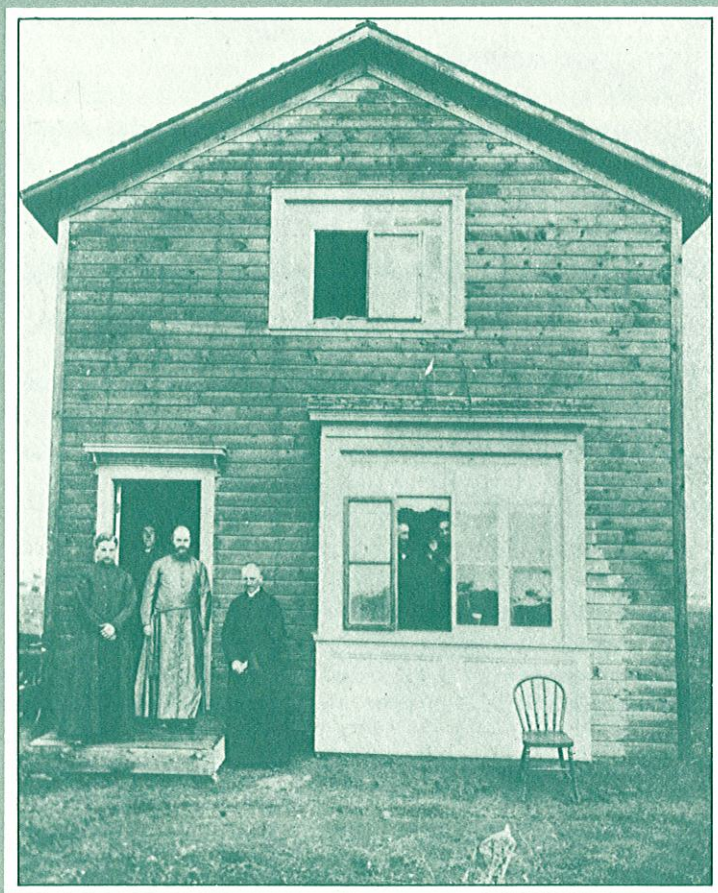


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“We’ll all be buried down here in this dry belt. . . .”

A Memoir by F. A. D. Bourke.

**Anglican Theological Education in Saskatchewan,
Part II**

SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY

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“WE’LL ALL BE BURIED DOWN HERE IN THIS DRY BELT. . . .”

By David C. Jones

I

When the Canadian Pacific Railroad diverted its main line through the drylands of the southern prairies in the early 1880s many roundly condemned the decision. Enough fury had been spent over the so-called Fleming route further north. The contiguous land of the future southern Saskatchewan and Alberta M. B. Hewson called a “dry, bleak and poor region” and Captain Butler judged it “eminently unsuited to settlement.”¹ Along the revised line, between Moose Jaw and Calgary, were endless deposits of unproductive soil, parched and alkaline. The general character of the lands, one source said, “has been known for a quarter of a century. They constitute the northern portion of a great American desert which is projected like a cone into Canadian territory.”²

To counteract such propaganda the CPR sought “to prove how utterly at variance with the facts such assertions . . . were.” Accordingly it established a system of ten experimental farms between Moose Jaw and Calgary. In less than a season the results were in — the soil would generate the wheat yields of the heavier Manitoba lands; cereals and garden products would flourish at an elevation of 3000 feet; and an adequate crop would materialize the first year.³

Nonetheless, partly because of the prevailing belief that the region was too arid for intensive cultivation and partly because of cattlemen who sought to keep out settlers, the federal government did not immediately open the region for homesteading. Booster organizations often remonstrated, as did the *Ft. Macleod Gazette* in 1888. “. . . Few settlers are coming to this very El Dorado of the Canadian or American west,” the paper protested, for federal policy patently discouraged settlement. “If the Government finds the task of encouraging both cattle and settlers too stupendous a one, for heaven’s sake let them make their choice . . .” the *Gazette* said. “The country is just as good for the one thing as for the other, and it is quite big enough for both.” Asking the government “to throw the country open for cattle or men or what is better . . . both,” the paper wanted an answer. If further delay was proposed, it stated, “let us know it, in order that we can stand from under before we get too poor and too old to walk out.”⁴

After the good lands were grabbed in the decade following 1900, more insistent pressure was applied. As C. W. Peterson, editor of *The Farm and Ranch Review* and former Deputy Commissioner of Agriculture for the North-West Territories, said years later, “It was the full intention to develop those parts of the West absolutely and solely for grazing. But the pressure by newcomers became too strong. No government could withstand it.”⁵ Capitulating, the government opened the lands in 1908 and resumed the propaganda the CPR had begun in the eighties.

“Magician’s wand never produced more striking effect than did the placing of a pair of steel rails over that stretch of prairie southwest from Saskatoon . . .” exclaimed the Ministry of the Interior in *Canada West: The Last Best West* in 1910. Two years earlier there were no elevators, no towns and few wheat fields. In twelve

months there were dozens of elevators, seven villages, three of them incorporated, and an estimated two and a half to three million bushels of wheat. “. . . Thousands of acres went thirty bushels and over,” the pamphlet said, “and everybody made money last year.”⁶

If the overall impression conveyed was misleading, the alleged speed of settlement was not. The population in southwestern Saskatchewan had leapt from 17,692 in 1901 to 178,200 in 1916, the number of farms had jumped from 2,436 to 37,954, and the area in crop had increased from 123,790 acres to 4,473,038. In 1900 the total wheat yield in the southwest was just over a million bushels; by 1915, the mammoth crop year, it exceeded ninety-six million bushels.⁷

For thousands of recent arrivals 1914 provided a grim foretaste of impending doom. Crops were nonexistent and farmers who lacked the stability of longer residence could neither satisfy their debts nor feed their families. Alarmed, Premier Walter Scott offered relief and summoned businessmen representing the railroads, farm implement companies, wholesalers and lumbermen. Urging leniency in the collection of accounts, Scott considered the problem serious enough to ask the general opinion on a possible moratorium on debts in the southwest. While the entrepreneurs agreed not to “crowd any man to the wall,” they steadfastly opposed any moratorium. At least one expressed his faith in the region and all hoped that 1915 would bring a reversal of fortunes.⁸

These hopes were realized beyond all expectations, and 1915 and 1916 yielded a cornucopia. Farmers bought more land, planted more wheat and spent more money. The fickle rains then departed and drought again settled on the land.

II

From 1917 to 1925 the southwest underwent distress equalled only by the worst years of the great depression. “A fight is being waged in some of these dry areas in Alberta and Saskatchewan that the general public knows little about,” wrote C. W. Peterson in *The Farm and Ranch Review*. Most of the afflicted were sorely pressed though few he believed erroneously had “given up the unequal struggle.” “From the bottom of my heart,” he said, “I wish them godspeed.”⁹

Correspondence from the burnt out areas revealed the nature of the struggle. Writing Premier W. M. Martin in early 1922, A. F. Meek of Shaunavon recalled that in 1915 he had purchased machinery from the International Harvester Company to break up his land. Apparently the engine was obsolete though Meek did not know it at the time. “. . . The company,” he said, “had a bunch of slick smooth tongued salesmen out to get rid of this rubbish and unload it on the farmers.” As a result, his plowing was late and he lost his crop through frost while his “neighbours threshed their 50 bushels to the acre.” In 1916 his crop was rusted and the next three years it was dried out. “The natural result,” he said, “was my taxes had to run as it has kept me guessing to support myself and family.” Despite these problems, the family had “a pretty decent home . . . a fair sized house and barn . . . all fenced and cross fenced and . . . a couple of good wells, one in the barn.”

The harvester company had just taken the land which Meek had mortgaged to buy his machinery. Receiving no taxes, the municipality applied for title to the land, and the harvester people to avoid loss were selling the place. “The net result to me,” Meek regretted, “is that after toiling for eleven of the best years of our lives, having homesteaded in 1910, myself, my wife and my family in about two week[']s time find

ourselves going up the road without the proverbial sack on our back." Pointing directly to the premier, he cried: "Now Sir, what do you think of a law that will take a farm worth in the neighbourhood of 4000 dollars for a few hundred dollars of taxes[?]"¹⁰

John Kramer of Herbert had related woes. No sooner had he loaded his first crop into the granary in 1913 than a prairie fire wiped out the granary, his stable and house. "The family and I," Kramer wrote, "had to borrow clothes from the neighbours to get to town." Leaving his family in Regina, he built a sod hut on the farm and borrowed money for spring seeding. That year he threshed not a bushel. In 1915 he harvested a good crop but owing to his penury he was forced to sell in the fall at eighty cents a bushel "while them what could hold onto theirs," he said, "got twice that amount in the spring."

That fall, prairie fire again ravaged the area. Though the grain was saved, Kramer's wife, who helped fight the flames, stepped into a gopher hole and hurt herself. Four days later she gave birth to a baby. At the time of Kramer's letter four years later, the child could neither eat by herself, nor talk, nor sit up, nor even use her legs. As Kramer wrote, "we just have to carry her around and handle her like a new born baby." To compound his discomfiture, Kramer's land had just been sold for taxes.¹¹

Everywhere life was hard. C. Evans Sargent, secretary of the Municipality of Mantario, reported on July 14, 1921, that "this district has had no crop of any consequence since 1916 and that was frozen." The people had reached the end of their tether. Their lands were mortgaged and their credit was overextended. The banks and the merchants too were stretched to the limit. ". . . Unless something can be done," Sargent wrote, "some 1500 people except a fortunate minority are faced with the prospect of starvation this winter."¹²

". . . We are even now in the thrill zone of the on rushing calamity," affirmed W. R. Babington of Medicine Hat. "I am a 'Big' farmer," he confided. "I have 'Big' steam engines, steam plows and things like that, and oh the 'Big' fields of Russian Thistles and tumbling mustard I have raised." Sardonicly crowning himself "the champion weed-king of this immense region," he claimed plainly that "the Canadian West's hide will soon be hanging out to dry on the branches of the weeds she has created. . . ." Then, he described another menace, even more terrifying, which he called "the 'night mare' of Western Canada." "It is here —" he blurted in staccato, "— it has demonstrated its destructive power — its marvellous multiplying powers — just a little worm — a variety of cut-worm — the Pale Western Cut-worm." For three years farmers had blamed drought for crop failure, but in 1920 the real nemesis was uncovered. "In Montana the farmers lighted bonfires at night in their fields," Babington said. "The moths being nocturnal in their habits were attracted to the fires in such numbers that they lay in heaps to a depth of three feet surrounding the fires." Before this infestation Canadian drylanders had already begun their flight.¹³

Amid this crisis several remedies were proposed. Early in the drought agricultural experts asserted that all problems were remediable. Profitable farming was primarily a matter of proper methods. W. R. Motherwell, Minister of Agriculture, reportedly told the *Saskatoon Star* in September, 1918 that drought or no drought, "success or non-success is chiefly, if not entirely due to straight good or bad farming."¹⁴ Even Seager Wheeler, the practical expert from Rosthern,



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A field with Russian thistle, no date or place.

categorically stated that he had “frequently made the statement that it is possible to grow a very satisfactory crop in any season. . . .”¹⁵ And F. Hedley Auld, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, was just as certain. As he told one farmer in 1918, “I am convinced that drought is a controlable [*sic*] factor in crop production at least to the extent that there is no necessity for complete failure from this cause.”¹⁶

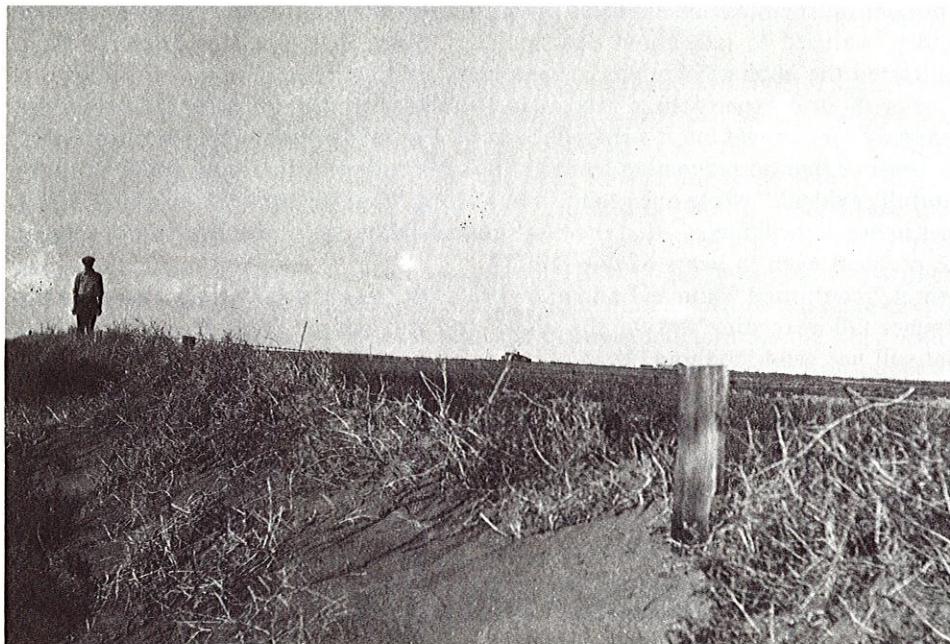
Mixed farming was the solution, a dozen sources told farmers. “My personal opinion,” said Auld, “is that too many farmers are depending entirely upon grain growing.”¹⁷ Hugh McKellar, editor of *The Saskatchewan Farmer* urged men to “grow everything required to feed [the] Mrs. & children.”¹⁸ Unquestionably mixed farming was the wisest form of agriculture, “particularly in western Canada,” asserted the CPR’s General Superintendent of Lands.¹⁹ “A few cows, a few pigs, some hens with a variety of crops necessary for these various classes of livestock,” concluded Auld, “will provide the greatest measure of safety.” A monthly cream cheque, an occasional egg cheque and a litter of pigs for sale in autumn all ensured a reasonable living.²⁰

The problem with the solution, given the endless dry summers, was explained by a Gaultown farmer: “we are up against it for feed three years out of four and stock keeping is not profitable if one has to be always buying feed to keep them alive. . . .”²¹ Others claimed that water shortages and poor prices precluded stock keeping. Poorly kept cows dried up, pigs could not be finished, and hens were not laying. By 1920 the Grain Growers’ Associations of South Cypress declared the mixed farming solution “hopelessly out of the reach of most of us who in the past ten years have exhausted our never too plentiful resources experimenting, groping as it were in the dark for the proper methods. . . .”²²

Another recommended method involved fall rye. John Bracken, Professor of Field Husbandry at the University of Saskatchewan, later President of Manitoba Agricultural College and Premier of Manitoba, advocated winter rye to prevent soil drifting. Sown in fall, this hardy crop anchored the soil by spring when danger from drifting was acute. Bracken published a photograph in *The Farmer's Advocate* in 1920 showing a badly drifted oats crop next to fall rye which was practically unscathed.²³ C. McConkey, agronomist at the Claresholm, Alberta, School of Agriculture, gave other advantages of fall rye. It used the fall to spring moisture largely lost to spring grains. Growing vigorously in May and June, it combatted weeds and was less susceptible to summer drought. Ripening earlier, it was less subject to fall frost and distributed the harvest over a longer period, thus reducing labor costs. It was also resistant to cutworms, rust and smut.²⁴ Consequently by 1921 Deputy Minister Auld reported that banks, mortgage companies and rural municipalities were all urged to give every assistance in planting the crop.²⁵

Unhappily this solution, like that of mixed farming, was opposed in the field. "The difficulty as I see it, would be that [fall rye] ought to be sown about harvest time when the rush is on," said W. H. Walker of Ceylon, "and there is only about one . . . autumn in three or four when there would be moisture enough in the soil for germination."²⁶ "All talk of mixed farming and rye growing is futile," declared Thomas Lannan of Ingebright in 1921. "A whole township would not feed the stock for four farmers and if you can raise a rye crop, you are also sure of a wheat or oats crop. There is no rye in this part any good this year."²⁷

The summer fallow was another solution. Leaving the land vacant one year in two or three and cultivating it regularly, practitioners said, eliminated weeds and saved two years' moisture for a single crop. "We must not forget that in many parts



Soil drifting, no date or place.

of Alberta and Saskatchewan there was no reasonable certainty of reaping a crop until summer fallows were introduced, and we do not think it safe with our limited rainfall to attempt to get along without them," said James Murray, Superintendent of the Noble Farms, and former Saskatchewan Superintendent of Fairs and Institutes.²⁸ Angus McKay of the Indian Head Experimental Farm agreed, claiming that proper fallowing at the farm "never failed to give good results, no matter how dry the year was."²⁹ Even more adamant were respected farmers like J. P. Robinson of Cadillac. Anyone doubting that "from half to a full crop may always be assured as against drought by proper summer fallowing," Robinson said, "is the victim of marked self deception."³⁰

By 1920 it was clear that fallowing had two serious side effects: it greatly depleted nitrogen and organic matter in the soil, and it facilitated soil drifting. At the Western Canadian Irrigation Association Convention in July, 1920, John Bracken reported that he knew a district where 50,000 acres had blown out. Drifting was most acute in southwest Manitoba, and the Alberta and Saskatchewan dry belts.³¹

Aggravating the problem were the disciples of the Campbell method of dry farming. Campbell had lectured in southern Alberta before 1910 theorizing erroneously that moisture escaped dryland soil by capillary action. The remedy thus was to interrupt this action by sub-surface pulverization and surface mulching. Had farmers paid their more customary attention to agricultural experts the result would not have been so adverse. Alas several testifying before the Southern Alberta Survey in 1921 confirmed that they were devout Campbellites.³² John Bracken went so far as to say in *Dry Farming in Western Canada* that "the capillary theory is undoubtedly responsible for more false reasoning about dry land agriculture than any other one thing."³³ Campbell, of course, was not the only culprit. Others too had promoted excessive surface cultivation, with similar effect. P. M. Abel, an expert himself, explained: "When Hon. W. R. Motherwell was earning himself the sobriquet of 'the moisture minister' by preaching moisture conservation to all and sundry, we used to talk about dust mulches. Since that time dust mulches have contracted the habit of climbing astride every passing breeze."³⁴

For the soil experts there was an ineluctable dilemma: summer fallowing was necessary for survival but it stripped the land. For many settlers, on the other hand, the practice had no redeeming feature. "It is becoming increasingly and ever more painfully evident," wrote one group from Vidora, "that we are working along wrong lines in our endeavours . . . that the best summer fallow falls pitifully short of solving the problem even in years of fair rainfall. . . ."³⁵ ". . . It does not matter how you farm it," confirmed Thomas Lannan in 1921, "the result is the same. This year the summer fallow seeding was the first to go, and you can see fields of summer fallow that will not yield anything."³⁶

When drought entered its fifth year enterprising Medicine Hat businessmen conceived another "solution." They considered the services of Charles M. Hatfield of Los Angeles, California, a professional rain maker. The agreement between the United Agricultural Association of Medicine Hat and Hatfield disclosed that "the operations of said Hatfield tend to contribute a 100 per cent increase over and above the natural rainfall." The rainmaker was to construct a "rain precipitation and attraction plant" at a point of his choosing. He was to get credit for half the precipitation that fell between May 1 and August 1 within a hundred mile radius of Medicine Hat. For a four inch rainfall the consideration was \$8,000. For rainfall over four inches, the contract specified, "no extra charges whatever."³⁷

When F. Hedley Auld was in Shaunavon in July he saw Hatfield who claimed that his towers, located in his absence, were in the wrong place. The result was that several good showers were carried too far east. Said Auld, "He probably can succeed in getting another contract signed on the strength of some such excuse as that." What troubled Auld was that the original contract "really guaranteed nothing more than could reasonably be expected in about six years out of seven."³⁸

Farmer reactions to the rainmaker varied. W. C. Gibbard of Richmond on the Alberta border opposed the conjurer since no proof of Hatfield's ability was adduced. "His method was absolutely secret and mysterious," said Gibbard, "and it was an insult to the farmers' intelligence. . . ." Further, the methods used in raising the funds were those "usually employed in skin games of all kinds." The promoters were city folk and few farmers contributed. Gibbard, however, had spoken to a farmer from Seven Persons who had supported the rainmaker. "He said that he had no faith," Gibbard wrote, "but held that the advertising was just what they needed as he couldn't make a living and wanted to sell out."³⁹ While a handsome price was no doubt unexpected, anything was better than nothing.

J. J. Keeler of Prelate was another Hatfield supporter. ". . . Regardless of what people think of Hatfield," he said, "I really think that his coming here this year has kept some people in this country who would otherwise have pulled out. I do not mean that they expected that he could produce rain but that they just figured through his coming that this would be a wet season."⁴⁰

Despite promising moments, Hatfield's ministrations with the winds barely achieved the four inch average for the district — qualifying him for the 8000 dollars, but disappointing his supporters and himself. Cognizant that the parching drafts in some areas persisted, Hatfield returned 2500 dollars.⁴¹ Later Premier Martin summarized 1921 for a southwesterer: "Conditions in many parts of the province have been very disappointing and the last year, I believe, was the most disappointing of all."⁴²

Understandably farmer desperation involved interaction with relief agencies. At first the provincial government and the municipalities provided liberal feed and seed grain help. Though the relief had to be repaid, John Melrose wrote Auld in 1920 that "a lot of the present settlers have been hand-fed for the last three years and have come to expect it." The process must stop for it was "doing more harm than good. . . ."⁴³ When H. R. Earl, Supervisor of Relief Collections for thirty rural municipalities north of the South Saskatchewan River reported to the Department of Municipal Affairs, he disclosed that relief was oftentimes dealt to the undeserving. Some municipal councils failed to survey their districts to determine the truly needy. Others left the whole relief operation to the municipal secretary. Consequently, noted Earl, it was "easy for the unprincipled to obtain their supplies. . . ."⁴⁴

James McCowan, Supervisor of Collections for the Mortlach to Empress Municipalities, reported another difficulty — municipal officials were "rather easy going" in pressing repayment.⁴⁵ Earl too reported an inclination "to await the completion of threshing and grain hauling . . . before making any attempt to collect."⁴⁶ Both supervisors did what they could to expedite matters by instructing municipal authorities in the virtues of bookkeeping and persistence. "I insisted that an immediate visit be made to all debtors and followed up from time to time as the occasion warranted," wrote Earl, "so that the debtor would not be allowed to think he could escape payment this fall."⁴⁷

As the province bogged down in the general post war depression Premier Martin called a meeting in late 1921 to discuss finances. Present were members of the government, the Retail Merchants' Association, the Rural Municipalities' Association, the Grain Growers' Association, implement dealers, mortgage and loan companies, wholesalers, stockmen and lumbermen. Recognizing the severity of the situation, Martin urged that the meeting be given little publicity. He did not favor the liquidation of the mountain of debts crushing farmers. "This government has never believed in a moratorium and we do not believe in it now," he declared. "it would be an admission that the province is bankrupt. . . ." Outside concerns would stop shipping goods except for cash in advance and coal and fuel might not enter the province at all. "This country has been largely developed by capital coming in from other parts of the world," he said. "anything done to scare it away will not be in the best interests of the province. We need capital for many years to come."⁴⁸

As for generating more aid, Martin was adamantly opposed. "We have, during the past few years, been liberal in rendering assistance as far as feed, seed and relief are concerned," he wrote Jacob Schellenberg of Herbert, "but . . . for the sake of the province as a whole, we must proceed very carefully in the future."⁴⁹ When J. S. Carr of Mortlach requested help from the Farm Loans Board in early 1922, Martin replied that "it has been simply impossible to supply the Board with anything like the amount of money which could be lent." Once during 1921 more than fifteen hundred applications could not be filled. The Board, he stressed misleadingly, was an independent body. To date it had lent \$8,500,000 but the time of easy money was past. "I am quite sure," he predicted, "that for some time to come [it] will be able to lend very, very little."⁵⁰

F. Hedley Auld captured the meaning and justification of the ultimate solution in a 1922 letter to a Consul farmer. The farmer had opined that a section rather than a half section was the ideal economic unit in the marginal lands. When Auld pondered what might facilitate the adoption of such a unit, he stated that he had "fallen back on two phrases, 'The survival of the fittest' and 'The mills of the gods.'" The problem was that deeded land had become so encumbered that it was impossible to transfer it to grazing land. That is, "to assume the debt which goes with the land would be to assume a burden which its use would not warrant and which in comparison with the cost of crown lands for grazing is altogether out of the question." Auld outlined the final solution:

The remedy then, would appear to lie in permitting the unproductive lands to go through the normal course of foreclosure, thereby becoming purged of some of their debts and ultimately being offered for sale at what they will bring. This I realize is a rather cold blooded way of viewing the matter. . . .⁵¹

The entanglement many southwesterners thus found themselves in appeared irremediable. Businesses in small communities would accept farmers' notes but could not get credit on them from banks. Retailers would often extend credit to farmers but would then have to bow before municipalities and banks with prior claims for seed grain repayment. Sometimes municipalities would hand out relief, and loan companies would advance seed rye, take a lien on the crop, and receive first claim on farm proceeds.⁵² For the companies, however, foreclosure was no simple matter since it involved placing a man on the destitute land to recover the original outlay.

As banks staunched the cash flow they frequently applied great pressure. Jacob Schellenberg, for example, owed money to the Bank of Commerce which held a

second mortgage on his farm. He wished to move to a new location and the bank agreed, providing he mortgage all his chattels. If he was unwilling, the bank manager threatened to sue on the unpaid mortgage and seize the farm. "I fear however that if I give the chattel mortgage to him he will cripple me so badly that I can never pay my debts," wrote Schellenberg. "Also the same will happen if I do not give him the chattel mortgage and he obtains judgement."⁵³

As farm debts mounted, a certain point arrived when even the prospect of a good crop was not heartening. Flattened by pyramided debt, settlers recognized the simple truth: whatever they harvested, creditors would get. The reaction of one, an Albertan, was, he said, "to try it once more and then take the count." He was leaving for the Peace River district. Regardless of outcome, 1921 would be his last year in the south country. "We'll all be buried down here in this dry belt, if we wait for the government to get us out," he told *The Nor'-West Farmer*. "And parts of it are pretty desolate places to be buried in."⁵⁴

In the end there was a tendency for penniless families, often from the United States, to sell whatever crop they had and to "abscond" across the border with funds owing through liens and other encumbrances to creditors.⁵⁵ Thousands in both provinces were finished. "I think this is all we can stand," wrote Peter Harder of Gaultown, Saskatchewan. "We got to get out."⁵⁶ Said Thomas Lannan in 1921, "There is not any farmer in this part who is able to get out unless he gets up and walks out, and leaves his stock and machinery behind." Claiming to speak for his district, Lannan concluded:

Any man of ordinary intelligence who has been on the job here since 1917 knows what this country is and knows that it will never do for farming. We have been optimists too long, and it is time optimism were thrown to the winds and sane judgement used. To sum up, we are not able to abandon our places, neither are we able to stay.⁵⁷

Too late for many, the government established a Debt Adjustment Bureau in September, 1922, deriving powers from an undated 1914 Statute enabling the Cabinet to protect settler property and to order postponement of debt obligations. The policy of Commissioner Edward Oliver was to seek a compromise settlement satisfactory to creditors and debtors. The former were given a copy of the Act, and the "unreasonable" were told that it might be necessary to enforce the legislation. Thousands of debts were thereupon adjusted, though genuine satisfaction was long gone.⁵⁸

The official decision to abandon parts of the region was reached about the time thousands gave up. By 1922 a memorandum from the Deputy Ministers of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior recommended that crown lands in the dried out areas of Alberta and Saskatchewan "be withheld from settlement absolutely."⁵⁹ The next year F. Hedley Auld reported a tripartite pact among the federal government, the provincial government and the railway companies to haul the destitute to greener pastures.⁶⁰ Symbolically the pact reflected the complex culpability for settling the fringes in the first place.



Automobile on a prairie trail, no date or place.

III

The most fundamental effect of the disaster was depopulation, most striking and consistent in municipalities adjoining Alberta and in the pyramid with Swift Current at its apex, one line to the Alberta-U.S. border and another line to the entry point of the South Saskatchewan River into the province. This region of twenty-three municipalities comprised an area of occupied farms in 1926 of 3,273,000 acres.⁶¹ Between 1921 and 1926 the pyramid lost 3,653 people or over 12.3 per cent of its population. The municipalities of Bitter Lake and Mantario lost between 32 and 35 per cent and several others lost over 20 per cent.⁶² For those who stayed or replaced the departed there was increasing tenancy. While over 66 per cent of Saskatchewan farms in 1926 were totally owned several municipalities in the drought pyramid had under 50 per cent and two had only 38 per cent.⁶³ Not surprisingly, Census Divisions 4, 8, 12, and 13 in the region registered in 1926 2,282 vacant and abandoned farms of a total for the province's seventeen census divisions of 4,907 abandonments.⁶⁴

Shattering as these results were, conditions in Alberta were much worse and more pervasive.⁶⁵ There the problem would completely engulf the United Farmer Government for its entire tenure of office. In both provinces the disaster was directly related to the progressive phenomenon. It was little wonder that progressives A. M. Carmichael, representing Kindersley, and N. H. McTaggart, representing Maple Creek, recorded the largest majorities in the province in the 1921 federal election.⁶⁶ As for provincial politics, had Martin dallied another moment before calling the 1921 election or had the southwestern catastrophe been as widespread as that in southern Alberta, the Liberals may never have survived.⁶⁷

One immediate result of the catastrophe was the "Better Farming Conference" held at Swift Current on July 6-8, 1920.⁶⁸ Gathering professional agriculturists and

experienced practical farmers, the conference led directly to the Better Farming Commission. After a five month study under W. J. Rutherford the commission recommended a soil survey, agricultural representatives, more dairying, conversion of areas unsuitable for grain into community pastures, empowering municipalities to prevent cultivation of sandy soils susceptible to blowing, experiments in grasses and methods regarding grazing, planting winter rye, and several techniques to prevent soil drifting including late sown oats and "stubble in." The commission was most reluctant to renounce summer fallowing which had apparently served eastern Saskatchewan so faithfully for thirty years. "Ordinarily the only safe plan is to farm for a dry year and hope for a wet one," it said, "and in this plan the old style of summer fallow or an approved substitute is indispensable."⁶⁹

Significantly not only were several recommendations tentative but also some had already been rejected by settlers. These factors underscored a crisis in confidence in the wisdom of experts and the efficacy of scientific agriculture. The first extended economic downturn after the spectacular settlement period evoked a reaction to forms of authority — to government nabobs who had opened the region to settlement; to politicians who represented old line parties of an old order; to experimental farms which sometimes seemed irrelevant; and to agricultural experts who heard the death rattle and watched helplessly. For farmers who trekked from the holocaust few lessons were as palpable as the one that all the agricultural expertise in the world was not enough to make life on the margins livable. Farmer criticism of experimental and demonstration farms was often as much a disappointment with the inappropriate locale of farms, or the inadequate communication with the people, as it was a slander on "book farmers." One Saskatchewan settler told F. H. Auld that 75 per cent of the people south of Ponteix did not know the existence of a nearby demonstration farm and that 98 per cent did not know "one thing that has been accomplished by demonstration there. . . ."⁷⁰ The Swift Current Conference had also scored the pertinence of distant experimental farm findings before suggesting a local station.

As the calamity deepened, the correspondence between Auld and university professors and between Auld and common farmers revealed a whittling of experts, both professional and practical, down to size. By 1921 they appeared somewhat nonplussed, humbled, and less sure of themselves. Many now felt that they had overstated the "proper farming methods" solution and most now sensed that possibly tillers like Thomas Lannan knew something that they did not, that perhaps, after all, it did "not matter how you farmed it." Auld's experience was typical. "I used to think as you do that those who farm properly would get some crop every year," he told the Prelate Village Secretary Treasurer in July, 1921. The key to one farmer's success over another, he now believed, was a lucky local shower or two. As for proper methods, he was no longer sure they would work. "We can only recommend a system which we believe is best suited to the district, and allow the individual to take a chance whether it will pay him in the long run to follow it."⁷¹

In short order the experts had underscored their own limitations. For several years farmers in the south had complained of burn-outs, seared areas completely devoid of vegetation. Perhaps a soil scientist of the calibre of Professor Roy Hansen of the University ought to have understood them, for few knew more. Yet, beginning the soil survey of the southwest, he betrayed profound and disturbing ignorance. "An interesting thing to me," he wrote Auld, "are the 'burns-outs.' I have often heard them mentioned but this is the first time I have had a chance to see such

extensive areas of them. We hope by gathering samples to learn more about them." In passing, Hansen then noted settler claims that fall rye "came through best where sown in the stubble or among the thistles and poorest where sown on clear summer fallow." Probably reflecting on the import of the revelation for management policy, Hansen admitted, "There must be a certain amount of truth in this judging by the experience of a number of farmers."⁷²

Local conditions, moreover, militated against the technological solution which Hansen's training suggested must surely exist. In fact it was almost impossible to gather systematic soil data in the region, a clear prerequisite to any remediation. Hansen discovered roads crooked and too far apart, trails not following the road allowances, and survey posts gone.⁷³ Following his nightmarish survey in the far southwest, he wrote: "I might say that we are now prepared to undertake anything."⁷⁴

The disaster crucially affected the College of Agriculture. Keeping a close tie with the provincial department of agriculture, the young college was heavily represented at the Swift Current Conference and on various committees of the Better Farming Commission. Threatened, university agriculturists redoubled their efforts in research and extension. The even closer relationship between the college and the commoners subsequently was impossible to understand fully apart from the dry belt crisis. In that relationship the groundwork for dryland agrarian practice after the Great Depression would soon be laid.

The calamity helped abbreviate the country life movement in the province. Rural Education Associations which expanded rapidly after 1915 to reform country schooling and rural life were crippled in the early twenties.⁷⁵ School reform involving agriculture and school fairs was also cut short. The glorification of the land inherent in the promotional pamphlets, the agrarian press, the literature, western boosterism and several improvement organizations, soon evaporated. Finally, after the disaster the bond between man and the land would never be quite the same. The Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement at the end of the decade captured what had happened in the minds of thousands of commoners experienced in drought, destitution and farm abandonment. "The most alarming factor in present complaints of the farmer," the Commission wrote, "is a tendency to doubt the security of his home. . . ."⁷⁶

FOOTNOTES

I thank the Alberta Advisory Committee for Educational Studies for help in conducting the research.

¹ General M. Butt Hewson, *The Canadian Pacific Railway*. Toronto: Patrick Boyle, 1880, p. 3; also quoting Captain Butler's *Wild North Land*, 1874.

² Quoted by Canadian Pacific Railway, *The Canadian Pacific Railway Company's Experimental Farms*. Winnipeg: Free Press, 1884, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴ "The Settler's Paradise," *Ft. Macleod Gazette*, February 29, 1888, p. 4.

⁵ Peterson, Editorial, "The Problem of the Sub-Humid Districts," *The Farm and Ranch Review*, June 20, 1923, p. 5, hereafter *Review*.

⁶ Canada, *Canada West: The Last Best West*, Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1910, p. 17. See also Canada, *Canada West: The Last Best West*. Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1908, p. 20.

⁷ Saskatchewan, *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Farming Conditions*. Regina: King's Printer, 1921, p. 34.

⁸ Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Motherwell Papers, Minutes of Conference, August 20, 1914, p. 23640-24.

⁹ Peterson, Editorial, "The Dryland Pioneer," *Review*, August 20, 1921, p. 7.

- ¹⁰ SAB, Martin Papers, A. F. Meek to W. M. Martin, January 9, 1922, pp. 7775-7776.
- ¹¹ Ibid., John M. Kramer to W. M. Martin, December 13, 1919, pp. 7252-7256. The child's ailment may have been cerebral palsy.
- ¹² SAB, Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture, Deputy Ministers Papers (DMA), XXIII, 1, C. Evans Sargent to Deputy Minister of Agriculture, July 14, 1921.
- ¹³ Ibid., W. R. Babington to Wm. Harvey, December 19, 1920.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., XXII, 2, reported in R. Fenerty to W. M. Martin, December 15, 1918.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., F. Hedley Auld to Fenerty, January 10, 1919, attached. See also eight other statements appended.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., Auld to R. F. Beckwith, September 20, 1919.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., XXIII, 1, Auld to Thos. Rennie, December 3, 1920.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., Memo, Better Farming Commission, 1920-1922.
- ¹⁹ Advertisement, "The Advantage of Mixed Farming," *Review*, November 5, 1921, p. 4.
- ²⁰ SAB, DMA, XXIII, 1, Auld to Rennie, December 3, 1920.
- ²¹ Ibid., Peter W. Harder to Auld, August 4, 1921.
- ²² Ibid., Lewis J. Harvey, secretary, Jt. Committee of the Grain Growers' Associations of South Cypress to C. M. Hamilton, July 19, 1920.
- ²³ Bracken, "The Management of Drifting Soils," *The Farmer's Advocate and Home Journal*, January 21, 1920, p. 79.
- ²⁴ C. McConkey, "Winter Rye on the Prairies," *Review*, August 20, 1921, p. 13.
- ²⁵ SAB, DMA, XXIII, 1, Auld to Henry Lewis, August 9, 1921.
- ²⁶ Ibid., W. H. Walker to Deputy Minister, February 8, 1921.
- ²⁷ Ibid., Thomas Lannan to Minister of Agriculture, June 29, 1921.
- ²⁸ Ibid., Murray, "The Why and How of Summer Fallowing," address at Western Canadian Irrigation Association Convention, Lethbridge, July 1920.
- ²⁹ Ibid., Auld to Fenerty, January 10, 1919, attached.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ Ibid., Bracken, "Soil Drifting in Western Canada," address.
- ³² Alberta Provincial Archives (APA), Premiers' Papers, 69.289 F43c, see Medicine Hat, Jenner, Youngstown and other hearings, Southern Alberta Survey, 1921, *passim*.
- ³³ Bracken, *Dry Farming in Western Canada*. Winnipeg: *Grain Growers' Guide*, 1921, p. 301.
- ³⁴ Abel, "Some 1922 Summerfallows," *Grain Growers' Guide*, August 23, 1922, p. 7, hereafter *Guide*.
- ³⁵ SAB, DMA, XXIII, 1, Lewis J. Harvey to C. M. Hamilton, July 19, 1920.
- ³⁶ Ibid., Lannan to Minister of Agriculture, June 29, 1921.
- ³⁷ Ibid., Memorandum of Agreement, January 12, 1921.
- ³⁸ Ibid., Auld to W. C. Gibbard, July 25, 1921.
- ³⁹ Ibid., Gibbard to Auld, July 7, 1921.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., J. J. Keeler to W. M. Martin, July 22, 1921.
- ⁴¹ "Is Still Medicine Hatfield," *Medicine Hat Weekly News*, August 11, 1921, p. 6.
- ⁴² SAB, Martin Papers, W. M. Martin to J. S. Carr, February 11, 1922, p. 7876.
- ⁴³ SAB, DMA, XXIII, 1, Melrose to Auld, October 20, 1920.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., H. R. Earl to Deputy Minister, Municipal Affairs, October 20, 1920.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., McCowan to J. J. Smith, October 12, 1920.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., H. R. Earl to Deputy Minister, Municipal Affairs, October 20, 1920.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid., Official Report of the Conference Between Members of the Government of Saskatchewan and Representatives of Organizations with Respect to the Existing Financial Situation in the Province of Saskatchewan, November 11, 1921. See Saskatchewan *Statutes*, 1919-20, Cap. 62; 1920, Cap. 7, 1921-22, Cap. 2; 1923, Cap. 64. The legislation was intended primarily as a threat to irresponsible creditors, and was by no means the moratorium many farmers sought.
- ⁴⁹ SAB, Martin Papers, Martin to Schellenberg, August 7, 1921, p. 7613.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., Martin to J. S. Carr, February 11, 1922, p. 7877.
- ⁵¹ SAB, DMA, XXIII, 1, Auld to David Slenhouse, April 18, 1922.
- ⁵² Somewhat tardy, The Creditors' Relief Act, 1923, abolished priority among creditors. Saskatchewan *Statutes* 1923, Cap. 21. While merchants who had carried farmers for years benefitted, the effect for farmers was minimal — basically a redistribution of debt.
- ⁵³ SAB, Martin Papers, Schellenberg to Martin, August 3, 1921, p. 7612.
- ⁵⁴ H.G.C., Alta., letter to editor, "Will Quit the Dry Belt," *The Nor'-West Farmer*, February 21, 1921, p. 166.
- ⁵⁵ APA, Premiers' Papers, 69.289, F43C, Medicine Hat Hearing, Southern Alberta Survey, November 29, 1921, p. 10.
- ⁵⁶ SAB, DMA, XXIII, 1, Harder to Department of Information, July 17, 1921.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., Lannan to Bureau of Agriculture, July 15, 1921.
- ⁵⁸ APA, 67.287, P. D11, E. J. Fream to J. E. Brownlee, June 21, 1923. See also Ibid., clipping "Saskatchewan Succeeds with Debt Adjustment Bureau," paper unidentified, 1923 c.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid., Deputy Ministers of Agriculture to W. W. Cory, c. 1922.
- ⁶⁰ Saskatchewan, *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture*, 1923, p. 13.
- ⁶¹ Canada, *Census of the Prairie Provinces*, 1926, pp. 440 ff, hereafter *Prairie Census*.
- ⁶² Ibid., pp. 318-326; Canada, *Census*, 1921, Population, pp. 714-730. Note also Dennis Buchko, "Demographic Changes in Southwestern Saskatchewan and Saskatchewan," 1978, in author's possession, which shows some serious southwest population losses in another twenty-one municipalities between 1921 and 1926.
- ⁶³ *Prairie Census*, 1926, pp. 438-448.

- ⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 422.
- ⁶⁵ See David C. Jones, "Schools and Social disintegration in the Alberta Dry Belt of the Twenties," *Prairie Forum*, 111, Autumn, 1978: 1-19; and "A Strange Heartland: The Alberta Dry Belt and the Schools in the Depression," in D. Francis and H. Ganzevoort, eds., *The Dirty Thirties in Prairie Canada*. Vancouver: Tantalus, 1980, pp. 89-109.
- ⁶⁶ *Canadian Annual Review*, 1921, pp. 516-517.
- ⁶⁷ See also Evelyn Eager, "The Conservatism of the Saskatchewan Electorate," p. 3, and Duff Spafford, "The 'Left Wing': 1921-1931," pp. 48-58 in Norman Ward and Duff Spafford, eds., *Politics in Saskatchewan*. Don Mills: Longmans, 1968. David E. Smith, *Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan, 1905-71*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975, Ch. 3.
- ⁶⁸ SAB, DMA, X5, "Swift Current Headquarters Great Farming Conference," *Swift Current Herald*, July 8, 1920, p. 1, and Official Report of Better Farming Conference.
- ⁶⁹ Saskatchewan, *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Farming Conditions*, p. 57.
- ⁷⁰ SAB, DMA, XXIII, 1, J. H. Veitch to Auld, February 8, 1920.
- ⁷¹ Ibid., Auld to J. J. Keeler, June 27, 1921.
- ⁷² Ibid., Hansen to Auld, June 28, 1921.
- ⁷³ Ibid., Hansen to Auld, June 14, 1921.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid., Hansen to Auld, September 14, 1921.
- ⁷⁵ For the country life movement in Saskatchewan and its relationship to schools see David C. Jones, "Better Schools Day in Saskatchewan and the Perils of Educational Reform," in *Schools, Reform and Society in Western Canada, The Journal of Educational Thought*, 14, August 1980: 125-137.
- ⁷⁶ Saskatchewan, *Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement*. Regina: King's Printer, 1930, p. 107.

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RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES

A MEMOIR

By F. A. D. Bourke

Frederick Arthur Deane Bourke, 1856-1917, enlisted in the North-West Mounted Police in 1877 and as a raw recruit was sent to Fort Walsh. Later he went to Battleford and completed his term of service with the police. Following his discharge he commenced ranching with a partner near Battleford. During the North-West Rebellion he served as a Sergeant in the Battleford Home Guards. Following the rebellion during which the partnership lost their cattle, Bourke worked for a time as a farm instructor on reserves in the district but eventually returned to ranching. He died at Battleford on 22 December 1917.

The following memoir was found in the Effie Laurie Storer Papers now in the office of the Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon. The memoir is not dated nor is there any information about its origin. As far as can be established it has not been previously published.

The Editor

Born in the island of Jersey, I came to Eastern Canada at the age of 1 year. In 1877 joined the N.W.M. Police in Toronto. At that time there were 90 recruits wanted and 250 applied.

We took the boat at Sarnia and after passing through Lakes Huron and Superior we landed at Duluth on the American side, took the train for Bismark, passing through Minnesota and Dakota, took boat again for 12 days up the Missouri River landing at Fort Benton.

From here we started across the prairie in waggons for Fort Walsh, at which place there were 2 troops of the N.W.M. Police . . .

We had 1 pair of thin blankets, a pair of overalls, and a jacket served out to us, and having been told before leaving Toronto to bring nothing with us as everything would be supplied, we were rather a ragged outfit by the time we did get our clothes — two months after reaching Fort Walsh. On my 21st birthday I commenced to work, my job was white-washing the buildings — and I thought it rather tough on the day I came of age.

The buildings were log with mud roofs — 12 men slept and eat [ate] in a room 16 ft. by 18 ft.

The food was very poor. For breakfast we got bread and tea — for dinner bread, tea, soup and beef. A daily ration of one pound and a half of bread was served out for each man. Some of them finished it for breakfast — most often for dinner.

One great thing for us we could buy Buffalo meat for 2¢ per lb.

At that time the Sioux and Nespiercé [Nez Percé] Indians across the line were giving a good deal of trouble. "Sitting Bull" the Sioux Chief surrounded and killed all General Custer's command, and then came across to the Canadian side.

The U.S. Government wishing to make a treaty with "Sitting Bull" he was persuaded to come to Fort Walsh where General Terry from the other side interviewed him. The Chief had with him 8 of his men and 1 squaw.

The American General made a long speech and after he was through — the Chief — as a mark of contempt — bade his squaw get up and answer him!

I belonged then to "E" Troop and in the Spring of 1878, we were ordered to move to Battleford, and after 6 days trip across the Prairie we arrived at that place crossing the South Saskatchewan on rafts. The Barracks in Battleford were better than those we had left behind. The roofs of the buildings were shingled and so the rain could not come through.

It was in the year 1877 that the Buffalo were so plentiful, and after this they disappeared. No one would believe how plentiful they were and how suddenly and quickly they disappeared. I have seen the prairie black with them and in places where a large band had passed over the grass was eaten down to the earth.

They were life to the Indians — they used the flesh for food, and of the hide made tents, clothes, ropes, and for firewood they burned the manure. But the buffalo died out and the Indians had to live — the Government made Treaty with some of the Bands — but some refused. They believed the Buffalo had disappeared for a time and would return, some thought they had gone down into the ground.

The treaty Indians went to live on Reserves and the Government tried to make farmers of them, and have been trying ever since and without success, although there are some exceptions.

I served out the balance of my time in Battleford — and took my discharge, never regretted having joined the Police Force, although I must say we had some rough times.

After leaving the Force — my old Comrade Robert Wyld and I started across the prairie for Fort McLeod to buy a band of cattle, not being able to purchase any there we went on to Calgary which was a very small place there, only two small trading stores, a Police Station, and a few log shacks.

We bought 80 head of cattle, and swimming them across the Bow River, started for the South Saskatchewan — here we found the river very high and swift. We had to make a raft of logs to cross our stuff and some of the young calves. It was two days before we got everything on the other side. It was very slow travelling after this as the cows were calving on the road and we had to carry the young calves. Ten or twelve miles a day was about all we could manage. We had no trail — no guide — nothing to go by, but the sun and the compass. For 14 days we travelled across the rolling prairie. We did not see a tree a foot high. After 18 days travelling thus we arrived in Battleford. . . . We settled on the north side of the Saskatchewan River just opposite the Town of Battleford. I went into cattle raising and farming. In the Rebellion of 1885 we lost nearly all our cattle — taken and killed by the Indians.

ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN SASKATCHEWAN PART II

By F. A. Peake

St. John's College, Qu'Appelle

The southern portion of the North-West Territories, known as Assiniboia, was separated from the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land in 1883 to form a new diocese of that name. The Honourable Adalbert John Robert Anson, rector of Woolwich and third son of the Earl of Lichfield, became the first bishop in 1884. Anson was not so much concerned with the raising of a native ministry as with a supply of workers to minister to the influx of settlers which was anticipated following the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Even before his consecration he set forth his ideas. There was need, he said for "a band of men, laymen as well as clergy, unmarried and willing to rough it."²⁴ Some of the clergy, he hoped, might have private means so undue strain would not be placed on whatever funds might be available. The work would be organized by establishing one or more centres. Workers in pairs — if possible a priest and a layman — would travel a circuit from the centre. Each circuit would take from a month to six weeks to be followed by a short rest period at the centre. By using this system services could be provided for a large area.

The first and indeed the only centre was set up at Qu'Appelle on the main line of the CPR in what promised to be a rich farming area. With funds subscribed in England the bishop purchased a section of land. He himself took up residence at Qu'Appelle and appointed the Reverend F. W. Pelly as principal of the projected college and W. S. Redpath as manager of the farm.²⁵

The idea seems to have been that those who wished to take up land subsequently might have the opportunity to learn something about farming while others might be prepared for ordination, meanwhile all would live communally as a 'Brotherhood of Labour.' As Anson wrote in his promotional brochure, the object of the farm would be

1. To give an opportunity of self-support to men who are anxious to receive Holy Orders, but who are unable to find means for their maintenance at a Theological College. . . .
2. Many persons in England find it difficult to know where to send young men for a certain time before they take up land for themselves in that country. It is believed that many would be very thankful to know of a Farm under Church Superintendence, where young men would be assured all Church privileges. Such training and influence would also, it is hoped, make the men who had been at the Farm real helpers of the Church in the Districts where they might afterwards settle. It would thus be an ever widening work.²⁶

By way of explanation he added that

the work on new farms like this is not continuous throughout the whole year . . . unless cattle are kept . . . For some years to come, therefore, the young men on this Church Farm would only be employed in seed time and harvest; the former usually commences about the 10th of April, and is completed by the 10th of May. Harvest being in ordinary seasons on the 1st of August, and all its



Saskatchewan Archives Board R-B7000

St. John's College, Qu'Appelle, 1885. On the left is the school, Bishop's House is center and the college on the right.

operations are over by the 10th of November. There would thus be one month's release from study in the spring, and about three in the autumn. Even if we include a certain amount of hay-making and the breaking up of new land, the young men would not be taken away from their books for a longer period in the year than they usually are in our Theological Colleges at home. . . .²⁷

The house was formally opened by the Bishop on October 28, 1885²⁸ and on November 21 the Brotherhood of Labour was inaugurated with the admission of three probationers.²⁹ To the diocesan synod of the following year the bishop happily reported that

chiefly by the generosity of two donors we were enabled to erect a College for agricultural and theological students near Qu'Appelle. This College, including the purchase of the land, cost about \$9,500. The total amount received in donations has been £2,800 or about \$13,500.³⁰

It was also the bishop's hope to add a school and for this purpose he had already received a further £1,500 from one of those who had already contributed to the college. The school was under construction and would, he hoped, be opened in September, 1886.

The school, unfortunately, when it did open, was not very successful. Although the building was completed the opening was delayed because of lack of staff and to the synod of 1890 the bishop reported that "We have only very few boys at present, but the start having been made I sincerely trust it may soon increase in numbers."³¹ He then spoke at length of the importance of church-sponsored education and pleaded for the encouragement of clergy, parents and friends. In spite of this there were only nine boys at the school in 1891.³² If numbers did not increase, said the bishop, there would be no alternative but to close it.

By 1888 the bishop had ordained ten deacons and six priests all of whom had been trained at the college but after 1890 the number declined. As early as 1889 the college was in serious financial difficulties. The funds originally raised had been

exhausted and there was no more money to keep it going. In spite of the fact that the bishop had also sunk a considerable amount of his own money into the project by 1892 the college was in debt to the extent of £1,200. At the same time the bishop intimated that he intended to resign. He had, he said, volunteered his services in the first place to meet an emergency which was now past. There were, he continued sixteen clergy working the diocese and twelve of them had been trained at St. John's College which, he argued, was ample justification for its existence. His resignation took effect on October 27, 1892 and he returned to England.

The diocesan synod, after considering the situation, took the view that the college was a luxury which it could not afford. They argued that the college and its debt were the property of Bishop Anson and the synod was in no position to accept the property and its liabilities even as a gift. As a result the property was sold and the life of St. John's College, Qu'Appelle, came to an end.³³

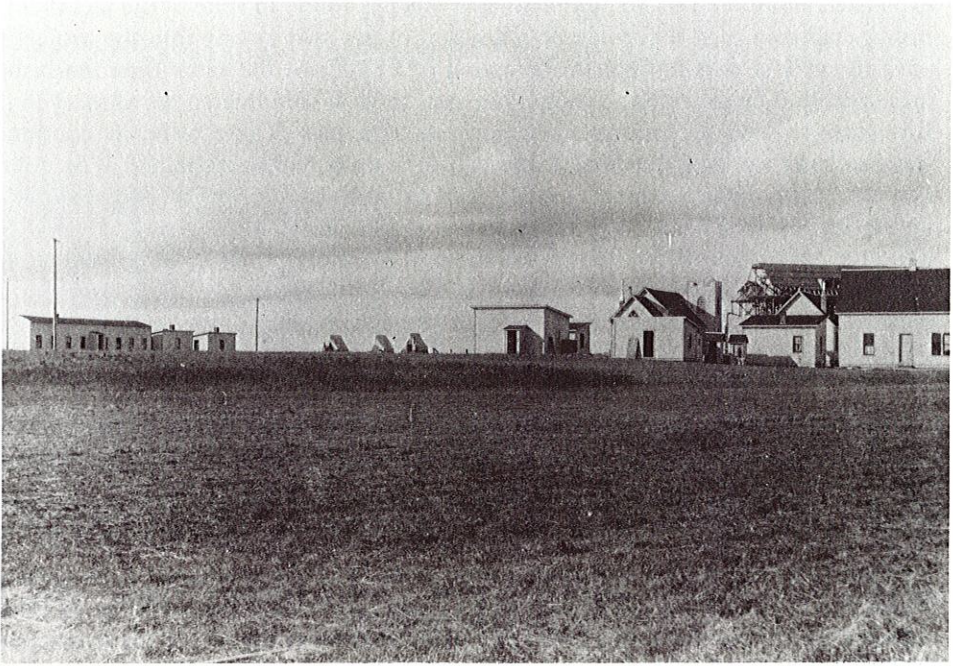
Emmanuel College, Saskatoon

The new provincial university was established at Saskatoon in 1907. The opening of the new university did pose questions concerning the future of Emmanuel College, Prince Albert. After consideration it seemed wise that the college should be moved to Saskatoon in order to take advantage of the facilities which would be available. The move took place in 1909 and the buildings in Prince Albert were sold to the Department of Justice to become the site of the new federal penitentiary.

Immediately after the end of term on September 15, work was begun on the removal of the college to its new location. As soon as they arrived in Saskatoon staff and students, under the direction of a carpenter, began on the erection of temporary buildings. These consisted of two small shacks for the accommodation of the dean of residence and the cook and a long low building resembling a railway freight car which was to serve as a dormitory. One other building twelve feet by sixteen, of the kind usually occupied by student catechists and known popularly as 'Lambeth Palace' was moved on to the property to serve as Lloyd's bedroom and office. Two church buildings served respectively as lecture room and refectory. This was the famous 'College of Shacks.'

Obviously such arrangements were temporary and were intended to serve only until permanent buildings could be erected. The first question concerned the location of the buildings to be erected. The college had been moved to Saskatoon to be near the provincial university but how near was a question to be settled. Was it sufficient to be in the same town or should the college be in close proximity to the university? The 'college of shacks' had been set up on property owned by the college in Nutana and that was one possibility. Others felt that the college should be built close to the great new stone church, Christ Church, planned on the other side of the river but never to be completed in its original dimensions. Still others argued that the only logical site was on the campus of the university itself. The third view prevailed and after lengthy negotiations with the university authorities the site upon which the college now stands was agreed upon.

The greater problem still remained, that of erecting and equipping a building and one, moreover, which would be in keeping with the stone buildings which were being erected by the university. The university architects were Brown and Vallance of Montreal who had also been responsible for the design of the medical building at McGill. They were asked to prepare drawings for a suitable building which would



Saskatchewan Archives Board — Emmanuel-St. Chad College

Emmanuel College in 1911. Shown in the picture are Rugby Chapel, Emmanuel College under construction and the original shacks.



Saskatchewan Archives Board — Emmanuel-St. Chad College

Emmanuel College staff and students. Principal Lloyd is second from the right in the front row.

not cost more than \$35,000. The members of the College board described the facilities which they thought to be necessary and the architects produced the rough draft of a plan which would cost about \$70,000. This was obviously beyond the resources available and the drawings were sent back with the request that they be scaled down to cost not more than \$45,000. About the same time, in the late summer of 1910, a building fund was opened. By the end of 1912 a little more than \$65,000 had been subscribed, largely in small amounts by individuals and parishes both in Canada and in the United Kingdom. The largest single contributions were from Rugby College, England, and from the citizens of Rugby for the provision, respectively, of a chapel and lecture hall. There were also substantial gifts from Adam Turner of Saskatoon and the Reverend A. D. A. Dewdney, both strong supporters of the college.

Tenders were called late in July, 1910 and all were in the neighborhood of \$100,000. Again they were beyond the means of the board which affirmed its wish to erect a suitable building for about half that price. Further consultations with the architects followed and the plans were again modified. During this time the Reverend J. D. Mullins visited Saskatoon. Mullins was the General Secretary of the Colonial and Continental Church Society (CCCS), a body which would have a powerful and continuing influence on the life of the college. He pointed out, somewhat gratuitously, that by electing to build on the campus the board had laid itself open to greater costs than would otherwise have been the case. He did suggest, however, some sources which might be tapped. The Pan-Anglican Conference committee had already contributed £5,000 and there had been a delayed bequest of \$1,500 from the estate of Bishop McLean.

It was then decided to proceed with part of the latest plan and tenders were called once more in February, 1911. This time they seemed to be within the capacity of the board. The successful bidder was the firm of Smith Brothers and Wilson with a tender of \$50,600. Work was begun and after several delays the new building was opened in June, 1912. The opening ceremonies took place immediately prior to the meetings of the diocesan synod and included the first annual convocation of the College. The proceedings were enthusiastically described by one who was present:

The temporary Convocation Hall was full to the doors, when the procession of graduates filed in preceded by the Bedels and followed by the College Board of Governors, those who could be present of the University staff, the College staff, the two archdeacons, and finally the Principal, the Bishop of Qu'Appelle, and the bishop of the diocese, "Chancellor of the University of Emmanuel College."

The twenty graduates, after them the four who had won the Licentiate of Theology degree, were presented and 'behooded,' and after them the first two honorary degrees of D.D. were conferred upon the bishop and the Venerable Archdeacon Mackay — the first, in recognition of the fact that it was under his episcopate that the College had been revived and the permanent building erected and the second in recognition of the completion of fifty years of active and devoted missionary work among the Indians of the province, and also of the fact that Archdeacon Mackay was the first professor of Emmanuel College when it was inaugurated under Bishop McLean . . .³⁴

When the College began its work in Saskatoon the teaching staff had consisted of Lloyd, the Principal, and John Tuckey with the part-time assistance of Broadbent who was now rector of St. James' church. In 1911, following an offer by the CCCS to recruit and support an additional lecturer, the Reverend William Aldworth Ferguson³⁵ arrived to teach New Testament studies. About the same time H. D.

Raymond,³⁶ incumbent of nearby St. Matthew's church, Sutherland, was appointed as a part-time lecturer in church history and practical theology.

Outwardly all went well for a couple of years but in May, 1913, Tuckey, Broadbent and Ferguson resigned simultaneously. At the same time Broadbent, who was also a member of the Board, presented notice of motion to the effect that great as Lloyd's talents and abilities undoubtedly were they did not lie in the direction of administering a theological college and that he should be asked to resign. At the following meeting of the Board, with no reason recorded, Adam Turner, a staunch supporter of the College, also resigned. His resignation was accepted with nothing more than the request that he should remain in office until the Board could find a successor.

Further meetings of the Board were held to investigate the allegations of the three instructors but such was the influence of Lloyd that it was quickly made to appear that it was the instructors, not the principal, who were on trial. A stenographer was brought in to record the statements of Tuckey and Broadbent, Ferguson had already left for St. John's College, Winnipeg, but no such steps were taken to record Lloyd's utterances. The minutes of that meeting report that "Revds. Tuckey and Broadbent gave further information and answered questions as follows"³⁷ but the half-page which follows is blank. Evidently Lloyd took good care that the allegations against him, probably arrogance and autocracy, should not be recorded. The Board decided that it felt "compelled to accept with regret the resignations of the Rev. Professors, Broadbent, Ferguson, and Tuckey . . . [and to express] its firm conviction that the present state of affairs has been largely caused by misunderstanding on both sides."³⁸ Perhaps. But once again, as in the Barr affair, Lloyd came out unscathed. Years later Broadbent commented:

You will know that Lloyd was not an easy man to work under, and for some reason he imagined that I was disloyal to him, because I was friendly with the students and entertained some of them in our rooms at the land office. So Tuckey was preferred to me and I was given charge of a large area near Saskatoon as superintendent or "driving clergyman" but continued to lecture at the College . . . In September of 1911 I was appointed the first Rector of St. James', Nutana but continued to have some touch with the College though I can't remember how much and I finally left Canada in November, 1914.³⁹

An interesting sidelight on the situation was cast by G. F. Trench who was indirectly responsible for Broadbent's interest in the west. He wrote:

When I joined the staff at St. Helens, Lincs . . . H. S. B[roadbent] was senior curate. I wanted to interest him in C.C.C.S. and at that time "the Greater Britain Messenger" really was thrilling . . . All I had hoped was that Broadbent might take normal interest when I threw 3 or 4 copies of G.B.M. at him. Imagine my surprise when shortly afterwards he announced that he and his wife were going out! . . .

As you know all the three men who went out to serve on the staff at Emmanuel in those early days were ultimately "casualties" because Lloyd could not bear any opinion but his own and though he *needed* British clergy (because he could not get Canadian) he did not really *want* them because they were men who had convictions, Tuckey (Irish), Broadbent and later Ferguson, who was outstandingly the best scholar.⁴⁰

The College has been opened in the spring of 1912 in time for the Michaelmas term. By November, there were forty-six men in training and all but three of them in residence. But the difficulties of the Board were not at an end. All the available resources had been used in the erection and furnishing of the college and there were

no reserves to fall back on for its operation and maintenance. It had been a courageous venture but could it be maintained and continued?

At the beginning of 1910 the CCCS offered to assume responsibility for the support of the Principal and one member of the teaching staff. In return the Society demanded the right to make these appointments and the undertaking that the College would be maintained in accordance with its Evangelical principles. The Board bravely turned down the offer on the grounds that it could not abdicate its responsibilities in that way. Courageous as the Board might have been it lacked the resources to continue the work, and before long, was compelled to accept assistance. In 1914 the College was leased to the CCCS for a period of ten years, a state of affairs which was destined to continue until the 1950's. The governing body of the College now became the Statutory Council with powers reduced to a shadow. A Board of Governors of the Society was set up in Saskatoon to supervise the operation and management of the College but the important decisions concerning appointments and management were made by the committee in London. For four decades the religious outlook of Western Canada was dominated by the CCCS.

There were also other changes consequent upon the removal of the College to Saskatoon. The original plan of an extended training period which included equal proportions of intellectual training in the College and practical experience in the field did not survive the pioneer era. The new university followed the usual North American pattern with two long terms extending from September to April with a short holiday at Christmas and an extended summer vacation. The College had little option but to follow suit since theological students were taking combined courses in arts and theology. With the move to Saskatoon the requirements were extended to include such arts subjects as English, History, Latin and classical Greek. Because of these changes practical field work was reduced, for all intents and purposes, to the summer months. Moreover, with the expansion of settlement and the increase in population there were more clergy and less need for catechists. Then, too, the nature of the training changed and the arts course became more prominent. Originally, the course in the College had been entirely theological in content and it was assumed that a graduate wishing to pursue further study would proceed to the title of Licentiate in Theology and then to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity although relatively few ever did. By the 1920's it was coming to be believed that the normal qualification for the parish priest should be the first degree in Arts and the theological course. In Emmanuel College, presumably as a legacy from the earlier days, arts and theology were taken concurrently. To some this new approach seemed to be laying an undue emphasis on intellectual learning at the expense of the practical and the devotional.

The two great wars of 1914-1918 and 1939-1945 both fall within the history of the College and both have had their impact upon its life. It has often been remarked that the first war was more obviously 'imperialist' and 'King and Country' than the second and this seems to be true of the reaction of the College. In September, 1914, Principal Lloyd the imperial war horse smelling of battle from afar, cabled the CCCS to ask, "Shall we close, reduce, or continue?" Not surprisingly the Society cabled back, "Continue."⁴¹ This was the period when London department stores were advertising 'Business as Usual' and the troops were going overseas with the expectation that the war would be over by Christmas. But continuance was not altogether in the hands of the College authorities. At the outbreak of war there were fifty-four students registered including six who had just arrived from England.⁴²

Within months nine men had enlisted for overseas service.⁴³ In 1914 also Lloyd went to England leaving Dr. J. N. Carpenter⁴⁴ in charge of the College. By Christmas, 1915, the number in residence had declined to twenty-five and consideration was being given to the possibility of loaning the building to the Military Hospitals Commission. This was done⁴⁵ and after being thoroughly overhauled by the Commission "the Stone Building . . . was opened as a residence for soldiers taking courses at the University . . . although the building is used for residence only the men having their meals at the University." Meanwhile the handful of Emmanuel students who remained were living in Qu'Appelle Hall, the men's residence of the university. "The arrangements," said Carpenter.

Have worked very smoothly, and, while entailing a certain amount of inconvenience, are yet attended with considerable advantages in the more intimate association of the students with members of the University of Saskatchewan. The regular routine of lecture work has been maintained; and our small quarters have proved well adapted to our needs.⁴⁶

By the spring of 1918 the enrollment had fallen to eleven students and it was "reluctantly resolved by the Board to grant Prof. Collier leave of absence without salary from the end of the current session, Aug. 31, 1918."⁴⁷ Within a few months Carpenter had resigned and returned to India. The College was now in serious straits and the situation was exacerbated by the report that the Military Hospitals Commission did not intend to renew the lease of the main building. Archdeacon A. D. A. Dewdney was appointed Acting Principal.

In the autumn of 1918 the deadly Spanish influenza made its appearance in Saskatoon and the University authorities decided to quarantine the sufferers. Emmanuel College was converted into a hospital under the direction of Dr. G. R. Peterson. The wives of some of the citizens who were former nurses returned to help in the emergency and a number of co-ed students volunteered their services. Mrs. Macdonald, wife of the Professor of French, undertook to act as head nurse. In the words of A. S. Morton,

conditions could not have been much worse in the improvised hospital. Only the advanced, hopeless cases were sent to Emmanuel. Sanitary conditions were most unsuitable for a hospital, and yet cleanliness was essential. Three male students volunteered to do the scrubbing; within three days all fell ill and one died. Yet the girls continued their daily duty, in eight hour periods, throughout the course of the scourge.⁴⁸

By September, 1919, the war was over and the College was ready to resume full scale operations. The first thing was to rebuild the teaching staff and for this the first essential was a new principal. Here the differences between the CCCS and its Board of Governors in Saskatoon became apparent. The Society was interested only in perpetuating its own theological view: the Board was concerned to find a candidate who understood Western Canada and who would be capable of responding to its realities. Perhaps, as one observer has remarked, the real problem was that

the C.C.C.S. Committee have never really ever had much touch with the rougher, tougher side of life. Most of them are clergy who have moved gently from one evangelical Parish to another and never said anything indiscreet.⁴⁹

One candidate, put forward by the Society, H. W. K. Mowll, a member of the staff, Wycliffe, College, Toronto, was rejected by the Board on the grounds that he knew nothing of Western Canada. The fact that Mowll later became Bishop in Western China adds interest to the incident. Agreement was reached in the nomination and appointment of the Reverend George Frederick Trench. Trench, of Selwyn College,

Cambridge, had been a "driving clergyman" in the Lloydminster area before the war and was therefore familiar with the demands of a prairie ministry and the qualifications needed to meet them.

The post-war years were not easy and the task of rebuilding the life of the College was an arduous one. Moreover, the lease of the College by the CCCS was due to come to an end in 1920 and there was uncertainty about its renewal. It is at least possible that Trench felt that the College should strike out on its own. He was not overwhelmingly impressed with the ability of the Society to manage a college in Western Canada but for those who would have to meet the expenses if the support of the Society was withdrawn the prospect was too much to contemplate. Hence, it seemed likely that the lease would be renewed. Trench, therefore, feeling that his usefulness would be limited in Saskatoon joined the secretarial staff of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) where he remained until 1931 when he became General Superintendent of the Missions to Seamen. That one whose earliest interests and service had been on the prairies should become the chief officer of a maritime organization may seem strange in spite of the fact that men of the prairies are often said to make the best sailors. But there was another reason and here may be said a word about the 'Liverpool connexion.'

In a sense, Trench contributed to the staffing of Emmanuel College in its early days. He had served in Liverpool and his interest in Western Canada had been aroused by reading Lloyd's articles in the *Greater Britain Messenger*. In turn he interested Broadbent. Broadbent probably transmitted his enthusiasm to the slightly younger Ferguson whom he had probably met in their common association with Bishop's Hostel, Liverpool.

When Trench returned to England in the summer of 1921 the Board of Governors was somewhat at a loss. The formal renewal of the lease had not been completed. Should the nomination of the Society, whatever it might be, be accepted or should the Board proceed with a nomination of its own? By 1922 the matter had been resolved and the Society had presented the names of two candidates, both of whom were on the staff of Wycliffe College, Toronto. One was E. A. McIntyre who was teaching systematic theology and the other, W. T. T. Hallam, Professor of New Testament. The Board expressed willingness to accept either but was concerned by reports of McIntyre's ill health: in fact he died after a long illness in 1926. In the circumstances Hallam was appointed.

Before going further we need to return to the fortunes of George Exton Lloyd. We left him at the point in 1913 where he has successfully quelled a 'palace revolution' and was triumphant and unchallenged in his position. In 1914 he went to England leaving Dr. Carpenter in charge of the College. While in England he fell foul of the CCCS, apparently because of the Society's refusal to support his plan for extending the programme of the College to include the training of teachers for prairie schools.⁵⁰ Lloyd's response was typical. He would have nothing to do with those who questioned his judgement or who failed to support his plans. He would, he said, have nothing more to do with the Society. "In that case," replied the officers of the Society, "you are no longer principal of Emmanuel College." Lloyd blustered but, for once, he was defeated. The Society nominated J. N. Carpenter to the vacant post. Lloyd returned to Saskatoon still convinced of his position, still convinced that as in the past he could intimidate the members of the board and compel them to submit. The matter was laid to rest at a 'somewhat heated' meeting, in August, 1916,

at which Lloyd was present, when the Board of Governors accepted the Society's nomination.⁵¹

Lloyd, for once, had lost the battle and returned to England to become director of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, a society devoted to the recruitment of teachers for Western Canada. Moreover, he was not without his supporters and in 1922 he was elected Bishop of Saskatchewan which also made him Chancellor of the University of Emmanuel College! It would be interesting to speculate what was in the minds of the Board of Governors when they passed the following resolution welcoming him to the diocese and College:

That this Board desires to express its appreciation of the election and presence of our new Bishop Dr. Lloyd. We thoroughly realise the importance of having a bishop so thoroughly in touch and with so thorough an understanding of all the matters concerning our Diocese and Emmanuel College.⁵²

Evidently, however, Lloyd was still smarting under the treatment he had received from the Society and was determined that its connexion with the College should be terminated as quickly as possible. He made this quite clear in his first charge to the synod of the diocese of Saskatchewan when he said:

Though Emmanuel College is governed by its own council, under its own charter, and this synod, as such, has no authority over it except through the Bishop, the College is so vital to the well being of this Diocese that anything affecting it is of keen interest to us as a church. . . .

The Statutory council of the College signed a lease to the C.C.C.S. which gives them internal control for the ten years ending June 1, 1934. By that time we ought to be able to maintain the College ourselves.⁵³

At a meeting of the Board of Governors of the College held in November, 1925, it was stated that the bishop had "expressed his unwillingness to grant licenses to the professors of Emmanuel College, and to co-operate under the present lease if he were assured that the lease would not be renewed without the consent of the Synod authorities."⁵⁴ It seems reasonable to suppose that Lloyd would never be content to be associated with any institution which he did not control. His strategy, therefore, was to do battle for recovery of the control of Emmanuel College and, at the same time, to establish a rival, or as he would have called it, a complementary institution over which he could exercise absolute and unquestioned control. Speaking to the diocesan synod in 1927, he said:

This University [of Emmanuel College] belongs to the Diocese of Saskatchewan and its Bishop, and it can never be allowed to belong to any other body. Its Charter rights cover these two provinces and a part, but none of the dioceses severed from the mother diocese of Saskatchewan retain any rights in, or government over, this University or its colleges.⁵⁵

In passing, it may be pointed out that when the diocese of Saskatoon was organized in 1932 this was the line of reasoning which led to the insistence that Saskatoon was the "continuing" diocese and, therefore, the "owner" of Emmanuel College.

At the same time Lloyd was complaining that Emmanuel College, largely through the evil designs of the CCCS, was not meeting the needs of the diocese of Saskatchewan, as yet undivided. For the summer of 1927, he said:

. . . we have received 2 deacons and 15 students; of these *one* deacon and *three* students are maintained and trained by the *diocese* apart from the Society. Therefore the C.C.C.S. is providing only *one* deacon and *twelve* students in fulfillment of their obligation. This is wholly *inadequate*.⁵⁶

both in terms of their obligation and of the needs of the diocese.



Saskatchewan Archives Board — Emmanuel-St. Chad College

Principal W. T. T. Hallam and Mrs. Hallam.

In 1924, repeating his experiment of twenty years earlier, Lloyd opened a school for catechists in Prince Albert claiming that there were many districts which would not be able to afford a clergyman in the foreseeable future. By 1928 there were eighteen men in residence working on a seven year programme leading to ordination. The course was divided between instruction in Prince Albert and pastoral and practical work in parishes and missions. Bishop's College, Prince Albert, as it was known, was housed in the former episcopal residence but ceased to function when Lloyd retired in 1931.

In his address to the synod of 1927 Lloyd referred to the criticisms which had been levelled against Bishop's College and particularly to the charge that it would fill the ranks of the clergy with uneducated men. These, he said, were the criticisms he had heard twenty years ago but as he had been right then so he would be proved to be right again now.⁵⁷ But he failed to take note of significant differences. First, Western Canada was developed and frontier conditions were passing. Even on the frontier there were doctors, lawyers and others with professional training. The clergy

serving these communities need to possess at least equivalent training. Then, too, when Emmanuel College had been revived in 1907 it had been staffed by men with qualifications which would have enabled them to teach in any university: Lloyd himself had been the least qualified. Bishop's College, Prince Albert, in the 1920's had few if any such teachers.

The nomination and appointment of William Thomas Thompson Hallam in 1922 may be seen as marking a change in the approach to the training of candidates for the ministry. It is probably fair to say that until the second decade of the twentieth century it had been felt that theological training should be in the hands of practical men of wide pastoral experience. Such men should also, of course, be adequately grounded in the various aspects of theological study. Hallam was among the first of new breed of theological teachers. These were men, and later women, with, perhaps, limited parochial experience but with graduate training and teaching experience in a particular field.

It is probably true to add that the tension between these two approaches has continued and continues not only in the College with which we are concerned but in the Canadian Church at large and perhaps beyond. When Hallam resigned in 1931 to become Bishop of Saskatchewan he was followed by R. H. A. Haslam, a man of devoted and distinguished service not as an academic but as a missionary in India. His tenure from 1931 to 1937 does not seem to have been a happy one. Long service abroad had not filled him for university and college life. The situation was saved by the teaching staff of the day. Walter Foster Barfoot, later to become Warden of St. John's College, Winnipeg and Primate of All Canada, had begun his academic career under Hallam in 1924. Edward Henry Maddocks, a graduate of the College, had been brought in to assist Hallam in the teaching of New Testament. Robert Malcolm Millman, an honours graduate of the University of Toronto and long-time missionary in Japan, arrived in 1931. While Barfoot remained the situation was calm but with his removal to St. John's, Winnipeg, in 1934, tensions seem to have risen which prompted Haslam's resignation in 1937.

The year 1937 was marked by the return to the school of William Aldworth Ferguson, this time as Principal. He was probably not an academic in the sense that that word is now understood, having spent most of his ministry in parochial life but he was an irenic, gentle, learned man who was able to infuse into his students both a pastoral sense and a love of learning. War broke out again in 1939 with its inevitable effect upon the life of Emmanuel and this, together with an invitation to become Principal of the Montreal Diocesan Theological College, prompted him to leave Saskatoon in 1941.

When war broke out in 1939 two students volunteered almost immediately for military service. One was later killed in action and the other was taken prisoner at Dieppe. Otherwise, with the exception of compulsory military service, the life of the College continued much as usual. In discussing the effects of the war in January, 1940 the members of the Board

seemed to be almost unanimous in recommending that students be discouraged from speeding up their work with a view to being ordained if this involved leaving College before they had completed their course.⁵⁸

So far as enlistment was concerned the College authorities exerted no influence one way or the other. Most of the students seem to have felt that they could serve best by completing their studies and proceeding to ordination. Some entered the chaplaincy services afterwards.

Inevitably, however, since the College depended so heavily upon recruits from the British Isles the enrollment was bound to fall drastically. By the end of the war there were only eight students. This time the college building was not closed but vacant rooms were made available to 'guest students' of other faculties — an arrangement which was considered to be generally advantageous to all concerned. As Carpenter had seen earlier it made necessary the inter-relationship between theological and other students which is sometimes forgotten or avoided.

With the end of the war in 1945 numbers began to rise again. At first, as in earlier years, there were proportionately large numbers of students from the British Isles but the numbers have declined until latterly the student body has been almost entirely Canadian. This dependence upon students from overseas has raised a number of questions. On the one hand it has been argued that the presence of so many immigrant clergy has given the Church an alien flavour. Who, on the prairies, has not heard comments about "the English Church"? To this extent John Porter may have had a modicum of truth on his side when he wrote:

The Anglican Church in Canada sees itself not as a specifically Canadian church but rather as belonging to a wider international community. . . . It is unlikely that a group such as the Anglican hierarchy, which recruits so heavily from those born and brought up outside the country, can articulate a native ideology for Canada.⁵⁹

Emmanuel College has produced at least six bishops, numbers of other dignitaries and a host of parochial and missionary clergy. Porter may be right but on the other hand some members of the Board of Governors, when they saw that there were no more recruits from overseas, thought that

it would be a serious loss to the College and to the Church in Canada if the flow of candidates from the British Isles were to stop. These young men seem to have a greater sense of mission, and a deeper grounding in the rich tradition of the Church than western Canadian candidates. On the other hand, young men from the prairies can contribute greatly by their knowledge of local conditions so that the health of the College is best ensured by having candidates both from Canada and the British Isles.⁶⁰

That was the view of some members of the Board in 1949; whether they would hold the same views thirty years later would be an interesting question.

The principal of Emmanuel College at the end of the second world war was Stanley Charles Steer,⁶¹ a graduate of the College who had had a distinguished academic and teaching career. He became Bishop of Saskatoon in 1950. At that time, the CCCS, surprisingly and without any consultation, announced to the local Board of Governors the name of a successor. The members of the Board were somewhat taken aback by this unilateral and arbitrary action but, nonetheless, agreed to give serious consideration to the suggestion made. "A long and earnest discussion followed"⁶² but the Board determined to inform the Society that the qualifications of the candidate, although impressive, were "not of first importance for the Principal of a theological college." The Society, surprised that its judgement should be questioned, immediately despatched three representatives to Saskatoon to investigate the situation. One of them was Dr. Donald Coggan, who in 1979 retired as Archbishop of Canterbury. Negotiations and correspondence followed. The candidate previously named withdrew his acceptance. On March 27, 1951, the Board of Governors accepted the Society's nomination of the Reverend Ralph Stanley Dean,⁶³ a graduate of the University of London and vice-principal of the

London College of Divinity, who assumed office at the beginning of the academic year, 1951-1952.

These circumstances probably strengthened the feeling of members of the Board of Governors that the time had come to bring to an end its dependence upon the CCCS. The lease originally negotiated in 1914 had been renewed several times but in 1952 it was signed with the understanding on both sides that during the decade to follow the College would seek to assume increasing responsibility for its own affairs. Then, in 1954, the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the College, the Statutory Council resolved:

1. That the Council reaffirm its faith in the divine purpose which has led to the establishment of the College and prospered its work and record its determination to go forward in this faith which animated the founders of the College.
2. That the Council request its Registrar
 - (a) To convey to The Colonial and Continental Church Society an expression of its profound gratitude for its generous assistance to the College during the past forty years.
 - (b) To inform the Society that at the commencement of the next academic year, i.e. September, 1954, the Council will accept full responsibility for the College, with the exception that it requests the Society to continue to secure ordinands for the missionary areas of Western Canada and to contribute towards the maintenance of the students which it has sent, or will send to the College.⁶⁴

The resolution concluded with a request to the Society to transfer to the College all funds held in its name and a general appeal for support in the new venture. The Society seems to have been caught by surprise by the move and to have felt something less than unqualified delight with this declaration of independence. The general secretary, the Reverend Canon G. H. Williams, was quickly dispatched to the scene to discover what was happening. On arrival he put the best face possible on the situation by saying that, "The offer of the Council to assume full support of the College came to the Society earlier than it has been expected. It was a surprise — a pleasant surprise — and he wondered how it could have been done." To emphasize the significance of the Society's contribution and the magnitude of the task which the Council had now undertaken he continued, "Since 1907 the Society had given to Emmanuel College not less than £200,000 — at least £150,000 of which was at the pre-war rate of exchange — not less than \$1,000,000. He felt it was money well spent and thanked God for the opportunity." The thanks of the Council were further expressed and the President of the Council said that "he rejoiced that the new position would enable the Society to extend its efforts to other parts of God's Kingdom."⁶⁵

In 1956, Principal Dean was elected Bishop of Cariboo. As he was consecrated on January 6, 1957, the College was left without a Principal and professor of theology for the rest of the academic year. Evidently the Board of Governors was not yet completely sure of itself and the appointment of a successor was probably made in consultation with the CCCS. The appointment went to Frederick Hugh Wright Crabb,⁶⁶ a graduate of the London College of Divinity. Ordained deacon in 1939 and priest in the following year he had been a CMS missionary in Egypt for nine years before becoming vice-principal of his *alma mater* in 1951. It is probably fair to say that his interests were pastoral rather than academic. On more than one occasion he spoke of the responsibility of the College to shun academic illusions and to turn out well-trained 'prairie parsons.'

The two decades following the end of the war were years of optimism and change. Enrollments were rising. There had been twenty-eight theological students in residence in 1950 and the College Council noted happily that

this number rose to 39 in the Fall of 1953, 41 in 1954, and 51 in 1955. In this way a great strain has been placed upon available accommodation and the College building itself is no longer adequate. the completion of the building — envisaged as long ago as 1929 — is now an urgent necessity. The task of raising the necessary money is one which should be shared probably by the whole Canadian Church, and certainly by this Ecclesiastical Province.⁶⁷

Blinded, perhaps by the optimism and euphoria of the times the College authorities allowed themselves to be led to believe that the original building was now structurally unsound and beyond hope of repair. With this in mind the first unit of a new college, a singularly unattractive structure, was built immediately in front of the existing building. The intention was then to demolish the latter and to add a T-shaped extension to the new work. The new building relieved the immediate pressure for more accommodation but the anticipated increase in enrollments did not continue and it became something of a white elephant. Moreover, further examinations showed that the original building was indeed structurally sound although in need of repairs. During the course of construction two wooden frame buildings remaining from the early days of the College were demolished. A happier addition was the building of a new chapel. Rugby Chapel which had been built by subscriptions from Rugby School soon after the College was established in Saskatoon, was also a small frame building. It was no longer adequate nor appropriate but for sentimental reasons has been retained and designated as an historic monument. The new chapel, dedicated to St. Chad, was built on the college property and opened in September, 1965. It was made possible by a gift of \$200,000 from the Sellers Foundation, Winnipeg. Perhaps the most striking features are the stained glass windows, the design of the large east window is based on the text, "In him was life; and the life was the light of men," and symbolizes thankfulness for the diverse prairie activities and occupations through which it is manifested. The transept windows commemorate Emmanuel and St. Chad. The memorial window in the former Rugby Chapel was not in keeping with the architecture of the new building and was not included. It remains in its original position. The small pipe organ, installed in Rugby Chapel in the 1930's, was moved to the gallery of the new building. The spacious undercroft of the new chapel provides accommodation for the College library and reading room.

Not only had the College assumed responsibility for its own future but questions were being asked about the state of theological education on the prairies. The Metropolitan of Rupert's Land, Walter F. Barfoot, himself a former professor in Emmanuel College and Warden of St. John's, believed that there were too many colleges in the ecclesiastical province and that some consolidation was necessary. By the end of the decade a provincial commission on theological education had been set up and would later recommend that theological education in the ecclesiastical province be concentrated in Saskatoon. In May, 1961, following some exploratory conversations, a joint committee was set up to study the possibilities of an amalgamation between Emmanuel College, Saskatoon and St. Chad's College, Regina. It is not necessary to trace the negotiations in detail but in Holy Week, 1964, it was announced that the two colleges were to be merged to form the single College of Emmanuel and St. Chad within the University of Emmanuel College.

St. Chad's College, Regina

William John Burn, who succeeded Anson as the second bishop of Qu'Appelle was either not interested in the maintenance of a diocesan college or felt that it was a luxury which the young diocese could not afford. His tenure was short, however, and in the summer of 1896, after only three years in office, he died at the episcopal residence at Indian Head. The third bishop, John Grisdale, was a product of the Church Missionary Training College, Islington and had served as a missionary in India before undertaking work in Rupert's Land in 1873. While there he became Professor of St. John's College, Winnipeg. With this background it is not surprising that he should have been anxious to have the facilities at hand for the training of missionary clergy while at the same time wishing to avoid any possible threat to the stability of St. John's College, Winnipeg. Grisdale did not act at once but in January, 1907, he invited the Reverend C. R. Little

to undertake the establishment in Regina of a missionary hostel as a training school for candidates for Holy Orders, and a centre from which missionary work could be carried on among the settlers in the newly opened districts.⁶⁸

Thus, the hostel, as Emmanuel College was later to do, would provide training and practical experience for ordinands and needed services for the settlers. Whether by foresight or good fortune, Grisdale avoided two of the pitfalls into which Anson had fallen. From the outset the new hostel was assured of financial support from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and was adopted and acknowledged as a diocesan institution. In the words of the constitution of the hostel, adopted by the diocesan synod in 1909,

Whereas we, John, by Divine permission, Bishop of Qu'Appelle, having especially in view the Glory of God, and the edification of His Church in the training of fit persons for the sacred ministry of the Holy Word and Sacraments did establish an institution for this purpose in the city of Regina, under the name of St. Chad's Hostel, and *whereas this institution has since been adopted by the Synod of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle as a diocesan institution*, we do now convey the said Hostel to be under the care and control of a governing body to be known as the Council of St. Chad's Hostel [italics added].⁶⁹

Charles Rogers Littler had been one of the bishop's own students and was a veteran with twenty years' experience of church life on the prairies and therefore sympathetic to the aims and methods of the new hostel.

Property was obtained on Dewdney Street, Regina and the new hostel began its work. By 1911 the bishop could report that:

. . . St. Chad's Hostel is now free from debt. It has a modest Endowment, and there is, I am informed a likelihood of lengthened support . . . Under its excellent Warden, . . . it is in many ways . . . doing valuable work for the Diocese at large. The Prairie Brotherhood has covered a large area, which is still only partially settled, and into which the railway is only just entering, with such ministrations and services as were possible under the circumstances.⁷⁰

At first there were but few students and instruction was given by the Warden assisted by the local clergy.

The initial meeting of the Council of St. Chad's Hostel was held on August 11, 1909. The composition of the council was heavily ecclesiastical, one might almost say hierarchical, and included the bishop, the dean, the archdeacon, three priests and three laymen. From the outset the hostel was not without its problems. As early as April, 1911, the warden "pointed out the necessity for fixing an educational standard to which students seeking admission must show that they have attained."⁷¹ It was a problem which would continue but which seemed insoluble.

In 1912 there were conversations with Dr. W. C. Murray, president of the new provincial university. Both sides were anxious to understand the role of St. Chad's in the educational field and the authorities of the hostel were anxious for recognition as an institution of higher learning. To this end the name was changed to St. Chad's College and application was made for affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan.

In the years immediately before the first world war numbers (but not necessarily standards) increased, hopes were high and property was acquired from the provincial legislature for the erection of permanent buildings. The new college was opened in 1914 together with a smaller building nearby which was to accommodate the Qu'Appelle Diocesan Girls' School. Almost at once the disastrous effects of the war were felt. Enrollments fell and part of the new college was leased to the Military Hospitals Commission for the duration of the war.

After the war the prospects seemed no better but the Girls' School was growing rapidly and in need of larger quarters. It was therefore agreed that the two institutions should effect a temporary exchange of premises. In the inter-war years enrollment ranged between six and sixteen students.

Always there were financial problems — costs connected with buildings and maintaining an adequate library, payment of the teaching staff and the support of students — and rarely was there enough money to cover these expenses. For part of its history St. Chad's was housed in the still smaller St. Cuthbert's house which had been built at the time of the railway mission in the days of the Archbishops' Western Canada Fund. Some of the funds for the support of St. Chad's College came from the diocesan synod; some from the Qu'Appelle Association in England while over the years a considerable amount of money for student bursaries was raised by the Reverend Canon Walter Hicks, M.A., of Lincoln, the Bishop's Commissary in England. In appreciation the College gave him an honorary degree in 1923.

Mention of degrees prompts some reference to the diplomas awarded by the College. As early as 1913 provision had been made for the award of Testamur in Divinity, the requirements for which included the usual theological subjects. Later, provision was made for the award of a Licence in Theology (L.Th.) which included two years in Arts in addition to the theological course. The first public convocation was held on October 23, 1923.

Early in 1923, it was reported that the College had fourteen students only twelve of whom could be accommodated in the college building. This prompted an enthusiastic motion by the Council,

that in view of the increasing number of students seeking admission to St. Chad's College in preparation for Holy Orders and possible further development of the work required of St. Chad's as a Diocesan or Missionary College, the Council feels that the time has come for providing increased accommodation for students and for additional lecture rooms.⁷²

Nothing was said, it will be noted, about the possibility or cost of improving the quality of teaching whether by the appointment of qualified staff or the extension of library facilities. None the less, the executive committee of the synod approved the suggestion and the necessary financial appeal. In 1931 an extension was added at a cost of about \$13,000.

Once again, in 1939, war took its toll and by 1944 there were only two students remaining. The future of the College was bleak indeed but in spite of this the synod of 1944 was asked to consider the resolution,

that St. Chad's should continue as a diocesan theological college, in affiliation with the University of Saskatchewan, without any thought of amalgamation with other similar institutions.⁷³

Regardless of such brave aspirations the future looked dark. Numbers were not increasing. The University of Saskatchewan was asking questions about the quality of the instruction given and the validity of the diplomas awarded by the College. Then, in the spring of 1948, the Reverend R. L. W. Jones, who had undertaken the post of Warden for the year 1947-1948, issued a devastating report in which he

expressed the opinion that the present college course is totally inadequate for training men for the ministry and . . . that in comparison with other colleges of similar standing St. Chad's is woefully ill-equipped with staff.

The testamur course is far below that of other colleges and the requirements of General Synod for L.Th. simply cannot be complied with at all.⁷⁴

Not only were questions being asked in academic circles but concern was being expressed by churchmen about the number of theological colleges on the prairies. Were they all necessary? Could the church sustain them? Would it not be better to concentrate theological training in one centre? As we have already seen the result of these deliberations was the conclusion that St. John's College, Winnipeg, should remain as the Church's Arts college but that all theological training should be carried on at Saskatoon.

Before going further it may be of interest to consider the differing aims and philosophies of the two Saskatchewan colleges. In brief, Emmanuel College was university-oriented while St. Chad's College was cathedral-oriented. This was far more than an accident of geography and would probably still have been the case even had the provincial university been established in Regina.

John McLean, himself a graduate of the University of Aberdeen, had seen from the outset that the success of Emmanuel College would depend upon its affiliation with a university. Such affiliation, he believed, would emphasize and even guarantee adequate academic standard. It is true that for a short time between 1906 and 1909, because of a serious lack of clergy in the field, there was a time when practical experience was seen to be almost as important as sound learning. This may well have been Lloyd's view which led to the establishment of the short-lived Bishop's College, Prince Albert, in the 1920's. But in Emmanuel College generally, and particularly after its affiliation with the new provincial university good learning was seen to be of equal importance with godliness.

St. Chad's College, on the other hand, saw the cathedral as its focal point. Anson had had close connexions with Lichfield and the ideal of St. Chad's, like St. John's College, Qu'Appelle before it, had been to turn gentlemen into priests. The buildings on College Avenue, Regina, were intended to be dominated by a great cathedral with St. Chad's College resting snugly and securely in its shadow. This created problems from the beginning since many of those who entered St. Chad's as students were lacking in the educational and social background which the founders had anticipated. Although it was by no means the intention of the founders and leaders, godliness — or rather the niceties of churchmanship and the correct cut of a chasuble — came to be seen by some of its graduates as more important than good learning.

The College of Emmanuel and St. Chad

The period following the second world war was one of uncertainty, contradiction and confusion. The hope of a return to normalcy which had sustained earlier

generations had disappeared. Instead, there was the promise and the threat of advanced technology and the space age. It was also the age of affluence with a consequent stress on material rewards and earthy enjoyments. Traditional values were scorned and the 'hippies' and flower children sought to opt out of society by dropping out of school and seeking refuge in long hair, dirty jeans, travel, drugs and communes. The 1960's saw the 'death of God' phenomenon when a handful of theologians and sociologists, in an attempt to re-state the Christian faith in contemporary terms, seemed to be in danger of eliminating it. All these things had grave implications for the Church at large. Membership declined. Numbers of clergy and ministers fell victim to doubt and disillusionment and sought for other more rewarding fields of labour.

By the early 1970's these aberrations had, to a large extent, run their course but were followed by economic recession. The future was still uncertain but the Christian faith was recovering some of its former assurance and credibility. Yet it would not do to assume that everything would fall back neatly into place.

In 1967 Principal Crabb resigned partly owing to the tensions of the times. In the uncertain circumstances, James Dunn Fleming Beattie,⁷⁵ a member of the staff of Emmanuel College since 1945, was asked to assume the principalship. In 1971 he intimated his wish to retire but difficulties in finding a successor kept him in office until the summer of 1973.

By the early 1970's the College of Emmanuel and St. Chad had been designated as the provincial theological college of Rupert's Land. There was no need and opportunity for bold planning and creative and imaginative responses to the questions of a new, different and waiting society. For two years the Council of the College agonized over the situation as it sought to determine what manner of man was needed and who that man should be. Eventually, the choice fell on Colin Leslie John Proudman,⁷⁶ a graduate of the University of London, with experience both as a parish priest and theological teacher. Proudman had first come to Canada to teach in Queen's College, St. John's, Newfoundland. From St. John's he had moved to Toronto to share in the promotion of the Canadian Church's imaginative new parish education programme. Within a few months of taking office he had produced the outline of a new design for theological training. It was endorsed by the College council and presented to the provincial synod in the following terms

A Five Year Development Plan

The primary purpose of this College is training men and women for the ministry and priesthood of the Anglican Church of Canada.

1. What competencies will be required of men and women who minister in Canada in the 80's and 90's:
 Skills, knowledge, attitudes, personal qualities.
 We must articulate WHERE we are going in terms as precise and measurable as possible.
2. When we know where we are going, we can begin to plan HOW to get there, bringing to bear modern methods of Adult Education in general and Professional Education in particular.

- (a) Adults learn most effectively using some such model as this:
Experience — Analysis — Reflection — New Theory — Generalisation — and so on.
- (b) Professional Schools of Medicine, Journalism, Engineering, Social Work, Architecture, etc. are moving to a model of education in which the theoretical and practical are integrated, and away from the model in which the practical follows years of theoretical instruction.

These new approaches ensure that people really do learn from their experience and that theory is personally tested and internalized.

3. The arena where students can gain the experience required in this new model of education is clearly the parish, and the experience will need to be in considerable blocks of time, with good supervision from a Rector and support and feedback from a Lay Support Group.
4. The theory — doctrinal, biblical, liturgical, sociological, pastoral — may be gained from this college and associated institutions in and around the University.
5. The Semester System already operating in this University is well suited to the style of education suggested here. With little difficulty we could shift to a tri-semester year, alternate semesters being spent in parish and college.
6. The selection and training of parishes, Rector/Supervisors and Lay Support Groups will be of crucial importance.
7. To have a class graduate from the new scheme of training in 1978 will require endorsement of the House of Bishops and the College Council, and the establishment of a Program Training Team in October, 1973. The first course should begin in September, 1975.⁷⁷

The proposal was sympathetically received and has been put into partial operation although with what results remains to be seen.

Early in 1978, to the surprise of all, Colin Proudman resigned. The College Council was again confronted with the responsibility for making an appointment. What manner of man should they seek? The situation was complicated. Not only was there the old tension between pastoral and academic but the College had now committed itself to a bold new plan of theological training which was barely under way. The blue-print had been drawn. Should the quest be for a man who could enter into the adventure and carry out another's plan? That way lay the danger of half-hearted commitment on the part of the new principal and the perils of unintended sabotage. Nor, important as they were, were academic requirements the only ones to be considered. The untimely death of W. C. McVean in the summer of 1978 made the situation even more difficult. The College had a strong academic staff yet if the new programme was to win acceptance, if indeed the College was to attract students and to survive financially, the new principal must be a man not only in sympathy with the objectives already laid down but capable of commending them to the Church at large. The choice fell on A. Gordon Baker,⁷⁸ a Canadian, a priest of

wide and varied experience, in the belief that he would be able to win the loyalty and support of staff and students in a common cause and also to capture the confidence and imagination of the Church at large.

Thus ends the first century of Anglican theological education in Saskatchewan. The century has been one of trial and struggle. The results have been impressive. Whatever the future may hold in store it seems that the College of Emmanuel and St. Chad, inheritor and executor of the enduring mission will rise to the occasion.

Note: The picture which appeared on Page 30 of the last issue was incorrectly identified as a temporary classroom in St. Mary's, Prince Albert. It should have been identified as a picture taken at St. Alban's, Prince Albert.

FOOTNOTES

- ²⁴ A. J. R. Anson, *Church Work in North West Canada*, Woolwich, 1883, p. 3. Lambeth Palace Library, Letters to the Archbishop, Foreign, 1883, A4, Canon Anson to the Archbishop, July 6, 7, 1883.
- ²⁵ Frederick William Pelly, Lincoln College, Oxford, ordained by the Bishop of St. Albans and served curacies in that diocese, 1879-1884. In 1884 he became priest-in-charge (SPG) of Qu'Appelle Station and in the following year Chaplain to the Bishop of Qu'Appelle. He returned to England in 1886.
- ²⁶ Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Synod of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, *A "Church Farm" In Assiniboia, North-West Canada*, n.p., n.d.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, *The Net*, May 1, 1885, p. 70.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, *Occasional Paper*, No. 5, January 1886.
- ²⁹ *Church Guardian*, December 24, 1885; *Church Times*, January 15, 1886, quoted in Lucy H. Murray, "St. John's College, Qu'Appelle, 1885-1894," *Saskatchewan History*, XI, 1958, pp. 18-29.
- ³⁰ SAB, Synod of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, Proceedings, June 23, 1886, p. 8.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, June 3, 1890, p. 3.
- ³² *Ibid.*, May 27, 1891, p. 4.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, June 15, 1892.
- ³⁴ *The Saskatchewan Monthly Magazine*, June 1912.
- ³⁵ William Aldworth Ferguson, Brasenose College, Oxford, and Bishop's Hostel, Liverpool, was made deacon in 1906 by the bishop of Liverpool and ordained priest in the following year. After two years as assistant chaplain to the Mersey Mission to Seamen he became Vice-Principal of Bishop's Hostel. From Emmanuel he went in 1913 to join the staff of St. John's College and Cathedral where he remained until 1916. During that time he qualified for the B.D. degree of Bishop's College, Lennoxville. He returned to England in 1916 but returned in 1937 to serve, successively, as Principal of Emmanuel College, Montreal Diocesan Theological College and the Anglican Theological College of British Columbia.
- ³⁶ Henry Douglas Raymond, a graduate of the University of Toronto, received his theological training at Wycliffe College. After ordination in 1906 he served as assistant chaplain at Wycliffe and then at All Saints', Toronto and St. James', Orillia. Successive editions of *Crockford* do not show his appointments for 1912-1916 although evidently he was in Saskatchewan. He later went to Prince Edward Island where he became rector of St. Paul's, Charlottetown and Archdeacon of Prince Edward Island.
- ³⁷ SAB, Emmanuel-St. Chad College, Emmanuel College Board of Governors, Minutes, July 24, 1913.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, Emmanuel College Board of Governors, Minutes, August 19, 1913.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, Historic Papers and Correspondence, Reverend H. S. Broadbent to Reverend F. H. W. Crabb, June 30, 1962.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Reverend G. F. Trench to Reverend F. H. W. Crabb, June 4, 1962.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Emmanuel College Board of Governors, Minutes, September 23, 1914.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, January 6, 1915.
- ⁴⁴ James Nelson Carpenter, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, took further theological training at the Church Missionary College, Islington, and was made deacon in 1888 by the Bishop of Bedford for the Colonies. After service as a C. M. S. missionary at Lucknow, during which time he was ordained priest by the Bishop of Calcutta he was engaged in theological teaching at Agra and afterwards at Allahabad. During his furloughs he qualified for the degrees of B.D. and D.D. in the University of London. He came to Emmanuel College, Saskatoon, in 1913 and returned to India in 1919.
- ⁴⁵ SAB, Emmanuel-St. Chad College, Emmanuel College Board of Governors, Minutes, February 29, 1916.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Emmanuel College, Principal's Report to the Board of Governors, January 1918.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Report of the Board of Governors to the Statutory Council of Emmanuel College, May 1, 1918.
- ⁴⁸ A. S. Morton, *Saskatchewan: The Making of a University*, p. 109.
- ⁴⁹ SAB, Emmanuel-St. Chad College, Historic Papers and Correspondence, Reverend G. F. Trench to Reverend F. H. W. Crabb, June 4, 1962.

- ⁵⁰ Brian Underwood, *Faith at the Frontiers: Anglican Evangelicals and their Countrymen Overseas*, London, 1974, p. 75.
- ⁵¹ SAB, Emmanuel-St. Chad College, Emmanuel College Board of Governors, Minutes, August 2, 1916.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, May 2, 1922.
- ⁵³ SAB, Synod of the Diocese of Saskatoon, Journal of Proceedings, 25th Synod, 1922, pp. 17-18.
- ⁵⁴ SAB, Emmanuel-St. Chad College, Emmanuel College Board of Governors, Minutes, November 26, 1925.
- ⁵⁵ SAB, Synod of the Diocese of Saskatoon, Journal of Proceedings, 28th Synod, 1927, p. 22.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- ⁵⁸ SAB, Emmanuel-St. Chad College, Emmanuel College Board of Governors, Minutes, January 10, 1940.
- ⁵⁹ John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, Toronto, 1965, p. 515.
- ⁶⁰ SAB, Emmanuel-St. Chad College, Emmanuel College Board of Governors, Minutes, November 16, 1949.
- ⁶¹ Stanley Charles Steer, born near Guildford, Surrey, B.A. (Saskatchewan), L.Th. (Emmanuel), M.A. (Oxon), B.D. (General Synod). Hon. D. D. Wycliffe and Emmanuel Colleges. Ordained deacon and priest by Bishop of Caledonia, 1928. Chaplain, St. Mark's Church, Alexandria, Egypt, 1931. On the staff of the London College of Divinity, 1933-1941. Principal, Emmanuel College, 1941-1950. Bishop of Saskatoon, 1950-1970.
- ⁶² SAB, Emmanuel-St. Chad College, Emmanuel College, Statutory Council, Minutes, June 3, 1950.
- ⁶³ Ralph Stanley Dean, born August 22, 1913, London, England. A.L.C.D., B.D., M.Th. (London). Hon. D. D. Wycliffe and Emmanuel Colleges. Ordered deacon by the Bishop of London, 1938; ordained priest by the Bishop of Willesden, 1939. Parochial appointments in London, 1938-1945. 1945-1951 on the staff of the London College of Divinity, 1951-1956, Principal, Emmanuel College. 1957-1973, Bishop of Cariboo. Metropolitan of British Columbia and Archbishop, 1971-1973. Executive Officer of the Anglican Communion, 1964-1969.
- ⁶⁴ SAB, Emmanuel-St. Chad College, Emmanuel College, Statutory Council, Minutes, March 18, 1954.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1954.
- ⁶⁶ Frederick Hugh Wright Crabb, born April 24, 1915 near Honiton, Devon. A.L.C.D., B.D. London. Hon. D.D., Wycliffe College, Toronto: St. Andrew's and Emmanuel Colleges, Saskatoon. 1939 — ordered deacon by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. 1940 — ordained priest by the Bishop of Exeter. 1942 — C.M.S. Missionary, Sudan. 1951 — Vice-Principal, London College of Divinity. 1957 — Principal, Emmanuel College. 1964-1967 — Principal, College of Emmanuel and St. Chad. 1967-1971 — Curate, Christ Church, Calgary. 1971-1975 — Rector St. Stephen's, Calgary. 1975 — Bishop of Athabasca. 1977 — Metropolitan of Rupert's Land and Archbishop.
- ⁶⁷ Proceedings of the Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, 1956, p. 54.
- ⁶⁸ Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, 1908, p. 11.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 3.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 5.
- ⁷¹ SAB, Emmanuel-St. Chad's, Council of St. Chad's Hostel, Minutes, April 18, 1911.
- ⁷² Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle, 1923.
- ⁷³ SAB, Emmanuel-St. Chad, St. Chad's Council, Minutes, April 12, 1944.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, May 11, 1948.
- ⁷⁵ James Dunn Fleming Beattie, M.A. (Saskatchewan) B.D. (Emmanuel) Hon. D.D. (Emmanuel). Ordered Deacon, 1935, ordained priest, 1936 by the Bishop of Saskatoon. Parochial work in the diocese of Saskatoon and Saskatchewan. Professor of Church History, Emmanuel College, 1945 Vice-Principal, 1959: Vice-Principal, Emmanuel and St. Chad, 1964. Principal, College of Emmanuel and St. Chad, 1967-1973. *Crockford*.
- ⁷⁶ Colin Leslie John Proudman, M.Th. (London), deacon, 1961; priest, 1962, Bishop of St. Albans Curate of Radlett, Herts, 1961-1964. Chaplain, Queen's College, St. John's, 1964-1967. Associate Secretary, Department of Religious Education, Anglican Church of Canada, 1967-1973. Principal, College of Emmanuel and St. Chad, 1973-1978. *Crockford*.
- ⁷⁷ Proceedings of the Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, 1974, pp. 27-28.
- ⁷⁸ Alfred Gordon Baker, Mus. Bac. (Toronto), B.D. (Wycliffe), Hon. D.D. (Huron) d. 1954, Toronto for Nova Scotia; p. 1955, Nova Scotia. Parochial work in the diocese of Toronto. Editor, *Canadian Churchman*, 1958-1967. R. of Cronyn Memorial Church, London, Ontario, 1967-1978. Principal, College of Emmanuel and St. Chad, 1978.

Book Reviews

BUTTER DOWN THE WELL: REFLECTIONS OF A CANADIAN CHILDHOOD. By Robert Collins. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980. pp. 149. \$10.95.

“Homemade fun, falling somewhere between make-believe and sheer ingenuity, was the driving force in all our lives. At very least it made those lives bearable. At best it made every day a celebration.” (p. 92). *Butter Down The Well* is a recapturing of the “ingenious” and “make-believe” world of a young prairie boy, a story so vivid, so real and yet so enchanting that he indeed makes “every day” that he recalls in his life “a celebration” for the reader. We relive the joys and sorrows of young Bob Collins as he grew up in rural Saskatchewan in the 1920s and 1930s. He brings to life the sights, sounds and smells of the Canadian prairies rich with vitality and meaning. The Dirty Thirties might have been barren — a veritable physical wasteland, but to a young boy with a large imagination and an alert mind, they were years of joy and delight. It is a compelling story which holds one’s interest from beginning to end.

Robert Collins, an award winning author who has graced the pages of *Maclean’s Magazine*, *Toronto Life Magazine*, and *Reader’s Digest* with his writings, returns to Shamrock, Saskatchewan where he spent the first twenty impressionable years of his life. We discover how a prairie lad survived the loneliness of a homestead life, overcame the dreariness of the landscape, learned about sex, and grew into manhood. The scenes are rich in detail and packed with emotion and humour.

Two other books come to mind when reading *Butter Down The Well*: Wallace Stegner’s *Wolf Willow* (Macmillan, 1955), and W. O. Mitchell’s *Who Has Seen The Wind* (Macmillan, 1947). Evident in all three is the portrayal of rural Saskatchewan through the eyes of a child and with a strong sense of time (history) and place (environment). Stegner and Mitchell elevate their studies beyond the immediate time and place to deal with themes of universal significance. Collins’ story is only about one individual in a particular locale. There are no grand themes, nor is there a rich social history. But there is the rare opportunity to recapture the life of one prairie boy, and to be reminded once again that it is in the particular that we discover universal truths, and that it is individuals who make up social history.

R. Douglas Francis

COAL DUST IN MY BLOOD. THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A COAL MINER. By Bill Johnstone. Heritage Record No. 9. Victoria: British Columbia, Provincial Museum, 1980, pp. 159, paper \$3.00.

For the student of working class history, it is a rarity to get a worker’s first hand account of his experiences. *Coal Dust in My Blood* is such a document.

Johnstone was born in 1908 in a coal mining village near Newcastle and soon entered the pits at the age of fourteen. His family had a long tradition of being coal miners who had experienced harsh and cruel conditions. But by 1928, they had had enough and decided to emigrate to Canada.

It seems ironic that miners would move into farming, but in chapters six through eleven, Johnstone describes his family’s futile attempts. The climate, the land, their

lack of farming knowledge, and the depression of the 1930s were too much to overcome. He finally realized that mining was his destiny.

Johnstone first entered the Alberta coalfields, but because of the uncertainties of employment, he decided to leave for the British Columbia mines. From his experience in these mines he provides the reader with an excellent description of mining techniques like the room-and-pillar method and the activities of fire bosses, check-weighmen, entrymen, diggers, drivers and other workers.

By the early 1950s, however, coal mining was under attack from its major competitor — oil. It seems ironic that as the coal industry was on the decline, Johnstone was on the rise in management. He became a district superintendent in 1952. In fact, his upward mobility is the major theme of his book.

A major shortcoming of his autobiography is his failure to account for the miners' struggles to join unions and gain recognition. The 1930s and 1940s saw the emergence of the Mine Workers Union of Canada and the United Mine Workers of America who engaged in many bitter strikes in Alberta and B.C. By the late 1940s all the coal fields in western Canada had achieved union recognition.

Despite its shortcomings, *Coal Dust in My Blood* is an interesting account of a miner's working experiences. It provides not only an excellent description of coal mining techniques, but also a useful glossary of terms and phrases, and some interesting illustrations.

Glen Makahonuk

NOTES ON BOOKS RECEIVED

CONFESSIONS OF AN IMMIGRANT'S DAUGHTER. By Laura Goodman Salverson with introduction by K. P. Stich. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981. Pp. 415. cloth \$30.00, paper \$15.00.

This is a reprint of a book that won the Governor General's Award in 1939. It is an autobiography of Laura Goodman Salverson whose parents emigrated from Iceland. It tells of her family's attempts to establish themselves in Canada and the United States. Following her marriage Salverson spent some time in Saskatchewan. This is an interesting account of the struggle of a pioneer family to adjust to the New World and to establish themselves there.

REGINA: REGIONAL ISOLATION AND INNOVATIVE DEVELOPMENT. Edited by E. H. Dale, Western Geographical. Pp. 238, illus. maps.

According to the brochure received with this volume the Western Geographical series "is designed as a forum for the expression of contemporary North American geographical thought and for the presentation of the results of recent research activities." This volume begins with a brief history of Regina by J. W. Brennan and includes studies on the functional structure of the city by Caesar Caviades, the role of Wascana Centre by E. H. Dale, water problems of the city by D. R. Cullimore, the telebus system by L. D. Tangjerd, and articles on planning by J. L. Moser and by R. L. Clarke. This study adds much to our understanding of the history and development of Regina.

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