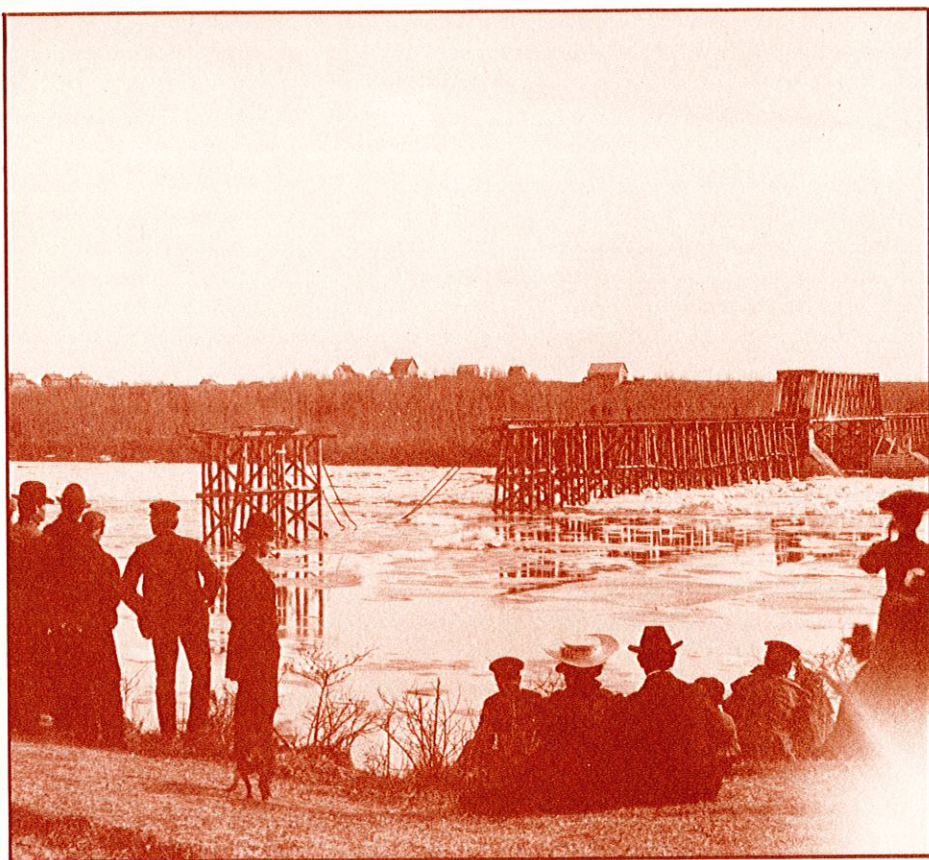


Saskatchewan History

Volume XXXVI No. 3
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**Ralph Dill: Saskatoon's First Photographer.
Foremost Man, and His Band.**

**A Beginning in Politics: Saskatoon CCF, 1938-1943. A Memoir
by Carlyle King.**

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Local History Room, Saskatoon Public Library, No. 396.		

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RALPH DILL: SASKATOON'S FIRST PHOTOGRAPHER

By Brock Silversides

For nearly a century, photography has played an important role in documenting the history of the area that is now Saskatchewan. The photographs created by our early photographers have given us a view into our past and have provided useful insights for the historian. Yet, surprisingly little interest has been shown in the men and women who took the pictures and even less interest in the conditions under which the pictures were made. This article will attempt to provide information about Ralph Dill, one of the early photographers. While photographs were taken of Saskatoon and its people before Dill's time, he was the first resident photographer.

Ralph Dill was born 9 January 1876¹ the son of George Dill and Melissa Casselman. His hometown was Huntsville, Ontario, situated almost in the middle of Muskoka District, thirty-five to forty miles straight inland from Parry Sound and Lake Huron. He had only one sibling, an older sister (born ca. 1873-4) named Minnie Isabelle also born in Huntsville.²

When he was an infant, his parents moved to Iowa, United States of America, where they lived for eight years. The reason for the change of location is unknown, but the family returned to Huntsville where Dill was raised and received his basic education. His mother died when he was quite young; the year is not known but it could have been during the time they were living in Iowa. Possibly, the remaining Dills came back to Ontario for the children to be cared for by grandparents or relatives.

In 1884, when Ralph was eight years old, his father George, a merchant of English ancestry, decided that the Muskoka district, although developing steadily, did not hold as much promise for him as the North-West Territories. The propaganda regarding the burgeoning wealth of the North-West Territories was too tempting to ignore. With his wife dead and his children cared for, he decided to try his hand at homesteading.

Leaving his family in Huntsville, George went to Battleford in the summer of 1884. By September, he had entered into a trading partnership with the twenty-one year old William Bleasdel Cameron. The two went to Fort Pitt in October to witness the treaty payments to Big Bear and his tribe, and to take advantage of the loose cash in Indian hands. They brought their tent store and sold all their goods; blankets, knives, shawls, handkerchiefs, rings, tobacco, and tea. It was an auspicious start to their business.

By Christmas, Cameron had dissolved the partnership and joined the Hudson's Bay Company store in Frog Lake. Dill also moved to Frog Lake and set up a store, but remained a "free" trader. On Thursday morning 2 April 1885, the Indians

suddenly attacked the settlement killing nine of the twelve white inhabitants in the infamous Frog Lake massacre. Two women and William B. Cameron survived and were taken prisoners. It is thought that Cameron's association with the much-respected Hudson's Bay Company saved his life while "... on the other hand, his ex-partner George Dill was shown no such mercy."³

Cameron later wrote a memoir of this period entitled *The War Trail of Big Bear* which was re-issued in 1950 as *Blood Red the Sun*. While gathering material for his books, Cameron had many long discussions with Ralph Dill about his father's background.⁴

Ralph Dill's first job as a teenager in Huntsville, was clerking in a large general store for three years. This is also the period when he became interested in photography and in the 1890's he apprenticed for a short time in a Huntsville photographic studio.⁵ Perhaps inspired by his father's fortunes and mis-fortunes, Dill ventured out west in the autumn of 1896 on a harvest excursion and stayed the winter in Newdale, Manitoba. He was twenty years old.

Dill left Newdale to go to Battleford on 18 April 1897. He did it the hard way though, walking all the way from Newdale, a journey that took more than a month. He recalled later that "a covered wagon carried supplies for the walking party and sometimes for a week at a time they would not even see a man on horseback."⁶

When he came west Dill had no intention of entering the photography business. He worked at various jobs for the next four years: farming, ranching, hunting, and breaking horses. It was during a trip he made on the prairies that Dill's interest in photography re-surfaced. "In 1899," he wrote, "I made a trip from Battleford to Regina on horseback. We saw herds of antelope and that was the first thing I saw here that I really wanted to take a picture of. I suppose that gave me the idea of going into the business."⁷

The idea was not acted upon for three years. In 1901 he was hired on as a clerk at the Battleford branch of James Clinkskill's general store and within a year was transferred to the Saskatoon store. In April, 1902, Dill decided he had had enough of working for someone else and began his own photography business.

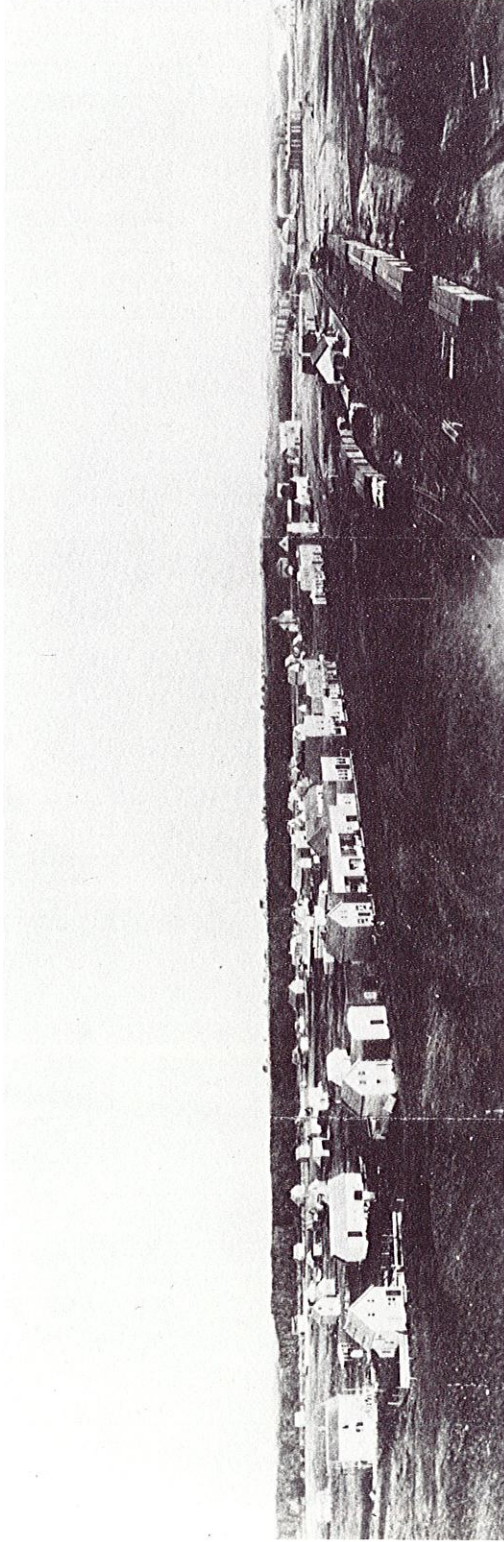
Dill's career in photography can be divided roughly into two periods according to his subject matter. The first period is of the most interest; from 1902 to the First World War, it had much of its emphasis on commercial work out of the studio. This was the period of an economic, real estate, and construction boom and people wanted a visual record of their homes, their churches, their offices, their employees, their organizations and conferences. Businesses such as the construction company of R. J. Leckey of Regina and the Quaker Oats Company of Saskatoon gave Dill's studio much patronage.⁸ The Canadian Pacific Railway hired him to take pictures of their station on Idylwyld. Dill did both interiors and exteriors of buildings, landmarks such as the completed traffic bridge and the washed-out wooden railway bridge (1904), and local events or happenings such as the Barr Colonists' stopover in Riversdale in 1903. It was a series of views of this white-tented city that first gained Dill a reputation.⁹

Dill became associated photographically with the University of Saskatchewan from its earliest hours. The newly appointed Board of Governors began the search for a site for the provincial university in 1908. Much to the chagrin of Regina and Prince Albert, Saskatoon was given the nod in April of that year. When the Saskatoon members of the board including J. Clinkskill, A. P. McNab, and W. J. Bell, returned home the day after the decision, Dill caught a large, cheering



Ralph Dill, ca. 1935

R. M. Dill



Panoramic View of Saskatoon, 1903, By R. Dill

Local History Room, Saskatoon Public Library, No. 59

welcoming crowd waiting in front of the city's Canadian Pacific Railway freight sheds.

It is probable that Dill took the photographs of the official sod-turning ceremony on 4 May 1910. This series shows President W. C. Murray, Chancellor E. L. Wetmore, Governor J. Clinkskill and a crowd of bystanders observing the first dig into the featureless, wind-blown, flat prairie campus. Although Dill's name had not been attached to the group of pictures it is likely that he was the photographer.

Dill documented Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier's laying of the cornerstone of the first stone structure on the grounds of the University of Saskatchewan. This event took place on 29 July 1910 and the photograph caught Laurier giving his speech from a specially built dignitary box which was decorated with bunting and union jacks.

Dill's son and assistant both remember a staggering trade in photographic postcards (sold for two dollars a dozen) which spread images of Saskatoon around the country and the world. One of the many Dill postcards preserved at the Saskatoon Public Library shows four different panoramas of the city.

The city's Board of Trade was quick to capitalize on the advantages of having a resident photographer and became one of his biggest customers. The *Star Phoenix* described his early business:

Mr. Dill had his part to play in advertising Saskatoon as the "fastest growing city in the West." Many of his pictures were used to illustrate publicity material sent to the four corners of the earth to interest settlers and investors in this new land.¹⁰

The Board of Trade was notorious for putting out book after book extolling the virtues of the new "wonder" city and illustrating them with a large number of Dill's photos. One of his first projects was a small pamphlet entitled appropriately *Saskatoon* and published by the Capital Press of the city. It was made especially as a souvenir item for a group of Washington correspondents who visited the city on 19 July 1906. On a tour of the Canadian west via the Canadian Northern Railway, they were visiting all the major centers such as Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Prince Albert. In hopes of making a good impression, a hearty welcome was planned for them by a combined Town Council-Board of Trade committee:

The visiting Washington correspondents will be given a drive around Saskatoon and out into the neighbouring country on their arrival here Friday; they will also be lunched and given the glad hand all around when in town . . . it was decided, however, that no intoxicants be served to the guests.¹¹

Dill was commissioned to preserve the occasion on film for posterity. His pamphlet was not lengthy; it consisted of three pages each bearing a panoramic photograph, the only text being the labelling. The first picture was of the correspondents and their hosts posing together at lunch in Smith's Grove, a total of fifty-five persons. Page two has a 1903 view of Saskatoon's horizon taken from the top of the Leslie and Wilson flour elevator. Obviously a joining together of three separate prints, it includes the railway tracks heading south towards the river and a sparse array of small white houses on the flat plain. The third page has a long view of the city's downtown area from the east side of the river. It was taken in 1906 and is a good record of how Saskatoon appeared the year after the province was formed.

It is important to note that each photograph was an actual continuous-tone gelatine print, not a half-tone reproduction. The cover and the two landscapes must

have been ready before the visit. Dill then took the group photograph at lunch and had the book ready for distribution by supper time when the guests were dined at the newly-opened Empire Hotel. The number printed is unknown, but it is likely that each of the correspondents and hosts received their own copy. The Saskatoon Public Library is in possession of three copies, one of which has a slip of paper identifying most of the people.¹² While not exactly Saskatoon's answer to the *Pencil of Nature*, it was quite an achievement.¹³

Another pamphlet called *Saskatoon — Hub of the Hard Wheat Belt of Western Canada*, also published in 1906 by the Manitoba Free Press, contains nine half-tone views of Dill's as well as about twenty portraits of important Saskatonians. While these are uncredited, it is safe to assume they were done by Dill, as he had the only portrait studio in town that year.

Yet another book, entitled simply, *Saskatoon*, published in 1913, has three half-tones positively identified as Dill views and many others of the university. These are also probably from his studio as he was known for doing most of the university's work prior to World War I.

More were to follow, but as no new outdoor shots were taken after 1914 when he switched his emphasis to indoor work they started to repeat themselves. Dill photos have been used in every illustrated history of Saskatoon up to the present.

Generally speaking, Dill did not take many views outside of Saskatoon; I have only found one farming scene credited to him. A few prints exist of Pike Lake, Waskesieu, and Frog Lake, but these give the appearance of mere snapshots. There are, however, two notable exceptions. The first of these is an undated series of views of an Indian camp which had stopped for a day or two in the Saskatoon area. It consisted of a ring of teepees, some covered wagons, the occasional red river cart and even some European-style tents. A couple of the photographs show Indian women and children dressed in a curious combination of European and native clothes. Another picture shows a group of white townspeople gathering to trade or gawk: one is not sure which. Either Dill was interested in the native people or else the Board of Trade sent him out to gather more local colour for their pamphlets. In either case, these pictures give us an accurate reflection of the nomadic Saskatchewan Indians in the first decade of the century.

The other exception originates from a vacation trip he and his family made out to the west coast in 1917 by train. In his son's possession is a forty-seven page album of prints on the heavy black paper pages which gives us an interesting and significant look at his eye for scenery. There are shots of the Kootenay Lakes, Nelson, the Hotel Victoria, English Bay and Vancouver, Revelstoke, the Fraser River and various gorges, beaches, lakes, railway tracks and stations. These were made with one of the many small retractable Kodaks Dill owned and which used 2 by 3 inch sheet film.

At the same time, he was doing a solid business in portraiture, both group and individual. Outside groups included sports teams such as the Hoo Hoo baseball team of 1911, hockey and rugby teams, various bonspiels plus such varied gatherings as a crew of Canadian Northern Railway locomotives together with the yardmen and a class of mechanics taking a gas engine course from Canadian Fairbanks Morse Company.

Although both his son and his assistant claim he never used a horizontal-moving panoramic camera, there exists at least one long panoramic view of Saskatoon taken in 1912 and copyrighted in Dill's name. This photograph, which measures 15½ by



Canadian Pacific Corporate Archives

Canadian Pacific Railway Station, Saskatoon 1910.

38¾ inches, was taken from the Nutana side of the river at approximately the place where the future Broadway bridge would meet the east side. Placed in the sky is a copy of Dill's 1903 panorama measuring 2 by 7¼ inches which was originally used in his *Saskatoon* pamphlet. The difference between the village of one and the city of the other is truly astonishing.

After the boom and the war, Dill dropped his outside commercial work and entered into his second period, concentrating almost entirely on studio portraiture, people-postcards, and passports. It was in this that he excelled and was to continue until his retirement in 1938.

Most of the early Saskatoon notables sat before his camera lens. These included various mayors, officials, town and city councillors such as J. Clinkskill, M. Isbister, J. Wilson, W. Sutherland, and T. Copland.¹⁴ For many years he took all the group and individual graduation photographs of the university classes. To streamline operations somewhat, he even had his own gowns and hoods in the studio. Fortunately, these are some of the only negatives that have been preserved and are in the care of his son. Included are composite class photographs taken for the College of Law, 1922; of Pharmacy, 1917-18, 1918-19, 1924; of Agriculture, 1917-18, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927; of Arts and Sciences, 1920, 1928; and for the Normal School, 1918, 1919. Other classes included St. Andrew's College, 1925; the Presbyterian Theological College, 1918, 1920, 1923; St. Paul's Hospital, 1924; and Saskatoon City Hospital, 1927.

The composite, montage or assemblage photograph was one of Dill's specialities, and was ideal for various groups, lodges, societies, choirs, bands, sports teams and as previously mentioned, city councils and graduating classes. It took a considerable amount of time and materials, but this was repaid many times over when one considers that each of those individuals would usually purchase a print.

The composite entailed the taking of the required number of separately posed portraits, sometimes up to fifty in number, which could be either head and shoulders or full length long shots. A print of each was made all in the same shape and proportion. They were then attached to a piece of board upon which a pleasing and balanced arrangement had been planned and sketched out. Each photo had a name-label affixed (Dill was a very neat small printer) and the group name or title was set in the center.

The whole assemblage was then tacked to the wall, lit evenly and re-photographed onto an 11 by 14 inch glass negative which would retain very good quality. The negative was then examined and any shadow-lines, cut-out lines, or other indications that the image was a paste-up were eliminated with an opaque red paint. On some, Dill stuck a black paper oval mat around the centered grouping to give a vignette effect.

It was then ready to be contact-printed any number of times depending on the number of orders.¹⁵ The reasons for doing a group this way rather than crowd everyone into the studio at once and use a wide angle lens, is that the montage guaranteed that everybody would be lit properly, would be the same size as the others, and would be focussed sharply.

Dill is known to have taken many baby pictures, which is not surprising when we find out that one of his advertising schemes was to pass out free copies of a book



of names for babies to prospective hospitalized mothers. Of course, the mothers would later remember the studio's name.¹⁶

The price of a mounted, spotted, sepia toned portrait in the mid-1920's was \$4.75 per dozen, which was later raised to \$8.75 by 1930. Dill did indulge in some handcolouring with considerable skill, but he preferred black and white. He regarded as his main competition the photographer, Frederick Steele, who also concentrated on the studio portrait. Other Saskatoon photographers such as Len Hillyard and John Gibson did a great deal of outdoor work and did not detract from his business.

Dill occasionally took time out from this studio to lecture about his profession. At a Rotary Club luncheon (ca. 1923) he gave a presentation which was reported as follows:

Mr. Dill, who has been in photography work for 21 years, spoke of the development of the art from its beginning. He recounted the troubles and trials that assailed the originators, the progress made from time to time and enumerated the many uses to which the camera is being put today. Mr. Dill, in addition to his knowledge of his art, has a fine sense of humor, which he displayed freely throughout his address and held the interest of the large attendance of Rotarians to the finish. Further entertainment was provided by Ted Edwards, who sang.¹⁷

Dill operated out of three studios during his professional career. The first, from April 1902 to 1908 was an unidentified building on Second Avenue South somewhere between 19th and 20th Streets, roughly across from the Baldwin Hotel. Although he is listed in the *Henderson Directory* for 1906 and 1907 the actual address is not given. It is possible that the precise location of Saskatoon's first photographic establishment, called Dill's Art Studio, will never be traced.

The second, from 1908 to 1911 was located at 272 Second Avenue South, just one block up from his first one. The building housed A. Dulmage's original drug store on the first floor, while Dill and Dr. J. A. Valens, physician and surgeon, shared the second level. A view of this office can be seen in a picture of Second Avenue taken by another early photographer, Peter MacKenzie¹⁸ which was published in the "Remember When" column of the *Saskatoon Commentator* on 2 September 1981. It had a large window facing northeast with wired drapes to control the amount of daylight. Dill was not using any artificial light and there was no running water.¹⁹ This had to be carried up the flight of stairs in big pails many times a day, for water was much needed in the processing of photographs. The building no longer exists, being part of the parking lot between the Canadian Bible Society Building and the corner of 20th Street.

His third place of business, from 1911 to April 1938 was located on the second floor of the Kempthorne Block at 157 Second Avenue South. This building is still standing, although the first two floors have been entirely remodelled and given a new facade.

The office consisted of one very big studio room where the photographs were actually taken, two dressing rooms, two darkrooms (one for loading and processing film and one for making prints), as well as a reception and sitting area. The studio was lit by one full wall of windows and a partial skylight, for although Dill did eventually use artificial light, he much preferred daylight as being softer.²⁰ The studio had some large, expensive reflecting screens and a series of painted backdrops. As would be expected there were a great many studio props including two chairs which appear in many portraits— one a solid oak piece with an



Dill's Studio on 2nd Avenue, Saskatoon, ca. 1908-1910

B. Silversides

elaborately carved back and another being a high-backed wicker. There was a low wooden table which was sometimes covered with a crocheted or knitted cover, and a full bearskin rug. Urns and pedestals, typical of most studios of the time, were included and finally there was a specially constructed lower end of a staircase which had a patterned carpet on it and an endpost or newel post. Adults would lean on this novel prop while kids sat on the steps.

Also contained in the studio was an immense wood and metal view camera which sat on a movable wooden table on casters. Used exclusively for studio portraiture, it consisted basically of a horizontal track, along which moved an upright lens board in front and an upright ground-glass focusing screen/film holding vise at the rear. Stretching between the two was a long accordion-like leather bellows attachment. Focusing was accomplished by moving the camera forward or backward to obtain the right size of image on the ground glass and then fine-tuning by shunting the lens board back and forth. The lens board could use a number of interchangeable lens from the standard lenses for single portraits to wide angles for groups of people. In addition the photographer always had a large black cloth hood which fitted on the ground glass and his head when focusing so as to keep out stray light and let him see the image clearly.

Cameras of this make did not use roll film as is commonly used today. Rather, they took single plates of sensitized glass or sheets of film that were manufactured in standard sizes such as 8 x 10 inches or 11 x 14 inches. The unexposed glass or film would be loaded individually into light-tight holders in darkness and the holders would be put in the place of the ground glass. Then its cover was removed and an exposure would be made by opening the lens shutter by squeezing a rubber bulb. When the exposure was done, the cover would be slipped back onto the film holder, the holder was removed from the camera and taken back to the dark room for processing.

The processing of photographs in this period was not much different than it is today. Firstly, the exposed plates were developed in large tanks, most likely with a

hydroquinone developer. Then they were put through an acidic solution to stop the developer and after this were fixed or rendered insensitive to light. Finally, they were washed for a lengthy period of time to remove all the processing chemicals.

The printing of a photograph was, however, quite different from modern printing procedures. As previously mentioned, the size of the negatives were large, some reaching the dimension of 16 x 20 inches. Even the portrait sizes such as 5 x 7 inches were large enough so that the photographer rarely did any enlarging. Rather, he would contact print (see footnote 15) the negative onto a type of photographic paper called printing-out paper, P.O.P. for short.

This paper, which is relatively insensitive to light, produces a visible image without chemical development. The photographer would put his negative and a piece of P.O.P. in a glass frame and set it on a ledge so that the sun's rays would hit it. With an exposure lasting approximately 4-5 minutes, he could check the density of the print to make sure it was exactly as he wanted. It would then be stopped and fixed in chemical baths and washed. Most of the early postcards were printed in this manner.

One of the advantages of having negatives large enough to be contact printed was that there was no appreciable grain in the final print. Grain only becomes apparent when a negative (or section of it) is enlarged. The disadvantage is that they take up a lot of storage space.

After the mid-1920's, in tune with the trends, Dill started using an enlarger, smaller negatives and modern photographic paper. Throughout his career he used *Seeds Dry Plates* glass negatives only, for he found glass much easier to retouch than film.²¹ He dealt exclusively with the Eastman Kodak Company for his materials — three or four times a year one of their travelling salesmen would come into town, see if there were any difficulties or problems, show off new products, and sell batches of plates, paper, and chemicals.

Dill always had at least one employee working under him and when business was good, up to as many as six. From the time he moved into his second studio until the First World War, he had two assistants specifically for outdoor work. While Dill took all the portraits, his assistants went around the city doing the commercial work. One of the more notable of these apprentices was Len Hillyard, a man who later became an important photographer in his own right. Others included Vern Tomlinson and Jack Porter. Dill also hired a receptionist and retouching assistants, all of whom were female. A Miss Robbins and a Miss Taylor were taken on in this capacity.²²

Miss Glen Helen Hemingway worked in the studio from 1912 to 1924. She came to Saskatoon in 1912 with her family, and answered Dill's advertisement for a receptionist. At first, she was bored, for there was not much to do except greet customers at the door and point to a seat. Gradually, she was given other jobs as she became initiated; doing the books, developing and loading film, and taking the occasional portrait. She proved her value very soon and it became her main job to process and retouch negatives. In 1924 she married Alfred Hargreaves and quit to raise a family. Afterwards, she sometimes worked at the studio during the Christmas peak periods, but never permanently rejoined the staff.

From October to the New Year was the busiest time for the studio. Dill's son remembers that he and his mother were pressed into service to help with the mounting, finishing, and packaging of photographs. Considering that stacks of old glass negatives were used instead of a press, it must have been quite a chore.

The depression had a very marked effect on Dill's business which, by the mid-1930's was cut down significantly. People simply did not have the extra money to get their pictures taken — it was considered a luxury. Dill's equipment was becoming obsolete and he did not have the capital to replace it. There were now many studios in Saskatoon, with younger, more energetic proprietors willing to do the outside work Dill had left behind.

On top of this, he was not in very good health. By 1937 Parkinson's Disease had set in. This progressive nervous disorder, characterized by both a rigidity and trembling of muscles, has no known cure. These were the reasons for his decision to retire in April of 1938. A *Star-Phoenix* article recorded the end of an era:

Ralph Dill through whose camera lenses has passed much of the history of Saskatoon, has closed his photographic studio. On Thursday, Mr. Dill was surveying the last of his negatives and prints in his premise in the Kempthorne Building before closing the door for the last time and starting on a life of leisure which he hopes will bring him many days of fishing and golf. . . . Mr. Dill enjoyed the 'early days'. 'We knew everybody within a radius of 100 miles then and I believe the spirit was more friendly that it is today' he said. . . . for the present he and Mrs. Dill plan to continue to reside in Saskatoon. And Mr. Dill intends to take a complete holiday from photography.²³

His equipment was sold to a firm in Winnipeg for a relatively cheap sum, and true to his intention, he did very little photography in the remaining years of his life. The only negatives retained were those from which the image could be scraped and be re-used as a glass window pane. They were much too heavy and bulky to store and Dill had no idea that his work might be of historical importance.

Dill had a happy and busy private life. He had married Helen Elizabeth Morgan, 1878-1965, of Regina, daughter of Frederick Morgan and Elizabeth Westcott, on Friday 25 August 1905 in Regina's St. Paul's Church. The couple resided at 336-6th Avenue North, the corner of 25th Street, the house no longer



Local History Room, Saskatoon Public Library, No. 3897

Hoo Hoo Baseball Team, Saskatoon, 1911

standing. They had two sons; George, born 1906, and Morgan, born 1913, neither of whom followed in their father's occupation.

Dill was an avid sportsman. He played golf, was captain of the Saskatoon baseball club for a spell, and president of the hockey club. He enjoyed fishing at Waskesiu and went on hunting trips each autumn. One of his obvious skills was shooting; in 1920, as president of the Saskatoon Gun Club, he won the Manitoba-Saskatchewan zone trapshooting championship. He later went to Cleveland, Ohio to compete in the Grand American. In an autobiographical note drawn up a few years before his death, he described himself in the third person as "... an ardent follower of Rod and Gun, and an advocate of clean sport. His motto: Shoot to kill and retrieve the cripples."²⁴

Saskatoon's first photographer died 23 June 1948 at St. Paul's Hospital in Saskatoon at the age of 72 years after being ill for a couple of months. He was interred in Woodlawn Cemetery on the afternoon of 25 June.²⁵

While not noted for breaking new ground in his chosen field, Ralph Dill was a thoroughly competent, conscientious and skilled craftsman. He was, first and foremost, a businessman making a living, but in so doing, has left behind an extremely valuable visual record of Saskatoon in the first four decades of the twentieth century. For this, we can be grateful.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Dill insisted in a short autobiographical sketch that his birth was in 1876 but his registration on file at the Ontario Vital Statistics says 1875.

² Minnie Dill married Robert Quaife. She was very active in church missionary affairs and died 7 September 1948 aged 74 years in Nanaimo, B.C.

³ William B. Cameron, *Blood Red The Sun*, Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977, p. XI.

⁴ Morgan Dill, personal interview at his home, Saskatoon, 24 September 1981.

⁵ Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix*, "Ralph Dill Puts Away His Lenses to Fish and Golf," 7 April 1938, p. 3.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Mrs. A. Hargreaves, telephone interview, 28 September 1981.

⁹ One of the Barr Colony images has become the first of eight photographs in the limited edition portfolio *The Saskatoon Series* published in 1981.

¹⁰ Saskatoon *Phoenix*, "Ralph Dill Puts Away His Lenses to Fish and Golf," 7 April 1938, p. 3.

¹¹ Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix*, "Will Be Shown the Sights," 18 July 1906, p. 12.

¹² Frances Morrison Library, Local History Room, photographs file — Local Officials, No. 1699.

¹³ *The Pencil of Nature*, published in parts 1844-46 was the first book ever assembled using photographs as illustrations. The author and photographer was William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877), the Englishman who invented the paper photograph.

¹⁴ There are two Dill composite photographs of Saskatoon's last Town Council of 1906 and the first City Council also of 1906 located in the "Town Hall" of the Western Development Museum (Saskatoon Branch). The 1912 City Council is in the Francis Morrison Library, Local History Room and in addition, there are six more City Council composites (1925-1930) in the third floor hallway of Saskatoon City Hall.

¹⁵ Contact printing is the exposing to light of photographic paper through and in direct contact with a negative. The resulting print is exactly the same size as the negative, has maximum sharpness, minimum grain and, depending on the paper used, gives the best reproduction of the tones in the negative.

¹⁶ Morgan Dill, personal interview at his home, Saskatoon, 24 September 1981.

¹⁷ Saskatoon *Phoenix*, "Rotarians Hear About Photo Act," undated, ca. 1923.

¹⁸ Copies of this photograph are held by the Western Development Museum, Saskatoon Branch, the Saskatchewan Archives Board and the Local History Room, Frances Morrison Library.

¹⁹ Saskatoon *Commentator*, Martha Morgan, "The Man Behind the Lens," 2 September 1970, p. 9.

²⁰ Mrs. A. Hargreaves, telephone interview, 9 October 1981.

²¹ His son recalls that the retouching step was the most time consuming part of the operation. All the retouching was done on the negative, not on the print as is frequently done today.

²² Mrs. A. Hargreaves, telephone interview, 28 September 1981.

²³ Saskatoon *Star-Phoenix*, "Ralph Dill Puts Away His Lenses to Fish and Golf," 7 April 1938, p. 3.

²⁴ Ralph Dill, autobiographical manuscript (2 pp.), undated (ca. 1945), p. 2.

²⁵ Mrs. Helen Dill passed away 23 October 1965 in Saskatoon and was buried beside her husband.

FOREMOST MAN, AND HIS BAND

by David Lee

Foremost Man was the leader of the last band of Plains Indians to settle on a reserve in Canada. He and his people resisted the inducements and threats of the Canadian Government, refusing to move north and settle on a reserve as the other Indians did in the 1870s and 1880s. Although they were treaty Indians, this small band of Crees held out quietly in the Cypress Hills area for thirty years, eking out a living without the benefit of annuities and other treaty rights which other Indians possessed.

In English he was generally called Foremost Man or Front Man. On the 1875 and 1876 treaty lists for the Kahkewistahaw band he is noted as "Ne-can-nete" which is translated there as "Goes Before." On later lists he is registered as "Ne-kah-new," "Ne-kah-nea," "Front Man" and "Foremost Man." A halfbreed neighbour and friend living in Medicine Hat called him "chief Front Man, Nekaneet." The reserve established in 1913 and named after him is written Nekan-eet.¹

Little will ever be known of Foremost Man's early life. After the signing of Treaty Number 4 in 1874 he was listed as belonging to Kahkewistahaw's band. This band was one of the Calling River People or Rabbit Skin People, divisions of Plains Crees identified by David Mandelbaum. In the nineteenth century these were the eastern-most groups of the Plains Cree, usually hunting and trading in the territory between the Assiniboine and Qu'Appelle rivers. On one occasion Foremost Man recalled that he had lived among the whites when he was young and from them had gained some knowledge of agriculture. Many of the eastern Plains Cree are known to have spent considerable time around the Hudson's Bay Company posts of Fort Qu'Appelle and Fort Pelly;² this is perhaps where Foremost Man spent his youth.

On another occasion, however, when explaining his deeply-felt attachment to the Cypress Hills, he claimed that he had been born in that area and had grown up there. On signing the Treaty, Kahkewistahaw was noted as living "towards the Cypress Hills." Before the treaties, the Cypress Hills had been on the fringes of territory controlled by Blackfoot, Assiniboine, Gros Ventres and Cree. A few Indians hunted there but always at the risk of attack from other tribes. Travel was dangerous and, as a result, the Hills were never the exclusive hunting grounds of any of the Plains Indians.³

Foremost Man collected his annual treaty payment at Fort Qu'Appelle several times in the 1870s. But soon the buffalo (source of most of the Crees' sustenance) became scarce and the arrival of 5,000 refugee Sioux under Sitting Bull increased the demand while, at the same time, reducing the supply. Kahkewistahaw's people had to range greater distances from their traditional territory to find the diminishing buffalo herds. For this reason, in 1879 and 1880, the band took its annuities in the Cypress Hills instead of at the Fort. Then, in the autumn of 1880, Kahkewistahaw decided to give up the hunt and agreed with the Department of Indian Affairs to

take a reserve on the lower Qu'Appelle River (Crooked Lakes district). The larger portion of the band, however, remained on the plains under the leadership of Foremost Man. In 1881 and 1882 these Indians drew their annuities at Fort Walsh, divisional headquarters of the North-West Mounted Police for the Cypress Hills area. Foremost Man, the Departmental paylists show, was "Paid as a Head Man, as he has a large personal following recognizing no other chief." In 1881 Kahkewistahaw is known to have had only 154 people living with him on the reserve while Foremost Man could count 428 in his following; many of these, however, were members of other bands.⁴ Foremost Man and more important leaders such as Piapot, Little Pine and Big Bear attracted to their own bands large numbers of Cree from reserves in the north, Indians who found it difficult to adjust to a quiet, sedentary, agricultural life.

In the early 1880s the Cypress Hills became the centre where most of the Plains Cree who refused to take up a reserve, gathered at least once a year to draw their treaty payments. The rest of the year these more independent-minded Indians lived by the hunt, pursuing the fast-disappearing buffalo as far south as the Missouri River. American authorities discouraged this and, indeed, in 1881 Foremost Man and some of his followers were seized, disarmed and sent back to Canada by the United States Army, almost starving on the journey to Fort Walsh. By 1881 the great herd was gone and when the Cree assembled in the autumn for their annuities some agreed to go to their reserves. Many, however, tried to live on in the Cypress Hills. Rising out of the dry flatness of the surrounding plains, the Hills were still rich in fauna and flora. But, with the large number of Indians gathered there, it was not long before fish, fowl and antelope became scarce. While the Department of Indian Affairs provided them with emergency supplies, it coaxed and exhorted the Indians to give up their traditional nomadic life and settle down on reserves. Many gave up in despair but in December 1881 there were still 4,000 Cree being fed at Fort Walsh. The rations were not enough to keep them from hunger, however, and they lacked clothing and tents as well. After another long winter of cold and suffering (1882-83) most of these holdout Indians saw no other choice but a reserve. One by one the chiefs led their people north. The Department announced that henceforth (after 1882) annuities and relief would only be dispensed on reserves. Fort Walsh was closed to discourage them from returning.⁵

Foremost Man's group stayed on, however, living quietly in the area around the Cypress Hills. Their numbers dwindled over the years as some families gave up and moved to their reserves in the north.

Estimated numbers of Foremost Man's following⁶

1881 428	1887 200	1893 180
1883 350	1889 220	1895 120
1885 200	1891 230	1898 119

The numbers noted here are only approximate for these non-reserve Indians were spread across a large tract of the North-West Territories — many near Maple Creek, others near Medicine Hat and Swift Current; some spent several months of the year across the border in Montana. Most of them had originally been enumerated as followers of Kahkewistahaw but they were joined by Cree from the bands of Piapot and others, as well as a few families of *Saulteaux* among the Medicine Hat group. They were conservative Indians who wanted to continue their

traditional way of life. They resisted Christianity without exception. But their most important bond of unity was a strong attachment to the Cypress Hills area and a desire to remain there.

Bands among the Plains Cree had traditionally coalesced around men who were renowned for their courage and achievements in oratory, war, horse-rustling, buffalo-hunting and trading. Individuals could move freely from one band to another according to the benefits which they hoped to gain from a chief's leadership.⁷ Foremost Man's followers, however, must have hoped only to gain courage and inspiration from their leader's success in surviving in the Cypress Hills area against the wishes of the Department of Indian Affairs. Foremost Man also served as their spokesman in dealing with the Government and other whites. As late as 1896 the Department of Indian Affairs noted that he was the "recognized leader" of the Cypress Hills Indians but it never acknowledged or paid him as an official chief. In its correspondence the Department often referred to Foremost Man as a "Headman" (a councillor or minor chief).⁸

Foremost Man was never considered a dangerous Indian. Only once did he come to the particular notice of the authorities. In January 1883 he and some of his men visited the camp of a Canadian Pacific Railway contractor who was cutting trees in the Cypress Hills for railway ties. They demanded provisions from the workmen and told them to stop cutting the timber for it belonged to the Indians. The men were frightened and fled to the NWMP post at Maple Creek. Superintendent Shurtliffe called Foremost Man in and "convinced him" never again to interfere with the railway. Commissioner A. G. Irvine of the North-West Mounted Police minimized the incident as "a timid attempt . . . to procure presents of food from the contractors."⁹ Thereafter Foremost Man generally tried to stay out of the way of governmental authority. This must explain how he and his followers avoided being forced onto a northern reserve.

Foremost Man was not averse to taking up a reserve; but if the Government insisted that he settle on a reserve he wanted it to be in the Cypress Hills area which was so dear to him. In 1881, indeed, he and Piapot had travelled with T.P. Wadsworth (Inspector of Indian Agencies) and the local Indian Agent to Maple Creek to select locations for their respective reserves. The following year, however, the Government decided that all Cree reserves would have to be north of the projected route of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The Government was nervous about having large numbers of Indians located close to the boundary with the United States; it wanted to minimize contact, especially horse-stealing raids, between Canadian and American Indians for fear they should lead to serious disputes between the two nations. Piapot still wanted to live in the Cypress Hills area but he was considered dangerous by the Department of Indian Affairs. It expended much effort in inducing him, Little Pine and Big Bear to move north. It offered transportation assistance and all the bands but that of Foremost Man accepted. It would be several generations before Foremost Man's band would again receive treaty benefits. Foremost Man insisted that he would only settle on the reserve promised him near Maple Creek. Wadsworth at first told his superiors that he had not promised anything, but two North-West Mounted Policemen contradicted him. He then argued that the offer had been made in error, that Foremost Man had not been entitled to a reserve for in 1881 he had not been a headman; but he could not deny that, in 1881 and 1882, Foremost Man had been paid the larger annuity merited by a headman. Finally, he contended that a reserve in the Cypress Hills

region would be a "great mistake" for it would become a "rendezvous for 'scalawag' Indians and horse thieves."¹⁰

After the departure of the other band leaders, Foremost Man continued to press his case for a reserve in the Cypress Hills. He may even have travelled to Regina in 1883 to see Edgar Dewdney, Lieutenant-Governor and Indian Commissioner of the North-West Territories. Dewdney refused to concede him a reserve on several grounds. A reserve in that area, he felt, would attract American Indians on horse-stealing raids; it was too remote from other reserves to be serviced economically; and the soil was unsuitable for agriculture. He objected that Foremost Man's Indians were not entitled to a reserve for themselves as they were "stragglers" from other bands; but this should not have disqualified them as other breakaway groups (for example, that led by Poundmaker) had been granted reserves. Later, in the 1890s, the Department went as far as to wrongly label the Cypress Hills Indians as "non-treaty" Indians.¹¹

Foremost Man's claim to a reserve at Maple Creek arose again after the 1885 rebellion and again Wadsworth rejected it. Wadsworth recalled that Foremost Man had once told him that he would never leave the Cypress Hills. He recollected that when he warned the Indians that no farming instructor would be sent to teach them there, Foremost Man had replied that he was familiar with farming, that he did not want to farm, that he wanted to stay where he was. On 19 July 1887 Foremost Man appealed directly to the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs in Ottawa. In the petition which someone wrote for him he claimed that:

I have been born and have lived in this part of the country. . . . My people and I wish to live in this part of the country where I was raised in. I have always been a loyal subject to Her Majesty's Government and whenever I meet white People have always been friendly to them. I showed my loyalty when there was trouble in 1885 by keeping my Band quiet. . . .¹²

In the 1880s and 1890s the Department of Indian Affairs tried several times to induce the Cypress Hills Indians to move to reserves in the north (especially that of Piapot). The country around the Hills was being developed as a grazing area and the Department now felt that the Indians would "menace the safety of the stock." After the Rebellion the Department considered using force if necessary to move them out but Sir John A. Macdonald rejected such a measure for fear of alarming the other Indians of the North-West Territories. Later the Department tried to convince them individually to leave. In 1893 the North-West Mounted Police reported that "several were willing to go if 'Front Man', who seems to have a great deal of influence among them, would go"; but he preferred to "continue in his present state." The new Indian Commissioner, Hayter Reed, then tried to paint them as troublemakers, "getting drunk and fighting among themselves and with the settlers." He hoped, thereby, that the Indians could be removed by citing the "Act respecting . . . Public Morals." The North-West Mounted Police, however, would not co-operate for they regularly reported that the Indians were "peaceful," "well-behaved" and "industrious." Moreover, while whites were occasionally jailed for vagrancy at Maple Creek, the Mounties never charged any of Foremost Man's people with that offense.¹³

Foremost Man's Indians were seldom involved in serious crime. A survey of North-West Mounted Police arrest statistics shows that, from 1886 to 1896, the force recorded an average of only one Indian conviction per year at Maple Creek — usually for theft or drunkenness. In 1891, however, some of Foremost Man's followers were arrested at Medicine Hat for illegal possession of alcohol: to avoid

Prohibition laws, whiskey runners often threw liquor from moving trains just outside town; the Indians, though, would sometimes pick up the contraband before the smugglers could retrieve it. With respect to disputes within the band, only on two occasions did an Indian choose to use the white system of justice rather than have his grievance handled, in the traditional manner, by the chief; these cases resulted in convictions of one Indian for assaulting another. There is no record of Indians laying court charges against whites, though the Police did order one whiteman to pay reparations to an Indian whose dog he had shot. With respect to whites charging Indians, offences were never worse than minor thefts; there were no cases reported of Indians assaulting whites or of Indians killing range cattle.¹⁴

Relations between Foremost Man's Indians and the white settlers were quite good. Many whites supported the band's attempts to obtain a reserve at Maple Creek and advised the Indians that the Government had no legal right to force them onto any reserve. The North-West Mounted Police noted, however, that many of the settlers stood to gain from the Indians' presence in the area for they served as a handy source of cheap, intermittent labour.¹⁵

With the buffalo gone, mere survival must have been difficult for Indians not living on a reserve. Though life was often difficult there, reserve Indians at least received some assistance in the form of equipment, seeds and stock, and instruction in agricultural methods. As well as the annual cash payments guaranteed them by treaty, they could obtain medical and food aid in times of emergency. The Department of Indian Affairs denied these benefits to Foremost Man's band because it would not agree to settle on a reserve. By threatening to withhold the benefits of treaty, the Department had successfully forced every other band to move onto a reserve; but Foremost Man and his people would not give in. Foremost Man does not seem to have been aware that the Department could not legally deprive him of his annual treaty payments. Departmental officials were aware, however, that the withholding of these annuities was not legal. The amount was not large — \$5 a year per person and \$15 for a headman. Still, the annuities, along with other treaty benefits, would unquestionably have helped this impoverished band. On the other hand, Foremost Man's old leader, Kahkewistahaw, was not prospering on his reserve. Although considered a cooperative chief by the Department, he was reported in 1902 as living in extreme poverty.¹⁶

Foremost Man's band scratched out a living by various means. In the early years it tried agriculture; in 1885 a Mounted Policeman reported that they were "occupying themselves in trying to put in a crop of potatoes, but as they had no implements, except one spade, the others using sharpened stakes and hatchets, the headway they made was small. A few were fishing with dip-nets and catching suckers enough to feed themselves." Two years later they were reported still gardening but this practice seems to have been abandoned by the 1890s. In these early years the band supplemented its diet by hunting in the Cypress Hills but that could not continue indefinitely. A Mounted Police officer warned as early as 1886 "they are fast killing off all the game in this section." The band also earned some cash by harvesting buffalo horns and bones which lay about the plains. The horns they polished and decorated for sale as souvenirs to passengers on the trains which passed through Maple Creek and Medicine Hat; the bones they collected for export to fertilizer and carbon works in the United States. By the 1890s most of the antelope, fish and bones were gone and the Indians had to find other means of subsistence. Many, like Foremost Man himself, were able to continue hunting by

spending part of the year in Montana where apparently there was still some game. The rest remained in the area, hiring out to local ranchers at haying time, cutting fuel wood in the Hills for sale in the towns or selling the horses which they bred. The Indians received no assistance from local churches.¹⁷

Foremost Man never asked for help, even during the most difficult winters. After his death in 1897 his people continued to be wary of Government aid. The North-West Mounted Police provided them with emergency rations on occasion but, as one officer observed:

If we do not happen to find out their condition they will say nothing as they are morbidly afraid of accepting assistance from the government lest they should be compelled to go and live on a reserve. One is disposed to think that life on any kind of reserve must be better than the life they lead, but they cannot be persuaded to think so.¹⁸

The Cree tradition of community sharing must have contributed much to their survival in difficult times.

In 1885, when they were gardening, some of Foremost Man's followers were reported living in rough houses but by the 1890s they had returned to living in tents because they made travel easier. The seasonal nature of their odd jobs made frequent travel necessary but, in any case, it suited the migratory propensity of these Plains Cree Indians. At times half or more of the band might be found across the border in Montana, hunting or attending a Sun Dance. The American authorities occasionally sent some of them back to Canada but if the hunting was better on the Missouri River the Indians did not hesitate to go back. In Montana they met Cree who had fled Canada after the Rebellion of 1885; these Cree were repatriated in 1896 and some of Foremost Man's people were mistakenly included among them.¹⁹

The travels of Foremost Man and his band did not trouble the Department of Indian Affairs; it was, rather, those who left their reserves to visit the Cypress Hills who were considered worrisome. Immediately after the Rebellion some Indians and Métis fleeing the country passed through the Hills before escaping to the United States. Their passage placed Foremost Man under suspicion but there is no evidence that he assisted them. Indeed, the Mounted Police officer commanding at Maple Creek reported him as "very friendly." The Department was subsequently afraid that some of the rebel Indians might return to Canada by way of the Cypress Hills. This did not happen but the Hills remained a magnet attracting Indians unhappy with life on the reserve. While it was not illegal for them to leave their reserves it made the Department uncomfortable. It constantly encouraged wandering Indians to return home to their reserves in the north; transportation costs were paid by the Government.²⁰

There is no doubt, however, that if a substantial number of discontented Indians had left their reserves seeking to rediscover the traditional life of the plains, the Government would have found a means to force them all onto reserves. The Department of Indian Affairs tolerated Foremost Man's band only because it was small and caused no trouble. Foremost Man and his followers kept a low profile, especially in the 1890s. This is how Foremost Man succeeded in staying in the Cypress Hills while stronger leaders, such as Big Bear and Piapot, failed. It is also obvious that the resources of the Cypress Hills could only have supported a small band of hunting Indians.

In the early years the Department of Indian Affairs seems to have regarded all Indians living in the Cypress Hills as part of a band led by Foremost Man. In the 1890s, however, the Department more often considered the Cypress Hills Indians as "Stragglers" from several bands all of whom belonged to reserves in the north. The Indians themselves may not all have deemed Foremost Man to be their leader but he was usually their spokesman in any group dealings with the whites. It may have been that Foremost Man was simply the strongest personality amongst a group of conservative Indians who were united only in a desire to live in the Cypress Hills area. It may have been that Foremost Man was the most adamant in his attachment to the Cypress Hills area and that the others took courage from his example. The role which Foremost Man played, then, was probably more that of a spokesman for a group of like-minded people, more than of a quiet man who led by example, rather than that of a dynamic and hortatory leader in the Plains Cree tradition.

Even though a few Indians left their reserves to join Foremost Man's original group in the Cypress Hills, the total number declined over the years. Some gave up and consented to settle on a northern reserve; for them the price was too high — they could not live without their treaty rights. But Foremost Man himself was able to remain true to his goal. That goal was not to avoid life on a reserve but, rather, to avoid leaving his cherished Cypress Hills. In achieving his goal it has turned out that Foremost Man is now known as the leader of the last band of Plains Cree Indians to settle on a reserve in Canada.

Foremost Man's goal, however, was not realized in his lifetime. In the spring of 1897 a party of Cree returned to Maple Creek from Montana bringing Foremost Man with them; he had come home to see the Cypress Hills one last time and died there, 16 May 1897. The band, now led by Crooked Legs, pursued Foremost Man's dream of a reserve in the Hills, eventually hiring a lawyer to promote their cause. They informed the lawyer that "it was the express command of their Chief before he died that they should remain" in the area. The Government finally relented to the Indians' wishes in 1913; it granted them a small reserve at Maple Creek on the grounds that they had "lived in that vicinity all their lives" and that the local (white) settlers had requested they be allowed to stay.²¹ Still, it was not until 1975 that the Government agreed to pay them their treaty benefits; they had gone without them for 93 years.

Thirty years elapsed between the time that the buffalo disappeared and the year that Foremost Man's band took a reserve. One generation of these treaty Indians of the plains never experienced the close attention or paternalism of the Department of Indian Affairs. Unlike Indians on reserves, they travelled widely on the plains; they enjoyed considerable independence and were free to make their own decisions. Nevertheless, they strove to obtain a reserve where, as they were well aware, their lives would be restricted by government supervision. It is possible that they felt that two greater ends were to be gained by obtaining a reserve. Granted by the government, a reserve would give them a secure right to live indefinitely in the Cypress Hills to which they had become strongly attached (they would accept a reserve nowhere else). In addition, a reserve would give them a secure right to live together on their own, communally-held land.

This latter sentiment indicates that the individualistic wage employment and entrepreneurship of the white society in which they had worked for thirty years had not diminished the communal, sharing ethic of their Cree heritage. Indeed, Foremost Man's people do not seem to have been acculturated to any notable extent.

Perhaps the difficulties which they encountered in white society reinforced the validity of, and need for, maintaining their traditions. To meet their difficulties they continued to trust in familiar Indian practices rather than ask assistance of a government which they feared would force them to leave the Cypress Hills. For example, they rarely sought justice in Canadian courts, and never sent their children to public schools, or solicited welfare or medical care in times of want. They relied, instead, on traditional Cree mechanisms to resolve internal differences, instruct the young, provide for the needy and care for the sick.

An ethnographic study of the Nekaneet reserve conducted in the 1960s found that "much of Indian culture is intact, although its integrity is lost." This persistence was especially true of such traits as religion, language, medicine, food habits, music, recreation, sharing practices and a propensity to travel. The investigator did not claim that the Nekaneet population was less acculturated than that of other reserves (he was not aware that it was more recently established). However, he did note that only seven people were literate in English and five of these were women who had educated on other reserves and married Nekaneet men.²²

There is no evidence to indicate that Foremost Man preached the importance of preserving Cree culture. His goal was simply to be allowed to live in the Cypress Hills. To pursue that goal, however, Foremost Man and his band found strength in their traditional practices.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Public Archives of Canada (PAC), RG 10, (Department of Indian Affairs Records), Paylists, vol. 9412, pp. 47, 169; vol. 9413, p. 12; vol. 9415, pp. 47-49; vol. 9415A, pp. 64-75. RG 10, B 3, vol. 7779, file 27140. Canada, Department of Indian Affairs: *Number and Acreage of Indian Reserves and settlements by band*, (Ottawa 1976), p. 15.
- ² David Mandelbaum: *The Plains Cree*, (Regina 1979), pp. 9-12. RG 10, B 3, vol. 7779, file 27140.
- ³ R. Bonnicksen, S. Baldwin: *Cypress Hills Ethnohistory and Ecology*, Archaeological Survey of Alberta, Occasional Paper No. 10, (Edmonton 1978), pp. 35-39.
- ⁴ RG 10, Paylists, vol. 9415, pp. 47-49; vol. 9415A, pp. 64-65. Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1880, p. 105; *ibid.*, 1881, p. 56; *ibid.*, 1882, pp. 201-202.
- ⁵ RG 10, B 3, vols. 3744 & 3745, files 29506-1, 29506-2 & 29506-3. North-West Mounted Police, *Annual Report*, 1882, p. 3.
- ⁶ Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Reports*, 1882-1898, "Tabular Statements."
- ⁷ Mandelbaum, pp. 221-224.
- ⁸ PAC, RG 18, (R.C.M.P. records), B 1, vol. 1038, #75; RG 10, vol. 7779, file 27140.
- ⁹ NWMP, *Annual Report* for 1883, p. 8.
- ¹⁰ RG 10, B 3, vol. 3757, file 31397; vol. 3744, file 29506-2; vol. 7779, file 27140; Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1882, p. 542. Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1882, pp. 5, 194.
- ¹¹ RG 10, B 3, vol. 7779, file 27140. PAC, MG 26A, Macdonald Papers, vol. 211, p. 89912. Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1892, p. 276; *ibid.*, 1893, p. 402.
- ¹² RG 10, B 3, vol. 7779, file 27140.
- ¹³ RG 10, B 3, vol. 7779, file 27140; vol. 3964, file 149874; NWMP, *Annual Report*, 1887, p. 37; *ibid.*, 1888, pp. 123-124; *ibid.*, 1893, p. 116; *ibid.*, 1895, p. 28. RG 18, B 1, vol. 1038, #75.
- ¹⁴ NWMP, *Annual Reports*, 1886-1896, Appendices. RG 10, B 1, vol. 1204, #163. RG 18, A 1, vol. 1042, f. 97.
- ¹⁵ RG 10, B 3, vol. 7779, file 27140.
- ¹⁶ RG 10, B 3, vol. 7779, file 27140; vol. 3863, file 84138-1. Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1902, p. 193.
- ¹⁷ NWMP, *Annual Report*, 1885, pp. 2-3; *ibid.*, 1886, p. 31; *ibid.*, 1887, p. 37; *ibid.*, 1888, pp. 123-124; *ibid.*, 1889, pp. 118-119; *ibid.*, 1897, pp. 88-89. RG 10, B 3, vol. 7779, file 27140; vol. 3964, file 149874. RG 18, B 1, vol. 1382, #76.
- ¹⁸ NWMP, *Annual Report*, 1885, pp. 2-3; *ibid.*, 1904, pp. 25; *ibid.*, 1905, p. 24.
- ¹⁹ RG 18, A 1, vol. 62, f. 211; vol. 91, f. 150. RG 18, B 1, vol. 1063, #111, part 2. NWMP, *Annual Report*, 1891, p. 94; *ibid.*, 1892, p. 113; *ibid.*, 1895, p. 25. RG 10, vol. 7779, file 27140; vol. 3863, file 84138-1; vol. 3964, file 149874.
- ²⁰ PAC, MG 27, I C4, Dewdney Papers, vol. 4, pp. 1376-77; RG 10, B 3, vol. 7779, file 27140; vol. 3964, file 149874. RG 18, B 1, vol. 1038, #75; vol. 1140, #178; NWMP, *Annual Report*, 1886, p. 31; *ibid.*, 1897, pp. 88-89. B.A.T. de Montigny, A. Ouimet (eds.): *La Vérité Sur La Question Métisse au Nord-Ouest*, (Montreal 1889), p. 144.
- ²¹ RG 10, B 3, vol. 7779, file 27140. Canada, Order-in-Council No. 2004, 2 August 1913.
- ²² Niels W. Braroe: *Indian and White: Self-Image and Interaction in a Canadian Plains Community*, (Stanford 1975), pp. 53, 122, 142 *et passim*. The author disguises the area, calling it "Sweet Grass."

RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES

A BEGINNING IN POLITICS: SASKATOON CCF 1938-1943

By Carlyle King

Although I had been a member of the League for Social Reconstruction, one of the founding bodies of the CCF, and although I had supported CCF candidates in the elections of 1934, 1935, and 1938, I took no active part in my local constituency organization until the fall of 1938. This was partly because of my disappointment in what I felt to be the maladroit leadership of the Saskatchewan CCF by George Williams and the lacklustre performance by the CCF group in the Provincial Legislature. My admiration went to J. S. Woodsworth and M. J. Coldwell in the federal field. Anyway, I believed that significant effort to lift Canada from the depths of economic depression would have to come on the national level.

Of more importance to me, however, in the middle thirties was the worsening international situation and the consequent danger of war, of which I was warning my students at least as early as 1935. I spoke publicly on this subject whenever invited to do so, usually by youth groups. I remember speaking to groups as diverse as the Student Christian Movement, the Young Judaeans, and the Young Communist League. My speech to the latter group created a furore in the Province and a flurry of letters to the daily press from right-thinking people. My offence, I see now, was more in the group that I spoke to than in what I said, for my message to young Christians and young Communists was the same: I explained why the world was in deadly peril, I criticized the foreign policy of the British Government (and the Canadian Government) and I advocated policies that I believed would ease international tension. Among the audience at the Y.C.L. meeting was the Rev. W. G. Brown, outspoken minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, who listened attentively to my speech and in the subsequent question and discussion period raised no objection to anything I had said. It was the press that did me in. A sensational report with a scare headline in the next day's *Star-Phoenix* earned me the reputation for some years as "that _____ who said that the British Empire was not worth fighting for."

I compounded my offence by telling young business men much the same as I had told young Christians and young Communists. In an early month of 1938 I spoke to the Saskatoon Kinsmen Club, again condemning the foreign policy of the British Government and warning my auditors of the wrath to come. They heard me out in stunned surprise and responded with polite applause; but the next day the telephone in the President's Office never stopped ringing from outraged callers demanding my head on a platter. Dr. J. S. Thomson, President at the time, was so shaken that within the next day or so he walked across the campus to my office and told me that if I persisted in making speeches "like that" he would recommend my dismissal from the employment of the University. He was not appeased when I

offered to provide him with evidence that much more eminent people than I, in his native great Britain, were making even stronger attacks on the British Government. Considering him a coward and a bully, I refused to give him the assurance that he wanted. He returned to his office; nothing ever came of his threat.

Life *has* its little ironies. Many years later, after World War II and after Dr. Thomson had gone to head the Divinity School at McGill University, I was in Montreal for Learned Societies meetings. Strolling across the McGill campus, I encountered Dr. Thomson who greeted me with warm cordiality and insisted that I should come that night to an antiwar rally at which he was to be chairman! I went, and listened to distinguished people like Nobel Prize winner Dr. Linus Pauling and my long-time political comrade, Madame Therese Casgrain, feminist, pacifist, and leader of the Quebec CCF.

In the second half of the nineteen thirties I also spent a good deal of my spare time in establishing a Canadian branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The F.O.R. was a Christian pacifist organization that had emerged in Great Britain after World War One and had spread to several European countries and to the Americas. By 1935 or so the largest branch was in the United States. The F.O.R. was not just another anti-war protest group. As the name implies, its members pledged themselves to work not only for non-violent solutions to conflicts between nations but also for conciliatory settlements to the endemic conflicts that arise within society: between ethnic and economic groups, between Capital and Labour, between employers and employees, and conflicts in the home and family. For example, the F.O.R. was very much aware of the damage done to people by industrial strikes and lock-outs, and was much concerned by wife beating and child abuse long before protest against these became fashionable causes.

Through my friend the Rev. Clarence Halliday of Westminster United Church, Saskatoon, I had been in touch with a number of clergymen, mainly in Toronto and Montreal, who had made tentative advances towards setting up a Canadian branch of the F.O.R. I remember particularly the Rev. James Finlay and the Rev. Lavell Smith. When the efforts of my Eastern Canada confreres seemed to have ceased or have produced no results, I made them a proposal: I offered to organize an F.O.R. Council of representative pacifists from across Canada, I volunteered to act as Chairman of that Council, and (with his agreement) I offered the services of Cleo W. Mowers as Secretary. Mr. Mowers had been a student of mine and was at the time a student in theology at St. Andrew's College (United Church) in Saskatoon. My colleagues in Eastern Canada gladly accepted my proposal, and I proceeded to establish a Canadian F.O.R. Council. I obtained the consent of about a dozen people to be members of a National F.O.R. Council, and I wrote a statement of Basis and Aims for their consideration. When this received their unanimous approval, I had it printed on a membership application form, circulated it wherever I knew of pacifist groups in Canada, and invited people to send membership applications (with a small membership fee) to 301 Birks Building, Saskatoon. A suite of rooms at that address housed the law firm of Makaroff and Bates; it also served as the "National Office" of the Canadian F.O.R. as long as Mowers and I were officers. Registered membership in the Canadian F.O.R. was never large; I doubt if it ever exceeded 200 at any given time.

When, however, we applied for affiliation to the International F.O.R., based in Great Britain, we ran into trouble with the F.O.R. in the United States. John Nevin Sayre, head of the F.O.R. there, objected that our Basis and Aims statement was not

specifically Christian, that it did not require people to say that they were pacifists *because* they were Christians. This omission had been quite intentional on my part. I had taken the view — and the Christian clergymen on the National Council had agreed with me — that we should try to get all the pacifists in Canada, because they were few, into one organization and that therefore the statement of Basis and Aims, which was essentially an ethical statement, should make it possible for Jews or Hindus or agnostics as well as Christians to join the F.O.R. Mr. Sayre feared that our statement would open the way to Communist infiltration! He argued that, if F.O.R. members did not state that they were Christians, Communists could join and warp the organization to their own purposes. I argued that if Communists really wanted to join the F.O.R. a little thing like signing a statement that they were Christians wouldn't stop them. In the event, Percy Bartlett, secretary of the I.F.O.R., agreed with Mr. Sayre and rejected our statement of Basis and Aims as insufficiently Christian. At this point I gave up and asked Lavell Smith and his colleagues in Ontario to take over the direction of the organization. Ultimately they revised the statement of Basis and Aims to make it specifically Christian, and they issued a little magazine called *Reconciliation*, to which I contributed articles (Vol. 1, No. 1 and No. 2, October and December 1943).

It was my friend and fellow-pacifist Peter G. Makaroff, K.C., who persuaded me in the fall of 1938 to take a position of leadership in the Saskatoon CCF. At the time the Saskatoon CCF was at the lowest ebb of its fortunes. Internal dissension had prevented it from running candidates in the June 1938 Provincial Elections, and its constituency officers were demoralized; its treasury was bare and its paid-up membership low. Even the most optimistic of CCF members would not have dreamed that five and a half years later Arthur Stone and Jack Sturdy would sweep to an impressive victory over Liberal and Conservative opponents in the 1944 Provincial Election. In 1938 many faithful members, discouraged by defeat, wondered if they should give up running CCF candidates as such and instead make common cause with Communists and Social Crediters and dissident Liberals in a so-called United Front campaign. Under these circumstances Peter Makaroff set out to rebuild the CCF constituency organization by recruiting new people to positions of leadership.

It was difficult, but P.G.M. was always at his best in working uphill against apparently impossible odds. His whole life had been an uphill struggle. He had been born in Russia into an obscure community of illiterate but passionately religious peasants who came to be known derisively as Doukhobors (spirit wrestlers) much as the members of the 17th century English Society of Friends were called Quakers. The Doukhobor renunciation of war came to a head in 1895 when in resistance to military conscription they made a bonfire of all the lethal weapons they could find. For this opposition to war they were cruelly persecuted by the Czar's soldiers; they were pillaged, robbed, and beaten. (In 1940 an aging man at Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan took off his shirt and showed me the ugly scars of wounds which had been inflicted on him as a young man by a Cossack's knout). The persecution of the Doukhobors came to the attention of the famous novelist Leo Tolstoy, who felt a warm sympathy for these primitive Christians and who enlisted the aid of the American Society of Friends to find them a haven in the New World. The Friends negotiated with the Canadian Government for the emigration of the Doukhobors from southern Russia to the unbroken prairie of Saskatchewan in 1898-9, and so towards the end of the 19th century young Peter Makaroff came with his family to

share the hardships and the backbreaking toil of pioneer farmers on the banks of the North Saskatchewan River not far from the present town of Blaine Lake. The Friends, who made regular visitations to the new community, spotted a bright boy and helped Peter to get a high school education, first at Philadelphia and later at the Rosthern Academy, fifty miles north of Saskatoon. He was able to get a teaching certificate from a short session at Normal School, and then with money saved from the meagre salary of a schoolteacher was able to put himself through the University of Saskatchewan and emerge with a Bachelor of Laws degree — the first Doukhobor in the world to get a schooling, to go to college, to become a professional man! When I knew him first, in the mid -1930s, he had, with Arthur Bates, established a thriving legal practice in Saskatoon. He had also, in 1934, run unsuccessfully as the CCF candidate in the Provincial Constituency of Shellbrook. Now, in 1938, he was trying to rebuild a badly shattered CCF organization in Saskatoon.

He succeeded to the extent that at a general membership meeting in the fall, the Saskatoon CCF was able to elect an almost entirely new Constituency Executive of about eight persons. I became President of the Saskatoon CCF. William G. Manning, a highly respected high school teacher, was chosen to be Vice-President. Fred Gordon, an active trade unionist and a printer by occupation, was elected Secretary, and Mrs. Henrietta Graham, a housewife whose husband was a railroader, was made Treasurer. Mr. Manning dropped out after a year or so, chiefly, I think, because he found it embarrassing to be a table officer of a CCF organization while his brother, E. C. Manning, was Social Credit Treasurer of Alberta. Some time after the outbreak of the War Fred Gordon resigned in protest against what he believed to be lukewarm support of the war effort by the CCF. I was sorry to lose him because he had been an efficient secretary and I had come to have a high regard for him as a person. His place as CCF Secretary was taken by Mrs. Rosemary Millhouse, a professional secretary both before and after her marriage, who gave excellent service to the Saskatoon CCF during my tenure of office and for many years thereafter. When, in the whirligig of time, I became Dean of Academic Services at the University (in the 1960s) I was happy to have the University employ Mrs. Millhouse as my office secretary for the dozen years before my retirement.

The first job of the new Executive in 1938 was to establish a visible presence for the CCF in the city. Accordingly we rented and furnished a modest space on the second floor of the Helgerson Block on Second Avenue to serve as a headquarters and meeting place; those of us who could afford it each paid a dollar or two monthly to cover the cost of rental and upkeep. Here we could keep our records, literature, and supplies, and here groups of up to fifty could meet. The young people (CCYM) used it regularly as a clubhouse. A window display made us known to pedestrians on the other side of Saskatoon's main thoroughfare, and a small sign at eye level on the street told passers-by that the CCF lived one flight upstairs.

The next thing was to run candidates in the Saskatoon civic elections of November 1938. I think this was the first time in Saskatchewan that people had run for civic office under the CCF banner; it certainly attracted attention to us at the time, and it gave our members a constructive activity in canvassing for support and getting out the potential vote. Peter Makaroff ran for one of six aldermanic seats; I tried for one of three openings on the Public School Board. I was encouraged to do this by two delegations, one representing the teachers, the other the maintenance employees of the School Board, who urged me to run and pledged their support. Of the three incumbents running for re-election, "Cy" Brunskill, who had the support

of both labor and business, was certain to win; but it seemed possible to dislodge one of the others, both mediocre lawyers with humdrum records. In the event, however, I ran fourth, although receiving more votes — around 5,000 — than any CCF candidates, provincial or federal, had hitherto received. Usually 5,000 votes, at that time in Saskatoon, would have been sufficient to win in a Public School Board contest, but the turn-out at the polls in 1938 was larger than usual. Reports afterwards had it that a group of I.O.D.E. women had conducted a phone campaign against me as a wild-eyed radical trying to break up the British Empire! Makaroff had better luck than I; he came sixth in the aldermanic race. This gave him one year on City Council, completing the two-year term of someone who had resigned. When, however, he had to stand for re-election in November 1939 against five incumbents, he was defeated.

Our main objective, of course, was to build up support for a CCF candidate in the next Federal Election, expected for 1939 or, at the latest, 1940. Here, however, we were stymied by the emergence in the spring of 1939 of the United Reform Movement under the charismatic leadership of the Reverend W. G. Brown, minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church. Mr. Brown had become well and favorably known in the late thirties for his work on behalf of the homeless unemployed, for his participation in the activities of the Saskatoon Trades and Labour Council, and for his attempts to make humane the administration of social assistance by the City Relief Office. The more his sympathies were engaged by the economic casualties of the time, the more eloquent became his denunciation of capitalism as unchristian. Gradually he became persuaded that he should head a non-party or non-partisan political crusade for social righteousness.

He was helped immensely by the widespread sentiment, all over the Western world in the mid-thirties, for a Popular Front of all "progressives" against "reactionary" governments. The Communists, knowing that in the western democracies they had no chance on their own of achieving much power or even much influence, played down their Marxist dogmas and promoted the idea of a Popular Front against the forces making for poverty, mass unemployment, fascism and war. They had considerable success for some years, certainly in France, and also in Great Britain where such notables as Harold Laski, G. D. H. Cole, Sir Stafford Cripps, and Sir Richard Acland were among the proponents of the Popular Front. In Canada there were many otherwise intelligent people who honestly believed that a United Front of CCF-ers, Communists, Social Crediters, Herridge New Democrats, dissident Liberals and maverick Conservatives — what a Mulligan's stew! — could make some headway against the hated MacKenzie King Government. The idea made a powerful appeal to good-hearted people who otherwise despaired of reform or improvement in the Depression Years.

It was this that made possible the success of Mr. Brown's United Reform Movement in Saskatoon. I knew Mr. Brown very well — his daughter Helen had been a student in one of my University classes — and I had a high regard for his courage and compassion. At his invitation I attended a meeting in September 1938 at which he first broached in a general way the idea of some sort of political action, and I went to some subsequent meetings of the informal group he convened. So did J. H. Sturdy, who had been a CCF candidate in 1934 (in the provincial constituency of Qu'Appelle). When I sensed that Mr. Brown was seriously considering political candidature, I tried to persuade him to join the CCF and to run under that banner. This, however, was too much for one who had been a lifelong Liberal, who was now

furiously angry at what was happening to helpless people, but who had no conception of what kind of social order was needed to replace capitalist chaos. W. G. Brown was long on compassion but short on ideas. He had a fiery zeal for social righteousness but politically, he was a babe in the woods. Michael Patrick Hayes, his Liberal opponent in the federal by-election of December 1939, was substantially right in saying that Brown was "a tool of the communists" and in surmising that Harold Miller and Nelson Clarke, the managers of the United Reform Movement election campaigns, were members of the Communist Party. Brown said very honestly that he welcomed the support of the Communists; what he never realized was that they were using him for their own ends.*

After Mr. Brown was chosen United Reform candidate in March 1939 it became a practical impossibility for the CCF to oppose him. No member of the Saskatoon CCF was willing to be a candidate against him; many members actively worked in the campaign which resulted in his first election. It was equally impossible to oppose his re-election when a federal general election was called (for March 1940) on the very day that W. G. Brown first took his seat in the House of Commons.

In that election some of us in the Saskatoon CCF simply gave up on our own constituency and worked instead in Rosthern Federal, which at that time surrounded the city on three sides. Rosthern constituency extended as far north as Carlton and St. Louis, on each side of the South Saskatchewan River, went east to include the towns of Wakaw and Colonsay, and south as far as Kenaston; its westward boundary was the constituency of Rosetown-Biggar, which came nearly to Saskatoon's city limits. Rosthern was the safest Liberal seat in Saskatchewan; no one could remember when it hadn't gone Liberal. Its approximately 16,000 voters included 5,000 Mennonites, of whom about 4,990 habitually voted Liberal! This gave the sitting M.P., Walter Tucker, a considerable head start on any challenger. In the 1935 election the CCF candidate had lost his election deposit, and in 1940 the CCF constituency organization in Rosthern was a shattered remnant. There was virtually no poll organization; there was no money. Peter Makaroff agreed to be the CCF candidate in Rosthern Federal if I would be his campaign manager, an offer which was gratefully accepted by the faithful few who comprised the Rosthern CCF constituency executive. Rosemary Millhouse and her sister Margaret Henderson did the campaign office work. Actually they did the office work for two campaigns, Rosthern and Rosetown-Biggar, because J. T. (Jack) Douglas, campaign manager for M. J. Coldwell, decided that in the dead of winter he could more handily work out of Saskatoon than from any small centre within his constituency. Thus it happened that Mr. Douglas ran Mr. Coldwell's campaign and I ran Mr. Makaroff's campaign from adjacent rooms in 301 Birks Building, Saskatoon. This was of very great advantage to me, because I was without experience as a political campaign manager, whereas Jack Douglas was both experienced and able in the business. He taught me what I needed to know; I checked with him regularly as I proceeded through the campaign and gained much from his advice and his encouragement.

Neither Peter Makaroff nor I believed that we could win Rosthern for the CCF, but we worked as doggedly as if we thought we had a chance. The Conservatives, deeming Rosthern to be hopeless for them, did not enter a candidate. A young Mennonite school teacher ran for Social Credit. Him we ignored, and concentrated

* See J. M. Pitsula, *W. G. Brown: "Righteousness Exalteth A Nation"* (Saskatchewan History, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, pp. 56-70) for a judicious and well-documented account of the United Reform Movement in Saskatoon.

our efforts on giving Mr. Tucker a stiff contest and reducing the huge majority he had rolled up in 1935. The pattern of our life for two months in the winter of 1940 was something like this: Peter worked all day at his law practice; I worked until late afternoon at my university job. At about 4:30 p.m. I came down to 301 Birks Building and did my campaign office work: preparing material for my workers in the field, writing letters, making phone calls, updating my records, and the like. After a quick supper we set out in Peter's car to hold a meeting in some corner of the constituency. He spoke to those assembled about the issues of the campaign and the CCF program; I made a pitch for money and for volunteers to help in the campaign. When the meeting was over, I met with those who were supportive, set up a poll committee, and outlined the jobs to be done from that date until polling day. We never got back to Saskatoon before midnight, and sometimes it was 2 or 3 a.m. Sometimes we got stuck in the snow; sometimes, when the road was impassable, we left the car and were driven across-country over the snowdrifts in a friendly farmer's home-made snowmobile. (At that time there was not a mile of hard-surfaced road in the whole constituency, and highway snow removal was occasional and haphazard). This we did day after day, and night after night, throughout February and March. I also found time to spend one week-end in Kindersley constituency, speaking on behalf of the CCF candidate A. G. H. Mitchell, a high school teacher, who publicly supported J. S. Woodworth's stand on the War.

After three or four weeks of our strenuous program we began to see results in Rosthern. Our local committees canvassed enthusiastically and found a good response; support for the CCF candidate began to snowball; money came in steadily — in fact so steadily that I was able to pay all campaign expenses promptly, to make the election deposit of \$150 for the candidate, even to pay Makaroff's travelling expenses, and at the end of the campaign to present an amazed Executive with a surplus of \$250. We had Walter Tucker on the run, and if we had had another two weeks in which to reach every poll in the constituency we might have overtaken him. Indeed, reports were so good that Jack Douglas, a restrained observer in such matters, thought we might win. The climax of the campaign was a joint meeting on the Sunday afternoon before polling day at Batoche where Makaroff and Tucker competed for the francophone vote (about 1,000) in the northern corner of the constituency. It was a tumultuous debate. Two leather-lunged orators battered each other with sledgehammer words, while the bi-partisan crowd yelled and stamped, cheered and jeered; they made so much noise that for months afterwards people referred to the affair as the second Battle of Batoche! On polling day the CCF vote was amazingly high for Rosthern constituency, but we were behind the winner by 1,156 votes. The Social Credit candidate's total vote was 999.

W. G. Brown retained Saskatoon for the United Reform Movement in the March 1940 election, but he died within a week, and Saskatoon had to endure another by-election — its third federal contest within a six-month period. The United Reformers were in disarray; their movement had been built entirely around one man; they had no other possible candidate. I had remained on friendly terms with many of their active workers. At this juncture I suggested that they invite Agnes McPhail to be their candidate, and I wrote to Miss McPhail urging her to accept such an invitation. The only woman in Canadian Parliament, she had represented Bruce-Grey for many years under the banner of the United Farmers of Ontario, but she had been defeated in March 1940, largely because of her close political association with J. S. Woodworth and her reluctant support of the War. She was

invited to Saskatoon; she came; but it was of no use. The Communists who had managed the Brown campaigns had no intention of working to elect a candidate who, while not wearing the label, would have been virtually another CCF Member of Parliament. One of my most vivid recollections is of a visit to Miss McPhail's quarters about a week after she arrived in Saskatoon. I found a lonely, isolated, and dispirited woman. Agnes McPhail was as shrewd politically as W. G. Brown was naive; she knew who was really in charge of the United Reform Movement, and she knew that they would stab her in the back. She would stay the course, she said, but she had already accepted defeat. I have always regretted my part in getting her into such a deplorable situation.

The next step was to chase the rats out of the Saskatoon CCF. I had been tipped off by a friend who was an avowed member of the Communist group in Saskatoon that Nelson Clarke and Harold Miller were under-cover Communists. In 1938 and 1939 Clarke and Miller were still card-carrying members of the CCF. I began to watch them and to collect evidence of their activities in undermining the CCF. It was a tough job. They were adroit and they covered their tracks well; it was not easy to get evidence firm enough to convince hard-headed fellows like Roy Knight and Jack Sturdy that Miller and Clarke were really working against the CCF. Nor did I enjoy the hunt; Nelson Clarke had been a student of mine and I liked him personally. Finally, in 1940 when I thought I held a couple of aces in my hand, I initiated proceedings against the two men, being careful to observe exactly every provision of the CCF Constitution that dealt with expulsion of a member lest I be tripped up on a technicality. George Williams, President of the Provincial CCF at the time, supported me at every step of the way, and ultimately I was able to get Clarke and Miller expelled from the CCF. As soon as this happened, some six to eight other CCF members whom I suspected of being Communists or fellow-travellers voluntarily dropped out of the Saskatoon CCF. A year or so later Nelson Clarke surfaced as leader of the Saskatchewan branch of the Communist Party of Canada (C.P.C.); Harold Miller went to the west coast and became equally prominent in the British Columbia branch of the C.P.C.

Having cleared out the Communists, the Saskatoon CCF was then able to proceed single-mindedly towards getting candidates in the field for the next provincial election. This was expected in 1942, because Liberal Governments in Saskatchewan had gone regularly to the electorate after an interval of not more than four years, and the CCF Provincial Executive was urging all CCF constituency organizations where there was not a sitting CCF M.L.A. to nominate candidates at least a year before an election. This was particularly important in Saskatoon; it seemed strategically wise to get CCF candidates named and presented to the public before some other "united front" movement should get under way. Being first in the field as opponents of the incumbent Liberals should be an advantage, we thought. Accordingly we launched a membership drive, to get back into the fold all those who had been CCF members in the nineteen thirties and to recruit new members; and when this was modestly successful we held (in 1941) a nominating convention on a constituency-wide membership basis. Two young men, Reg Boulton and William Greengrass, were selected to represent the CCF in the Saskatoon two-member constituency. In a way they were "holding" candidates, or temporary candidates; both they and the constituency officers understood that another nominating convention might have to be held if the election were long delayed or if better candidates emerged — better in the sense of being more widely known in the



Saskatchewan Archives — Star Phoenix Collection
 Cooperative Commonwealth Federation Convention, Saskatoon, July 18, 1958. Left to Right: Premier T. C. Douglas, Dr. Carlyle King, Stanley Knowles.

constituency. I should say that Boulton and Greengrass were willing, but not eager, candidates. I remember that, a week or so after his nomination, Reg Boulton gave me a letter of resignation, signed but undated. I was to hold this privately, he said, but if circumstances warranted it, I was to date the letter and use it to expedite a new nominative convention. Boulton — and members of the Constituency Executive — hoped that, when an election date was announced, I would be willing to stand as a candidate in Saskatoon. In 1941 and 1942 I did consider this as a reasonable possibility.

As it turned out, the expected election did not occur until June 1944; the Government of the time used the War as an excuse to postpone the day of reckoning for a year beyond the statutory period of five years. In these circumstances the Saskatoon CCF held a new nominating convention in 1944 and selected as candidates Arthur Stone, who was prominently active in the Saskatoon Trades and Labour Council, and Jack Sturdy, who had been Secretary of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation before volunteering for educational work with the Armed Forces during the War. They were elected, and continued to represent Saskatoon in the Provincial Legislature for many years, indeed until they retired voluntarily because of advancing years.

In retrospect, the most rewarding activity of my years in the Saskatoon CCF was my association with the local CCYM (Co-operative Commonwealth Youth Movement). The CCYM age limits were 16 to 30. While the Saskatoon group included some teen-agers and was joined at times by some university students, the active leadership was provided by married (or engaged) couples in their middle twenties. The group never numbered more than twenty-five, but members were congenial, lively, and eager for political activity. It was my job to keep them busy! They held regular meetings throughout the season from September to May for discussion of current affairs, the issues of war and peace, the principles of socialism, and the application of these principles to Canadian situations. Sometimes the meetings were mainly social occasions like a skating party or a bowling party. I went to all the meetings, social and educational. Out of discussions with this group came my little booklet *What is Democratic Socialism?* (1943) which, subsequent to its publication in Saskatchewan, was taken over by the National CCF, issued as No. 3 in its Victory and Reconstruction Series, and distributed across Canada for many years thereafter.

Sometimes our CCYM meetings took the form of a canvass of a street of homes where the CCF appeared to have no members. We would meet early in the evening, divide up the projected area, and then, in teams of two, knock on every door of the street. We carried CCF leaflets and copies of the *Commonwealth* for giveaways. We were always received courteously and frequently invited to come in; this gave us a chance to make our pitch for CCF support. Sometimes we were able to sell a subscription to the *Commonwealth*; occasionally people took out CCF memberships or made a small contribution; but mainly I remember the excitement of encountering new people and talking politics with them. After a couple of hours of such house-to-house visitations our teams would return to a central point, usually the clubrooms on Second Avenue, and over coffee exchange accounts of people met and conversations held.

The most ambitious project the Saskatoon CCYM carried through was the establishment of a co-operative boarding house for university students. This was in 1940 or 1941, the first time anything of the kind had been attempted in

Saskatchewan, or perhaps in Canada. My part in this was to find a suitable house and to engage a competent housekeeper. I was fortunate to be able to lease a big old house on Sixth Avenue from Mrs. Una Schrader. Since the CCYM had no money and the prospective occupants were unknown, Mrs. Schrader required me to guarantee the rent; and indeed I paid the rent for the first few months. The CCYM group ransacked the basements and attics of their friends to find enough desks and bookshelves for 15 to 18 students; they cleaned the big old house from top to bottom and readied it for occupancy; they selectively recruited the students, all young men who were eager to try an experiment in co-operative living. The students established their own management organization; they made their own house rules; they set up a schedule of household duties and apportioned these among themselves. Each looked after his own room; together they did the scrubbing, the cleaning, and the dusting of the common parts of the house. They tended the heating system and did whatever else was needful to keep the house comfortable. They had kitchen duties too: preparing vegetables, setting the dining table, washing the dishes, and the like. Each paid \$25 a month to their treasurer who disbursed the money for household expenses. The housekeeper's job was to purchase food, to plan meals, and to do most of the cooking and baking.

The project almost collapsed after a month or so because of the inadequacy of the housekeeper. I had engaged a farm woman of admirable character, who was the mother of college-age children. She was a good socialist, and a firm believer in co-operative principles, but unfortunately, according to the students, a hopeless cook! In this emergency the young married women in the CCYM rallied round and spent all the time they could spare from their own homes in preparing palatable meals at the co-op house. It was not enough; the students were in rebellion, and I was at my wit's end. Fortunately, at this juncture, my widowed mother happened to visit me. She had no definite plans for the months ahead; so I persuaded her to stay in Saskatoon and be housekeeper at the co-op. My mother was an excellent manager and a good cook; she liked the students and they liked her. (Some of them wrote to her for years after they had graduated.) There was no further problem at the house. At the end of the college year the students not only repaid me all the money I had advanced towards the rent but declared themselves a modest dividend from the surplus of their monthly contributions.

I may add that the students, on their own initiative and making their own arrangements, carried on the boarding house for a couple of years, until they had graduated and Mrs. Schrader reclaimed her house for her own purposes. I have read with fascinated interest that this "grand old house on Sixth Avenue" was built in 1908 by Leonora Mallory, Mrs. Schrader's mother, at a cost of \$20,000, that it was one of the sights of Saskatoon in the early days, and that the Saskatoon Heritage Society is trying to have it designated as municipal heritage property. (*Leader-Post*, January 6, 1982).

Another successful project of the Saskatoon CCYM in the nineteen forties was the holding of summer weekend camps at Manitou Beach, near Watrous. These combined political study with recreation. The group rented a small chalet to serve as a meeting place for talks and group discussions and as a dining hall for communal meals. Over-night accommodation was available in nearby cabins; some young people brought tents. Recreation was readily at hand in or on or by the Lake. The camps were advertised in neighboring CCF constituencies, like Hanley, Biggar, Rosetown, and Watrous; the idea was to invite young people from these areas to

share a weekend of fun and fellowship with their Saskatoon counterparts. Some senior CCF leader was invited to be a resource person in discussions on socialism, current politics, and the CCF program. I especially remember inviting Jacob Benson, MLA for Last Mountain, to be one of these leaders. Mr. Benson was regarded as something of a maverick in CCF ranks; he was thought to be shy and aloof, a bit of a "loner". I was delighted when he came and brought Mrs. Benson and some young folk from his constituency with him, and when the Bensons turned out to be popular with all the young people at the camp.

By 1943 some members of the Saskatoon CCF had become quite restless under my leadership, chiefly, I think, because the War was going rather badly and they felt that I did not project a very patriotic image for the party. Five times I had been chosen by acclamation to be Constituency President; now in the spring of 1943 some members of the CCF Women's Club persuaded Walter Caswell, a lawyer and veteran of the First World War, to stand against me. He had been inactive in the CCF since 1938. His sudden emergence took everybody except his sponsors by surprise, and he defeated me in a close vote. At first I was deeply chagrined by this defeat. On reflection, however, I was relieved. I had done what I could to move the Saskatoon CCF out of the doldrums; if the majority no longer wanted me at the helm, perhaps I needed a change as much as they did. I transferred my CCF membership to Hanley constituency and kept it there as long as the CCF lasted (until 1962).

At the time, the borders of Hanley constituency began about three miles east of where I worked and resided. Hanley included the railway town of Sutherland and a cluster of small towns which served as market centres for a mainly farming population. I felt quite at home with the railwaymen and farmers of Hanley. My father had been a railway telegrapher and station agent for most of his working life; I had been born in one railway station house and had grown up in several others; I had even worked, at 16, on a railway section gang to earn money to go to college. I had gone to school in several small towns in Saskatchewan and had worked on farms at harvest time. Furthermore, I knew all the CCF workers in the constituency from the 1940 Rosthern federal campaign, Hanley provincial being almost entirely within the boundaries of Rosthern federal. The Hanley workers and farmers were not in the slightest disturbed about my well known pacifist views; when the CCF Constitution was amended to provide that each constituency should elect a member to Provincial Council, the Hanley CCF organization immediately insisted that I should be their member.

Thus it came about that in the 1944 Provincial Election campaign I worked for the election of J. S. Aitken as CCF M.L.A. for Hanley. Jim Aitken was a farmer at Cheviot who had brought a firm commitment to socialism from his native Scotland. His transparent honesty and integrity inspired respect in all who knew him, and he had a quiet eloquence both in speaking and writing that I found quite engaging. He was too modest, however, to ask for anybody's vote; so I went about the constituency with him and let him talk to people, while I solicited their support and their money. He was elected, served one term in the Saskatchewan Legislature, and voluntarily retired in 1948.

For almost all the time I was associated with the Saskatoon CCF I was also active on the provincial level of the party. I was elected to the Provincial CCF Council by the Provincial Convention of July 1939, and in the same month elected by the Council to the Provincial Executive. I remained a member of Council for the

next twenty-one years, and a member of the Executive for all but one of those years, most of the time (1945-60) serving as Provincial President. That, however, is another story.

Book Reviews

SO MUCH TO DO, SO LITTLE TIME: THE WRITINGS OF HILDA NEATBY.
By Michael Hayden. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1983. Pp. viii, 350. Illustrations. \$35.00.

Among the last duties performed by this reviewer as chairman of Western Producer Prairie Books, Saskatoon, was the acceptance of a manuscript entitled *Chronicle of a Pioneer Prairie Family* by Leslie H. Neatby. No sooner was this done than we received another from Kate Neatby, equally attractive but in a different way. The temptation to publish both was great but the economics of a sparse western market ruled otherwise.

This gave rise to the inevitable thought: what a pity Hilda, a most brilliant member of a brilliant family, had not also set down her memoirs before an untimely death in 1975. The book in hand is ample compensation for any omission on the part of this most interesting subject.

In his preface Dr. Hayden states that "as an American-born male historian of seventeenth-century France with no particular love for things English, it is quadruply presumptuous of me to attempt to present Hilda Neatby to the world." On the contrary, we are quadruply fortunate that he came to Canada to teach history, and that he chose the University of Saskatchewan, remaining to produce this excellent work on an accomplished person whose achievements cried out for attention. Both the author and the University of British Columbia Press deserve our gratitude for making this book possible.

So Much to Do, So Little Time is best described in the author's own words. In his preface he says it is not a book *about* Hilda, it is a book *by* her, his words being "a vehicle for allowing Hilda to speak one more time." The by-line states that Hayden edited and annotated the work but the first chapter, a short biography of Dr. Neatby, is much more than that as it captivates the reader with the inside story of a public person with a very private life. "The rest of the book consists essentially of the writings of Hilda Neatby. The second section. . . : Hilda *as* a woman, Presbyterian, westerner, Canadian, student and letter writer, teacher, and historian. The third section. . . : Hilda *on* education in the schools, universities, Canadian history, and the world around her. Each chapter consists of one or more selections from her published and unpublished works, preceded by an introduction" (not to be dismissed lightly). "A final chapter discusses, . . . her formation, her ideas, and her relationships with her times." Dr. Hayden provides generous notes; his bibliography betrays wide research; his bibliography of the published and unpublished works of Hilda Neatby constitutes a revelation.

Somehow, in bringing this book together, Hayden has managed to bridge the gap between academic and popular writing. It will appeal to both professional and general reader and particularly to those who knew, heard, or came into contact with Dr. Neatby in her many — sometimes stormy — activities. The book, particularly the author's short biography, is studded with irresistible nuggets of information that flesh out the sketchy picture that lingered after the subject's death.

Anyone associated with education, be it parent or professional, must not miss Hayden on Neatby's definition of a teacher as set out in his introduction. The high point in the Neatby career was the Massey Royal Commission and she had more to do with writing the report than most people suspect; there were rumors of romance between Vincent, the widower, and Hilda. A large number of the speeches given by the first Canadian Governor General were written by Hilda (after reading Hayden's biography one cannot help using her first name). Hilda on marriage: "I should like to get married too if I could find someone sufficiently interesting and sufficiently devoted, but no one here fills either qualification although they are all very good company" and "people whose chief charm is their brain are delightful to know, but not to marry," she confided to Kate, her sister. On writing examinations for her PhD at Minnesota University: "All my exams were too easy to be exciting, but long enough to be frightfully tiring." Following a forceful defense of her thesis her tutor sent her home "to think things over and stop being so obstinate." In her idle hours Hilda did needle point, bargello and sewed the occasional blouse for her sister and mother, but she shopped as well in the bargain basements of Minnesota: "Norma said \$2 was her limit . . . we finally located a very nice little navy blue straw with white organdy band and bow . . . I tried on a summer felt — light tan with brown band and just a spot of color in front, so I bought it — \$3."

Hilda's capacity for work amazed many. Early in her career school teaching seemed to be her only future. She wrote to her mother while taking a scholarship in Paris, "As I must be in Saskatoon for Normal (School) I may as well do something useful with the year." She did, taking history and political science at the same time toward her M.A. Following this, chance intervened and she was invited to teach freshman French at the university. At the end of that year a vacancy occurred in Canadian history which she filled for four years, obtaining her masters degree in history as well. She left Saskatchewan for the University of Minnesota with a teaching assistantship. Upon returning with her PhD, Hilda found little demand for female history professors and was grateful to take a *half time* position at Regina College which demanded her attention fifty to sixty hours a week!

Dr. Hayden's biography will be of prime interest because it launches the reader on a voyage of discovery. However, of lasting importance is his shrewd selection of her writings, and the helpful introductions to each section, some of which contain six or seven items. It is doubtful if there will be a more comprehensive collection available under one cover for some time to come.

The author claims that her work on the Massey Commission and the book *So Little For the Mind* have secured a place in the history of Canadian civilization for Dr. Neatby. *So Much to Do, So Little Time* will help establish a claim on such a position for this able and deserving woman.

R. H. Macdonald

LET THE FAMILY FLOURISH: A HISTORY OF THE FAMILY SERVICE BUREAU OF REGINA 1913-1982. By James M. Pitsula. Regina: Family Service Bureau of Regina. 1983. Pp. 162. Illustrations. \$12.50.

This chronicle of the rise of the Bureau of Public Welfare which became the Regina Welfare Bureau and now serves Regina as the Family Service Bureau offers the reader a rich taste of social history spanning the period 1913-1982.

The opportunity to follow the organizational evolution of an agency within the

larger social context is all too rare. Dr. Pitsula uses his skills as an experienced Canadian social historian to provide this opportunity. This treatment of the period between 1913 to 1945 is particularly good.

This is a book I would recommend to students and teachers for a variety of reasons: it has the virtue of being well written and coherently structured. Perhaps its most rewarding feature is the vignettes of Regina and Saskatchewan history one inevitably encounters from the vantage point of the Bureau.

The founding fathers of the Bureau in its abortive 1913-1918 incarnation and the current post 1931 agency were white Anglo-Saxon or Celtic Protestants. The roll of board members reads like a "Who's Who" of Regina or a city map.

The dominant values in these early years epitomised fullbodied philanthropy in the Victorian tradition. W.A.S.P. professionals and entrepreneurs set up a welfare service for ethnic minorities in what was collectively called 'German Town.' Pitsula notes that J. S. Woodsworth found Regina to be a progressive city. Nevertheless, the shadow of the English poor law was never far from sight. The Public Welfare Bureau was conceived in 1913 as a temporary measure to co-ordinate the regulation of poor; its mission was the provision of outdoor relief to the deserving rather than the undeserving poor.

From the end of the Kaiser's War (1918) until the start of the Great Depression, there was no single agency to administer charitable relief or to orchestrate the work of churches and other organizations committed to this end. A phenomenal decline in real per capita income of 25.7% between 1928 and 1932 was symptomatic of the new socio-economic crisis. W.A.S.P. philanthropists including some who had founded the Bureau of Public Welfare saw that the time for a new welfare agency had come.

The community was fortunate that a humanitarian lawyer, D. J. Thom, took the lead in this revitalization. Many old attitudes towards the poor prevailed but Thom saw the need for an agency which would not merely administer relief. The new Regina Welfare Bureau was to employ professional social work personnel and this tradition has been a continuing feature of the agency ever since. Pitsula traces the struggle of the Bureau to attract and retain qualified social work personnel until the 1980's.

During the 1930's the Bureau administered relief, ran summer camps, homemaking services, a community clothing depot, and generally took on a practical helping role towards families. Staff care-loads were colossal, yet home visits appear to have been very common.

The book picks out some of the inevitable tensions of that day and the present. The Regina Unemployed Committee devised means testing involved in assessing eligibility for relief. Civic funding dried up, funding from Dominion and Provincial sources declined. Thom and his friend, Nickerson, manager of the Royal Bank, initiated a Community Chest to alleviate this lack. They rightly anticipated that donating to good causes in general would prove a more attractive option than giving to the Welfare Bureau for the poor of dubious deserts. This was the precursor of the United Way.

By the time the Second World War began in 1939, the Bureau had the capacity to respond to this new socio-economic crisis. A large proportion of the Saskatchewan population were directly affected by the War. Families in particular lost a breadwinner temporarily or permanently. Breadwinners in the forces were only obliged to allocate 15 days per month of their subsistence wages towards their

families. Among the unheralded victims of war were impoverished women and children. The Dominion Government alleviated some financial pressure by instituting the Dependent's Allowance administered by a board and delivered by the Bureau. Staff shortages coupled with the high level of psychological dislocation experienced by client families added to the burdens borne by the Bureau. The divorce rate exploded as did all manner of juvenile non-conformity, some of it classified as delinquency. In the immediate postwar period the Bureau initiated a program to orient war brides to their new world. Pitsula has successfully painted the evolution and innovations of the Bureau against the backdrop of larger events.

In covering the postwar period 1945-1982, the book attempts a less historical approach. Instead the author's emphasis is on innovations in service delivery. The blend of history and social policy is interesting. A major theme is expansion of the State sector of Social Services under the CCF which did not always harmonize with the existing voluntary sector.

The period 1945-1960 saw the transfer of financial relief services to the Government's Department of Social Welfare. The Corrections Division sent workers to the Police Court instead of the Bureau to help women in conflict with the law. The Christmas Cheer fund became a Salvation Army project. The vacuum left was soon filled by services largely associated with the Bureau today. For example, a homemaking service for seniors and families was initiated in 1951. The caseload of the Bureau shifted more into the counselling of clients with psycho-social problems.

The period 1960-1982 saw the consolidation of these trends coupled with increased co-operation with both government and other voluntary programs especially integration of the Homemaker Service and the Provincial Homecare Program. In 1972 a federal government grant allowed the Bureau to focus on Homemaking Services by Indian people for Indian people. Both the professional and unqualified staff established and expanded training programs were initiated. The book briefly illustrates how the different leadership styles of the executive-directors, have reflected the changing social climate to which the Bureau has adapted.

Pitsula also selects as an important theme the transition of the Bureau from being an agency of social regulation to one of social advocacy. This is perhaps an inevitable development within the quasi-non-governmental sector once government assumes a virtual monopoly over dispensing social services and aid. Between 1945-1960 the Bureau advocated on behalf of seniors; sub-divisions without milk deliveries; and a brief was presented demanding an increase by the federal government in the Mother's Allowance; and, the slum housing conditions prevailing in the city due to the war were also the subject of criticism by the Bureau. During the last twenty years the Bureau has actively participated in several fruitful policy and program formulation processes. For example, increased Family Life Education funding, the founding of Zodiac House for ex-drug abusers; the establishment of a Provincial Department of Culture and Youth, and the Regina Mobile Crisis Unit. Despite this activity a satisfactory funding formula has been worked out with government.

Pitsula has done a very useful job. He has rendered a large quantity of anecdotal archival information and contemporary source material accessible, readable, and relevant. Can one ask more of social history?

Paul Havemann

Manoly R. Lupul (ed.), *A HERITAGE IN TRANSITION. ESSAYS ON THE HISTORY OF UKRAINIANS IN CANADA*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982, Pp. viii, 344. \$9.95.

To anyone who is already acquainted with the history of Ukrainians in Canada, *A Heritage in Transition* presents itself as something "déjà vu" or "lu", as the historical material in this book has been rearranged under different, select, headings. It contains fifteen chapters and an introduction, ranging from history and historiography to literature, fine arts and education. Since one of the contributors mentions in her essay that it is time to take a critical look, devoid of filial pietism, at the history of Ukrainians in Canada, this reviewer will try to comply with this prerequisite in his assessment of the book.

As, instead of one author, there are sixteen, a certain amount of the material overlaps: one author did not necessarily know what the other author or authors intended to incorporate in their essays. The style changes from one author to another. The quality of articles is uneven: some are weak, some are excellent. Some reflect the situation in their field as it was until the early 1970's while others deal with questions of the 1980's. Some essays are digests or summaries of longer works or articles in the field which have been already published by their respective authors elsewhere, and some are up-dates of materials already gathered. Because of the number of contributors, their insight into matters and their interpretation differ from essay to essay. New facts are introduced and new information is supplied, obtained through research from primary sources. The reader will learn many interesting details and find new and original interpretations of some facts, events, situations and views which differ from those generally expressed and accepted in previous decades.

To give full justice to a composite work of this kind, it would become necessary to deal at some length with each individual essay. The result would then be an extended presentation of the table of contents. Instead, this reviewer decided to settle on pointing out some detailed shortcomings which he observed in the work. Some strong and some weak points of the book as a whole have already been indicated.

Generally speaking, despite the inclusion of the table on transliteration, there is a certain lack of consistency in the transcription of Ukrainian and Polish words and names (the latter should have retained their Polish spelling). Some of the authors, and this includes the contributor to the introductory chapter, M. R. Lupul, misuse the term "Russia" when they refer either to the U.S.S.R. or the R.S.F.S.R. The term is improperly used several times in the book, which is rather puzzling because Ukrainian scholarship, in contrast to non-Ukrainian, is particularly meticulous and sensitive to error in this respect. Lupul makes another chronological error in his introduction. He states, p. 2, that: "In 1772, with the first partition of Poland, Russia acquired all the Ukrainian lands under Polish rule . . ." This does not correspond to the historical truth: it was the second, 1793, and the third, 1795, partitions which were responsible for the incorporation of the majority of the Ukrainian territories west of the Dnieper into the Russian Empire. Perhaps Lupul should have confined himself to an area with which he is more familiar — education — and leave history to the historians? Well, dates and chronology do not seem to be his strong point, for in his essay on Ukrainain-language education in Canada's public schools, he places the establishment of the Department of Slavic (Slavonic?) Studies at the University of British Columbia, p. 236, in 1964, and the one at the University of Saskatchewan,

p. 227, in 1944 (or is it 1946?). The discrepancy in each case consists of several years — from sixteen to four.

The first chapter contains John-Paul Himka's article on Ukrainians in Galicia prior to their emigration. Himka, a historian, begins his essay with a quotation from Prince Adam Czartoryski. However, he does not tell the possibly uninformed reader who Adam Czartoryski was or which Adam was meant. The famous Polish Czartoryski family had several prominent members. To anyone marginally familiar with Polish history, Adam Czartoryski usually means the liberal-minded Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, 1770-1861. However, the statement in question seems to point rather to the "conservative" Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, 1734-1823, who was an Austrian administrator. The distinction should have been made clear either by mentioning the prince's full name or by supplying a footnote. Furthermore, in some of his footnotes Himka is not correct in his use of geographical names, e.g., in footnote 24, he gives the place of publication of a book in Polish as "Lviv", which is the Ukrainian equivalent of the Polish "Lwów". The Poles generally insist on the use of "Lwów"; they may use the Russian form "Lvov", which in Polish is "Lwow", but they refrain from using the Ukrainian form. On the other hand, while referring to a Ukrainian bishopric of Peremyshl, footnote 36, Himka uses its Polish form, "Przemyśl". Similarly, in an article written by another historian, Paul Yuzyk, p. 144, the Russian form of the toponym "Brest-Litovsk" is used, and not the Ukrainian one — Berestia. On the same page one finds a statement regarding "Poland's conquest of Galicia". Actually, Casimir III of Poland acquired Galicia through inheritance in 1349.

This review has raised only several points. Although basically of a minor nature, such shortcomings do, nevertheless, detract from the otherwise scholarly tenor of the book. What is more important, many of these errors could have been eliminated in the various stages of preparation of the manuscript, especially since the educator had a full complement of specialists available for consultation. What is the purpose of this publication? — With some of the newer facts, data, statistics, updated information and fresh insight, it should be of interest primarily to those working in the field. But they know where to find this information on their own if need be. As for the average reader, that is, someone who is confronted with such material for the first time, would he or she not be better served by reading a non-specialized history of Ukrainians in Canada?

Victor O. Buyniak

Contributors

Brock Silversides, a graduate of the University of Saskatchewan is a member of the staff of the Local History Room of the Saskatoon Public Library.

David Lee is a historical researcher of the National Historic Sites and Parks Branch, Parks Canada, Environment Canada, Ottawa.

Carlyle King a Professor Emeritus of English, University of Saskatchewan is now a resident of Regina.

R. H. Macdonald now retired is the author of a number of books and was formerly Executive Editor of *The Western Producer*, Saskatoon.

Paul Havemann is Associate Dean, School of Human Justice, University of Regina.

Victor O. Buyniak is Professor of Slavic Studies, University of Saskatchewan.

Notes and Correspondence

Regional History Committee Canadian Historical Association

The Regional History Committee of the Canadian Historical Association wishes to announce that it is soliciting nominations for its 'Certificate of Merit' awards. These annual awards are given for meritorious publications or for outstanding contributions by individuals or organizations to regional history. Nominations and supporting documentation should be sent to J. W. Brennan, Department of History, University of Regina, Regina, Saskatchewan, S4S 0A2 before 15 November 1983.

North American Fur Trade Conference, 1985

The Lake St. Louis Historical Society will be hosting the 1985 North American Fur Trade Conference to be held at McGill University, May 29th to June 2nd, 1985.

We are looking for researchers currently engaged in or contemplating fur trade related projects. The sessions planned will focus on:

- a) the emergent or early fur trade and its significance for Native people throughout North America.
- b) the Montreal based fur trade
- c) Jacques Cartier, this being the 450th anniversary of his arrival at the present site of Montreal
- d) wide-ranging aspects of the North American fur trade.

We hope that archaeologists, ethnologists, historians and others interested in the fur trade will participate to ensure that several perspectives be represented within each geographical region. All researchers are invited to submit a title and abstract of 100 words to the Programme Committee by May 15, 1984 to: Dr. Bruce G. Trigger, Chairman, Programme Committee, 5th North American Fur Trade Conference, Box 1023, Station A, Montreal, Québec, H3C 2W9.

The Programme Committee will make a selection of papers to be presented at the Conference and notification of the acceptance of papers for the Conference will be made by September 15, 1984.

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