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COVER PHOTOGRAPH: Richardson Road Machinery Co. Ltd., Saskatoon, 1926 (detail). Glenbow Museum, NE-3-202.

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quashed all attempts at internallvbly agricultur-
One of the few major strikes in the industrial history of Saskatchewan in the 1920s, the strike marked the end of the issue of unionism in the province.

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The rural-urban divide year 1926, was...
'TWIXT HAMMER AND ANVIL:
THE 1927 SASKATOON SMITHY WORKERS' STRIKE

By Glen Makohonuk

In comparison with the period known as the Canadian labour revolt of 1917-1919, the 1920s appear "as a period of relative national labour quiescence." This does not mean, however, that employers and governments had quashed all attempts at union organization and strike activity. Indeed, there were occasional revivals of industrial confrontations, even in such predominantly agricultural provinces as Saskatchewan.

One of the more important industrial confrontations in Saskatchewan's labour history commenced on 17 May 1927 when thirty-seven blacksmiths and other smithy workers at the Richardson Road Machinery Company in Saskatoon went on strike to obtain union recognition, improved working conditions and a wage increase. Of the twenty-one strikes fought in Saskatchewan during the 1920s, the 1927 smithy workers' strike was the longest in duration (approximately eleven months) and lost working days (over twelve hundred). It was also the only strike in Saskatchewan between 1920 and 1927 to be concerned with the issue of union recognition, all of the others having as their main issue either a wage increase or the prevention of a wage cut. Most importantly, the 1927 strike marked one of the few attempts of the Communist Party in Saskatchewan to try to unite skilled workers and farmers in a struggle against an exploitative employer during the placid 1920s. This paper will examine the smithy workers' strike within the particular class relationship of the 1920s.

In carrying out this examination, it is necessary to look briefly at the nature of the economy, the rural-urban environment of Saskatchewan in general and of Saskatoon in particular and the Richardson Road Machinery Company which manufactured road construction equipment and farm machinery, such as heavy road graders, maintainers, fresnoes, road plows, culverts and road drags.

The prairies, especially Saskatchewan, had a rural economy based on the production and export of a single agricultural commodity, wheat. During the first three decades of the twentieth century, wheat production had become so important that

... an entire society was organized to facilitate this activity. It was built upon rural village and transportation networks, a grain marketing system, and a family economy attuned to the rhythms of the seasons and the demands of the work itself.

The rural-urban population trend in Saskatchewan, as identified for the census year 1926, was as follows: of a total population of 820,738 approximately 82.8
percent (679,500) lived in rural areas while the other 17.2 percent (141,238) lived in urban centres.6

Saskatoon experienced a growth rate of seventy-two percent during the 1920s, increasing from a population of twenty-five thousand in 1921, to thirty-one thousand in 1926 and forty-three thousand in 1931. The city also expanded its role as a service and business centre for the wheat economy during this period. Saskatoon’s economic prosperity was directly related to the market price of wheat. When high wheat prices collapsed in 1921, Saskatoon experienced an economic retrenchment until 1924, when prices rose sharply and initiated an economic boom in the city. This boom in business and industry continued for the remainder of the decade.7 It was during this period that manufacturing plants, such as John East Ironworks and Richardson Road Machinery Company, increased capacity, plant size and profits.

The Richardson Road Machinery Company, originally known as “The Western Corrugated Culvert Company,” was established in Saskatoon in 1910 as a subsidiary of the Quebec-based Corrugated Culvert Company. In that same year, the Saskatoon company appointed Cecil H. Richardson, the former secretary at the head office at St. John’s, Quebec, as its manager.8 Shortly after his appointment, Richardson used his skills and understanding of scientific business management, which he had obtained through correspondence schools, to become president of the Western Corrugated Company.9 By the mid-1920s the company, now bearing the name Richardson Road Machinery Company, was earning profits in excess of $100,000 a year. The per unit profits on the different products were: $467.70 per heavy road grader, $98.95 per maintainer, $11.96 per fresnoe, $69.00 per road plow, $25.64 per road drag and $6.46 per culvert.10 The profits were attributed to favourable market conditions, previously explained, to scientific management practices and to anti-union policies.

The principal tenets of the scientific management theory of the day were management’s monopolization of the knowledge of work and the control of every aspect of the labour process. This meant that management was to dictate to the worker the precise manner in which work was to be performed. In other words, the worker was to be “deskilled” and his shop-floor know-how eroded. Another management principle, especially in production manufacturing, was the minimization of costs, particularly wages.11 Richardson was like most employers who advocated principles of scientific management and open shops in order to prevent their employees from joining trade unions. The open-shop policy and the employers’ “divide and conquer” tactics created serious problems for the labour movement during the 1920s. The Western Labor News, which was formerly known as Voice (Winnipeg), issued a warning about the employers’ tactics:

The efforts of the employers were and always will be to split the unions up into as many sections as they can possibly do so, and by so doing set man against man, and the creation of a spirit of distrust and fear and frantic competition between brother unionists, would do more to return labor to the condition of serfdom than anything else.12

The labour movement found it extremely difficult to counter the open-shop drive and the employers’ anti-union policies, especially after the defeat of the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919. Canadian union membership had dropped from 378,000 in 1919 to 261,000 in 1924. Strike activity followed a similar
pattern, declining from a high of 336 in 1919 to a low of seventy in 1924. Both Saskatchewan and Saskatoon experienced the same downward trend in union membership and strike activity during the early 1920s.

### Table 1. Union Membership in Saskatoon and Saskatchewan, 1919-1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Unions in S'toon</th>
<th>No. of Unions reporting membership</th>
<th>No. of Union members reported</th>
<th>No. of Unions in Sask.</th>
<th>No. of Unions reporting membership</th>
<th>No. of Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1,457</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>7,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1,163</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>5,769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1,275</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>6,328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1,316</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>6,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1,373</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>7,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1,833</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>7,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1,978</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>8,058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2,195</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>6,717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2,187</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>9,565</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 2. Strikes and Lockouts in Saskatchewan, 1920-1929

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Strikes</th>
<th>Number of Firms Affected</th>
<th>Number of Workers Affected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In 1919 union membership in Saskatchewan and Saskatoon stood at 7,433 and 1,457, and by 1924 it had fallen to 6,328 and 1,275 respectively (see Table 1). There were only twenty-one strikes and lockouts in Saskatchewan between 1920 and 1929, as illustrated in Table 2. It appears workers had abandoned syndical-
ism and other forms of revolutionary trade unionism, which characterized the 1918-1919 period, and returned to the traditional business unionism associated with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Trades and Labor Congress (TLC). 14

The philosophy of business unionism, as Robert Babcock explains, emphasized craft union organization, short-term economic goals, apolitical unionism and the pursuit of wages and benefits. 15 In Saskatoon some craft unions, like the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers Local 1173, were able to negotiate collective agreements with their employers. These agreements included wage increases, hours of work provisions, holidays, job jurisdiction, overtime pay, a fixing of the number of apprentices permitted to work with journeymen, transportation expenses, grievance procedures and a controlled union hiring hall. 16

There were, however, many cases in which the AFL and TLC unions found collective bargaining unsuccessful because of the power of the employers and an oversupplied labour market. As a consequence, their members, along with other workers, faced low wages and a rising cost-of-living. In October 1927, for example, the Chief Inspector of the Department of Labour issued a report stating that a family of four, two adults and two children, required an annual income of fifteen hundred dollars to maintain a minimum standard of living. 17 The average wage at the time was approximately twelve hundred dollars. This meant most workers, especially the unorganized, found it difficult to support their families on their wages alone.

Owing to these circumstances, many trade unions and trades councils across the country became “prime targets for the infiltration of activists from various Communist Party inspired organizations.” 18 Saskatoon was no exception. Its branch of the Workers’ Party — later known as the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) — was established in 1921. One of its earliest members was Tom McEwen, a blacksmith from Stonehaven, Scotland, who had arrived in Saskatoon with his family in the fall of 1920. 19 McEwen was dedicated to the socialist movement and became a tireless worker in his attempts to organize workers into unions and the Saskatoon branch of the Communist Party. His dedicated work was to eventually earn him the position of national executive secretary of the Workers’ Unity League in 1930. The Saskatoon branch, according to McEwen, undertook all the routine organizational and propaganda work “common to all active branches in a semi-industrial farming centre.” 20 It also had a number of very active and versatile members, such as H. M. Bartholomew, a socialist from Great Britain, who possessed brilliant oratorical skills which he used to great advantage when addressing large gatherings of farmers and farmworkers.

In terms of trade union work, Canadian communists like McEwen followed the program of the Trade Union Education League, which was to help make the unions into “ever more clear-sighted, cohesive, militant and powerful organizations.” 21 The TUEL, which had been established in Toronto in April 1922, took its strategic direction from the Comintern in Moscow. During the 1920s the Comintern advocated Lenin’s trade union policy which was “to get into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs.” 22

Tom McEwen, who had become Secretary of the Saskatoon branch of the CPC, tried to join in 1926. McEwen Road Ma

The second of the smithy was formed by the blacklist of the employers. The third blacksmiths had a new approach to their work, or halt to produce more, according to Richardson’s which allow wages for high

The second of the smithy has been formed by the blacklist of the employers. The third blacksmiths had a new approach to their work, or halt to produce more, according to Richardson’s which allow wages for high

As a consequence of the Communist International (CBI) in 1926 there was a strike in Canada and the United States. Since the CBI had the Trad unionism, McEwen and him members of the CBI had to produce promptly new members of the union. The wages and sh
CPC, tried to carry out the TUEL’s program and Lenin’s trade union policy when he initiated an organizing drive among the Saskatoon metal shop workers in 1926. McEwen believed the workers, especially the forty-five at the Richardson Road Machinery Company, were ready for a trade union for two major reasons. First, they had no means to stop the increased production pace of their work, or halt the deskilling process. In his pursuit of profits Richardson introduced a “process of rationalization” which was intended to force the workers to produce more for the same or lower wages. In connection with this process was Richardson’s introduction of new equipment, such as the acetylene welder, which allowed him to employ lower-paid, semi-skilled workers as replacements for higher-paid blacksmiths when the need arose.  

The second reason for increased interest in trade unionism was the failure of the smithy workers’ so-called friendly society or company union, which had been formed in 1923, to negotiate improvements in wages and conditions. Approximately four years prior to the 1927 strike, the workers’ company union had approached Richardson about obtaining a wage increase to match the cost of living. Although Richardson was earning a profit, he refused to negotiate a wage increase. He also decided “to break the organization” in 1923 by firing its president and laying off a number of its members. The workers believed Richardson acted like a “16th century tyrant” who had no qualms about extracting “profits … from [them], no matter what the cost may be to their wives and families … in peace of mind or health or body.”

As a consequence, McEwen, after some organizing work with the assistance of the CPC local, looked to the most obvious union in the industry, the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers of America (IBBDF & H). The head office of the IBBDF & H was in Chicago, but in 1926 there were twenty-one locals with a total membership of fifteen hundred in Canada and another 189 locals with a total membership of 8,200 in the United States, Mexico, the Canal Zone, the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands. Since the IBBDF & H was affiliated to both the American Federation of Labour and the Trades and Labour Congress, it followed the philosophy of business unionism. McEwen was made aware of this philosophy when the head office sent him membership books and other materials which bore the slogan, “pay your dues promptly and ensure your standing in the funeral fund.” McEwen told the new members to ignore this material because “our aim [is] to ensure higher wages and shorter hours rather than an ‘assured’ burial.” Nevertheless, the head office issued the Saskatoon blacksmiths a charter and they became Local 22 with McEwen as their first president.

The union then set about the task of preparing proposals for negotiations with the Richardson Road Machinery Company. The three major demands were union recognition, improved working conditions and wage increases of five, ten or 12.5 cents per hour, depending upon the classification (see Table 3). The union believed that its wage proposal was quite reasonable when compared to the seventy-four cents per hour being earned by the blacksmiths at John East Ironworks. Once the proposals had been prepared, the union contacted Richardson in January 1927 to commence negotiations. At the first meeting the union’s negotiating committee argued the Company could easily meet the demands because it had made a profit of $100,000 in 1926 and the total proposed wage increase would only cost $4,000.
Table 3. Comparative Statement of Wage Rates Prior to the Strike and Those Demanded by the Workers of Richardson Road Machinery Co.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Present Wage Rate</th>
<th>Rate demanded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>55 cents per hr</td>
<td>60 cents per hr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulldozer operator</td>
<td>50 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>60 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radial drill operator</td>
<td>50 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>60 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millwright</td>
<td>50 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>60 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipper</td>
<td>50 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>60 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airgun Operator</td>
<td>47.5 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>60 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punching Machine Operator</td>
<td>50 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>55 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shearing Machine Operator</td>
<td>50 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>55 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivetting Machine Operator</td>
<td>50 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>55 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polishing Machine Operator</td>
<td>50 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>55 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firemen</td>
<td>45 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>55 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrician</td>
<td>45 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>55 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxy-acetylene Welder</td>
<td>50 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>55 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helpers</td>
<td>40 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>50 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grinders</td>
<td>40 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>50 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>40 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>50 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Archives of Canada. RG 27, Vol. 338. Dept. of Labour, Strikes & Lockouts. 31. Comparative Statement showing rates of wages which were being paid to the employees of the Richardson Road Machinery Company Ltd. at Saskatoon, Sask. and those demanded by said employees before stoppage of work.

Richardson rejected the demands. He claimed the workers already were overpaid and there were plenty of unemployed workers in Saskatoon and the surrounding district who would work for less. Furthermore, he did not want to increase wages for fear that the increased prices of the machinery would reduce sales to farmers and other customers. Finally, Richardson argued that he wanted nothing to do with trade unions because the business could “operate successfully only with an open shop with piece work methods [and] not [by] passing the management on in part or in full to other organizations.”

The meeting broke off with another one scheduled for a later date.

In preparation for the next meeting, Local 22 contacted the head office for assistance. Initially the local received correspondence cautioning it to “guard against being unreasonable.” Finally, A. O. Anderson, the International Vice-President of the IBBDB & H in Chicago, was sent to assist Local 22. Negotiations proved futile despite Anderson’s suggestion for a compromise wage demand. In fact, it seemed as though Richardson wanted to provoke a confrontation: he announced the wage rate of labourers and helpers would be reduced by five cents per hour, from forty to thirty-five cents, and other workers would have to work on a piece-rate system. The meeting abruptly came to an end. Tom McEwen expressed criticism not only of Richardson but also of Anderson for the latter’s attitude of “sweet reasonableness” in bargaining.

As a result of the failure of this meeting the union decided to try negotiations again, this time with the assistance of the Saskatoon Trades and Labour Council (STLC). Gerald Dealtry, Secretary of the STLC, and Local 22’s negotiating committee met with Richardson on 22 April 1927. According to Dealtry, it seemed at first that Richardson was prepared to compromise his position and to reach an agreement. This turned out to be a ploy; Richardson broke off the meeting with a declaration that “he would have nothing to do with trade unions and that he would welcome active opposition from the Trades and Labor Coun-
The Strike and Machiney Co.

The union, realizing it was futile to attempt any further negotiations with Richardson, decided to take a strike vote. At 7:00 a.m. on 17 May 1927, the IBBDF & H Local 22 went on strike. Picket lines were set up and preparations were made to obtain fellow trade union and public support. The Saskatoon Trades and Labour Council endorsed the strike and prepared circular letters for distribution to secretaries of all rural municipalities and farmers’ organizations, including the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section), asking them for strike support. Appeal letters were also sent to various trade unions throughout Canada.

While these strike activities were taking place, the IBBDF & H Local 22 asked the Saskatoon Trades & Labour Council to transmit a telegram to the Federal Minister of Labour requesting government assistance to achieve its bargaining demands. On 18 May the Deputy Minister of Labour, H. H. Ward, sent a telegram to F. E. Harrison, the federal fair wage officer stationed in Vancouver, instructing him to proceed to Saskatoon to commence “mediation in the strike.”

It is important to note that there were a variety of dispute settlement practices in Canadian industrial relations during this period. Indeed not all issues came under the jurisdiction of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, 1907 which contained the provision: “Wherever any dispute exists between an employer and any of his employees, and the parties . . . are unable to adjust it, either of the parties to the dispute may make application to the Minister for the appointment of a Board of Conciliation and Investigation . . .” The IDI Act had been challenged successfully in Toronto Electric Commissioners v. Snider 1925, and as a consequence Parliament had to amend “the law with the purpose of limiting the application of its compulsory features to labour-relations disputes in the federal jurisdiction.” As a result of the ruling in the Snider case, Saskatchewan and all provinces except Prince Edward Island passed enabling legislation to make the revised IDI Act of 1925 applicable in their jurisdictions.

Nevertheless, the legislation was not binding and a union could seek mediation rather than conciliation or arbitration. As Paul Craven explains,

In the language of modern industrial relations conciliation usually means third-party assistance at the bargaining table, designed to foster “good faith” bargaining by the two principal parties, while mediation is reserved for the more active intervention of a third party, often after negotiations have broken down, involving the mediator as go-between in formulating a mutually satisfactory settlement. The conciliator’s role, in other words, is to assist the two parties to engage in productive negotiations; the mediator’s role is to attempt to bring them to a settlement.

In this case, Harrison’s purpose was to achieve a settlement between the IBBDF & H Local 22 and the Richardson Road Machinery Company. Harrison arrived in Saskatoon on 22 May and met with Gerald Daletry, A. O. Anderson, and the negotiating committee to obtain an understanding of their bargaining demands. The meeting ended with the union representatives expressing “their determination to remain out until their grievances were satisfactorily adjusted.”

The following day Harrison met with Richardson to discuss the union’s demands and to ascertain the employer’s position. Richardson wasted no time
in expressing his point that “the Company would make no concessions with regard to wage rates nor would they have any dealings with the union.”

Furthermore, he blamed the strike on some “agitators,” who had kept the workers out. Finally, Richardson stated that he was prepared to allow some of the strikers to return to work on the condition that it would be at the existing wage rates.

On the afternoon of 23 May Harrison met with the union’s negotiating committee and informed them Richardson would not meet its demands. The committee reiterated its position of the need to seek redress of the unsatisfactory wages and conditions. The committee members also told Harrison they had sent a letter to their Member of Parliament, John Evans, the noted reformer and critic of the evils of the capitalist system, to solicit his support in reaching a settlement. Evans’s response was that the union should continue with the mediation. As a consequence Harrison suggested a joint conference with Richardson to break the deadlock. Both the union and Richardson agreed to the conference which commenced on 24 May at the Barry Hotel. Both parties spent several hours reiterating their positions prior to adjourning.

The next day Harrison tried once more to convince Richardson of the necessity of making some concession to the union in order to reach a settlement. Richardson refused to compromise. As a consequence Harrison met with the union’s negotiating committee to explain Richardson’s position and to determine whether it would make a concession in its demands to promote a settlement. For some unexplained reason the committee backed off from its original position (to carry on the strike until all demands were met) and agreed to compromise on the wage demand to a “general advance of five cents per hour.” It would also “forego the recognition of the union if the company would write a letter to [Harrison] agreeing to meet a grievance committee of employees, when necessary.” The proposal was submitted to Richardson for his consideration. Richardson interpreted the union’s compromise as a sign of weakness and reacted by declaring his “firm would positively have no negotiations with the union.”

In response to this statement the union’s negotiating committee declared that Richardson was acting unreasonably and that he would have to make the next move. Since the parties had reached an impasse, the meeting came to an end.

On the morning of 27 May Harrison informed the union’s negotiating committee of the recent attempts to obtain some concessions from Richardson. The union hoped that this would come about; otherwise “they intended to take such action as they considered necessary to protect their interest.” Harrison announced he was to meet with Richardson at noon.

The meeting turned out to be a farce. It appeared that Richardson was merely toying with Harrison and the union’s negotiating committee and that he had no intention of reaching a settlement with the union. In fact, Richardson told Harrison that he refused to “conduct any further negotiations with [the union] nor to grant any concessions.” Owing to Richardson’s unreasonable attitude, Harrison realized that he could no longer be of service in the settlement of the strike. Harrison telegraphed H. H. Ward, Deputy Minister of Labour, stating he was returning to Vancouver unless the Department had further instructions. Ward agreed with Harrison’s assessment and wired there was no reason for him to remain in Saskatoon any longer.
concessions with the union." He knew that the workers wanted some of the existing wage demands. The unsatisfactory

Harrison they had met with the noted reformer and to determine a settlement. They agreed to meet in Richardson from its original

and agreed to 45 cents per hour. Harrison

would write a letter to the workers, when the meeting would have to

the meeting

Richardson. The company intended to take

Richardson was aware that he could not let Richardson

with unreasonable demands. Thevarious unions with the settlement

Minister of Labour had wired there

Since the mediation effort had failed, the workers realized that it was now

"a fight to the finish with an unscrupulous boss who would listen only to

McEwen advised the members of Local 22 to contact other unions and

McEwen, explained, there was a bond of unity between the exploited city worker and

It should also be pointed out that whenever the CPC was involved in a strike, it was never

"treated as a purely local phenomenon. At the very least the party and the

TUEL would coordinate resolutions of protest and solidarity, and arrange to

In early June IBBDF & H Local 22's strike committee decided to solicit the support of farmers and

The union hoped a publicity campaign and the farmers' support would help them stop the Richardson Company from operating with scab labour. In the recruitment of scab labour the company had issued application forms containing such questions as "Have you carried a union card?", "Do you believe in the competitive system of work?", "What is your political preference?" and "Are you a socialist?" The person giving the "right" answers got the job.

Richardson not only had hired scab labour to produce his products, but

also had contacted firms employing AFL teamsters to deliver them. When Tom

McEwen discovered this, he wrote a scathing article in The Worker:

We condemn those sections of labour who are not part of us as an obstacle in

the path to victory, but we shut our eyes to the fact that our brother trade

unionists, contributing to our cause with one hand, have aided in defeating us

with the other. You will see AF of L teamsters on the street, hauling the

products of scab labour, and if you should object they will remind you that if

they did otherwise they would lose their jobs and break their union. With such

an ideology is it any wonder that the present day labour movement seeks salvation

through collaboration rather than by struggle?

After condemning the teamsters, McEwen used the same article to attempt

to explain the lesson of the strike and the need for solidarity to break an

employer like Richardson:

The strike of the Richardson Road Machinery employees has been a lesson

that should be of value to the local movement at least, if history means

anything in determining the future. The quite apparent need is the consolidation

of all sections of labour, irrespective of what organization they belong to in

order that one section cannot be played against the other. To consolidate

labour it is necessary to change the ideological objectiveness of the trade

unions, from that of purely benevolent and craft organizations, to instruments

of struggle in the battle for bread.

The strikers faced not only the problem of scab labour but also the lack of
strike pay. Although the international head office had authorized the strike, it did not issue any strike pay according to Harold Proctor, Secretary of Local 22, because the strikers had not been in the union long enough to merit financial assistance. Without financial assistance from the head office, the strikers found it very difficult to maintain the picket lines at the Richardson Road Machinery Company. The men, and their wives and children, were beginning to suffer economic hardship and misery as a result of the prolonged strike. In an attempt to alleviate this problem, Local 22 appealed to the Saskatoon Trades and Labour Council for financial assistance. Tom McBewen noted that the "affiliated units donated financial assistance to the strikers and initiated dances and other forms of entertainment calculated to keep the wolf from the door." But this was not enough. By the end of June at least twenty-one of the strikers had to obtain work from other employers in order to feed their families.

Meanwhile, the appeal to the farmers' organizations, especially the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section), had received a sympathetic reply. The UFC was a natural ally because it was critical of the capitalist system and the "capitalistic control of production and distribution that involved the payment of rent, interest and profit." The UFC, in particular the communist farmers within it, could understand the political power struggle of the strike. Unfortunately, it was not able to provide militant supporters for the picket line. Rather the UFC tried to show its support by facilitating further negotiations or arbitration.

W. M. Thrasher, Secretary-Treasurer of the UFC (Saskatchewan Section), requested a copy of F. Harrison's report on the dispute between the Richardson Road Machinery Company and its employees but was denied it by the Deputy Minister of Labour on the grounds that it would not serve "any good purpose." As a consequence, in mid-August, Thrasher wrote to the Trades and Labour Councils in Regina, Calgary and Winnipeg to gather information on blacksmiths' wage rates. Upon receipt of this information, W. M. Thrasher wrote to Cecil Richardson on 2 September 1927 requesting "a conference of representatives of your farm, your organization and the men who are on strike. Or, as an alternative would [you] be willing to apply to the Department of Labour for a Board of Arbitration to have the matter settled?" Richardson rejected both proposals because the strike had not stopped him from operating his business.

As a result of the failure to achieve resolution through negotiations, mediation, arbitration or militant picket line activity, the strike was in serious trouble. Although Tom McBewen was still president of the IBBDF & H Local 22, he was unable to generate any militant action which would stop Richardson Road Machinery Company from continuing production. One of McBewen's major problems was that most of the strikers had left to seek employment with other employers, including farmers and the small blacksmith shops in rural Saskatchewan. In his report to the Department of Labour McBewen noted twenty strikers had obtained work as harvesters by the end of August. The few remaining strikers did little between September and December 1927.

Although the Labour Gazette reported the strike had "lapsed at the beginning of December 1927," Harold Proctor, Secretary of the IBBDF & H Local 22, was reporting to the Department of Labour that the strike was "still in existence" as late as 1 March 1928. A few strikers still may have been on the picket line in March 1928 but for all intents and purposes the strike had termin-
ated to the detriment of the union. The last report to the Department of Labour, dated 31 May 1928, makes no reference to the strike’s continuance.\(^6\) The Annual Report of Labour Organizations in Canada, 1928 indicates that in 1928 Saskatchewan no longer had a local of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers. All other provinces, save Prince Edward Island, had a local(s) of the Blacksmiths’ union.\(^7\) In a word, then, the strike had failed and Local 22 was dissolved.

In conclusion, the Saskatoon smithy workers’ strike of 1927 was illustrative of a particular class relationship of the 1920s. As an employer, Cecil Richardson had no intention of recognizing a union which he believed would threaten his power and profits. The workers, on the other hand, realized that the only way to improve their wages and conditions was to join a bona fide trade union, especially after the failure of their fraternal organization or company union in 1923. They, however, did nothing about it again until Tom McEwen, following the program of the TUEL, organized the IBBDF & H Local 22 and led the strike.

McEwen tried to broaden the strike into a class issue when he sought the solidarity and support of various labour and farmer organizations. Unfortunately, none of the organizations including the STLC, the UFC (Saskatchewan Section), and especially the head office of the IBBDF & H were able to provide the militant support which was necessary to force Richardson to compromise. In fact, Richardson was even able to weaken the moral support provided when he got AFL teamsters to haul his “scab” produced products. It is not surprising in the light of these circumstances, that the strike ended in defeat. Unfortunately, this was a common occurrence for relatively powerless unions and workers during the 1920s.

ENDNOTES

I would like to thank Stan Hanson, Archivist of the University of Saskatchewan, for his comments and criticisms on an earlier version of this paper.


2 The sources contradict one another on the actual number of strikers. According to the Labour Gazette and the Department of Labour the number of strikers was thirty-seven; however, the Saskatoon Phoenix, 18 May 1927 states that forty-five workers went on strike. Since the union sent the information to the Department of Labour, I will be using the number thirty-seven. See National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC). RG 27, vol. 338. Department of Labour. Strikes and Lockouts 31. H. Proctor, Sec. of IBBDF & H Local 22 to Dept. of Labour, 22 May 1927.


6 Canada, Census of Saskatchewan, 1926.

7 Don Kerr and Stan Hanson, Saskatoon: The First Half-Century (Edmonton: NeWest Publishers, 1982), 233.

8 Born on 8 June 1888 to Thomas and Ida Richardson at Ulyb, Michigan, U.S.A., Cecil attended public and high schools in Ulyb and later took numerous correspondence courses. Cecil’s first job came in 1905 when he was hired as a clerk in the credit department of the Port Huron Thresher Company, Port Huron, Michigan. Cecil found employment with a number of other employers before leaving the United States in 1910 and arriving at St. John’s, Quebec where he obtained the position of secretary of the Corrugated Culvert Company. For more biographical information on Cecil H. Richardson see A Who’s Who in Saskatchewan: A Biographical Directory (Saskatoon: Western Canada Directories Ltd., 1956), 212.

9 Henderson’s Saskatoon City Directory Vol. XV, (1922-23), 368. Also see Henderson’s Saskatoon City Directory Vol. XX, (1927), 376.

For a more detailed discussion of scientific management see Frederick Winslow Taylor, Principles of Scientific Management (New York: 1911).


Robert H. Babcock, Gompers in Canada: A Study in American Capitalism before the First World War (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 91-114, 210-211.

SAB, Dept. of Labour, I. General 42. Trade Unions, Wage Agreements. The agreement made between the Master Painters Association and Local 1173, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of Saskatoon, dated 7 December 1926.

The budget included food, rent, clothing, operating expenses such as light and heat, education, recreation, savings and incidentals like doctor’s bills. See SAB, Dept. of Labour, I. General 132. Cost-of-Living, Chief Inspector R. P. McIvor, 13 October 1927.


For more information about McEwen and his rise through the ranks of the Communist Party of Canada see his autobiography The Forge Glistens Red: From Blacksmith to Revolutionist (Toronto: Progress Books, 1974).

Ibid, 95.


Ibid., 1.


Ibid., 99.


Saskatoon Phoenix, 20 May 1927, 5.


Piece rate is defined as “a predetermined amount paid to an employee for each unit of output.” See Canada. Labour Canada. Glossary of Industrial Relations Terms (Ottawa: Labour Canada, 1981), 119; Saskatoon Phoenix 18 May 1927, 3.

Saskatoon Phoenix, 20 May 1927, 3.


Saskatoon Phoenix, 20 May 1927, 5.


See Chapter 20, Statutes of the Dominion of Canada, 1907 (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1907), 237.


See Chapter 58, Industrial Dispute Investigation Act (Saskatchewan), 1926, Statutes of the Province of Saskatchewan 1925-26 (Regina: King’s Printer, 1926), 358.

Paul Craven, “An Impartial Umpire”: Industrial Relations and the Canadian State, 1900-1911 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 149-150.


Ibid.

University of Saskatchewan Library, (hereafter USL) Special Collections, John Evans MSS XXII.

Labour, A. Correspondence. H. Proctor to John Evans, 23 May 1927.


Ibid.

Ibid. F. E. Harrison to H. H. Ward, 28 May 1927.

Ibid.

Ibid. H. H. Ward to F. E. Harrison, 29 May 1927.


Ibid

Ian Angus, Canadian Bolsheviks, 132.
"Twixt Hammer and Anvil: The 1927 Saskatoon Smithy Workers Strike"

36. Ibid.
40. USL, Special Collections. Pamphlet Coll. LIV. 10 UFC Sask. Section, Organized Former and Labor Programme.
41. Ibid. Pamphlet Collection LIV. UFC Saskatchewan Section. B. 1920s. 18. Summary of Resolutions which were passed by the various district conventions of United Farmers of Canada Sask. Section, 1929. Ivan Avakumovic notes that there were communist farmers in the UFA, UFPM and UFC (Sask. Section) who were active in spreading radical politics and critiques of the capitalist system.
44. Ibid. George Edwards to W. M. Thrasher, 22 August 1927.
45. Ibid. W. M. Thrasher to Cecil H. Richardson, 2 September 1927.
46. SAB, C113 Pott, John (Saskatoon Blacksmith) oral interview transcript, 11. Pott provides an interesting account of how blacksmiths moved back and forth between urban and rural type blacksmith jobs. For example, an urban job could involve the making of a culvert, while a rural job could involve farrier work.
50. Ibid. File No. 27 (31). Blacksmiths, machinists, etc. in the employ of the Richardson Road Machinery Company, commenced 17 May 1927 (terminated?) 31 May 1928.

Contributors

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robin Lyndhurst Wadmore was born in Tunbridge Wells, England in 1855 and educated at Tonbridge School. He studied to be an architect and then worked for some years with his father, James Foster Wadmore, an architect in London. In 1880, he joined the Volunteers and was commissioned Lieutenant and later Captain in the 2nd London Rifles. In 1881, evidently bored by the routine of office work and daily commuting to London, he sailed for Canada in the hope of finding military employment there. This did not materialize, but thanks to an introduction to Sir James McDougall, he became a civil engineer in the Dominion Lands Office in Ottawa.

In 1882, he was engaged to Annie Knight Shead, daughter of Senator James Shead, and they were married on 17 April 1882. Assisted by his father, the young couple moved to Winnipeg and invested in real estate, which was then booming. By 1883, the boom had collapsed and he returned to work at the Dominion Lands Office, but he soon obtained a commission as Lieutenant in the newly-formed Infantry School Corps, due to the influence of his father-in-law.

As his diary shows, he took an active part in the North-West Campaign of 1885, as a Lieutenant of the “C” Company in Colonel Otter’s Battleford Column. First involved in the relief of Battleford, he saw action at the Battle of Cut Knife Hill on May 2, 1885 and was engaged in subsequent patrols relating to the activities of Big Bear and Poundmaker.

Prior to the start of the diary entries on 8 April 1885, the pocket note-book was used for notes on military exercises, presumably at the School of Infantry in Toronto. The diary ends abruptly on 20 July 1885 due to a shortage of space.

The diary of Lieutenant Wadmore, measuring 4” x 6” with metal clasps, black cloth covers and marbelized end papers, was donated to Fort Battleford National Historic Park, Parks Canada in 1973 by Lieutenant Wadmore’s grandson, Dennis E. Harris, of Victoria, along with his North-West Canada Medal. It is one of the many items of historical interest acquired by the Fort during the long and distinguished tenure of Mrs. Mabel Simpson as Superintendent of the Park. In 1987, the holograph was transferred to the Adam Shortt Library of Canadians at the University of Saskatchewan.

Lieutenant Wadmore’s experience, typical of a soldier’s life, involved long stretches of boredom interspersed with short intervals of activity and danger. Lieutenant Wadmore and the “C” Company remained at Battleford until late October, 1885.

He made hurried entries in blue and lead pencil, and the dash was his main form of punctuation. While his diary does not provide a detailed account of any military action, it contributes facts and perspective to the events of 1885, and his sketches add a human touch to the campaign. Although not contained in his chronicle, a plan of the Battle of Cut Knife Hill drawn by him was included in the Report Upon the Suppression of the Rebellion in the North-West Territories made by the Department of Militia and Defence to Parliament in 1886, a testament to his illustrative abilities (see Saskatchewan History, Volume XXV, No. 1, 9).

After the North-West Campaign, Lieutenant Wadmore’s military career progressed steadily, and he retired as Colonel, District Officer Commanding in British Columbia in 1912. Due to the diary’s length, only the portion from the time of “C” Company’s arrival at Battleford follows, with notes on dramatis personae.

David Ross
April 23rd
Left camp at 5:30 a.m. and moved on in centre of Column rapidly, halted at edge of wooded Indian reserve for lunch. Distance about 18 miles. Snowing, very cold. After lunch moved in expecting opposition. Had to give up two wagons and march as Scouts. Found in Payne’s house a lot of provisions. Roads very bad but weather much finer. Could not keep up with Column so had to ride on provision wagons. In Payne’s house body of murdered squaw and baby were found. Unknown whether Payne was murdered (body found when at Battleford)\(^2\) Came down hill and saw Battleford in distance. Lovely view, like part of Sussex. Col. Otter camped about 2 miles (away). At 4 p.m. we noticed some fires. Scout communicated with Fort. In evening noticed a large fire, and were sent down, it was Judge Rouleau’s (house). Exchanged a few shots, then Col. Herchmer & 30 men went on. Scouts returned first and reported not seeing Col. H. but about 70 Indians and cock and bull story of ambush. Col. H. returned and said he saw nothing but house on fire.

April 24th
Left camp at 8 a.m. and marched three miles to hill overlooking river and saw Fort Battleford, a lovely morning. The Column moved in review order: M.P. (Mounted Police), guns, selves, Guards, QOR.\(^3\) We had lunch there while the staff rode over to Battleford. While I searched the ransacked houses, in one, Mr. Scott’s, I found a photo of a fancy dress ball at Ottawa with my wife in it. The houses are in a frightful state. Feather beds cut open and strewn all over the place. The wonder is that the houses were not burnt. We camped about 1 and occupied the Govt. House as store house, etc. and made an officers’ mess . . . . Heard of Gen. Middleton’s engagement and “C” Co. loss.

April 25th
Creany was invalidated home today having being made a prisoner. Breakfast at 8. Luxury. Had a good wash and breakfast in morning. Walked over with Todd to see Nash and Mrs. Nash. Saw Morris, Commandant of Fort. He seems sick of whole business. I met him in Winnipeg. Fort does not look much. People all living about in tents. 75 people in Nash’s house. He has one room and is lucky. It is proposed I believe to move on Poundmaker leaving QOR as garrison, escort of Guards sent home with wagons.

April 26th

April 27th
Lovely day. Commenced entrenchment to Govt. House consisting of earth and cord wood parapet. In evening received 4 letters from Di which was very pleasing and 2 from home . . .

April 28th
Went on with fortification which [is] not well planned. Guards escort returned and some men of 35(th); two of whom have been placed with my Company. Had a splendid bath in a room of house.
April 29th
Nothing particular, waiting. Word from the General to advance ... Herchmer scouts report Indian camp about 35 miles from here. Did not sleep well at all. QOR moved over to Fort side leaving: NWMP, “C” Co., “B” Battery, GGF, 1 Co. QOR.

April 30th
Very quiet in afternoon. Reported prisoner of Poundmaker came in and said he had escaped. He came in with a shotgun. He reports Poundmaker pacific, but stories very warlike — probability of moving tomorrow. Very damp in tent at night and cold. Had a touch of lumbago in morning.

May 1st
Col. gave an order to move off at 2:30 today; so busy getting ready — and moved off at 3:15 NWMP, 80 “B” Battery, 45 “C” Co., 20 GGF, 50 QOR, 50 Battleford Rifles, [total] 320... Halted at 7:30 supper — moved on at 11 moonlight.

May 2nd
At 4:15 a.m. reached Cut Knife Creek. Police riding up opposite crest fired at. Whole force immediately came into action. Major Short charged with Gatling, Foulkes killed, Spackman wounded. Very hot fire, more than retained our position. All hands behaved gallantly.
Limber of 7 pdr., 2 of which were taken, broke. Enemy’s firing ceased at 12:30. Column retired at 12:30 and went on to Battleford. Halted about 1 for food — which was much needed — made Battleford 11 p.m. Very thankfull — loss on field: 6 - 16 wounded; 2 died soon after. Enemy’s loss unknown; 4 dead bodies in our position. Column quite tired out but had to pitch tents. Many stores lost in wagons through carelessness of teamsters.

May 3rd
[Sunday] General rest in camp.

May 4th
Buried our dead close to Fort; impressive service...

May 8th
Quiet day. We have a capital spot for mess house and are very comfortable. Got eggs 50¢/doz., butter 50¢/lb. which we consider cheap. Neale and I wrote an account of battle. Set up to copy same 11:30. We have had lots of letters and papers. All are well at home, thank God.

May 10th
[Sunday] Scouts out and had a brush with about 20 Indians west of here. South of Battle River, one of party, Fontaine, dismounted at a bush calling another scout to hold it. Bush however too small; and Fontaine was captured or gave himself up. General fighting.
May 11th

May 12th
General still fighting. Cannot get much news however.

May 13th
News of General having charged, poor Fitch killed; rebels running away. Irwin supposed to be coming down to cut them off.

May 14th
Strong wind blowing, lots of dust. Patrol of Police returned from south side of Battle River. One killed — one wounded (Elliot killed). Reported meeting Indians suddenly and received a volley. Marl came in and reported teams, 21 were taken, as he met 6 of them bare backed galloping back without rifles, Indians must have captured about 30 rifles and 300 rounds ammunition. This news makes us all sad though it was not unexpected, why the Nitchies⁵ have not done so before surprises me. However it cuts off our line of communication. Yesterday, received a wire from Di to the effect that she had not been receiving letters regularly. Strange had letter to same effect. I replied by wire saying letters were regularly forwarded. In evening we had a mess dinner of 16, and very good dinner it was. C.O. of Corps being asked. Soup, fish (pike), cutlets, lobster & stewed kidney, roast beef, blanc mange and custard, tea, coffee and brandy; and curacao in the evening.

Evans did well. Received news that Gen. had killed 50 half breeds and wounded 173, and taken 300 stand of arms, that 150 half breeds wished to surrender. Riel has, however, escaped. All white prisoners captured. Gen. has also all half breed women and children.

May 15th
All anxious for Ross’ scouting party to come in after news of yesterday; many surmises — about 1:30 however, he returned, reporting Indians to have made a rapid move crossing Swift Current trail — do not know how many, but a large number. We are unable to conjecture cause of this move, but Ross reports trail of buckboards coming from east and Indians are following back on same trail — supposed to be messenger from Riel. Patrol of police found body.

May 16th
This morning telegraph operator said a message had gone through the wires that Middleton had captured Riel. That he was in his tent. What should he do with him. Glorious news on a glorious day. If we can only settle Mr. Poundmaker soon I hope we may be back at our dear old barracks this summer. Patrol of 25 police went out to fetch Elliot’s body. Scouts also out to ascertain direction of Poundmaker. The telegraph line ceased working. We are afraid it is cut.
May 17th
Sunday. Church parade at 10 a.m. — then funeral of Elliot. Firing party of “C” Co. Last night Scouts returned stating that Poundmaker was still going east. They also brought in 4 or 5 Indian Ponies — one had saddle, etc. and rattle snake round its neck on piece of velvet. … In evening welcome message came down that telegraph line was still open — We are by no means shut up except as to teams coming through — which is at present unsafe. Slept well; no alarms.

May 18th
Lovely morning. Telegram to Col. Otter from Gen. Middleton giving particulars of his gallant 4 days fight; 26 killed — wounded — 102 surrendered. Hope to get in a mail today but I am afraid he may be afraid to go through. Later telegraph news says Riel gave himself up. They very nearly caught Gabriel Dumont — Gen. tells Col. Otter to remain where he is for the present but may soon move us, where I don’t know. Lovely day but very dusty. Nothing to do all day as entire company on duty.

May 19th
Beautiful morning — most of Company on Brigade fatigue so took it easy. No news from telegraph. In afternoon went over to Fort Otter with Mutton and took sketch from roof of house. A heavy thunder storm came on. Scouts returned about 5:30; report Indians still moving eastwards. Col. Otter is sending Col. Herchmer down for train of wagons coming up. In evening asked Col. Otter if I could go with “C” Co. but he said it was not my turn — so had of course to lump it. It rained very heavily in the evening.

May 20th
I told Di I might be home. I wonder how long this campaign will last. I for one am rather tired of it; yesterday evening a telegram from Killough the plucky mail man that he had got through all right, after a rather exciting time. Hope he will be back today with mail.
On Piquet tonight — East Post, about 8 p.m. noticed a good deal of commotion round base of natural glacie, horses rushing, etc. I thought Indians had got through west Piquet. Hardly knew what to do with Piquet in case of rear attack — got Piquet under arms and then saw flag of truce, sent to ascertain what it was. Teamsters who had been taken prisoners being sent back and some half breeds, and a Priest Pere Cochin bringing a letter from Poundmaker asking what terms he could surrender on. It appears that teamsters were captured and really kindly treated — Poundmaker only heard of Riel’s defeat last night, and they immediately determined to send in — he also sent to the General. I took extra precautions at night as I thought it might be a ruse, however all passed well and I trust this is the beginning of the end of this most unsatisfactory warfare.

May 21st
Piquet was divided at 9:30 and I came off after having breakfast, very sleepy as I did not sleep a wink all night, and it was very cold and rainy. Sam Priest and
Brenner, latter most diabolical looking ... Am almost inclined to think they are spies, however I suppose it's alright. I can remember him rising up and firing at me at Cut Knife. They say he is a prisoner, but I do not believe it. In evening scouts came in driving about 15 head of cattle saying there were no signs of Indians on the trail.

May 22nd
I believe a mail goes in tomorrow. We shall probably get one out when the train comes. 20 men of QOR are going to pick up oats spilled by Indians in a coulee. They returned at 6 p.m. with about 100 bushels. They saw no Indians, but say that the place where they camped is a horse shoe coulee and they had entrenched it with rifle pits in Echelon, being very afraid of an attack. At night there seemed to be a very general feeling that some attack might be made ... Neale and Sears were knocking about nearly all night and a fire was observed, close by the Piquts which turned out to be lighted by the Home Guard — D.F.  
However all passed well.

May 23rd
About 8:30 the priest and 2 women and two men came in with letter stating that Poundmaker was willing to make terms of submission — and that they are ready to lay down their arms. He had lunch with us. It appears that they were much afraid of us at the battle, and say we are very brave men, and that if the position had been reversed they would have run away (very likely). It is a curious thing that the beginning of the end was May 20th. Everything very quiet; we heard from the Gen. that he was on the way. Herchmer expects him tomorrow.

May 24th
Queen's birthday, Sunday. Pouring with rain so no church parade, however in afternoon Col. Herchmer, Strange, self and Sears went out for a drive for 8 miles to Salt Lake. Lovely scenery; really very pretty. Poor Mutton quite sick. In evening, steamer reported in sight, we all went down . . .

May 25th
... General review for Queen's birthday; great time. General sent message from boat to Poundmaker that he would not treat, but must come in and lay down his arms. Half breeds will be in tonight. General in good spirits. Hope it will all be settled soon . . .

May 26th
Woke up with awfully stiff rheumatic pains. We all got an order to remain in lines. Poundmaker was given till 12 to come in. At 11 he and chiefs arrived bringing about 200 arms in wagons and had a long pow-wow they were dressed up in a most fantastic fashion . . . The General refused to shake hands with any
of them, and told them they must be better or else he’d wipe them all out. Poundmaker and five others detained — don’t know about Big Bear, there is a report which I don’t believe that he is near here with 1,100 Indians.

The thing was over about 1:30 and the others went away. In afternoon I met Mr. Gordon the clergyman from Winnipeg and Ottawa who married us. He enquired most kindly after my wife. I met Hugh Macdonald, Arnold Whiteford, etc. all of whom had come up in the morning by boat with the 90th but nobody was down to meet as the pow-wow was going on. Short and Todd and Rutherford went out in the afternoon to the Indians and brought back a lot of curiosities. Scouts returned in evening and report no signs of Big Bear so that somebody is telling a lie.

May 27th
Very uneventful day. Just loafed round anyhow. In evening, a steamer arrived but nobody expected anyone by it.

May 28th
Found out that 10th and rest of “C” Co. were there; very glad to see them all. No news of Big Bear at all . . .

May 29th
Woke up this morning with awful pains in back, must be kidneys. Doctor will give me medicine tonight — could not go on parade. Slept all morning in tent. In evening took pills and slept in the house.

May 30th
Much better in morning. Had a small drill, then loafed round generally. In evening steamer which had gone on to Pitt returned saying Gen. Strange had met Big Bear, lost three wounded and retired six miles. We of course thought our Brigade would go, but curiously the other Brigade will go by steamer tomorrow morning, our Cavalry Divn. with Herrcher in command and Boulton’s Scouts representing our Brigade. Slept in tent. Rained all night.

May 31st
[Sunday] Herrcher left at 8 and others at 10 p.m. by boat. ½ “C” Co. going with Scott; Davison of course left. He will come back to our mess. We are all annoyed at apparent snub on the part of the Gen. especially those of QOR who have not seen fire. Telegraphed Di. Gen. gone to Pitt leaving us here. I went out for a drive with Dawson.

June 1st
Woke up with an awful pain in back, must be rheumatism. However Strange says he’ll fix me by giving me 4 pills. Felt very blue indeed all day. Nothing to do,
in fact have no heart for anything. Mail came in; letters from Di of 18th and 21st. She says she will go back on June 1st to Toronto. I only hope we shall soon get away now as it is frightfully monotonous...

June 2nd
Sargent Burns turned up by boat today. Left behind with rheumatism. They are transporting 50 wagons to cross the river to go up to General. Went out for drive with Sears; he had a shot at some duck but missed. We went out about three miles on Carlton Trail. It was reported yesterday that Indians fired on a party of settlers on N. side of Saskatchewan (River). I am inclined to doubt their veracity, no news as yet from the Gen. I feel better today. Gabriel Dumont reported taken...

June 3rd
Nothing new. Later heard that a flag of truce sent by the Indians to Gen. Strange had been fired on by mistake, also that he had 3 separate skirmishes with Indians but only three wounded. Went out for drive with Davison. Ordered some moccasin slippers for Di and cap for self. No news at all in evening, went rather late to bed.

June 4th
Had a good drill this morning, fine day but as usual beastly wind blowing — no news yet. Went out for a drive again in afternoon with Davison and got some white leather for slippers. Remainder, or nearly all teams with Toronto Ladies’ presents arrived this evening.

June 5th
Unpacked stores for “C” Co. and put in tent with Lee in charge. Some difficulty in dividing up as many things would not go round. Steamer Alberta arrived from Pitt about 12:30. I rode up on Davison’s horse to find out news — to the effect that Big Bear had run away, 3 white prisoners, Mr. & Mrs. Quinney had escaped to Strange; that Middleton was about to follow with 350 mounted men under Herchmer and pack horses. Dog Jack of “C” Co. flew at me on parade; kicked him and threatened to shoot, but did not like to order this. Rheumatism still rather bad.

June 6th
Heard that Dog Jack had flown at men of Ferry guard “C” Co. and had been drowned. I have no doubt but that he was going slightly mad. Luckily for me he only tore my serge yesterday.

June 7th
Sunday. Fine, drive with Dawson. Had news we are to go to Turtle Lake; very glad to escape monotony of Battleford… It appears that we are to go and patrol country between Jack Fish and Turtle Lakes, preventing if possible Big Bear coming this way.
June 8th
Occupied all day striking camp; getting on board steamer to be ferried across. It was about three miles from our camp. I however came back to lunch; we all crossed, staff, etc. at about 8:30.

June 9th
Started 5 a.m. and marched about 12 miles west with one or two halts then halted for four hours in middle of day. I had a bath in dirty water. We then went on and crossed a beautiful trout stream, the Jack Fish, the QOR taking off their trousers, it is quite a rapid. We then went north to Jack Fish Lake, a lovely spot and beautiful water — we did not halt till 8:30 p.m. having done not less than 25 miles.

June 10th
Left at 4:30 a.m. and travelled till 11 a.m. Then halted till 4; had a lovely bath in afternoon. Sears went off with 10 scouts to go to Turtle Lake. It was very hot. We left at 4 p.m. and had hot mosquito walk, arriving at camp ground. One of QOR brought in an Indian who had evidently watched us and waited till he saw this man go into bath and when he saw him naked he appeared. He brought a note from Sears and his glass which had been broken and rendered useless. It appeared that Sears caught him and family about 2 miles after they left and took his guns away. He is a friendly non-treaty Souto (Salteaux), a tribe that is far more self-reliant than others. His cap or tuque, for he had a full blanket suit, was very funny, he also was really a good looking Indian but behind he reminded me of a wood gnome. The Col. decided that he would take him on till he met Sears. This Indian could give us no information about Big Bear.

June 11th
Started at 4:30 a.m. — came through beautiful park-like country, somewhat difficult to get through. At last emerged on Squirrel Plains. Halted at about 11 for lunch — Sears returned and joined us — scouts had seen nothing. Moved on at 4 p.m. across plain. Had to return about a mile as there was no water near — slept well.

June 12th
Started 5 a.m. and marched winding about trying to get through west side by Turtle River after marching till 11. Camped for day within 9 miles of the place we started. Very tired indeed — did nothing all afternoon . . .

June 13th
Marched at 5:30 a.m. about 10 miles to point on Stony Creek 3 miles s. of Turtle Lake. Scouts with Sears out, reported a few straggling trails — cold and very rainy — frost with us this morning — courier going in tomorrow — sending letter to Di.
June 14th
[Sunday] Nasty cold raw morning. Col. Otter took Column except “C” Co. and one Co. QOR to Turtle Lake about 3 miles north. I remained of course — but in afternoon rode up to Lake with Armit on little stallion pony — it is a beautiful lake with lovely silver sand — about 15 miles long and two or three across came back to camp — had a bath in creek with Col. Otter — in evening carved a post with Armit, “Col. Otter’s Column, June 14, 1885” and put it up in centre of camp — Sears went out with scouting party to Pitt trail.

June 15th
Lovely morning, frost in night. We are not as yet moving — Kenmore got a birch bark canoe last night. Col. decided to move back to plains so at 4 p.m. moved back about 10 miles leaving one company of QOR who had lost a man in the woods. We met Boulton’s scouts who had left Tuesday at 6 but had missed trail and had to go back. Only news is Gen. had gone as far as Loon Lake but had gone (on) track to Pitt and was coming back again on Beaver River — sent letters.

June 16th
Moved at 6 a.m. and marched about 12 miles to Stoney Lake which we reached at 12 noon and put up tents in afternoon. Prower and I had a bath and a stroll — it is a very pretty spot. Fontaine the scout who went down with despatches not yet returned. The scouts did not meet him. Later in evening Fontaine returned with no news except that Gen. had gone west. Brock and wagon went down this morning.
June 17th
Got up at 6:30, lovely morning. About 12, a despatch came from Ross that he was with Yellow Sky, 20 lodges and bringing them in to see Otter — they were friendly Indians I think. Col. decided to go out with escort of 25 to meet them leaving us here — Mutton went to Battleford with Armit and 14 wagons to get provisions as we are very short — no more oats, tea or sugar. Bathed.

June 18th
Did not wake up till 8 a.m. Am getting awfully lazy, still very hot, mosquitoes troublesome. All but Ogilvy, of Gunners, gone of course barring QOR and Guards so we two are messing together. I fear I shall have to economize space in my diary as I have few more pages and heaven knows when we shall get home. Expect Chief back about 4 p.m. Came back at 6 p.m. No news Yellow Sky, friendly Indian, got back some of Wylde’s Cattle, however they brought lots of furs. — storm in night.

June 19th
Rode out with Ogilvy on Col. Montizambert’s horse to visit camp of Indians — taking hard tack and corned beef. When we got out about 4 miles found Kenmore and Beaumont returning — they said Indians had gone south to Jack Fish. In fact Yellow Sky came in just as we went out and told Col. Otter so, as we had no food to give him. We expect Brock back tonight. Bathed in afternoon with Sears, going out on raft to fish, he fell overboard.

June 20th
In morning went for march out for 4 miles. Rather hot in afternoon. Scout Atkinson returned saying that he had seen 25 Indians west of Pelican Lake. Col. Otter rather disinclined to believe him. Brock arrived this evening with canned meats, etc. for our mess. Got 2 cows for the Company and they gave milk, and of course for us too.

June 21st
[Sunday] Col. decided to send Sears and Ross out with scouts to Pelican Lake. Late last night or this morning, Capt. Mutton arrived with word that train of provisions was coming as we had had no bacon, no sugar, no tea. Villebrun came in at noon and also reported Big Bear’s trail going direct to Pelican Lake — so it appears true what Atkinson said, however, Sears and Ross and other scouts are going out and are trying to get despatches through to Irwin — we shall probably move tomorrow towards Pelican Lake.

June 22nd
Nothing new, packing up — team came in with supplies about 11. Also Montana Cattle — Column moved east for Pelican Lake at 4 p.m. Marched till 7:45 — halted at pretty spot on creek.
June 23rd
Reveille 2 a.m. Left Bivouac at 3:30 — marched about 10 miles through very wooded country along to Birch Lake, at the east end of which we halted at 8 a.m. — waited all day expecting dispatch from scouts with Sears but none came in. Had bath in afternoon. In evening went to sleep under a gun limber — about 10, scouts returned from Pitt with dispatch from Gen., who is returning with all his force to Battleford — to effect that if Otter could catch B.B. to do so — this is good news as it unties the Col.’s hands as regards patrolling prairie — no news from Sears.

June 24th
Cool morning with thunder. Col. and Mutton went down new trail which, it is discovered, only makes it 40 miles to B’ford so that we are nearer than before — nothing else happened up to now. In afternoon played quoits. Mail came in for “C” Co. Nothing from Di, can’t make it out — had dinner with Gunners as Col. was not back. About 10 begun to be uneasy about him, however, he turned up at about that time — been to Pelican Lake which is at least 3 days march off. We had no news from Sears who has gone on to Green Lake. We heard from Strange that Gen. is breaking up hospital and everybody is going home. We shall be going soon.

June 25th
From what the Col. said it seems to be general impression that we shall soon be going back. At 1:00, Sears rode into Camp and confirmed this as he could get no traces of B.B. The Col. consulted with Col. Montizambert and Miller and came to the conclusion to send dispatch to Gen asking for mounted men — to get on B.B. trail west of Turtle Lake and follow him up — before he sent it, however, Yellow Sky’s brother brought some ponies into camp and said that 8 of B.B. lodges had come down to him but he would not let them in. Col. Otter sent Ross and others to bring them in wishing to get a guide from them to lead us to B.B. Very warm last night.

June 26th
Warm morning — nothing particular went out with Drury in canoe to see if we could catch some fish but were unsuccessful, had a lovely bath however on a sandy beach opposite side of lake. All who had horses in afternoon went out for a ride.

June 27th
Early this morning Ross came in with Indians and arms — old flintlocks that were sent for. The report Big Bear splitting up and ready to give up so Col. sending Sears and 10 men with 5 Indians to search for him. Col. Montizambert and artillery leave here at 2 today. They are not sorry — we had a beautiful mess hut made of boughs circular in shape. It is beautifully cool. Col. M. left at 3 owing to Drury having been out for a ride, when ordered away. Letter from Di dated 10th June — wrote her one and sent it by Col. M.
June 28th
[Sunday]. Service in morning 9:30. Very hot — in afternoon had a bath. Despatch from Sears that scouts were following trail which was very split up. If he could not do more, would be back tomorrow night in evening. Arranged with other officers for swimming races tomorrow of 6 events — $65 subscribed by the officers.

June 29th
Sears returned at 7 a.m., reported useless following trail. Col decided to move homewards at 3 — so swimming races are abandoned. No one seems to regret putting off for such a purpose, and moreover there is a very high wind — the highest we have had — wrote Di saying we were ordered back. I trust we shall not remain long in Battleford — moved at 3 p.m. “C” Co. leading. We marched till 8 — mosquitoes very bad. Could not sleep at all — about 10 miles.

June 30th
Marched at 5 a.m. G.G.F.G. leading — moved very quickly through a beautiful country catching a glimpse of the distant Jack Fish Lake. A lovely spot and never have I ever enjoyed a bath more, however, I fancy I stayed in too long as I had an attack of diarrhea and when we moved at 5 p.m. I sent Major on in a buckboard — we had to ford a stream — there were loads of fish, some of which we had for dinner. We halted about 9 miles further than the ford on the shores of the lake, exactly 3 months since we left.

July 1st
We marched at 4 and passed through Yellow Sky's Camp and reached ford on Jackfish where we crossed going up at 7:30. Halted at 11:30. A big thunderstorm came on and completely drenched everything — we moved on at 2:10 and reached the Saskatchewan at 7:30 after a long wet march through the rain. Slept like fun...

July 2nd
Up at 8 a.m. Heard Police and Gatling gone out to Poundmaker’s to get prisoners and arms. Scott came over. Others in camp from Pitt 3 days ago — news is that “A” & “B” Co's will remain in country for a time. Remaining volunteers going home. News quite upset Sears and I, more especially as a heavy thunderstorm came on and we had to sit in a tent...

July 3rd
News from Gen that QOR to be ready to embark Sunday morning — that Col. Montizambert is to march with “B” Battery to Prince Albert till further orders — Col. & Mutton went over to see about matters in connection herewith. Wrote Di again — I really don’t know what to do about it as it is very hard for me — Gray & Todd who had been over to get bodies of Guards to forward to Ottawa, brought back news that Sub-Inspector N. Gagnon7 had caught Big Bear at Carlton. This is grand news...

July 4th
In morning went out to see new post and slept in his tent for a while. Col gave himself up to all and we heard of a sad accident in the evening.

July 5th
[Sunday] At midday Smith and all QOR & “C” (I think) ordered to Prickly Pear to arrange for a steamer to take us back up the river. A sad accident today — a man died from infection of a cut on the wrist.

July 6th
Steamer left the post at 2 p.m. and we moved. Strange that we should do so.

July 7th
Strong wind at night. Otter shrine, I think a name for men and women to cross at Swift Current.

July 8th
Moved up into new camps. We have a chair, table, etc. — also our police are coming.

July 9th
Mail supposed to have come today. Different thing.

July 10th
Very hot, days.

July 11th
Hot again, no news. I suppose it is just another nuisance...
July 4th
In morning went down to ferry to get my things across to go to other side. Waiting from 9:30 till 12 as strong wind blowing. Took over Co. from Scott and slept in his tent with Brock. Steamer stuck about 5 miles up. Miserable Man gave himself up.

July 5th
[Sunday] At 4 a.m. steamer arrived with 10th, 90th, Midland (Battalion). Saw Smith and all others, for they waited all day to try to cross from other side. The QOR & “C” Co. There is no doubt of our having to stay as Montizambert is ordered to Prince Albert. Telegraph Di. We remain here, no officer at Fort. Try and arrange . . . . Gave Newby a pair of Indian slippers for her . . . . Said goodbye to all and went miserable to bed — Major Smith goes with Gen. to Winnipeg. Sad accident tonight. One of “B” Battery on Guard slipped and shot another right through the head while escorting prisoners. Col. Williams died on board steamer suddenly, illness probably aggravated by excitement. “C” Co. came over in evening.

July 6th
Steamer left at 3 a.m. — had plenty to do getting things stowed. We, “A” Battery and “C” Co. will encamp together, but very strong wind blowing so can’t move. Strange, Spackman, Adair, Yondell went home.

July 7th
Strong wind again and rain preventing our moving — we shall also have to leave Otter shrine, for which I am sorry. In evening La Vallee, Irving’s scout came in here for men and horses. He is on Little Poplar’s trail and thinks he is trying to cross at Swift Current.

July 8th
Moved up into artillery camp where we shall be very comfortable. Also got bed, chair, table, etc. for my tent, also marquee, much warmer today — heard 300 police are coming up here. Wrote Di — very busy all day but nothing new.

July 9th
Mail supposed to go out today. Wrote home, Di — very busy in camp doing different things, drill, etc. No further news.

July 10th
Very hot, days seem to pass quickly which is a great comfort, drill of course . . .

July 11th
Hot again, no further news except mail came in bringing no letter for staff. We suppose it is in the Q.O.R. mail bag and has been stopped in Wpeg. d----d nuisance . . .
July 15th
Struck tents at 9:30 a.m. for ventilating camp. Looking glass broke in my tent — an unlucky thing.

July 16th
Had ride with Battery and some jumping, good fun.

July 17th
Fine day. Drill of course. Went for ride on Col’s pony on Swift Current trail. Had race with C.O. Little pony held its own gallantly. Whist in evening.

July 18th
Fine day. About noon had news that downgoing mail had been stolen while mail carrier slept. There was to have been a cricket match between M.P., etc. and garrison but they did not turn up. Loafted round generally.

July 19th
[Sunday] Wet in morning. Mail came in but no letter for me from Di. Am very disappointed. Rec’d a cheque from Graphic for 1.11.6 — don’t deserve it ... evening played quoits.

July 20th
Have nearly finished my book and I had hoped to have only finished at Toronto, but it is not to be — this is 9 months later than I told Di I might be home. I am very sick of it.

ENDNOTES
1 Wadmore was promoted Captain on 21 December 1888. In 1893, he attended a musketry training course in England at Hythe, was presented to Queen Victoria, and spent some time serving with the Worcestershire Regiment before returning to his former station at Fredericton, New Brunswick. Promoted Major in the Royal Regiment of Canadian Infantry on 15 July 1898, he attended Richmond Military College briefly. Due to serious illness at this time, which left lasting effects, he missed active service in the South African War. Wadmore was appointed to command the Royal School of Infantry at Halifax in late 1899 and promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel on 15 September 1905. He commanded the R.R.C.I. at the Tetracentenary Celebrations at Quebec of the landing of Champlain, a major historical celebration which brought together over ten thousand Canadian militia and regular soldiers. In 1909, he commanded the contingent of troops sent to Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, to keep the peace during a serious miners’ strike. In August 1910, he was promoted to Colonel and appointed District Officer Commanding in British Columbia. He finally retired in 1912, after twenty-nine years of military service. His final duty was his appointment as Chief Censor for Vancouver Island at the outbreak of the 1914-1918 War. He passed away on 2 April 1915.

2 Parenthesis indicate later insertions by Wadmore.
4 pounders, cannons.
5 “Nitches” was a common term for Indians in this period. I am indebted to Hugh Dempsey of Glenbow for this information.
6 Home Guard — Defensive Force.
7 Wadmore was apparently misinformed as Big Bear surrendered to Sergeant Smart at Fort Carlton, though as Smart’s superior officer, Gagnon might have been credited at the time with the capture.

Dramatis Personae
These notes are designed to assist the reader in identifying persons mentioned in the Wadmore Diary merely by their surname.

ALGER, probably Lieutenant Colonel Northcott Alger, Superintendent of Stores, M.D. No. 2, Toronto.
ARMIT, E.N., clerk to Major W. R. Bell, who was in charge of Col. Otter’s transport.

ATKINSON, possibly Phillip Atkinson, a police courier.


BIG BEAR, a chief of the Plains Cree whose band was responsible for the Frog Lake massacre and the capture of Fort Pitt. Surrendered at Fort Carlton, tried, and sentenced to two years in jail. d. 1888.

BROCK, Lieutenant Henry, No. 3 Company, Queen’s Own Rifles. b. Oakville 1859 and educated at Upper College, he joined the QOR in 1883. Later transferred to the 10th Royal Grenadiers where he became a Major in 1890.

BURNS, Sergeant J. E., originally with the section of “C” Company, Infantry School Corps attached to General Middleton’s Column.


DAWSON, Major George Dudley, 10th Royal Grenadiers. Formerly Lieutenant in the 47th Fusiliers (British Army), he served during the Fenian Raids 1866. Later Lieut. Colonel of the 10th and ADC to the Governor General in 1889.

DEANE, Superintendent Richard Burton, NWMP. In command of NWMP at Regina. Born in India and educated in India he served in the Royal Marines before coming to Canada in 1882. Joined the NWMP in 1883. His published memoirs are a delightful read; he did not suffer fools gladly and makes scathing comments on just about everyone and everything.

Di. Lieutenant Wadmore’s wife, Annie Knight Sked Wadmore.


ELLIOT, Constable F. O., NWMP, killed by Indians while scouting near Battleford. Buried in the Mounted Police Cemetery at Battleford.


FITCH, 2nd Lieutenant William Charles, 10th Royal Grenadiers, killed at Batoche.

FONTAINE, Baptiste, who is mentioned in Inspector Dickens of Fort Pitt Journal as a frequent messenger between Fort Pitt and Battleford.


GAGNON, Superintendent Severe, NWMP, in charge of the post at Fort Carlton. A veteran of the March West in 1874, he retired in 1901.

GORDON, Rev. Daniel M., Presbyterian clergyman who married R. L. Wadmore and Annie Knight Sked in 1882. He served at St. Andrew’s, Ottawa and Knox Church, Winnipeg. He joined the 90th Winnipeg Rifles in the North-West campaign as a Chaplain in late April, 1885.

GRAY, 2nd Lieutenant Harry Hamilton, Governor General’s Foot Guards.

HERCHMER, Superintendent William Macaulay, NWMP. Chief of Staff to Colonel Otter. An experienced officer, he had served as a Major in the 14th Princess of Wales Own Rifles from 1869, as a Captain in the Ontario Battalion of Rifles and in the Provisional Battalion in Manitoba 1871, Lieutenant Colonel 1874, joined the NWMP in 1876, Assistant Commissioner 1886. d. 1892.


LAURIE, Major General John Wiburn. Born in England and educated at Harrow and Sandhurst, he saw active service in the Crimean War 1854-55 and in India. Emigrated to Canada 1861. Brigade Major,Halifax in 1869 and Deputy Adjutant-General in 1872. DAG in BC 1882. Retired as Major-General in 1883. Technically he was senior to Middleton, his presence in the North-West caused some momentary hierarchial confusion.


MARIGOLD, Lieutenant Frederick, Battleford Rifles. Formerly a Lieutenant in the 22nd Battalion Oxford Rifles in 1869, he died in 1888 and was buried in the Mounted Police Cemetery at Battleford.


MIDDLETON, Major-General Frederick Dobson CB. General Officer Commanding the Canadian Militia 1884-90. An experienced British Army officer who had seen active service in the Indian Mutiny and in the Boer War, he had a reputation for personal courage. A competent soldier, but unsuited to the internal struggles of Militia politics, he resigned at the Government’s request, with considerable ill feeling on both sides. Later Keeper of the Crown Jewels at the Tower of London, an honourable sinecure. d. 1898.

MILLER, Lieutenant Colonel Albert Augustus, Commanding Officer of the Queen’s Own Rifles since 1884.

MONTJABERT, Lieutenant Colonel Charles E., Commanding the Artillery, N.W. Field Force. Born in 1841, he was commissioned in the artillery in 1867. Lieut. Colonel in 1877. By 1882 he was Inspector of Artillery and Commandant of the School of Artillery at Kingston.

MORRIS, Inspector W. S., NWMP in charge of the post at Battleford.
THE U.P.L.

In the fall of 1904, the Norwegian steamer Kathinka entered the port of Liverpool, England. She had sailed from the port of Bergen, Norway, on a voyage to Liverpool to load coal. The Kathinka was carrying a large number of immigrants from Norway, who were seeking a better life in the United States. The ship had been delayed in her voyage due to adverse weather conditions, and the passengers were grateful to be finally arriving in Liverpool.

The passengers were greeted by the local authorities, who provided them with food and shelter until they could continue their journey to the United States. The Norwegian government had paid for their passage, and the passengers were grateful for the support they had received. They were eager to start a new life in the United States, where they hoped to find opportunities for work and prosperity.

In the end, the Kathinka arrived in New York City, where the immigrants were greeted by the authorities and provided with transportation to their final destinations. Many of them went on to become successful farmers and entrepreneurs in the United States, contributing to the economic growth of the country.

My father, Alfred Hamlin, was among the passengers on the Kathinka. He had left Norway in search of a better life, and he was determined to make a success of his new life in the United States. He worked hard and eventually became a successful farmer, and he was able to support his family and provide them with a comfortable life.

In recent years, there has been a renewed interest in the history of immigration to the United States. Many people are interested in learning more about the experiences of the immigrants who came to this country in the early 20th century. My father's story is just one example of the many thousands of immigrants who came to the United States in search of a better life.

The mental subjection,
THE URBANIZATION OF AN ARAB HOMESTEADING FAMILY

By Habeeb Salloum

In the fall of 1923, my father, George Jacob Salloum, left his native Karoun (Qar‘awn) in the Biqa’ Valley in the French-mandated territory of Syria and set sail to North America. The world he was leaving was not a tranquil place. The French occupation of Syria and the unsettled conditions this brought in its wake had prompted many of the townspeople to leave for the Americas. My father, although making a good living, decided he too would join the exodus and try his luck in the New World.¹

In the early twentieth century, to the minds of most peasants, not only in Syria but in much of Europe, any location in the New World was viewed as a place of opportunity. The United States, Brazil, Mexico and Canada were the main targets of destination. Where a previous fellow townsman or relative had settled, they usually followed.²

By 1921, Canada had barely three thousand immigrants of Syrian origin.³ The restricted volume could be attributed mainly to the fact that Syrian immigrants, for decades classified as Asian (and non-white) immigrants, were subject to discriminatory immigration laws including a 1908 Order-in-Council which stipulated that “the amount of money required to be in possession of each immigrant as a condition of his being permitted to enter Canada shall be ... two hundred dollars in the case of all Asiatic immigrants other than those with whose countries the Government of Canada has special arrangements ...”⁴

In the main, they had settled in Ontario and Quebec, and made a living through shopkeeping or peddling, often intending to return to Syria once they had earned enough money for a house or a piece of land. Only a few went into farming,⁵ but at the turn of the century, some Arab families had settled in southwestern Saskatchewan, around Swift Current, where they were engaged in farming and peddling.⁶ Thus, my father was a rare type of Arab newcomer, travelling halfway across the country seeking farm land in the western prairies, a life which appealed to those who had little knowledge of Canada, the adventurous and later, their relatives.

My father, beginning a new life as a farmhand on the prairies, did not know that in this period of Canada's history many Canadians looked down on his ethnic origin. In that era few qualities attributed to Arabs were positive.⁷ In one of the early studies of immigration to Canada (1909), J. S. Woodsworth described the Syrians as “manifestly not fitted for life in Western Canada,”⁸ citing Dr. Allan McLaughlin, author of a series of articles on immigration in the Popular Science Monthly, 1903-1905, whose interpretation and subsequent definition of the Syrians provided the general attitude towards this ethnic group in that period. McLaughlin stated:

The mental processes of these people have an Oriental subtlety. Centuries of subjection, where existence was only possible through intrigue, deceit and servil-
ity, have left their mark, and through force of habit, they lie most naturally and by preference, and only tell the truth when it will serve their purpose best. Their wits are sharpened by generations of commercial dealing and their business acumen is marvellous. With all due admiration for the mental qualities and trading skill of these parasites from the near East, it cannot be said that they are anything in their vocations they follow but detrimental and burdensome. . . .

In their habits of life, their business methods, and their inability to perform labor or become producers, they do not compare favorably even with the Chinese, and the most consoling feature of their coming has been that they form a comparatively small part of our total immigration.*

Like many of the Syrian immigrants, my father started out as a farm labourer and then became a peddler, working for a relative, Musa Salloum, who owned a general store in Gouvernor, a hamlet with about 175 inhabitants just west of Ponteix. Outfitted with a horse and buggy, he made enough money in this profession to be able to pay for his family's fare to Canada. My mother, my brother (not yet three years old) and myself (less than one year old) followed our father across the Mediterranean to France and then crossed the Atlantic. After a month of travelling, we landed in Quebec City, then took a train to the prairies.

A few years after my mother arrived, my father decided he had had enough of peddling, a trade which he despised. When the eldest of my four sisters, Ramza (Rose) was born in 1926, our one-room town shack was becoming too crowded. This gave my father the impetus to begin searching for a farm. For him, hard work was a fulfilling way of life, not a bogey to be feared. Unlike many other Arab immigrants of that epoch, my father did not intend to save money, then return to the Old Country to buy a house or a piece of land.16 He had decided that Canada was to be his future home.

The isolated rural areas were to prove the experimental laboratory in which his survival in the new land would be tested. In 1926, he was granted a quarter-section of homestead land eighteen miles north of the town of Val Marie. He had saved a few hundred dollars from peddling and with this he bought another quarter-section, a team of horses, a wagon and a plow.

Like other settlers, my parents set out to make a new life for themselves on the unbroken prairies. On the other hand, unlike many of their neighbours, they could draw on the experiences of their peasant ancestors in building their home, preparing the land and seeding the crops best suited for the arid prairie land. These methods aided them to survive the early Depression years when many of their neighbours abandoned their homesteads and moved away. As it was with a good number of Arab immigrants, our family was better off than many members of other ethnic groups due to the experience of agrarian, subsistence-level living practised by my parents in their homeland.17 In the Biqa', my parents had grown chickpeas and lentils, vegetables which through the centuries, had adapted to the desert. They would prove their worth again in our prairie garden.

During the homesteading years, our prolific family increased by four, a brother Fuad (Fred) and three sisters, Hilla (Helen), Mariyam (Mary) and Fuzuila (Phyllis). In 1932, I was nearly eight years old and my brother ten when the first school, three miles away from our home, was built. We attended it for a year, but by the next summer the majority of the farmers had moved away and the school was closed.
The process of our Canadianization began in this period of our lives. Attending school and associating with our schoolmates, even though it made us feel we were different, and, at times, inferior, drew us into the larger society.

Yet, we felt that we did not truly belong. The slurs of our schoolmates made sure of that. “Black Syrian,” “Out of my way, Black Syrian!” were the epithets with which we were taunted every day. In later years I came upon a book, *Which Way to Mecca, Jack?* by William Peter Blatty, a second-generation Arab American. I found that I identified with his inquisitorial state when he asks his mother, “Mama, why can’t I talk American like the other kids?” Further, he could well have been speaking about my youth when he describes himself as a “foreigner in the land of my birth,” or when he reminisces about his boyhood fantasies.

As for my own dreams, the only one I really harbored in those days was the dream of waking up some morning and finding myself an Irishman. How I envied the Irish boys their snub noses, their pale skins, and their incredible reflexes! I had daydreams in which my name was Miles O’Malley or Fairfax McLaughlin, and I had blond hair and was the champion boxer of Ireland. . . . Meanwhile, I would have given a million dollars for just one crummy freckle.14

The improvisations of my parents helped us survive the early Depression years, but my father knew he had to find another place if his family was to have a decent future. In 1933, with the help of a fellow Arab settler, Albert Hattum, he found and then rented a farm situated between the towns of Governor and Neville. Here, unlike the deserted lands around the homestead we left, the countryside was inhabited. It was as if we had left the desert to relocate in an urban centre.

The year we moved to the new land, my youngest brother, Abdallah (Albert), was born. Like the others, he was born at home with a neighbour’s wife aiding in the delivery. Although we were now a little better off, the hospital and doctor were still beyond our reach. Albert was the last of our family members. In later years, my mother gave birth to two girls but they died soon thereafter.

The epoch between 1933 and 1940 were the years in which we children became prepared for adult life. In this period we attended Minot, a little prairie school which moulded our lives. What I remember most vividly about this school was its miniature library. From its few books I became familiar with the outer world, and this made me dream of leaving the parched prairie land for the rich cities of western and eastern Canada.

Yet, school life was far from pleasant. During those years, I was burdened with an attitude of imperfection. Like most other immigrant children, I tried desperately to become part of the Anglo-Saxon world. I imitated the ways of my Canadian classmates and sought their approval. The gulf between our parents’ values and attitudes, and ours widened with the passing years.15

At the same time as I and my other brothers and sisters were trying to shed our Arab origin and assimilate, we dreamed of the metropolises of Canada, those unattainable, far-away, fairyland places. It was apparent that we did not inherit the love for the land of our father. In 1939, the Second World War broke into our narrow prairie world and drastically changed our lives.

When the War began, my elder brother and I had reached our teens. Unlike the previous years when there was not a job to be had, the Armed Forces and
armament factories were crying for men. To entice workers for war industry, the government offered free schooling. In 1940, I applied for machinist training and was accepted at the Moose Jaw Technical Institute. After a few months in this Institute, I left to work in an armament factory in Regina. In 1943, I joined the Air Force and my eldest brother volunteered for the Navy. We served both in and outside of Canada and were honorably discharged in 1945.

During the war years, most of the adult members of the family began planning to move away and seek a better life. We wanted to part with the harsh ways of farming and the cultural heritage of our parents which was significantly different from that which characterized Canadian society. Although, like almost all immigrants, our parents tried hard to teach us their customs and ancestral language, we rebelled.

We felt that by making our homes in urban centres, no one would know our origin and we would become true Canadians. In the towns and cities in which we would settle, unlike the farm where everyone knew us, we were convinced that we would lose our foreign background. The cities of Canada were our El-Dorados and even my father could not stem the coming tide. He was forced, to some extent, to accommodate his children. The beginning of the urbanization of our family was at hand.

While we were serving in the Armed Forces, my parents moved to Neville where they opened a restaurant. My sisters and younger brothers, unlike myself and my older brother, now had a chance to finish their schooling if they so desired. Although my father opened a restaurant, he could not give up the farm, for the soil was in his blood. The heartaches and sorrows of the homestead had clearly slipped away. My two younger brothers did the farming while my mother, helped by my father and sisters, operated the restaurant. Although their profits from the restaurant were modest compared to the farming years, their standard of living had risen many fold.

When the War began, the Depression ended and strange as it may seem, so did the drought. The rains came and while the crops were in some years not as good as in others, the wheat grew every year. With the money he made from both the restaurant and the farm, my father at last decided he had had enough of work. He retired to Swift Current, bought three houses and lived in semi-retirement. Farm life was now history, but he kept the land and only sold it in his last years.

As for us children, one after another, we left the land behind. The movement to the urban centres was irreversible. A family whose ancestors had for hundreds of years, generation after generation, made their living from the soil, now in a few decades, had become fully urbanized.

The process of urbanization developed quickly due to a number of factors. The opportunities urban living offered when compared to the hard, unrewarding life of the prairies was most important. In our country of origin, people rarely moved away from their birthplace or trade due to traditions and lack of economic evolution. Here, in the New World, these shackles of the past were non-existent. Unlike our parents where linguistic and other cultural barriers hindered their full assimilation, we felt that in the urban centres our Canadianization would be complete. In the cosmopolitan towns we would not be pointed out as different.
war industry, the foreign language training and the technical training. After a few months in this university, in the fall of 1943, I joined the army. While there, I served both in Canada and in England.

My family began to feel the impact of the war with the harsh economic reality. The government was significantly reduced in size. Growth was restricted. Although, like other farmers in the country, our customs and daily life had to be adapted to the war effort, one would know that the farmers were not the only ones affected. Across the country, we were confronted with the same economic realities. The government had to adapt to the urbanization of the country.

In 1945, we moved to a farm in the outskirts of the city. Unlike myself, my parents were not able to afford school if they so desired. My parents gave up the farm, the homestead had been sold. While my mother, in her forties, continued to work on their profits and support the family, my father, in his sixties, had retired. My childhood was marked by hardship.

As it may seem, so many years not as much as a dollar a day he made from the farm. By then, they had had enough and wanted to retire, and only sold it in 1950. The move to the city was difficult. The move of our ancestors for the first time for farming, from rural to urban, was marked by a number of factors. The limited economic opportunities, the rapid urbanization, the social and economic changes, and lack of education and training. In the past, the barriers were physical. The land and the cities were not connected. In Canada, the city was not the centre of everything. The urbanization of the country was not as rapid as in other countries. The transition was not as sudden. The change was gradual.

The same process of melting into Canadian society happened in every region of Canada. In the western part of the country, the Arabs found they could assimilate more quickly if they lived in urban centres. Hence, in an overwhelming number of cases, they made their homes in towns and cities, finding an atmosphere more conducive to being accepted. Because of their lack of nationalistic and their religious divisions, they plunged headlong into assimilation, trying to become invisible. The only aspect of their ancestors’ culture a few of them retained was some interest in Arabic food, music and dance.

Like almost all the other first-generation Syrian immigrants to Canada, my father and mother, even if they reminiscence about farming, eventually made the town their permanent home. Living comfortably retired in Swift Current, they forgot the misery of the farming years and always praised Saskatchewan, this part of Canada, their adopted land. My mother died in 1965, and my father, who had weathered hundreds of sandstorms, died in 1968 of emphysema, a disease caused to some extent by the sand gathered in his lungs through the years. Both are now buried in one grave in Swift Current, a city in the prairie land they loved.

As for myself, urban life gave me the chance to pursue my education and gave me the dignity lacking in my rural years. I lost my inferiority complex and began to search for my roots. In the ensuing years, as I read about the Arabs and their civilization, my knowledge and horizons expanded. The more I comprehended about the Arab contributions to mankind, the more I wanted to tell the world about it. First, I became proud of my Syrian ancestry, then, as I became more enlightened, of my broader Arab heritage.
ENDNOTES


5. Ibid., 89-100. See also P. Baker, An Arctic Arab (Saskatoon: Yellowknife Publishing Company Ltd., 1976) for a good example of their willingness to try any field of employment.


7. Ibid., 94.

8. Woodworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, 139.

9. Ibid.


13. Ibid., 39.


17. Ibid., 23.


20. A 1984 study of Arab communities in Nova Scotia determined that the use of Arabic virtually disappears in the third generation and all that remains are a few mispronounced words for foods. N. W. Jabbara and J. C. Jabbara, Voyages to a Rocky Shore: The Lebanon and Syrians of Nova Scotia (Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1984), 115-160.


22. Ibid., 1.

23. Ibid., 18.

24. Ibid., 21.

BOOK REVIEWS


This sixtieth anniversary history of Federated Co-operatives (FCL), western Canada’s largest co-operative, will have its most enthusiastic audience among the 750,000 members of over 300 co-operative stores that own the FCL wholesale. The book deserves a much larger audience, however: anyone interested in what makes western Canadian society and history unique will have several good reasons for reading it. Fairbairn offers something very unusual among Canadian business histories: a sustained critical perspective on the decisions and performance of a democratically-structured business organization with social-movement roots.

Those familiar with only private or public sector models of business governance and performance will find much novel ground covered in this study, including elements of a case study in the political economy of collective entrepreneurship. Readers should be particularly interested in the author’s emphasis on the continuing tension within the co-operative retailing system between democratic control, with its roots in popular education and social movements, and the bureaucratically-channelled imperatives of busi-
ness expansion and financial success. The latter have gained the upper hand since the 1960s in the FCL “system,” but if they had prevailed to the exclusion of concern for the co-operative movement’s historical democratizing mission, this book would not have appeared.

In the context of a poorly developed public debate over government privatization of public enterprises, Fairbairn’s account of the FCL experience with this tension is educational to more than co-op members. As a co-operative, FCL still retains a meaningful measure of regional control and community sensitivity through its district and regional representational structures, annual meetings, board-management relations, and channelling of surplus earnings directly back into communities. By rather stark contrast, the various privatization plans and records of current Canadian governments have offered no similar guarantees of sensitivity to and benefit for the communities that need them.

Central to the history of consumer co-operation in the West were farmer movement activists who initiated local co-operative retail on the basis of little capital, considerable personal sacrifice and widespread community participation. Fairbairn details these organizational and personal connections well, partly by offering many engaging and illuminating portraits of consumer co-operative pioneers and leaders. He deftly sorts through the complicated amalgamations, promotion of new co-ops by established co-ops, growth of subsidiaries and related firms, failed centralization initiatives, and cultural aspects of the movement for consumer co-operation in western Canada. These elements of the study are, for the most part, effectively set within a context of regional history and the dynamics and dilemmas of the co-operative movement in the West.

Students of Canadian and prairie politics will experience some disappointments with this book. Fairbairn has much to say about the internal politics of expansion, development education and board-management relations in the FCL co-operative business network, but too little about how these internal politics were linked to the changing prairie political culture and competition — especially in Saskatchewan, where co-operative activists have done so much to shape Liberal, Farmer-Labor and CCF platforms, policies and ideology. More extensive consideration of the factors in our political economy that have deterred long-run consumer co-operative success in most prairie cities, and eliminated a culturally powerful co-operative movement for democratization of our economy and society, would have also been useful. Students of organizational democracy would benefit from more critical attention to recent developments within the FCL system that pit centralization and competitive success against decentralized, democratic control by locally elected boards. This would strengthen Fairbairn’s already excellent account of the interplay within co-operative organizations between social movement-based, community control objectives on the one hand, and competitive business imperatives on the other.

Fairbairn’s prose is clear and accessible to a wide audience, while still densely packed with information and thought-provoking commentary. Each chapter concludes with summary comments and pointed questions designed to stimulate critical reflection by co-op members on the current direction of both their two billion dollar per year enterprise and the Canadian co-operative ‘sector’ as a whole. In this way, the author’s extensive archival research serves the historical co-operative movement objective of broadly-focused popular education.

Building a Dream provides a refreshing contrast to the many hagiographic histories of individual entrepreneurship in Canada. Fairbairn demonstrates something that Canadian historians and social scientists have seldom acknowledged, despite ample supporting evidence: collective entrepreneurship, democratic control and business success are not just theoretically compatible, but have in fact combined to provide long-term social and economic benefits to many Canadian communities for which the market has been insufficiently magical.

David Laycock

At the end of the nineteenth century and up to the outbreak of World War I, the Government of Canada promoted the settlement of thousands in the semi-arid region of south-eastern Alberta and south-western Saskatchewan. Opening this territory up for homesteading purposes was a colossal error in judgment. Within a matter of two or three decades, and long before the Great Depression of the 1930s, it was evident that even the newly developed dryland farming techniques could not be practised successfully where there was so little moisture. In this book, Professor Jones tells the story of this great mistake in his own inimitable, flamboyant style. He focuses on the town of Carlsbad (later Alderson), Alberta, but it is clear that the setting could have been anywhere in the dry belt reaching from Hanna, in the north, south to Lethbridge and south-east to Swift Current.

One is tempted to compare this book with two other studies on rural Alberta, Jean Burnet’s Next Year Country (1951), a sociological-historical survey of the Hanna area, and Paul Voisey’s history, Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community (1988). But while these books are replete with objective, quantitative information, Jones chooses to concentrate on the subjective. This provides the opportunity for him to portray the region’s history in its most human terms, as an epic struggle between Man and Nature. One only wishes that scholars would follow these examples for similar studies in Saskatchewan, where there is great need for us to learn more about the dynamics of our small towns and rural communities within the context of broader historical developments.

In trying to bring more vitality to the historical figures of whom he writes, Jones sometimes uses some irksome methods. Most objectionable is his inclination towards treating these people as if they were small-town hicks, thus reducing their tragic circumstances to tragicomedy. The most noticeable example is his stereotypical depiction of the postmistress at Carlsbad/Alderson: “By the twenties she had bad teeth, and at least to some, bad breath . . .”, and she had “penetrating eyes which some said were lovely and which all agreed took in much more than the average” (230). Perhaps if the author had looked beyond the physical to the metaphysical, he would strike a more responsive chord with many of his readers.

This reviewer found only one obvious error of historical fact in Jones’ book. On pages 37-38 he recounts a very colourful story of an American settler’s acquisition of a half-section of land using South African Veteran’s Bounty scrip. According to the story, the Boer War veteran had to redeem his scrip at the Dominion Lands Office himself, whereupon he was free to transfer his land claim to an actual settler if he so wished. In this case, the American settler had great difficulty in assuring that the veteran with whom he had dealt would actually make the required appearance, the latter having fallen into the hands of two local “voluptuaries” and then landed in the local bar. At last, the besotted veteran was trapped into the Dominion Lands Office, where to the great relief of the prospective settler, the claim was signed and the deal consummated. Without trying to discount the story entirely, its underlying premise appears to be suspect. Under the Volunteer Bounty Act of 1908, there was provision made for the transference of the scrip by the volunteer. There was no requirement that he appear in person to do this. Indeed, its easy transferability was cause for concern by officials at the time because the scrip tended to fall so readily into the hands of speculators.

In his acknowledgements, Professor Jones thanks popular historians like Pierre Berton and James Gray “for the sense of what reaches the common man” and literary historians like Donald Creighton and A.R.M. Lower “for the mastery of their prose” (xiii). We must commend Jones for this attempt to bring a mix of popular and literary history to historical writing in Canada. He can rest assured that Empire of Dust is by no means “dry as dust” history. It will be studied and enjoyed by scholars and the general public alike.

D’Arcy Hande
“THIS GOODLY HERITAGE —
A THING OF BEAUTY AND
A JOY FOREVER!”

Saskatchewan society is maturing, at least it is becoming older... The key to the cultural health of our society lies in our treatment of heritage. Heritage values and heritage understanding are the key to our society of tomorrow.

Heritage is not just old buildings, old forts, old artifacts, though it is partly those. It is not just a vibrant and well-ordered museum, though it is partly that. It is not only the living and ageless triumph of architecture though it is partly that also. Heritage is more than the history of family and all familial ties. It is more than folklore and the instances of happenings scholars remind us to revere. It is natural history and archaeology, certainly, and yet more than those. Heritage is the hallmark of our societal development and our concept of heritage values denotes our advancement from mankind’s early stages.

Saskatchewan is a name to conjure with — a place to start anew. Surely it is the most interesting region of all Canada — not cattle country only — not only prairie — not only forest — not only a frozen north — yet all of that... There are parts of this province where oil pumps dot the fields and... other parts where the great inverted cones of potash mines hold the sky suspended as did the pillars of Hercules in olden times. There are immense tracts where green forest and blue water bespeak a different heritage of pulp and paper, fish and power. There is the silent reach of shield country offering mineral wealth beyond count to those who will dare. There are a thousand hills in the short grass country where the line fence is the only evidence of man's dominion. There are miles and miles of wheat country where the swaths lie in endless rows in harvest time and the dust and straw remind the distant observer of ants purposeful on a city pavement. But the men and women who have lived long on the prairies — in town, village or rural municipality — and have moved elsewhere — do not ask the visitor from home about oil, or potash or pulpwod. The question asked always betrays his origin and his heart — “How are the crops in Davidson this year?”

Silence and solitude — nature’s finest, healing gifts. The healing silence of the great empty wheat plains. The solitude of the hills and draws of the cattle kingdom. The reverential stillness of the forest depths when the evening wind is silent and the birds are at prayer. This is a reverent land for all its starkness — a land which objectifies the great words of our language — birth, love, death and eternity.

It is to such a heritage that men and women came to write a brief footnote to a longer history of life and society. There are evidences of this in the arrow head and stone implements fashioned long ago — buried — and then blown clean in the wind. There are later evidences along main street of my town where the clock on the bank building has stuck at five minutes to one... the new filling station sells gasoline at 51 cents per litre unleaded — while across the street a taller gas pump still advertises White Rose as the gasoline for the trusting driver....

We are all bound in, caught up in, an elemental struggle to be, to exist, and to leave our mark in an arena of nature’s best. Are we, who have entered the last decade of this, the twentieth century, to leave no trace or little evidence that we were here, worked here, created a society here. Rather let us plan to leave evidence of what we accomplished, what we built, what we dreamed. And let us do it with panache, with grace, with class — so that those who record our work will boast of this Goodly Heritage — a thing of beauty and a joy forever.

John H. Archer, O.C., S.O.M.
The Saskatchewan Heritage Conference
February 23-25, 1990
Saskatchewan Archives Board

Norman Ward, O.C., 1918-1990

It is with sincere regret that we mark the passing of one whose dedication to the work of the Saskatchewan Archives Board has been so strongly felt for so many years. Norman Ward served as Member of the Saskatchewan Archives Board from 1961, often acting as Vice-Chairman, and as Chairman from 1982 until his retirement in 1986.

Well known as a professor of Political Science at the University of Saskatchewan since 1945, as a prolific writer of scholarly and humorous works, and as a social commentator, he was the recipient of numerous academic and national awards, including Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and Officer of the Order of Canada.

Norman Ward will be missed very much, but the lasting contribution of a wonderful individual and his work remains in his tireless efforts to preserve the historical record, his scholarly study and his many, varied writings.

Appointment of Vice-Chairman

The Saskatchewan Archives Board is pleased to announce that Mr. Ron Hewitt, Q.C., has been appointed Vice-Chairman of the Saskatchewan Archives Board. Born and raised in Saskatchewan, Mr. Hewitt obtained Bachelor of Arts (with Distinction) and Bachelor of Laws degrees from the University of Saskatchewan in 1978. After serving in private practice and with the Department of Justice, he was appointed Clerk of the Executive Council and Assistant Cabinet Secretary in 1986. As such, he is responsible for the smooth operation of the Cabinet decision-making process, and the development and maintenance of the corporate memory of the Government of Saskatchewan. In 1988, Mr. Hewitt took on the additional function of Associate Deputy Minister, Executive Council, with responsibility for the Policy Secretariat. He has been a member of the Saskatchewan Archives Board since 1986.

Retirement of Jean Goldie

Jean Goldie, Head of the Historical Photographs Section in the Regina Office of the Saskatchewan Archives Board, is retiring from the Archives' staff at the end of April, 1990. Originally from Chipperfield, near Elrose, Jean began employment with the Archives in 1957. Her long career involved all aspects of photographic work: acquisition, cataloguing, retrieval and reproduction. Her valued expertise in the field of Saskatchewan's historical images will be missed, but we join her family and friends in wishing her many happy years and bright horizons ahead. Congratulations on a job well done, Jean!
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