense of camaraderie and loyalty, and it was here that the history of the Mounted Police was written.

There were no formal facilities for the Mounted Police's social and recreational activities, but the camp was nonetheless a lively and vibrant place. The Mounted Police had their own gardens, golf course, and sports fields, and they held regular social events and dances. The Mounted Police also maintained a strong cultural tradition, with band concerts and other musical performances.

The Battleford camp was finally closed in 1920, after which the site was left to decay. However, the history of the Mounted Police and the battle for the future of the Northwest is still visible in the remains of the camp, and it is a testament to the enduring legacy of the Mounted Police in the history of the Northwest.
PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN BATTLEFORD,
1876-1878

By Walter Hildebrandt

Battleford was chosen capital of the North-West Territories in 1876 and in the same year the North-West Mounted Police established an outpost there near the forks of the Saskatchewan and Battle Rivers. One reason for the choice of Battleford as capital was its administrative importance because of the large concentration of native people who traditionally wintered in the Thickwood and Eagle Hills to the east and south. Another reason for the choice of Battleford was that it was expected that the railway to the Pacific and the telegraph line would follow a northern route through Battleford. The decision made later not to follow the northern route for the railway dashed the hopes of the residents of Battleford for the growth of their town but in 1876 the prospects for the future development of Battleford were bright.

Once Battleford had been selected as capital, administrative buildings and residences for the officials of the Territorial Government and the North-West Mounted Police were begun. The designs for these structures came from the Department of Public Works in Ottawa. Hugh Sutherland who had been in charge of the Swan River barracks in 1874-1875 was hired to carry out the actual construction. Two of the buildings — the Commanding Officer’s residence and Government House — were built in keeping with popular Victorian styles. The reason for choosing Victorian styles for these buildings which put them in startling contrast to the comparatively crude log structures around them is the subject of this study.

Although these buildings were constructed with a style and panache befitting a capital, construction on the frontier suffered from serious limitations. Problems delayed construction in the first year. When Sutherland came to Battleford in 1876 he found no timber suitable for lumber in the immediate vicinity. Logs had to be floated down the North Saskatchewan from Edmonton to fill the need but spring floods swept away a large portion of the material intended for construction. This resulted in a sudden escalation in costs which Sutherland took great pains to justify to the tight-fisted Department of Public Works, a ministry occupied by the frugal Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie.¹

There were frequent complaints over the quality of the construction. No storm sashes were provided for Government House and Lieutenant Governor Laird found it most uncomfortable. He wrote to the Prime Minister: “When the high winds and cold come together we are nearly perished …”.² Superintendent Walker also had reservations about the workmanship and asked for men “who knew something of carpentry work” to complete the structures.³ Frustrated with the lack of progress, Walker finally wrote to the Commissioner: “The Department of Public Works finished here last week but all the buildings are as yet in an unfinished state and could not be finished for want of materials and what work is done does very little credit to those in charge of the works.”⁴ Thirteen years later continuous shortages of
materials and money had left the buildings in a barely habitable state. As the then Commanding Officer wrote:

I have the honor to make the following report regarding the Commanding Officer’s Residence I occupy as quarters and which I consider unfit for such in their present state. During the past winter 4 stoves were kept going the whole time, the building was not any too warm. At night full pails of water froze solid — there is no storm sash — mornings I have seen my bed covered with snow and rain — half of the building has no ceiling, only paper and cotton — parts of the logs are rotten and when soaked by rain throws a dampness and has an odour throughout the house. The moulding inside is in between the cotton and wall.5

Yet despite the dependence upon crude materials and the lack of skilled craftsmen and proper equipment, these structures did represent current and popular styles of Victorian society. Gothic and Italianate were two of the more active Victorian modes, although Gothic was considered to be the most British of the competing designs. Victorians, such as John Ruskin, claimed “that Gothic architecture was organic and based on the same principle as natural plant growth”6 its architecture more closely tied to the informal “English garden,” as compared to the rigid dictates of classical styles. The Gothic was characterized by vertical lines, pointed arches and Christian symbols such as cross or quatrefoil shapes and trefoil designs that were to represent the Trinity; the less popular Italianate featured low pitched heavily bracketed roofs, square tower and asymmetrical plans.

The Commanding Officer’s residence and Government House reflect the influence of what was also labelled “Carpenter’s Gothic” or “Gingerbread.” Most often Gingerbread could be recognized by bargeboards or gable decorations. These references emerged partially because wood was used instead of the stone traditionally employed for Gothic structures. Wood gave builders more freedom to innovate (especially in contrast to the standards of the classic styles) and allowed a greater degree of adaptation to blend with the local environment in terms of materials and appropriate design.

The Commanding Officer’s residence provides a good example of Gothic details. Its bay window, the vertical impact of its high pitched roofs, the trefoil design at the bargeboards under the gables, the cross shaped pinnacle originally on the peak of the gable, and the pendants extending down from the end of the gables are all distinctively within this tradition. The planting of white spruce around the building tended to accentuate the vertical height of the roof. Vestiges of what might be considered to be Greek Revival architecture are evident on the Commanding Officer’s residence although they are less pronounced than those on Government House; the peaked, pedimented casings above the windows and the columns on either side of the front door are reminiscent of the style. Greek Revival details were often freely mixed with other revival styles in the nineteenth century.7

Government House did not display Gothic style to the same extent as the Commanding Officer’s residence. High pitched roofs and decorative bargeboards and pendants were standard Gothic features. In keeping with the eclecticism of Victorian structures, Government House also displayed features of the Greek Revival considered appropriate for the “temples” of government. This was evident in the Greek style pillars on either side of the front door and the pedimented window casings.

The Gothic revival was apparent not only in Canada but throughout North America. Its ambience followed the wake of widely read pattern books of architects
Public Buildings in Battleford, 1876-1878

Government House as it appeared originally.

The Commanding Officer's residence, 1879-80.
such as A. J. Downing and Hudson Holly. Downing is generally considered to be "the Gothic manner's chief herald in America ..."  Originally a landscape gardener, his designs profoundly affected North American architecture. As a traveller through America in 1849/50 noted: "nobody, whether he be rich or poor, builds a house or lays out a garden without consulting Downing's works; every young couple who sets up housekeeping buys them."  Downing, like Holly, was strongly influenced by English architects and designers. In fact Ruskin's influence on Downing has been suggested by some critics, though Downing, unlike Ruskin, had some tolerance for Greek and Renaissance architecture. But, Downing himself cautioned against grotesque mimickery and urged builders to choose styles in harmony with the environment. As he pointedly wrote in a chapter entitled "The Real Meaning of Architecture," design had to be in harmony with the environment; it had to be in keeping with the purpose of the building, and with the social standing of the builder.

So far as admiration of foreign style in Architecture arises from an admiration of truthful beauty of form or expression, it is noble and praise worthy. A villa in the style of a Persian palace (of which there is an example lately erected in Connecticut), with its original domes and minarets, equally unmeaning and unsuited to our life or climate, is an example of the former; as an English cottage, with its beautiful home expression and its thorough comfort and utility, evince, in steep roofs to shed snow and varied form to accommodate modern habits, is of the latter.10

Hudson Holly, another prominent American architect, in his essay entitled "Some Accounts of the History of Architecture," presented a more detailed explanation of the Gothic roots in America.11 Holly was searching for a style which most appropriately suited the aspirations of the American people. He considered that the arts were a reflection of the character of a people and that architecture was a more conscious expression of the national character than any other art form. Holly rejected Greek styles as too impractical, and unsuited to the number of windows which he felt were necessary in contemporary buildings. The Roman styles were considered too horizontal, commemorating secular triumphs "but serving no loftier purpose."  The Gothic, however, was closer to the style Holly would have liked for Americans, because it embodied Christian principles as well as the British connection. The religious emphasis was particularly important in revealing the "higher aspiration" of a Christian society. Christian spires were evidence to Holly of a more spiritual life than the concerns revealed by "heathen domes." Architecture could be used to "raise the eye above the level of mere human perfection, giving it a 'heaven-directed' aim."  Holly found further fault with the wordly architecture of the Greeks and Romans:

Their lofty pillars seemed rather to spring from the earth, than to rest 'upon' it; and those windowless walls, which in the Heathen temple remained in stubborn solidity to exclude the light, were not pierced on all sides to admit the beams of divine day.12

Other details characterizing Christian traditions were included in Gothic structures. Trefoil designs represented the trinity and the trefoil pattern carved into the wooden bargeboard beneath the peak of the gable in the Commanding Officer's quarters is a graphic depiction of "Carpenter's Gothic." Cruciform plans were used to symbolize the everlasting sacrifice, while pinnacles represented souls seeking their "finial" in that heaven where alone the soul's consummation 'can' be sought.13

Although the Commanding Officer's residence was L shaped (as was Government House) instead of the octagonal plan with pinnacles (at the design beneath the floor), the building was clearly inspired by the classic design beneath the floor. Holly's design for the Government House exhibited these architectural features:

Of course the Gothic, being the most appropriate style for any residence in the United States, was the style of choice for the Government House. The pillars and arches are designed to represent the three orders of architecture, and the stone used is the same as that used for the President's House. The design is a classic example of American Gothic architecture. It is a beautiful building and is well worth seeing. Its beauty comes from the materials used and the way they are arranged. The windows are large and filled with stained glass, which makes the interior of the building very bright and cheerful. The roof is steep and covered with dark red shingles. The exterior walls are made of light-colored stone, which gives the building a very pleasing appearance.

Victorians valued their public and private buildings for their beauty and for their practicality. Gothic architecture was chosen for its ability to express the values of the time. It was seen as a way to connect with the past and to create a sense of stability in an era of rapid change. The Commanding Officer's residence in North America was designed in this spirit, with an emphasis on function and form. The use of Gothic elements, such as the pinnacles and the trefoil patterns, helped to create a sense of grandeur and importance. The building was not only functional, but also a statement of the values and ideals of the time.
considered to be a landscape gardener, traveller through Europe builds a house or villa, and a couple who sets up their home, influenced by the surroundings, has been received with no tolerance for unmeaning and unmeaning and unmeaning and unmeaning, as an English proverb says, comfort and utility, not to accommodate modern life."

This essay entitled "The Gothic in Architecture," more detailed than an essay on a style which, he considered, "a sort of architecture was a sort of art form. Holly agreed with many other architects that the Gothic styles were more suited for "saving no loftier architecture" than the British style. He revealed the influence of Holly of England, "A British architect," Architecture were Christians, giving it a "Christian character of architecture of religious buildings.

To rest 'upon' it, as it were, is embodied in stubborn old stones, in the beams of Gothic structure.

Guided on Gothic principles, the Commanding Officer's house was planned on a "cross-shaped" plan, and the Government House on a "square-shaped" plan. The main entrance to each was through a porch, the doors and windows were designed to be "picturesque," and the roofs were gabled with "architectural details." The Commanding Officer's residence, for example, had a "bay window and trefoil bargeboard design." The pinnacles at the peak of the gable have not been replaced.

The adaptation of the Gothic to domestic housing led to the introduction of a number of other features, such as bay or oriel windows (which allowed for a feeling of closeness to nature), chimney stacks, roof ceilings and panelled wainscots around interior walls. Both the Commanding Officer's residence and Government House exhibited these additional features, the most outstanding of which was the elaborate bay window in the Commanding Officer's residence.

Of course Greek-revival was not totally excluded from public buildings in North America, nor was it categorically condemned. In fact, as Hudson Holly stated:

"[for] ecclesiastical structures, colleges, etc., the Gothic designs are rapidly superceding the Italian, while for public buildings for government, and other secular purposes, the Grecian is generally regarded as preferable. ..." Details of the Greek-revival are found in the pedimented window casings in both the Commanding Officer's residence and in Government House. Classical details, however, dominated the appearance of Government House to a greater extent than the residence intended for the Superintendent of the North-West Mounted Police. The pillars on either side at the front door immediately attract the eye at Government House, while similar features on the Commanding Officer's residence are less noticeable and give way to the overall picturesque impression of this residence.

Victorians were particularly concerned with keeping a distinct division between their public and private lives. This attitude was translated in the interior layout of many Victorian houses. Clear distinctions were made between areas for formal
occasions and private areas where food was prepared or where the family convened. Official rooms such as the parlour or drawing room were frequently close to the front door, this space was generally insulated from other parts of the first floor with the kitchen and servants' dining room at the rear of the house. The second storey was reserved for the privacy of the family. The main staircase, beginning just inside the front door, confronted visitors with this clear division of function. Often a second servant's stairway was located at the back of the house "to keep them out of sight."

The interior features of the Commanding Officer's residence are consistent with those of other Victorian houses. Immediately to the left of the front entrance is a large living room or parlour for public or official occasions. To the right, upon entering the front door, a stairway leads to the private section of the house. At the back is the winter kitchen, the servant's dining room and the servant's stairway, while an ell containing the summer kitchen is attached to the rear of the house. The servant's stairway is a typical feature of Victorian homes found in the Commanding Officer's residence. The second storey contains three bedrooms and a small landing.

In Canada, the Gothic and Italianate were readily adopted although no Canadian counterparts to Downing or Holly published their designs in widely read books or journals. It is not surprising that the Gothic was widely used for public buildings in Canada, since the Parliament buildings in Ottawa, with their obvious Victorian embellishments set the trend for public building. As the architectural historian Alan Gowans has written:

Gothic was the style chosen for the Parliament buildings. That was no surprise; the architects hardly had an alternative. It was practically mandatory on them to
express the country’s close ties with Britain by taking as their model Westminster New Palace home of the ‘Mother of Parliaments’ in London.\textsuperscript{19}

The Gothic mode in Canada sprang primarily from the British connection but the Gothic revival south of the border also had a major influence. Two of Canada’s chief architects of the Department of Public Works during the Victorian era were trained in Britain and were experienced with Victorian styles. Thomas Fuller and Thomas Scott were primarily responsible for introducing and implementing the Gothic as the predominant British style for public buildings in Canada in the late nineteenth century.

Public building was a powerful medium for communicating the national styles considered most acceptable by the governing elite. Fuller, whose tenure as Canada’s Chief Architect lasted from 1881-1897, was particularly influential.\textsuperscript{20} His lengthy tenure ensured that Gothic remained the dominant vogue in Canada even for the buildings of the North-West Mounted Police.\textsuperscript{21}

It was no accident that officials in Ottawa actually chose to embody national symbols in the buildings of the police, who were sent to enforce eastern laws in what was perceived as a lawless West. Clearly, architecture was seen as a means of communicating ideas; architectural forms were chosen as much for their symbolic implications as for particular building needs. Regionally the buildings erected at Battleford by the Department of Public Works were the first that were not simply log structures. The flourish with which they were constructed was intended to be a conscious reminder to newcomers that they were entering into an Anglo-Canadian West. The buildings at Battleford reflect the desire of eastern architects in Ottawa to see the West develop as an extension of Ontario Canada. These first “picturesque” structures were harbingers of the Anglo-Canadian society intended for the West.\textsuperscript{22} The representatives of this society already held key positions in the fledging society of the North-West Territories. Among these was the influential journalist P. G. Laurie whose proselytising editorials reflected his aspirations for an Anglo-Canadian West rather than one influenced by what he saw as the despicable “republicanism” of the United States. Indeed the message of Laurie’s Saskatchewan Herald clearly echoed the national and imperial sentiments expressed by the Canada First Movement and he envisaged an organic “holistic” society for Western Canada which would be modelled on British customs and institutions.\textsuperscript{23}

Despite the derivative nature of Government House and Commanding Officer’s residence these buildings are examples of what Douglas Richardson has labelled the “Canadian vernacular.”\textsuperscript{24} Richardson defines this classification as those buildings that, though clearly representative of borrowed styles show adaptation to their setting and environment through structural refinement or the use of local materials. Constructed with logs and covered by clapboard and stucco, both buildings were built of local timber. The discreet simplicity of the decorative details of these two buildings are more compatible with their environment, especially when compared to the garish, exaggerated styles of the late Victorian period. Richardson has written that: “The handling of materials aware but abrupt — helps to identify those structures as part of the Canadian vernacular.”\textsuperscript{25} Government House and the Commanding Officer’s residence readily fall within this definition.

Eventually the long awaited transcontinental rail link passed far to the south of Battleford and the significance of the post declined, but the Anglo-Canadian society that these original buildings represented remained and was firmly entrenched throughout the West. Its ideals were disseminated by journalists like Laurie, and the
laws that embodied Victorian social control within the West were enforced by the North-West Mounted Police. These factors contributed to the survival of an Anglo-Canadian society in the West, but many of the buildings initially constructed in the late nineteenth century have not survived. Only the Commanding Officer’s residence remains substantially intact among these buildings constructed when Battleford was the Territorial capital.

FOOTNOTES

1See for example Hugh Sutherland to T. Brown, D.P.W. Ottawa, P.A.C., RG 11, vol. 576, September 20, 1877.
4Ibid.
5P.A.C., RG 18, vol. 1165, file 28, June 8, 1890.
8Maass, op. cit. p. 62.
10Architecture of Country Houses, p. 27. His interest in providing tasteful houses went beyond designing only for those who could afford it: “In seeking to prove that taste is not the exclusive property of the rich and well-born, he succeeded in interesting thousands of middle-class Americans in their homes. By emphasizing the importance of the cottage no less than the mansion, his writings transformed the appearance of the American countryside.” (p. XVIII).
12Ibid. p. 7.
13Ibid. p. 11.
14Ibid.
15Ibid.
16Ibid. p. 19.
18Ibid. p. 50.
19Gowans, Alan, Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966, pp. 118-119. Gowans furthermore explains the Gothic seemed to be more popular in Canada than in the United States since (p. 102): “…to Americans generally gothic seemed undemocratically pretentious, and what was worse, unAmericanely foreign.”
21Correspondence between the federal government and officials at Fort Battleford shows that the architects in the Department of Public Works had a definite hand in dictating the shape these buildings on the frontier were to take. See, for example the Walker Letterbooks at the Fort Battleford Library Collection, May 17, 1877 to February 21, 1879, particularly the letter written by Inspector Walker to the Secretary of State on December 17, 1877.
22The picturesque was intended to inspire awe. This picturesque quality was not only to be achieved by the structural design but also by surrounding trees and landscaping. See A. J. Downing’s Landscape Gardening. Also Downing in his book The Architecture of Country Houses wrote: “The picturesque is seen in ideas of beauty manifest with something of rudeness, violence or difficulty. The effect of the whole is spirited and pleasing, but parts are not balanced, proportions are not perfect and details are rude. We feel that at first glance of a picturesque object the idea of power is excited, rather than the idea of beauty which it involves.” pp. 28-29.
ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN SASKATCHEWAN

By F. A. Peake

Because of space limitations it has not been possible to present Reverend Frank A. Peake's complete article in this edition of the magazine. Only that portion of his article covering the early history of Emmanuel College has been included here. The article will be continued in the next issue of the magazine.

The Editor

Somehow surprisingly, the area which now comprises the civil province of Saskatchewan has had within its borders no less than five Anglican theological training institutions. Four of them were set up in accordance with the views of their episcopal founders and each was intended to meet the needs of supposedly unique circumstances.

Emmanuel College, Prince Albert, was established in 1879 by John McLean, the first bishop of Saskatchewan, to provide a native ministry. St. John's College, Qu'Appelle, the forerunner of St. Chad's College, Regina, was founded in 1885 by Adalbert Anson, the first bishop of Assiniboia, soon to become Qu'Appelle. Bishop's College, Prince Albert, functioned for a few years in the 1920's and was an expression of the dissatisfaction of Bishop Lloyd with the administration and teaching of Emmanuel College, now at Saskatoon, which he had helped to re-establish and develop. The fifth institution, the College of Emmanuel and St. Chad, was the result of an amalgamation of the former Emmanuel and St. Chad's Colleges.

Emmanuel College, Prince Albert

Prior to his consecration McLean had been, for seven years, Warden of St. John's College, Winnipeg and professor of divinity. When he came to Prince Albert he was convinced that the hope of the church in the west lay in the establishment of an indigenous ministry. In this he was not alone. For decades the Church Missionary Society had talked about the "euthanasia" of its missions, by which it meant the withdrawal of the European presence as the native clergy became increasingly capable of assuming responsibility. Similarly, in the 1850's James Hunter, one of the outstanding missionaries of the Red River, had put forth a scheme in which the native clergy would take over the leadership of the church in their midst. It should be noted, if only in passing, that these worthies always thought in European terms. With the possible exception of McLean it is doubtful if any of them ever envisaged a truly autonomous native church.

McLean arrived in Prince Albert in 1874 and began to look about for suitable candidates and the means of training them. With a logic which might now be questioned he argued that "the half-breed ... has all the advantage of being one
with the Indian in his language and yet of being able to master Theology through the medium of English." With this in mind he selected a number of young men and began to train them while they continued to live at home with their parents. Among the first was James Beads whom the bishop described as being "twenty-two years old — speaking English well — Indian being his mother tongue." His father, the bishop continued, was "one of the leading settlers" and had given up "a part of his claim in the centre of the settlement as a site for the Church." This was to be St. Mary's in what is now East Prince Albert. There is no evidence that young James was ever ordained or even that he became a catechist. There were others, however, who continued. From one of the earliest students, John F. Pritchard, we gain an impression of what life was like in this frontier college. The students, he said, either boarded in the settlement or fended for themselves in log cabins. Of the academic side of his training he said:

It was mid-winter while I was there and very cold. We used to get up and dress without fire and go into a miserable school house, badly heated and lighted, and study from seven to eight in the morning and again from eight to nine in the evening... We went for our lectures to Bishop McLean who lived in a small log house and to Archdeacon Mackay who lived in a similar domicile nearby... My cousin [E. K. Matheson] was taking lectures on "Pearson on the Creed," Paley's "Evidences," and several other text books in divinity. [Ronald] Hilton started Hebrew and I began New Testament Greek and Cree. We took lectures on the Old Testament from Archdeacon Mackay and translated it into Cree. This was in the winter of 1878-79 and the classroom to which Pritchard referred was that of St. Mary's church. During the day it was used as a parochial school. At the same time work was proceeding on the erection of buildings for a new college. For a time the bishop had thought of establishing it at Battleford, newly designated as the territorial capital, but then decided to remain at Prince Albert. Although the building was not finished, Emmanuel College opened its doors on 1 November 1879, which was thereafter designated as Commemoration Day. The bishop was elated and wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

We have five students of Divinity already on the list, four of them being Indian-speaking natives of the country. Three are away at work; one will join next week; and the fifth will arrive (D.V.) as soon as the new snow will enable him to travel by dog train from the interior of the country. I have several others ready to join when I can get the means to support them.

The necessity of the College is more apparent every day. Almost in sight of it is an encampment of a thousand Sioux Indians, all heathens. Not everyone shared the bishop's enthusiasm or his view that the college was essential. The authorities of St. John's College, Winnipeg, were of the opinion that their institution could meet the needs of the country and that an additional college might do harm. However, Emmanuel College continued its work and an early highlight was the visit of the Governor-General, and Marquis of Lorne, on 2 September 1881. In an address presented by the Warden and tutorial staff, His Excellency was informed that:

... the chief object for which this institution has been established... is to give such an education to Indians selected from the different tribes as will qualify them to act as interpreters, schoolmasters, catechists, and in specially approved cases, ordained pastors among their countrymen. This distinctive feature of this college is that it gives instruction to the Indian students in the grammar and composition of their own native tongue. They are trained to write their own language grammatically as well as to translate from English into Indian and vice versa.
Eleven missionary students attended the College during the last year. Of these four were Cree Indians, two Cree half-breeds, one a Sioux Indian, and the rest of European parentage.

We have opened a Collegiate School in connection with the College for educating boys in classics and mathematics as well as in English branches.

By 1883, Emmanuel College had thirty-four students including a number of Cree, Blackfoot and Chipewyan Indians. It was also the bishop's intention to open a branch of the college at Calgary for the training of Blackfoot Indians but this was never carried out.

The collegiate school to which reference had been made in the Address was, in fact, just entering upon its first term. For a year or two it flourished but in 1885 the Presbyterian mission opened a high school in the town which crippled the more remote institution. There was apparently some hesitance on the part of the townspeople to support the new Presbyterian school and the bishop must have been rather distressed to learn that "the Hon. L. Clarke with his usual generosity to everything which is a benefit to the place, was willing to subscribe fifty dollars a year in contributing to a competing institution must have seemed strange.

Early in 1882, McLean took advantage of circumstances to launch a campaign for the establishment of a university in Prince Albert. Canon James Flett of Emmanuel College had completed the requirements for the bachelor of divinity degree of St. John's College, Winnipeg and the bishop persuaded the Chancellor of that institution to allow him to hold a convocation in Prince Albert for the conferring of the degree. This ceremony took place on 25 January 1882, and during the proceedings McLean presented his proposal for a university modelled on the one which had been founded in Manitoba. Several resolutions were presented by Charles Mair, seconded by Thomas McKay, J.P., commending the accomplishments of the bishop and endorsing the carefully worded suggestion that:

...in the opinion of this meeting the formation of Manitoba into a Province at so early a date has had much to do with her advancement, educationally and otherwise and that the time is ripe for the formation of a new Province to the west of her in order that the same privileges may be extended to the already large and growing settlements of the interior.

The Resolution was supported by "short but telling addresses" from the Reverend J. Sieveright, B.A., the Presbyterian minister, and from Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Sprout, the registrar of land titles in Prince Albert. Armed with this rather doubtful mandate McLean was successful in securing Dominion legislation creating the University of Saskatchewan. Although free of religious tests except in divinity it was clearly an Anglican institution with the Lord Bishop of Saskatchewan as Chancellor ex officio. The act seems to have evoked little opposition although the Prince Albert Times offered a word of warning by asking:

...would it not have been well to have passed such legislation as would have prevented the possibility of Universities being established in our midst. Manitoba and British Columbia have taken time by the forelock, and in Ontario the Minister of Education is striving to devise some means by which a central examining board would alone grant degrees and thus secure a uniformity of standard.

Included in the legislation was a provision authorizing the University to establish affiliated colleges within the limits of the diocese of Saskatchewan. A reading of the act makes it quite clear that Emmanuel College was not, as has often been suggested,
the new University of Saskatchewan but was intended to be one of the colleges affiliated with the University. The University itself never existed other than on paper. Nevertheless, its existence even on paper became a matter of controversy and something of an embarrassment to the new provincial legislature of Saskatchewan which came into being in 1905. The title which the legislature naturally wished to use for a new provincial university had already been pre-empted. There was some suggestion that since education was a matter of provincial responsibility the earlier University of Saskatchewan Act might now be challenged as being *ultra vires*. In the face of strong opposition this did not seem to be a very promising approach. Instead the paper institution was ignored and a new provincial institution set up in 1907 with the title, *The University of Saskatchewan*. There the matter might have ended leaving the disgruntled supporters of the earlier university and of Emmanuel College itself to feel, not without reason, that they had been cheated. The matter was resolved by a curious legal fiction embodied in a further Dominion statute of 1914. Therein it was pretended that Emmanuel College had, in fact, been the original University of Saskatchewan and that to avoid confusion with the new provincial university its name was changed to *The University of Emmanuel College*.

All this, however, lay in the future. In the late 1880's and early 1890's Emmanuel College, with its collegiate school, continued its work quietly but, if one may judge from newspaper reports, not unimpressively. Prize lists for succeeding years presented a record of achievements which would do credit to any comparable institution of older foundation. Although the bishop's sons figured prominently they were by no means alone in a curriculum which included classics, English, British...
and Canadian history, mathematics and geography in the collegiate school as well as theological subjects and native languages in the College itself.

The first phase of the history of the College came to an end with the tragic death, in November 1886, of Bishop McLean following an accident in Edmonton. His successor, Cyprian Pinkham, at first expressed the desire to continue the work of the college and appointed an Advisory Council to help in setting it forward always, as he was careful to point out, with due regard to his episcopal prerogatives. But Pinkham had no great interest in northern Saskatchewan. The diocese was divided soon after his consecration and although he retained charge of both sees until the episcopal endowment fund for the new diocese of Calgary was complete he went to live in Calgary from the beginning. In 1889 he publicly expressed the view that the whole idea of a college in Prince Albert had been premature and would remain so for the foreseeable future. For twenty years after McLean’s death Emmanuel College served only as a training school for Indian catechists and the wider vision remained unfulfilled. Pinkham was not interested in the work of the College at any level. He assumed that it was being maintained by its own endowments supplemented by government grants and that he need trouble himself no further about it. As a result of an enquiry held in 1896 it was reported that “the College is doing a good work, a sound elementary education is imparted to the students under the approval of a Government Inspector, and, whenever aptitude in that direction is shown, the pupils are trained for the position of elementary native teachers.” In 1903, when the Calgary episcopal endowment had reached the required minimum, Pinkham resigned the see of Saskatchewan.

There was, nevertheless, one gathers, an uneasy feeling in Prince Albert that this was not the purpose for which the College had been founded and the endowment funds raised. When J. A. Newnham assumed office as the third Bishop of Saskatchewan he found that the accumulated debt on Emmanuel College had grown to eight thousand dollars with “matters so tangled and confused that it was difficult to say where the liability lay.” Fortunately, the debt was assumed by the Department of Indian Affairs.

By 1906 the number of settlers coming into Saskatchewan was increasing rapidly and the bishop appealed for more clergymen and for the means to support them. In doing so he lamented the lack of men coming forward for holy orders from within the diocese. There were, he said, one or two Indians preparing for the sacred ministry but not a single candidate of white parentage. He continued:

... is this the fault of the clergy, not seeking to set before their boys the greatest of all callings? Or of the parents, who do not wish to dedicate their sons to this honourable, but self-denying, and ill-paid profession? Can it be that parents and sons have no respect for the ministerial office? Or is it the overpowering desire for the money and comforts of this world that causes our young men to seek the farm or the office, the learned profession or the store, or anything rather than the ministry?

The synod endorsed the bishop’s plea for men but offered no suggestions for ways of recruiting them. They did agree, however, that Emmanuel College should revert to its original purpose and resume the teaching of divinity as quickly as possible. It was also determined that although the College buildings were occupied by the Indian school provision should be made for the organization of winter classes, to run from January to April of the coming year, for the training of men to serve as teachers, lay readers, catechists and deacons. Where the prospective students were to come from they did not say. The central figure in the revival of Emmanuel College was George
Exton Lloyd. So prominent and influential was he in the life of the College and indeed in the development of the Church on the prairies that it is necessary to digress briefly to take note of his background and career.

Lloyd was the son of a London schoolmaster, William Jones Lloyd, and his wife Anne Brown. He was born on January 6th, 1861, at the School House, Suffolk Street, Bethnal Green. He received his early education at the hands of his father but how far he proceeded is not known. Also unknown are the circumstances in which he came to Canada but in 1882 he was admitted to Wycliffe College, Toronto. He did not complete the theological course but on the outbreak of the second Riel rebellion in 1885 he went, as a member of the University of Toronto Company of the Queen's Own Regiment under Colonel Otter, to assist in putting it down. While in the west he was made deacon, in St. George's church, Winnipeg, by Bishop Machray acting on letters dismission from the bishop of Toronto. Not until two years later, on 31 July 1887, was he ordained priest by the bishop of Toronto (Sweatman). He was apparently granted a diploma in theology by Wycliffe College. After his ordination he served first at Sunderland, near Cannington, Ontario and then at Penetanguishene where he also served as chaplain of the Reformatory for Boys. While there he was appointed to serve on a diocesan prison reform committee and was proud of the fact that when he left the diocese in the following year he received a vote of thanks for his work from the diocesan synod.18

In 1890 he became rector of Rothesay, a suburb of Saint John, New Brunswick, and headmaster of the Collegiate School. Here again his military — or militant-interests came to the fore and he founded the Boys' Brigade Cadet Corps. It was during this period that he was not as of 1894, the University of Toronto (honoris causa). Such distinguished correspondent from the Minister of Finance, a Professor of Oriental Languages and young and unknown, he indeed surprised his countrymen.

All that remain of his years in the Canadian ministry, Lloyd's Numbers of me: "The Sixty," we were only fifty that although he was in the diocese of Saskatoon and was in the way of the Sixty, we were only fifty-odd men.

The first of the Emmanuel College as the executive of the See as a dormitory, part payment of the costs of buildings. Then there were newly constructed buildings. The teaching staff included: Rural Dean De
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was during this period also that we get the first clear indication of his conviction that he was not as other men and of his ability to convince others of the fact. On 31 May 1894, the University of New Brunswick conferred upon him the degree of M.A. (honoris causa). On the same occasion honorary doctorates of law were awarded to such distinguished graduates of the University as George R. Parkin (1867), correspondent for the Times of London; the Honourable George E. Foster (1866), Minister of Finance in the Government of Canada; and J. F. McCarthey (1866), Professor of Oriental Literature in the University of Toronto. That a relatively young and unknown clergyman could find his way into such illustrious company is indeed surprising and the records of the university offer no hint of enlightenment. All that remains is the simple resolution that the degree be conferred.

He left Rothesay in 1898 and for the next two years is reported to have been “on sick leave, [which was] spent in various places in the Southern States of America.” In 1900 he returned to England and served for three years on the deputation staff of the Colonial and Continental Church Society (CCCS). It was towards the end of that time that he came into contact with Isaac Barr and his emigration scheme. He offered his assistance and soon became involved in the organization of the Britannia colony. Ruthless and determined, overflowing with self-confidence and filled with unbounded ambition, Lloyd would brook no opposition. When, in his view, Barr, the leader of the colony, seemed ineffective Lloyd shouldered him aside, ousted him, took control and organized the colony which became, not surprisingly, Lloydminster. But Lloyd was not the man to let grass grow under his feet. He was now committed with single-minded devotion to the principle that western Canada should be British and, if possible, Anglican. He turned to the Bishop of Saskatchewan by whom he was appointed “General Superintendent of all white missions in the diocese of Saskatchewan” with the title Archdeacon of Prince Albert. Clearly, he was on the way up!

At the synod of 1906, the bishop had deplored the lack of candidates for the ministry. Lloyd undertook to find them and went to England for that purpose. Numbers of men responded and with them he returned to Prince Albert. These were “The Sixty,” well known in the annals of Emmanuel College although, in fact, there were only fifty-five or fifty-seven. Immediately on his return Lloyd made it clear that although his own training was minimal he intended to take charge of the project.

The first concern was to find accommodation and a teaching staff. The Emmanuel College buildings were still in use as an Indian school but with the assent of the executive committee of the Synod Lloyd secured the former Land Office for use as a dormitory from the Dominion Department of the Interior. This was to be as part payment of the rent payable by the Department for the use of the college buildings. Then, in Lloyd’s own words,

the original church of Prince Albert (a small wooden structure, built in 1882 and measuring twenty feet by forty feet) was transformed into a lecture room. . . .

For a dining hall a large shack was moved up from the other end of town, and a cook’s room was built on to it.21

The teaching staff consisted of Lloyd, who taught systematic theology, “the Bishop, Rural Dean Dewdney, the Rev. D. T. Davies, and the Rev. C. L. Malaher.” To these were shortly added the Reverend John T. Tuckey and the Reverend H. S. Broad bent.22 Broad bent and his wife shared the Land Office with the students. As he later wrote:
I went out to Saskatchewan in September 1907, and was appointed the first Rector of Christ Church, Saskatoon, where there was only the roofed-in basement. Emmanuel started off actively about the same time in Prince Albert ... and I used to go up fortnightly for a day or two, staying with Bp. Newham and giving some lectures to the students. Then after a year — in September 1908 — I was transferred to Prince Albert, & for another year my wife and I lived in the upper floor of the old land office & the students occupied the ground floor. 

... The Rev. John Tuckey and I did most of the lecturing & as you know the principal was Archdeacon Lloyd. ... The ideal of the college in these early days was that of an “Associate Mission.” The plan was not original with Lloyd but seems to have come from the western United States where Robert Mactaray, Bishop of Rupert’s Land, had seen it as “an institution combining ... higher education, more especially theological, with mission work in the surrounding area.” Such a scheme had both strengths and weaknesses. Rather like the monitory schools of the early nineteenth century it was cheap and superficially effective. The needs of a large area for religious services could be met while, at the same time, the students were gaining practical experience. The disadvantage of the arrangement was the lack of emphasis on the sacramental life and the undue emphasis which it gave to the practical aspects of parochial life. In the long run it was almost certainly harmful to the quality of both ministry and education with an adverse effect on the parishioners. Lloyd, however, believed in it and twenty years later when he thought that Emmanuel College was failing in its mission he would seek to repeat the experiment.

In 1908 the old advisory council which had been set up by Bishop Pinkham, but which had not met since 1894, was replaced by a college board appointed by and responsible to the diocesan synod. At its first meeting the board decided that the training period should extend over seven years towards the end of which time approved candidates should be admitted to the diaconate. The academic year was to consist of three terms as follows: September 5th to December 18th (105 days) Deacons; December 26th to April 7th (103) days) Catechists; April 17th to July 31st (105 days) Catechists. In this way parochial ministrations could continue throughout the year without interruption. By 1910 some eighty men had passed through the system.

The curriculum leading to the Testamur in Divinity, approved by the board early in 1909, included the following: Systematic Theology, Ecclesiastical history, Ethics, New Testament (history and exegesis), Old Testament (history and exegesis), Liturgics, Greek Testament (St. John and Timothy), Apologetics. In the following year additional requirements were prescribed for the Licence in Theology (L.Th.). These were in two parts and included the study of set books in all the fields previously studied and, in addition, Patristics or Hebrew, Canadian Church History and Hooker’s Polity, Book V. From this outline it is apparent that from the beginning the College authorities sought to maintain a high academic standard. By today’s standards the curriculum might seem to be conservative and unimaginative but even at the time attention was being paid to such contemporary scholars as Westcott and Lightfoot. In fact, early in 1910, the complaint was made, possibly by J. D. Mullins, the general secretary of the CCCS, that the standard required was too high. If there were grounds for the complaint it may well be that any fault lay, not with the curriculum itself, but with young and inexperienced teachers whose enthusiasm led them to make excessive demands on their students.
FOOTNOTES

1Public Archives of Canada (PAC), MG 17(B1), Bishop McLean to Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, November 12, 1875.
3PAC, MG 17(B1) Bishop McLean to SPG, February 4, 1880.
4Saskatchewan Herald, April 1, 1882.
5Proceedings of the Synod, Diocese of Saskatchewan, Bishop Pinkham's Charge to the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan, August 28, 1889.
6Saskatchewan Herald, April 1, 1882.
7Charles Mair was prominent in the affairs of St. Mary's Church, Prince Albert. See Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review, June 9, 1883.
8Thomas McCoy was the eldest son of William McKay of Fort Ellice and the brother of the Rev. George McKay. Thomas McKay attended St. John's school, Winnipeg, and taught for some time at Westbourne, Manitoba. Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Sproat, C.L.S., was a Presbyterian and had been member of Parliament for Bruce, 1867-1872. See The Bulletin (Edmonton) January 24, 1881; Prince Albert Times and Saskatchewan Review, January 3, 1883; Jean E. Murray, "The Early History of Emmanuel College," Saskatchewan History, IX (1956), p. 88.
9Canada, 46 Victoria, cap. 47.
10Prince Albert Times, June 13, 1883.
11Canada, 45 George V, cap. 142.
12Bishop Pinkham's Charge to the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan, 1889, p. 13.
15Bishop Newnham's Charge to the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan, 1905, p. 24.
19Canadian Churchman, June 2nd, 1890.
21A sympathetic view of Isaac Barr is given by Helen Evans Reid, All Silent, All Damned: The Search for Isaac Barr. (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1969).
23Jervois Arthur Newnham, Bishop of Saskatchewan, was born in England but trained at McGill University, Montreal. After serving in the diocese of Montreal he went as a C.M.S. missionary to Moosonee in 1890 and was elected Bishop three years later. He was translated to Saskatchewan in 1903. Alfred Daniel Alexander Dewdney was born in Toronto. Following graduation from Queen's University, Kingston, he was ordained by the Bishop of Huron and served in the dioceses of Huron and Fredericton before going to Prince Albert in 1906. He was elected Bishop of Kewatin in 1921. Charles Louis Malaher, Christ Church and Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, never seems to have stayed anywhere for more than two or three years. Following ordination by the Bishop of Liverpool he served curacies in the dioceses of Liverpool and Oxford before going to the diocese of Saskatchewan as an itinerating missionary or "driving clergyman." He served from 1907-1910 and returned to England in the latter year. David Thomas Davies, a Welshman, graduated from St. David's College, Lampeter, in 1888 and after service in the dioceses of York and Monmouth joined the staff of the CCCS. During the years 1907-1908 he was living in Prince Albert as secretary and treasurer of the diocesan synod. John Townsend Tuckey, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, served in the diocese of Cork before going to Saskatchewan as an itinerating missionary in 1907. He returned to England with the outbreak of war in 1914. Henry Stuart Broadent, Trinity College, Oxford and Bishop's Hostel, Liverpool, served for five years as curate of St. Helen's, Lancashire, before going to Saskatoon in 1907. He returned to England in 1914.
Book Reviews


This book has a straightforward thesis. The fur traders who came to western Canada during the period covered more often formed lasting relationships than had casual sexual encounters with the women they found living there. This is unlike the situation in other areas where Europeans came into contact with native populations.

The women in question were at first Indians who both gave the fur traders entry into Indian society and helped significantly in securing and preparing furs. The women gained a modicum of ease and at times prestige, but they lost their autonomy. By the mid eighteenth century the fur traders were more likely to marry the mixed blood daughter of another fur trader. Two reasons for this were that Indians had become less enamored of European ways and that the fathers of the Métis girls encouraged a new marriage pattern. Both before and after the mid eighteenth century the marriages were most often “after the custom of the country.” That is there was a ceremony but there was no clergyman present.

By the end of the eighteenth century the mixed blood wife was usually more influenced by her European father than her Indian mother. Still she was at a disadvantage when compared (by the newly arrived single fur traders) with the few English women who had begun to appear in the West.

Neither the Indian nor the Métis wife was anxious to go to Eastern Canada or England when their husbands retired from the service of the fur companies. Most often they were left behind, though quite often with arrangements made for their support. Quite often the returned fur trader married again.

Under the influence of missionaries who detested the traditional “country” marriage and the influence of nineteenth century ideas about “savages” and the “ideal woman” more fur traders tried to import English wives. By 1830 this was becoming common. The result was usually disaster. The “ideal woman” was not suited to the hardships of the West. Most often they returned home, but while in the West they struck out against the women there, particularly the mixed blood daughters of the fur traders whom they saw, given the situation all women found themselves in during the nineteenth century, as the “competition.” Their attitude increased the already growing prejudice against anyone with Indian blood.

The fur traders, now more established and less dependent on the Indians, constantly being told that the country wife was not a true wife, more and more often gave into the temptation to accept the prevalent idea of a double sexual standard and used the women resident in the West for temporary sexual gratification. However in the period 1850-1870 most traders were once again marrying mixed blood women, partly because they were there, partly because they did not mind being there.

The thesis is simple. But no one has worked to develop it before. The result of Professor Van Kirk’s work is that the fur traders begin to appear as human beings and fur trade society is capable of being better understood.

The work called for not only close perusal of traditional historical records but also the employ of other sources. The result is quite satisfactory.

There is room for improvement. For example, the limits of the participates are not always clear. Also, some pages are quite repetitive. But all of this is to be expected since the book is based on a vast amount of new and valuable information. In short, the author’s work is a valuable contribution to the history of the North-West.


The League of the Democrats is a political party that was formed in 1861 to promote the interests of the working class. The party was particularly active in the 1860s and 1870s, and its members were often involved in the fight for better working conditions and higher wages.

The book is divided into two parts: the first part deals with the history of the League of the Democrats, while the second part focuses on the individual members of the party, such as William Lyon Mackenzie, who was its leader.

The League of the Democrats was a significant force in Canadian politics, and its members played an important role in the development of the country. The book is a valuable resource for those interested in the history of the party and the broader political landscape of the time.
also the employment of anthropological insights and informed imagination. The result is quite satisfactory.

There is repetition. There is a bit of revisionism and backing away in chapter nine. But all of that is minor. If you wish to understand Western Canada from the late seventeenth through the mid nineteenth centuries this book is a necessity. It is also valuable for those interested in the history of contacts between Europeans and non-Europeans and those intrigued by the history of sex roles. The photographs alone make this a valuable book.

Michael Hayden


The depression was indeed a watershed in Canadian history. Many of its causes originated from the nature of national development since Confederation, while its effects created the basis for the interventionist state of modern Canada. The short-term result for many Canadians was despair and dislocation, however, which left a bitter taste and a fear of innovation. Yet, the gravity of the situation caused many others to seek reasons for society's plight and concrete alternatives to it. Michael Horn in his study, The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada, 1930-1942, traces the short career of one group passionately concerned with reasons and alternatives whose immediate impact was anything but great but whose legacy to the realm of social services and public regulation is still being deeply felt by all Canadians.

Two almost contradictory images about academics in the depression emerge from The League for Social Reconstruction due to Horn's persistent desire to be fair to his subject. On the one hand detractors can see the intimate operation of an elite, comfortable and polite, functioning in a world of its own, with the motivation, time and financial wherewithal to be concerned with ideas both for their own sake and for their long-term implications. Dedicated to research and discussion for the most part, this pathetic group of Anglophile Central Canadian thinkers on occasion would venture forth to give advice and even participate in the political marketplace. While success rarely accompanied their efforts, in the first instance they naively viewed each defeat and rebuff as a "moral victory." But as evidence mounted that people did not care what the intelligensia thought they acted hurt and disappointed. Despair led to fractious disputes, dissociation and the quick demise of the League shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War. To the end only a few of them were able to concede that their views and those of the CCF for which they provided the intellectual stimulus, were "too far left for most Canadians."

The other view which emerges from Horn's treatment is that the League's members, the names of many of whom read like an academic Hall of Fame (Eugene Forsey, Frank Underhill, Frank Scott, Graham Spry to name just a few) were sincerely concerned with the impact that capitalism had had on their society. In order to best use their talents and skills at research, writing and speaking they came together as the League for Social Reconstruction in 1931-32 to guide the country in a vaguely socialist direction by emphasizing humanity over power and wealth. While non-partisan in theory, most of them inclined toward the CCF and it is well known
that some of them played a prominent role in drafting the Regina Manifesto in 1933. When the initial enthusiasm for the League began to wane by 1935 those that remained strived even harder to assist the party during its "dry" years when it lurched from defeat to defeat. Ironically, it was the short-lived success of the CCF early in the war that ultimately led to LSR's decline and fall as League members having stretched themselves too thinly in serving two masters (politics versus research and discussion) opted for the more successful alternative.

In a sense The League for Social Reconstruction is intellectual history since it explores the realm of ideas and the effects these have had on the roots of the modern English Canadian left. For this reason perhaps Horn interjected a chapter into the book entitled "Professors in the public eye" which develops the author's long-held interest in the history of academic freedom and the threats to it by university administrators nervous over public criticism of their already financially strapped institutions. The chapter, while interesting, however, appears strangely out of place since the book is to all intents and purposes a lengthy review of the book, Social Planning for Canada which appeared in 1935 and which Horn considers the LSR's "greatest moment of achievement". As a result he takes considerable care to dissect the book in a series of chapters as he examines the efforts made by its contributors to create a uniquely Canadian socialism from intellectual currents which were largely British in origin. In addition he devotes considerable space to a number of other publications inspired by or contributed to by the League's members like Democracy Needs Socialism and the Canadian Forum, the scrap newspaper which the League acquired by default in 1935. As an analytical reviewer Horn demonstrates his intimate knowledge of the left in general and of its major English-speaking Canadian proponents in particular.

In light of the fact that the population at large paid scant attention to the pronouncements of Canada's thinkers in the 1930's and 1940's and pay even less heed now critics might say "so what?" to Michael Horn's efforts. They would be patently wrong to do so because The League for Social Reconstruction is a necessary book. Its contribution to our understanding of the roots of modern Canada is obvious. Moreover, by dealing with a small minority in considerable and even intimate detail Horn provides a necessary balance to the generally-held impression that the depression decade featured only dried out dirt farmers and the impoverished urban dispossessed. The fact remains that the Depression had as much impact on the majority of Canadians then as "stagflation" has on them now. As Horn himself states in describing 1933, a year of considerable growth for the LSR: "... one suspects that for many Canadians it was a year much like others, in which they got by as best they could and enjoyed themselves in whatever ways their tastes and incomes permitted." Such detached observations are necessary if the 'thirties are to be someday placed in their proper perspective.

W. J. Cherwinski


In 1980, Saskatchewan and Alberta celebrated their 75th anniversary, and two of the books reflect the francophone community’s celebration of that fact. Franco-Albertains issued a series of reminiscences, essays and studies while Franco-Manitobains paid tribute to citizens elsewhere by reissuing in book form Donatien Frémont’s articles on French immigrants in the West.

It is appropriate to begin with Sister Chaput’s biography of Donatien Frémont. An immigrant from France seeking more religious freedom and economic opportunity, Frémont worked in Montreal before attempting to homestead near Prince Albert, only to realise a gentleman farmer’s life was impossible. By 1916 he had begun a journalistic career more in line with his classical education, when he became a collaborateur of Le Patriote de l’Ouest, established by l’Association Catholique des Franco-Canadiens de la Saskatchewan. As journalist and association secretary, Frémont soon became an important figure among French Canadians. A financial crisis in 1923 led to his departure, becoming editor of La Libérée at Saint-Boniface where much of his reputation rests. Throughout his journalistic career he enjoyed the support of the hierarchy such as Bishops Beliveau and Pascal. His abilities led him to work in Ottawa in World War Two for the War Information Commission and later the International Service of the C.B.C. Throughout he found time to write histories of French Canada’s role in the formative years of western society as well as to play active roles in the French Canadian Education Association and the Royal Society. The survival of the French and Catholic fact was one of his constant themes, his mission.

Using the extensive writing Frémont bequeathed to Canadians, Chaput has painted a picture of Frémont as writer and thinker. Problems of a small weekly paper are illustrated by his humorous Carnets du Grincheux, agricultural talks of ‘Jean Dubray’, book reviews of Le Liseur, and art reviews of Fantasio. Collaborators as his future wife and her sister or clerical allies attest to the variety of columns in the paper. The carefully composed editorials or articles on themes such as the role of the French language, the disastrous effects of immigration policy on French Canadians, the central role of the land in French-Canadian culture, the bilingual school issue including Ontario, or the attack on Quebec separatism — all reflect his classical education combined with his understanding of French Canada’s leitmotif.

Yet with the exception of some references to Le Devoir and a chapter on the western French press, there are few indicators where Frémont got his inspiration or how precisely he related to French-Canadian thought. Though one may criticize the interpretation of early school crises in Canada, Sister Chaput illustrates the importance he felt schools played in the francophone community’s survival.

While Frémont’s biography illustrated his journalistic career, his historical avocation is represented by the republication of one of his histories. It was his journalistic connections which assisted him in a history of French immigrants to the West, most visible in his treatment of Manitoba and in part Saskatchewan. Though at times the book has a litany of settlers’ or immigrants’ names, Frémont gives insight into some problems faced by immigrants such as isolation at St. Brieux. As Frémont migrated partly for religious reasons, so too did many he writes about. Priests played a significant role in the migration — such as dom Benoît at St.
Claude, abbé Cabanal south of Swift Current, Father Rosenberg at Fannystelle, abbé Ferroux at Red Deer or the Okanagan Mission. A mass or church was an early event. Some priests brought peasants and artisans affected by France's agricultural crises. Another significant group from France was the aristocratic element such as Vicomte de St.-Exupery. In some cases, like Sylvain Lake, they were inspired by socialist ideals.

For many clergy and aristocrats, Western Canada's attraction was what A. W. Rasporich described in the establishment of a utopia in the new world. At La Rolanderie near Whitewood, aristocrats attempted to create an agricultural-industrial community with livestock, chicory, sugar beets, highlighted by a life style of racing, wine and balls. But at La Rolanderie or St. Anne's Ranch at Trochu or Ste. Rose du Lac, World War I ended these aristocratic experiments.

In other areas, Frémont illustrates a more lasting impact of these settlers. From St. Denis, the Denis family has played a significant role in the battle for French schools and radio. At Fannystelle or Montmartre the French element was reinforced by French Canadians. Throughout Frémont relates names and careers of successful progeny — political leaders, university teachers, singers (High River), priests. Newspapers and drama clubs as in Winnipeg reflected their cultural values.

At times he discusses immigrant's motivations, but the emphasis is on activities of the new communities, reflecting his journalistic tendencies.

If there is a theme in the book by Franco-Albertains, it is a reflection of the institutions which have sustained them in the search to survive. Schools of course are important. As Frémont's biography deals with the issue, this book has two related studies. Joseph Moreau relates his experience at the classical Collège des Jésuites during the depression, including Manitoba potatoes, B.C. fruit and scraping up the tuition for school and board. Students were infused with nationalism à la Groulx, a social conscience and sports. The curriculum and facilities were most favourable leading to good results, but depression debts and war led to closure. Maurice Lavalée relates the role of the Association des Canadiens Français d'Alberta in the fight for bilingual schools and especially for organizing annual literary-history competitions. A new sense of confidence has resulted from dedicated teachers, energetic youth, sympathetic anglophones and federal assistance. Gertrude Blais' discussion of Le Cercle Les Connes Amies and its scholarships reflect educational endeavours.

A second institution has been the newspaper, as Frémont attested. Eloi de Grace has written about Le Courrier de l'Ouest from 1905-1917, with its broad range of subjects from world events, literature and science, politics, agriculture to local news. With parish correspondents and aggressive promotion the paper helped unite and strengthen francophones. A successor, La Survivance (predecessor of Le Franco-Albertain) is chronicled by Alice Trotter. The quarrels between ACFA and L'Union under Georges Bugnet and Feguennec over the issue of journalistic independence led to the demise of the latter. But as a later editor Guy Lacombe indicated, though La Survivance and Le Franco-Albertain are funded by the Association, the newspaper must remain free to report and criticise any institutions. And it must remain free to lead. The article of Marie Moser used the files of l'Ouest Canadien to show that Arthur Silver to the contrary French Canadians did indeed strive to keep alive their institutions (schools, hospitals, pilgrimages to Lac Ste Anne, fêtes) and did put their stamp on the evolving northern Alberta society. But the community struggled against the effects of Sifton's immigration policy.

Book Reviews

A third inst

CANADA’S UNIVERSITY
Vancouver: UBC Press 1985

This is an informative work about

BEYOND MY
Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press 1985

The name of L.

has contributed much to the Barr colony in

Lloydminster a few years ago. Columbia University Press in the position of Direc
tor-autobiography was

something of the

BOOK REVIEWS

A third institution was the radio. Céline Bélanger’s article compliments Rossel Vien’s book on French radio in the West. Despite initial problems with the governing authorities, Alberta Legislature and anglophones, ACFA was successful. From early CBK broadcasts to CHFA, radio has strengthened the community.

Finally politics is described by Judge André Dechênes. But as population has shifted initial French-Canadian participation in the legislature and cabinet has declined. Even federally political power retreated especially since Conservative domination.

A link in the early years was Joseph-Henri Picard. Heeding the western pull, as an Edmonton businessman, he was involved not only in early commerce but the founding of the Le Courrier de l'Ouest. And he played a significant role in Edmonton's Catholic School Board until 1924. The combination of business and local politics reflected the stamp French Canadians put on Edmonton and Alberta.

Though the books may suffer at times in terms of scholarship, the three selections not only represent the desire of French Canadians to survive in the West but also give contemporary Westerners and Canadians an insight into that determination.

Robert J. MacDonald

NOTES ON BOOKS RECEIVED


This is a major reference work on Canadian urban studies which will be of great assistance for anyone undertaking studies on this subject. It includes bibliographies and guides on general studies, and bibliographies on growth and economic development, population, urban environment and municipal government. In addition there is a separate section for each province. The Saskatchewan section includes references to studies on Battleford and North Battleford, LLOYDMINSTER, Moose Jaw, Prince Albert, Saskatoon, Swift Current and references to a number of other Saskatchewan centres.


The name Guy Lyle will be familiar to readers of Saskatchewan History as he has contributed articles and book reviews to the magazine relating to the history of the Barr colony. The son of Barr colonists, Lyle received his early education in LLOYDMINSTER and Edmonton and then undertook studies in librarianship at Columbia University. He served in a number of library positions, retiring from the position of Director of Libraries, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia in 1972. This autobiography will be of interest to readers of this magazine who have come to know something of Mr. Lyle's work on the history of the Barr colony.

Red Crow, born about 1830 to a family of chiefs, was the head chief of the Blood tribe of Southern Alberta from 1870-1900. He was an important leader of his people during a critical period in their history. This study by Hugh Dempsey based on extensive research does much to our understanding of the career of this little known native leader.


This study is based mainly on the ceremonial practices of the Plains Cree and Saulteaux Indians on the four Crooked Lake Agency Indian reserves in the Broadway area. The author identifies a number of indigenous ceremonies and how they have survived. The book contains many illustrations and includes transcripts of a number of tape recorded interviews conducted by the author during his study.

Contributors

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Edited by Krzysztof Gebhard

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