

# Saskatchewan History

Volume 47, Number 2 Fall 1995



Northern Saskatchewan's Commercial Fishery

Frog Lake "Massacre" Revisited

RCMP Spying at the University of Saskatchewan

Letters from Ty Cobb

# The Saskatchewan Archives Board

The Saskatchewan Archives Board was established by provincial statute in 1945. Under *The Archives Act* (RSS 1978, Chap. A-26) the Board is responsible for appraising, acquiring, preserving and making accessible documentary records in all media, from both official and private sources bearing on all aspects of the history of Saskatchewan, and facilitating the management of the records of government institutions. Two offices are maintained, affiliated with the University of Saskatchewan and the University of Regina, providing public access to a rich collection of archival materials for research and reference. The Archives Board comprises two representatives of the Government of Saskatchewan, one from each of the two universities in the province, and the Legislative Librarian. The Provincial Archivist serves as secretary.

In addition, the Saskatchewan Archives Board has produced several authoritative works over the years on provincial history and a number of other reference booklets and directories to assist historical research in the province. The journal *Saskatchewan History* first appeared in 1948 and has earned a reputation for excellence, receiving awards in 1962 from the American Association for State and Local History and in 1979 from the Canadian Historical Association.

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# Saskatchewan History

Volume 47, Number 2 Fall 1995

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## SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY

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The editor of *Saskatchewan History* welcomes the submission of articles relating to the history of the province. Manuscripts must be submitted in duplicate, typewritten, and double-spaced. The endnotes, prepared according to the *Chicago Manual of Style*, should also be double-spaced. Authors may submit manuscripts on PC/DOS 360K floppy disk. The disk must be IBM compatible, preferably WordPerfect 5.1. Two hard copies are still required, and the print must be letter or near-letter quality. Manuscripts will be reviewed by qualified readers. The Saskatchewan Archives Board assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors. Copyright 1995, The Saskatchewan Archives Board.

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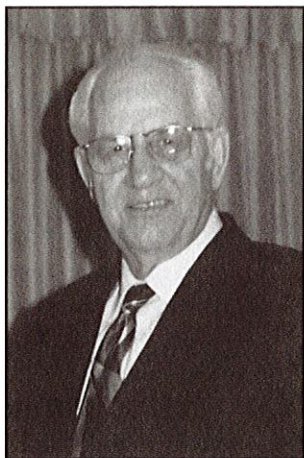
## News and Notes

### *Archivist Retires*

**E**d Morgan, an archivist with the Saskatchewan Archives Board, officially retired on June 30th. Morgan joined the Regina office staff in 1964 following work in the private sector and worked continuously until ill health forced him to go on disability leave in 1987.

A native of Colonsay, Morgan received his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1964, Honours Certificate in History in 1969 and his Master of Arts degree in 1970; all from the University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus. His Master's thesis was titled, "The North-West Mounted Police, 1873-1883."

During his years of service with the Saskatchewan Archives, Morgan was responsible for reference service



*This issue is respectfully dedicated to Ed Morgan in honor of his recent retirement.*

and manuscripts (private papers and records). His knowledge of Saskatchewan history, desire to help people and sense of humour will long be remembered by those he served. His greatest contribution to historical research and knowledge will be found in the detailed finding aids he prepared to more than 1000 metres of archival material including papers of the Premier and Cabinet Ministers of the Douglas, Lloyd, Thatcher and Blakeney governments. Morgan also prepared indexes to Saskatchewan newspapers and the Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative directories from the Territorial period to the mid-eighties, and contributed articles and book reviews to the Board's award-winning journal, *Saskatchewan History*.

Of Morgan's contribution, a former Premier of Saskatchewan, Allan E. Blakeney, writes: "I know that the Saskatchewan Archives Board bears a high reputation across Canada. I have had more than one scholar remark to me about the high quality of work done by our archives in making governmental documents available and readily accessible. For this I know that you deserve much of the credit!"

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### *Tarasoff Papers Now Available for Researchers*

**T**wo major collections have recently been prepared for research use in the Saskatoon office of the Saskatchewan Archives Board.

The **Koozma J. Tarasoff Papers** were donated by their creator in 1994, and every effort was made to process these papers in time for two major Doukhobor anniversary celebrations: the 1995 centennial of the "burning of firearms" in Russia; and the 1999 centennial of the Doukhobor migration to Canada.

Tarasoff's grandfather participated in the burning of firearms and joined the first large migration of Doukhobors to Saskatchewan. The Tarasoff family became Independent Doukhobors who farmed near the Doukhobor community of Pokrovka in the Eagle Creek district, thirty-five miles north-west of Saskatoon. Koozma John Tarasoff was born on this farm in 1932.

An ethnologist by occupation, Tarasoff's research into

Doukhobor history has been extensive and in-depth; consequently, his research materials cover a full range of Doukhobor-related topics, in both English and Russian. The Tarasoff Papers contain a wealth of information about the history of Doukhobors in Canada, particularly in Saskatchewan and in the Kootenay area of British Columbia. Tarasoff has gathered materials which tell the story of Doukhobor leadership in Canada, with particular attention given to the controversial Veregin dynasty. He has also documented the beliefs and activities of many groups and organizations which developed within Doukhobor society during the last century. The nature of Doukhobor religion and culture—including pacifism, a major tenet of Doukhoborism—is examined, and Tarasoff's continuing involvement in the peace

*(more News and Notes on page 11)*

# Sizing up the Catch:

## Native-Newcomer Resource Competition and the Early Years of Saskatchewan's Northern Commercial Fishery

by Anthony G. Gulig

Fishing has always played an important role in Canadian history. Indeed, some of the earliest contacts between Native and Newcomer populations centered on the coastal fisheries. Where the Native population relied on the resource for their daily survival, Newcomer interests often represented the commercial and economic possibilities of the abundant fish stocks. There are important lessons to be learned from the Native-Newcomer clash over access to natural resources. The zeal and enthusiasm with which the commercial fishery expanded into many parts of Canada's provincial north reflects the general lack of interest held by both federal and provincial resource regulating agencies when it came to the needs of Indians in these same regions. Even though laws were passed espousing the protection of an Aboriginal right of access to these valuable resources, by the time commercial interests were satisfied, such access often meant as little as the number of fish left behind. The story of diminishing fisheries is nothing new in Canada, but the focus is usually on coastal regions. While much attention over time has focused on Canada's ocean fishery, less attention has been paid to another valuable fishery—the inland, or freshwater fishery in the provincial north.<sup>1</sup>

When Saskatchewan became a province in 1905, control over the vast natural resources of the new province was retained by the federal government “for the purposes of Canada.”<sup>2</sup> Indeed, much of the Canadian West

still feels slighted as a result of the extended control and manipulation retained by Ottawa for twenty-five years. In 1930, control of natural resources was finally handed over to the province.<sup>3</sup> While the government's intent in retaining such control was to manage prairie settlement in the best interests of the new Dominion, the management of valuable natural resources also increased revenues flowing into federal coffers at the expense not of only the new provincial governments, but also at the expense of those people in the North who relied on the natural resources for their everyday livelihood.

When control of natural resources is considered, the discussion most often turns to the apparent and the abundant—land, timber, and minerals. Saskatchewan's valuable fishery was also controlled, regulated, and managed by Ottawa until 1930. The early 1900s were the formative years for the development of the province's northern commercial fishery even though commercial fishing, and government regulation in the commercial fishery in the North-West Territories, was well known before 1905. Most of the early commercial effort, however, focused on the southern areas where nearby rail access could transport the catch to a lucrative market.<sup>4</sup> Only later did interest and regulation turn to the North.

When fishery regulations were instituted in the North-West Territories in 1892, in spite of earlier treaty and Aboriginal rights, there was no distinction in the legislation between Indian and non-Indian harvesters. If

*Anthony Gulig completed his Master's degree in history at the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire in 1991. A doctoral candidate in the History Department at the University of Saskatchewan, his dissertation compares Native and Newcomer competition for natural resources in Canada and the United States. He is currently a lecturer in history at Western Washington University in Bellingham, Washington.*



Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B473-3.

*Brooks Construction and Transportation Company loading fish onto a plane in the winter of 1930–31.*

liberally interpreted, closed seasons, net sizes, and aggregate limits would apply to Indians as well as the non-Indian commercial fishery. Hayter Reed, Indian Commissioner for the North-West Territories, argued vigorously for Native exemption from the legislation. Reed maintained that Indians should not be subject to restrictions or licensing even if the legislation did not include an outright differentiation between Indian and non-Indian fishermen.<sup>5</sup> The inspector of fisheries replied to Reed's comments saying that he was "of the opinion that it is absolutely necessary that the Indians be gradually brought to observe the regulations."<sup>6</sup> The enforcement of such regulations, however, was anything but gradual. Instead, enforcement was deliberate and immediate.

The commercial fishery in Saskatchewan began expanding into the North in the years prior to 1905; it was firmly in place by the time the control of natural resources was transferred to the province in 1930. In only the most limited cases did the commercial fishery employ, support, or benefit the Indian and Métis population of northern Saskatchewan in these early years. In a few rare cases, certain lakes were reserved for the subsistence use of Indians since their most productive traditional fishing spots were now the local haunts of commercial fishermen.<sup>7</sup>

At the same time, non-Indian entrepreneurs worked their way into the North in search of fish to send to burgeoning commercial markets across North America. By 1891, some commercial fishing activity found its way into the region north of Prince Albert, and a pair of

brothers, immigrants from Norway, fished Red Deer Lake (Waskesiu) and Little Trout Lake (Kingsmere) commercially during the winter of 1905-06.<sup>8</sup> The commercial fishery continued to work its way gradually north after the most accessible lakes were quickly exploited to the point where they were no longer profitable for commercial operations. These early ventures relied on local markets like Prince Albert to sell their catch. Only after enhanced access to rail transportation, most notably the development of the Canadian Northern Railway, did commercial fishing permeate northern Saskatchewan. By the end of World War I, commercial fishing was a fixture in northern Saskatchewan and this new boom in fishing in the provincial north relied on foreign as well as domestic and local markets.

Commercial companies were already in operation in northern Manitoba and Alberta by that time, and merely expanded their operations into Saskatchewan in search of new and more productive lakes. The increased interest in the inland commercial fishery near the end of the war caused many involved in commercial fishing to petition Ottawa for larger limits on their catch. Their rationale was that without larger limits, they could no longer afford to remain in business due to higher costs in transportation and winter road construction.<sup>9</sup> The exact location chosen by commercial operations were those areas used by Indians prior to the arrival of commercial pressure. Since sport was of no value to either Indians or the commercial harvesters, they both chose the locations where the most fish could be harvested with the least

effort. The areas were, in short, some of the most productive lakes in the province. The problem was that fish grew slowly in the cold, deep northern lakes. When the largest fish, the big spawners, were taken, fish populations dropped quickly. The commercial fishermen then needed more nets to take an ever decreasing catch. The impact on Native people, who gained little from the new industry, and who experienced more difficulty in securing fish for their own needs, was devastating.<sup>10</sup> In some cases, the impact of commercial fishing was felt almost immediately. In the area north of Green Lake, one commercial fisherman



Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 7582.

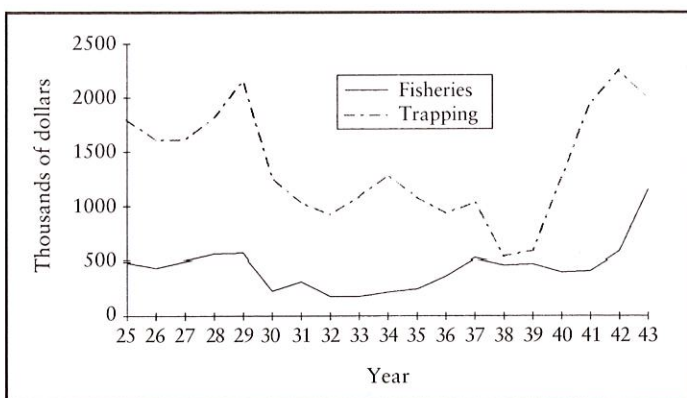
*Fishing camp and crew at Little Trout Lake, late winter 1907. Photograph by Skuli Bachman.*

recounted the impact of commercial fishing on a nearby Native family.

Indians made semi-weekly trips for toboggan loads of fish for themselves and their dogs. They paid no attention to our [commercial fishing] camp, pushing their dogs to top speed as they passed, no doubt foreseeing that our operation on the lake would severely cut down on their future catch of whitefish. That's exactly what happened. They had only a small supply the 3rd winter that we operated there and the conditions of their dogs showed the lack of food.<sup>11</sup>

The declining health of the dogs in this case was merely a harbinger of things to come.

While Indians suffered from the expansion of the commercial fishery on the North, only rarely did they become directly involved in the industry. Instead, larger fishing companies like the Northern Saskatchewan Fish Company, Johnson Fisheries, and the McInnis Fish Company cornered the commercial market on Saskatchewan's fish output in the years between the wars. For Indians, any commercial venture in fishing was usually an expansion of their own subsistence use of the resource. Only eight individual Indians from the La Ronge area, for example, purchased commercial licenses in 1918. Their catch was marketed locally in La Ronge and Prince Albert.<sup>12</sup> Almost a decade later, the number of Indians engaged in fishing as a commercial enterprise



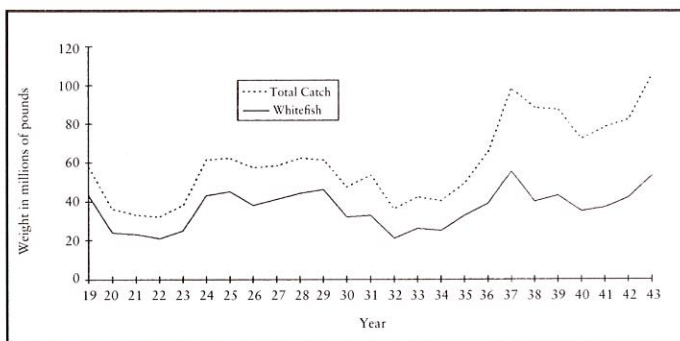
**Figure 1**  
Value of harvested fur and fish resources in Saskatchewan, 1925–1943.

had not risen. Between 1926 and 1927, the number of Indians fishing Ministikwan Lake commercially dropped from twelve to two.<sup>13</sup>

The fur trade was more economically important for the region's Native inhabitants. In contrast to the complex marketing schemes in the early commercial fishery, trappers who sold their furs to organized or private traders did not have to worry about marketing their furs. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), Revillon Frères, or private traders took care of that for them. While the equity of the fur trade for Aboriginal peoples is often questioned, the trade of fur for goods, cash, or

credit was accomplished on site, usually at the HBC or Revillon Frères post or outpost. The trappers turned up with their pelts, and left with cash, credit, or goods. Worries about spoilage after they traded their furs were beyond their concern.

This is not to say that the fishery was of little use to the Native people of northern Saskatchewan. Much to the contrary, the fishery held great value for the region's inhabitants. For the Native population, the relationship between fishing and trapping was not as distant as these economic marketing realities might indicate. Northern Natives were, of course, heavily reliant on the rich and relatively abundant fish resource of the North, and while the fur trade provided them with cash, credit, or goods, the lakes supplied an important source of food for themselves and their dogs.<sup>14</sup> The fish, after all, were easily preserved by freezing in the winter and drying in the summer. When it came to commercial fishing, however, profits and losses were measured only after transportation costs to distant markets, marketing expenses, and large capital expenses were factored in. The most efficient and productive season for the commercial fishery—the winter—also conflicted with the prime season for trapping. General revenues from trapping also consistently outstripped commercial fishing returns in the years between the wars.<sup>15</sup> In contrast to the economic highs and lows of the fur trade, the value of the fishery remained relatively constant, thus providing the consistent profit required by Saskatchewan's large commercial fishing companies. The volatile nature of the fur prices owed much to the fashion industry,



**Figure 2**  
Total weight of fish harvested in Saskatchewan, 1919–1943.

while the fishery relied on the need for food in two growing countries. Thus, commercial fishery revenues were much more stable over time.

In the years between the wars, the volume of fish harvested in Saskatchewan nearly doubled.<sup>16</sup> This doubling was caused in part by closer railheads as well as by improved access to lakes via new winter roads in the northern part of the province.<sup>17</sup> A vigorous invasion of commercial fishing companies was truly under way in northern Saskatchewan. Many of the new lakes utilized in the commercial fishery had never seen such fishing

pressure. Indeed, this is exactly why the fishing companies were so interested in lakes in the western watershed of the Churchill River. For hundreds of years, the only fishing pressure these rich northern lakes felt was from the local Aboriginal inhabitants. While historical harvest weights might be estimated in thousands of pounds, soon the estimates would be in hundreds of thousands and millions of pounds. The biological demography and diversity of the lakes would never be the same.

By the end of the war, Indians held almost no place in the commercial fishery; they were regulated in the North as were others interested in fishing for domestic purposes. While Indians were eligible for free domestic fishing permits, their catch could not be legally sold or bartered and they were further limited in the size and length of nets they could use. Indian access was not governed by prior treaties as the Native signatories to those treaties hoped; rather, it was controlled by a formal conference between officers in the Indian Affairs Department and officers in the Fisheries Branch.<sup>18</sup> Not only were Indians never consulted concerning the development of the commercial fishery, they were often blamed when productivity on nearby lakes declined. The commercial fishing companies, with local fish and game guardians in their pockets, charged that the Indians were responsible for declining fish stocks. They claimed that fish not sent to market were “misused” by Indians. The commissioner of fisheries stated in 1917 that “there has been much local misuse of fish ... that should have gone to market.” He also alleged that “Indians and half-breeds have destroyed fish mainly in the spawning season.”<sup>19</sup> The so-called inappropriate uses, according to the fisheries inspectors, were any uses which prevented the fish from being marketed in Canada or the United States. Mammon was in charge here. The needs of the local people were not as important as the needs of the market. Fisheries inspectors quickly labeled the Indians’ use of fish as wasteful and inappropriate. In eliminating this alleged waste, the Commissioner of Fisheries enlisted the help of local missionaries to “discourage the waste of fish by Indians and Half breeds as the local priests at the Missions have a great influence in this direction, and favor increasing the commercial catch.”<sup>20</sup> The commissioner did not want the Indians cramping the style of the commercial fisheries.

The commissioner was simply wrong in believing that the missionaries would join in the fight against Indians fishing in the North. These missionaries instead worked vigorously to protect the Indians in their use of the local fish stocks. Concerned by the depletion of fish in Lesser Slave Lake in Alberta, Joseph Guy, OMI., pleaded with Ottawa to assist in the protection of the fishery as a source of food for the Indians. Reverend Guy related the problem in unequivocal terms. He wrote that

fish was [sic] very plentiful in Lesser Slave Lake and the Indians relied upon this lake for a part of their food. Now, the Indians see with deep regret that their hunting limits are restricted by the fact that the government has ordered a survey of land on the eastern and western shores of the lake. A few very powerful companies have taken possession of the lake and wage, what I could call, a cruel war to the fish, which is being destroyed without discrimination.<sup>21</sup>

The fisheries office seemed to be working not only for the commercial fishing operations in northern Alberta and Saskatchewan, but directly against the Indians in the region as well.

The fisheries office soon launched a campaign to prevent the Indians from drying their summer catch for consumption throughout the winter.<sup>22</sup> Since the fisheries inspector considered the hanging and drying their summer catch as wasteful, he argued that “to allow the tak-



Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 9036.

*Drying fish in an Indian camp, Waterhen Lake area, 1909. Photograph by Frank Crean.*

ing of fish for hanging would without doubt result in the depletion of the waters in which the fishing is done.” He went on to say that he “saw some of the hung fish ... and every female was in spawn.”<sup>23</sup> Somehow, the enthusiastic fish guardians could identify the sex of fish which were split and eviscerated. The fish guardians made no mention in their official report to the Chief Inspector



of visits to commercial fishing camps. Apparently, the Indians, who had limited access as a result of increased regulation and reduced fish stocks, were still responsible for the depletion of fish stocks in northern lakes.

The fisheries office had two main objectives in managing the northern fishery. First, fisheries officers wanted to ensure that every available fish made it to market. This meant that the drying of fish for local use was not acceptable, nor was the use of fish for dog food, as was common in the North. The fisheries ministry also wanted to be sure that the large investments of the commercial fishing companies were protected. A goal of sustainable fish harvests was only considered as it met these two prior objectives. Before moving into northern lakes, commercial fishing companies secured agreements from Ottawa that regulations would not change once their operations were in place. In one case, the manager of the Northern Saskatchewan Fish Company requested not only protection from future restrictions, but also a bonus payment for opening winter roads to new lakes.<sup>24</sup>

In blaming the Indians for the destruction of the fishery in the North, the fisheries ministry was trying to draw attention away from the fact that the Indians were starving, while thousands of boxes of frozen and fresh fish were making their way to Prince Albert, Edmonton, and on to Vancouver, Chicago, and New York for the profit of the commercial fishing companies. At the same time, the fish guardians interpreted the law literally and enforced it without consideration of the daily and seasonal activities of the Indians. George Maxwell, a northern Saskatchewan Provincial Police officer stationed in La Ronge, wrote in defense of the Indians' method of harvesting and storing fish in 1921. Maxwell stated that

rarely can one buy more than half a dozen fish from any of the Indians at a time, as their nets are so small, and being set so close to the shores their catch is only sufficient for their own use.

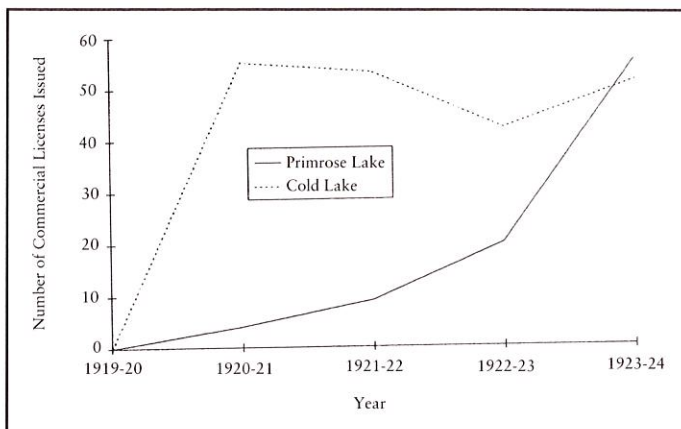
He further claimed that

last spring during the Flu dozens of good dogs died at every settlement for lack of fish, no one being able to go out and set nets, while sick with the flue [sic] had they a supply of hung fish those dogs could have been saved.

Later that same winter the story worsened. Maxwell recounted his recent trip to a stretch of the Churchill River about eighty miles north of La Ronge. There he found

Otto Fietz, a German American, [who] had shot himself and his wife and three children, and an old Indian woman who had been living there for eight days with nothing to eat with the exception some bark they got off the trees. Had this man Dutchy had a supply of hung fish this could have been avoided.<sup>25</sup>

Rather than watching his family starve to death, Fietz killed his wife and three children before turning the gun on himself. Favoring commercial industry and restricting domestic and subsistence uses threatened not only the Indian population but others living in the North who relied on Indians for their subsistence as well. These were serious problems. Nonetheless, upon receipt of this dreadful account the fisheries inspector wrote off the police report as "very good fiction" even though Maxwell lived in the region.<sup>26</sup> Regardless of the fisheries inspector's belief that the report was fiction, the bodies were real. Maxwell lasted only a little over two years in the area. He was transferred to the Wakaw detachment only two months after his February 1921 report. The provincial police



**Figure 3**  
Number of commercial licenses issued for Cold and Primrose lakes, 1919-1924.

commissioner sided with the fisheries ministry in seeing that no more inflammatory reports originated from Maxwell at the La Ronge detachment.<sup>27</sup> Two years later, Maxwell would resign in the face of further assaults on his integrity as a provincial police officer.<sup>28</sup>

As early as 1923, some of the larger lakes like Lac La Ronge, Peter Pond, and Churchill were suffering from heavy commercial fishing pressure. Again, the Indians were among the first to suffer. Reverend Hives of the Indian boarding school at La Ronge complained that he could no longer secure a sufficient supply of whitefish to feed the children at the school. The Department of Fisheries regulated the size of the mesh for fishing and, while the smaller whitefish slipped through the required large mesh, there were simply not enough large fish left to sustain the lake. Calculating their diminishing returns, commercial fish companies began to move off the lake. Hoping to benefit the remaining commercial industry in the area, the fisheries minister reduced the mesh size requirement for Lac la Ronge.<sup>29</sup> What was left of the smaller whitefish were soon heading south in commercial packing boxes on their way to Canadian and American markets. Lake after lake was being fished out by commercial companies. The growth of commercial licenses for Cold Lake and Primrose Lake, for

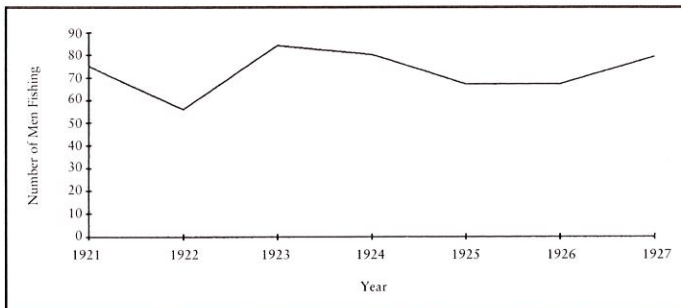


Saskatchewan Archives Board R-B165.

*Sleighs hauling fish, Prince Albert, c. 1910.*

example, shows how commercial pressure shifted from one lake to another as the first lake became saturated with commercial nets.<sup>30</sup>

The practice of commercial companies to harvest as much as possible while the lake ice was stable and leave the removal of frozen fish until later in the spring occasionally caused thousands of pounds of fish to spoil if spring came early. This happened in 1924. Over 122,000 pounds of fish rotted when Johnson Fisheries could not get its winter catch out of the Peter Pond and Churchill Lake.<sup>31</sup> The horses and sleds used to transport



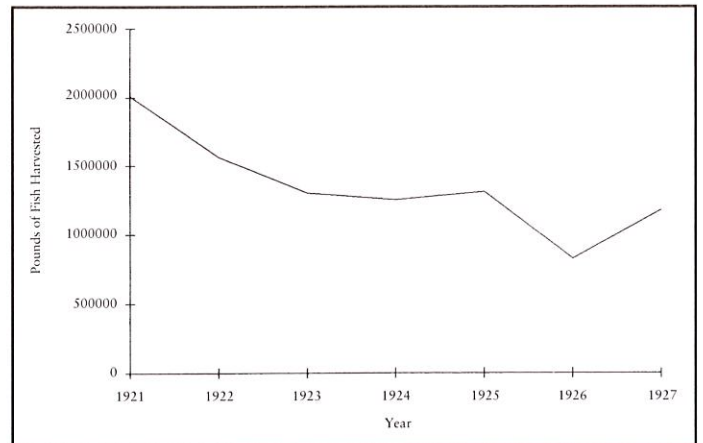
**Figure 4**  
Number of Men Fishing Peter Pond Lake, 1921-1927.

the catch were salvaged; the fish were simply left to spoil. While the fisheries inspector complained that Indians were wasting fish by feeding their catch to dogs, hundreds of thousands of pounds of fish rotted on along shores of northern lakes whenever winter broke early.

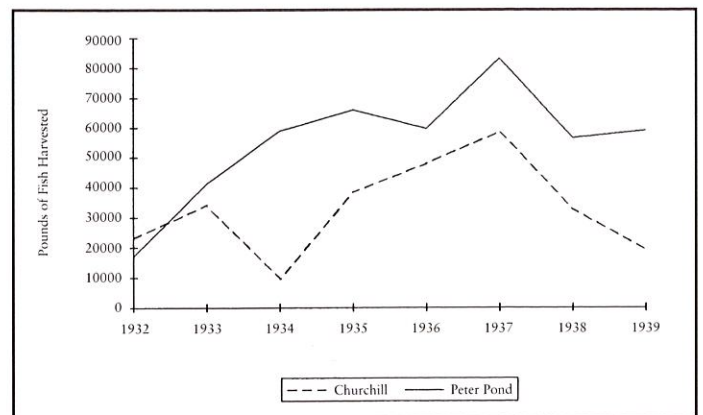
Federal managing agencies were located thousands of miles from the resource. These agencies frequently knew little and cared less about the specific needs of the region's Aboriginal peoples. These regulating agencies also knew little about the geography of the area. As late as 1928, after encouraging development in the area for over twenty years, the federal regulations continued to list Saskatchewan waters such as Churchill Lake and Peter Pond Lake as being in Alberta.<sup>32</sup> These were not

small or insignificant border lakes. Rather, they had produced millions of pounds of fish and had been fished commercially for over ten years.

By 1926, Peter Pond Lake showed clear signs of a waning fish population. In the 1927 and 1928 seasons, those fishing Peter Pond realized diminishing returns from the lake even while the number of men fishing the lake remained fairly constant. As the size of the catch dropped, the men simply employed more nets. Sixty-seven men operated 320 nets in 1926; seventy-nine men worked 510 nets the following year.<sup>33</sup> The commercial response was simply to move to the



**Figure 5**  
Total weight of fish harvested from Peter Pond Lake, 1921-1927.



**Figure 6**  
Weight of Fish Harvested from Peter Pond and Churchill Lakes, 1932-1939.

next closest lake. While harvests from Peter Pond Lake shrank, harvests from nearby Churchill Lake grew ten-fold from just over 26,000 pounds in 1926 to over 265,000 pounds in 1927.<sup>34</sup> In a few years, pressure would resume and the number of men fishing Peter Pond and Churchill lakes would take still more fish. By the 1930s, the number of fish harvested from these two lakes again declined.<sup>35</sup> It was clear that the fishery was not sustainable on any one lake over time.

As the fishery moved north, missionaries again came to the defense of the Indians, stressing the importance of a healthy fishery for the Native population. This time, complaints were forwarded to the Inspector of Fisheries through the detachment of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in Stony Rapids. The local priest petitioned the government to preserve the fishery for the local Indian population. In 1929, Father J.L. Riou stated that

The Chipewyan Chief and the Mission in the name of the Indian Population is asking that the fishing on Black Lake be protected from the Fishing Companies. And at Island Lake and if possible from Poplar Point to Stony Rapids, (Lake Athabasca).<sup>36</sup>

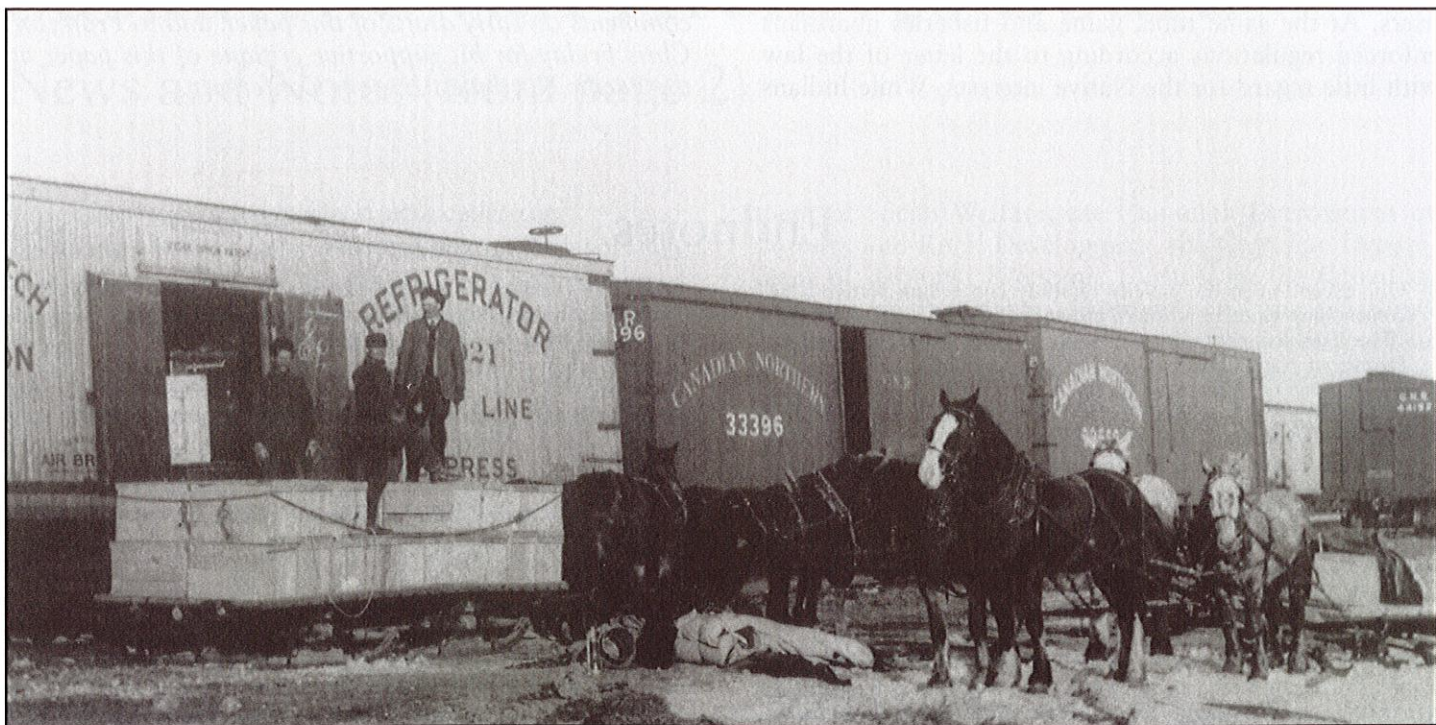
The RCMP noted that commercial operations took over two million pounds of lake trout from the vicinity mentioned by the local priest, but that there were hundreds of other lakes in which the Indians could fish. Evidently, the hundreds of other smaller lakes were not of value to the commercial operations. The commander of the Stony Rapids RCMP detachment discounted the passion of the missionary's plea.<sup>37</sup> While the Minister of Fish-

eries hoped to employ missionaries in reducing the Indians' subsistence catch while reserving the resource in favor of the commercial fishery, other officials discounted missionary pleas when they were not on the side of commercial development.

Indians fared no better in the years following the transfer of natural resources to provincial control, even though the 1930 legislation specifically provided for the protection of the Native right of access to the resource for food. Section twelve of the 1930 *Saskatchewan Natural Resources Act* reads:

In order to secure to the Indians of the Province the continuance of the supply of game and fish for their support and subsistence, Canada agrees that the laws respecting game in force in the Province from time to time shall apply to Indians within the boundaries thereof, provided, however, that the said Indians shall have the right, which the Province hereby assures them, of hunting, trapping and fishing game and fish for food at all seasons of the year on all unoccupied Crown lands and on any other lands to which the said Indians may have a right of access.<sup>38</sup>

Indians in northern Saskatchewan were generally ignored when it came to commercial interests in one of their most valuable natural resources. During World War II, the commercial fishery experienced a tremendous boom. Indians in northern Saskatchewan realized none of that boom. Following the war, the provincial government commissioned a study of the development of the commercial fishery. Not surprisingly, the study discovered little Native involvement in the commercial



Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B7596.

*Loading fish into refrigerated rail cars in Prince Albert for shipment to the United States, winter of 1910–11. Photograph by Skuli Bachman.*

fishery The inquest also discovered the impact of the commercial fishery on Indian people. Chief Solomon Marasty of the Peter Ballantyne Band expressed the views held by many Indians in the North over the way in which commercial interests were favored over Indian interests. He stated:

we want to reserve them [the lakes] for our people, for the fathers of our Indian children. The white man come and we [can] not go up [to fish]. Look at our village and see how we live!<sup>39</sup>

The testimony taken at Reindeer Lake revealed what the Indians knew all along. When a local fish and game field officer was questioned as to the future of Indian involvement in the commercial fishery, he stated that “from now on it will be [even] less, because fishermen won’t have them.”<sup>40</sup> It seemed the government would not have them either. Without securing a commercial license, Indians were prohibited from selling or bartering their catch in any way. It was even illegal for them to sell fish to the provincial police or to the RCMP patrol without a proper commercial license. They were consigned to a literal hand-to-mouth existence, and were not allowed even to put up enough food for the winter. According to the fisheries office, however, the Indians had “sufficient privileges if they would only help themselves.”<sup>41</sup> The problem was that when they tried to help themselves, commercial industry or restrictive regulation prevented them from not only improving their condition, but in some cases from surviving the winter.

While the law allegedly preserved their access to the resource for food, the legislation did not purport to protect the quality of the northern fishery for subsistence users. At the same time, game and fisheries guardians enforced regulations according to the letter of the law with little regard for the Native interests. While Indians

received assurances that their way of life would remain unaffected in their treaty with the federal government as well as in subsequent legislation, such promises meant little to enforcement agencies. From the Indian perspective, agreements like Treaty 8 and Treaty 10 which cover most of northern Saskatchewan, were negotiated to recognize and protect the usufructuary rights that pre-existed their formal relationship with the federal government. Continued access to fur, fish, and game resources was the single most important Indian concern at the time Treaty 10 was signed. When the bands who signed Treaty 10 affixed their marks to the treaty document, they made it clear that they had no interest in seeing their way of life destroyed by outside pressures and interference.<sup>42</sup> But while they were officially brought under the trust responsibility of the federal government in 1906 and 1907, the government only engaged that responsibility in the interests of what it perceived to be more productive resource uses. Interests in timber and mineral exploitation, commercial fishing, hydro-electric power development, and even a bombing range took precedence over Indian interests in the rich natural resources of the region. The resource needs of the Native peoples and the stipulations of northern treaties were accommodated only when convenient and cost-effective, or when they insured enhanced access to non-Native interests in the region.

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#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## Endnotes

- 1 One exception to the paucity of study concerning Native-Newcomer competition in northern provincial fisheries is Frank Tough’s “The Establishment of a Commercial Fishing Industry and the Demise of Native Fisheries in Northern Manitoba,” in *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1984), 303-319.
- 2 Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 75; *Statutes of Canada*, The Saskatchewan Act, 20 July 1905, 4-5 Edward VII, Chap. 42.
- 3 *Statutes of Canada*, The Saskatchewan Natural Resources Act, 30 May 1930, 20-21 George V, Chap. 29.
- 4 Gary Ronald Seymour, “A Geographical Study of the Commercial Fishing Industry in Saskatchewan: An Example of Resource Development,” Master’s thesis (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1971), 7.
- 5 National Archives of Canada (NAC), Record Group (RG) 10, Records of the Department of Indian Affairs, Volume 3755, File 30979, North-West Territories Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed to Inspector of Fisheries F.C. Gilchrist, April 1892; Philip Ballantyne, et al., *Aski-Puko: The Land Alone* (n.p., 1976), 90-91.
- 6 *Ibid.*, Gilchrist to Reed, 30 May 1892.
- 7 Bittern Lake, just south of Montreal Lake, was set aside as a fish-

- ing reserve for the Montreal Lake Indians. See Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan’s Playground: A History of Prince Albert National Park* (Saskatoon, Fifth House Publishers, 1989), 22.
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- 9 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 999, File 721-4-37, Folder 1, Petition of Fisherman to Superintendent of Fisheries, Sidney Travers; Fishery Officer, Grouard, Alberta to W.A. Found, 16 June 1916.
- 10 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 999, File 721-4-37, Folder 1, Edmonton M.P. Frank Oliver, M.P. for Edmonton to Deputy Minister of the Naval Service G.J. Desbarats, 19 July 1916.
- 11 SAB, Skuli Bachman Papers.
- 12 Seymour, “A Geographical Study,” 19.
- 13 NAC, RG 23, Department of Fisheries and Oceans, Vol. 1002, File 721-4-37, Folder 34, Inspector of Fisheries G.C. MacDonald, to Superintendent of Fisheries W.A. Found, 18 June 1928.
- 14 Claudia Notzke, *Aboriginal Peoples and Resources in Canada* (North York, Ontario: Captus University Publications, 1994), 74-75.
- 15 Figure 1 adapted from the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Fisheries of Saskatchewan*, 1947, 35.

- 16 Figure 2 adapted from *ibid.*, 28-29.
- 17 Seymour, "A Geographical Study," 25.
- 18 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 999, File 721-4-37, Folder 1, "Extract from the Minutes of the Meetings of the Prairie Committee of the Fisheries Advisory Board, Ottawa," 14 October 1914.
- 19 NAC, RG 23, Vol 999, File 721-4-37, Folder 5, "Memo of the Commissioner of Fisheries Edward Prince to the Deputy Minister of Marine and Fisheries," 7 June 1917.
- 20 *Ibid.*
- 21 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1000, File 721-4-37, Folder 16, Reverend Joseph Guy, O.M.I. to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell Scott, 11 March 1912 [sic]. The date on this letter was obviously transposed from 1921, the correct date. On 31 March 1921, D.C. Scott forwarded the letter to the Department of Marine and Fisheries.
- 22 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1001, File 721-4-37, Folder 24, Assistant Deputy and Secretary of Indian Affairs J.D. McLean to W.A. Found, Department of Marine and Fisheries, 12 November 1924.
- 23 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 100, File 721-4-37, Folder 16, W.A. Found, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries, 21 March 1921.
- 24 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 999, File 721-4-37, Folder 5, Manager of Northern Saskatchewan Fish Company A.A. MacDonald to the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, 12 June 1917.
- 25 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1000, File 721-4-37, Folder 16, Report of Saskatchewan Provincial Police Officer George D. Maxwell, 12 February 1921.
- 26 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1000, File 721-4-37, Folder 16, Chief Inspector of Fisheries to W.A Found, 21 March 1921.
- 27 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1000, File 721-4-37, Folder 16, Inspector of Fisheries to Chief Inspector of Fisheries G.S. Davidson, 18 March 1921.
- 28 SAB, Saskatchewan Provincial Police, Part C, Folder 7, Saskatchewan Provincial Police Divisional Reports, 1917-1923, 1923 Annual Report of the Prince Albert Division.
- 29 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1001, File 721-4-37, Folder 20, W.A. Found, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries, 25 September 1923.
- 30 Figure 3 adapted from NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1003, File 721-4-37, Folder 35.
- 31 NAC, RG 23, Vol. 1001, File 721-4-37, Folder 26, Inspector of Fisheries R.T Rodd to W.A. Found, 21 August 1925.
- 32 NAC, RG 23, Vol 1003, File 721-4-37, Folder 35.
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 *Ibid.*; Figures 4 and 5 adapted from NAC, RG 23, File 721-4-37, Vol. 1003, Folder 35.
- 35 Figure 6 adapted from Saskatchewan, *Department of Natural Resources, Annual Reports*, 1930-31 to 1940.
- 36 NAC, RG 23, File 721-4-37, Vol. 1003, Folder 41, Father J.L. Riou to Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Corporal Stallworthy, 24 September 1929.
- 37 NAC, RG 23, Vol 1003, File 721-4-37, Folder 41, H.W. Stallworthy to RCMP Detachment, Great Slave Lake Sub-District, 1 October 1929.
- 38 *Statutes of Canada*, The Saskatchewan Natural Resources Act, 30 May 1930.
- 39 SAB, "Royal Commission on Saskatchewan Fisheries," Records of Evidence of Findings, Statement of Peter Ballantyne Chief Solomon Marasty, Pelican Narrows Testimony, 23 June 1946, Vol. 3, 712 (emphasis in original).
- 40 *Ibid.*, Fred Clavelle, Field Officer, South End, Reindeer Lake Testimony, 708.
- 41 NAC, RG 23, File 721-4-37, Vol. 1003, Folder 41, Supervisor of Fisheries R.T Rodd, to Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries W.J.E. Casey, 22 April 1930.
- 42 "Report of the First Commission for Treaty Ten," J.A.J. McKenna, Commissioner for Treaty Ten to Frank Oliver, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 18 January 1907; "Report of the Second Commission for Treaty Ten," T.A. Borthwick, Commissioner for Treaty Ten to Frank Pedley, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 14 October 1907, *Treaty No. 10 and Reports of Commissioners* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1907).

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# Saskatchewan Archives Board

## News and Notes (from page 2)

movement is recorded in this sizable collection.

During the last forty years, Koozma Tarasoff has gathered over fifteen metres of Doukhobor-related research material. This material includes research notes, correspondence, speeches, photographs, and published materials pertaining to Doukhobors. Tarasoff has also collected and donated newspaper clippings about Doukhobors in Canada—in both English and Russian—dating from 1935 to 1994. The collection also includes hundreds of hours of oral history interviews which Tarasoff conducted with Doukhobors, and dozens of sound recordings of Doukhobor music, celebrations, conventions, speeches and lectures, and peace events.

While the Tarasoff Papers were being arranged and described, it became increasingly apparent that the Doukhobor records were not the only materials of significant research value. Tarasoff also donated records he created while working for the Saskatchewan Depart-

ment of Social Welfare, the Canadian Department of Forestry and Rural Development, the Canadian Department of Regional Economic Expansion, the Canadian Council on Rural Development, and the National Museum of Canada. Close examination has revealed that these papers contain a notable amount of information pertaining to indigenous peoples in Canada and to rural and community development in western Canada in the late 1960s and the 1970s. For example, the working papers for a study of Tarasoff conducted for the Saskatchewan Department of Social Welfare, entitled the Pipestone-Qu'Appelle Valley Resources Potential and Human Relations ARDA Study, contain a comprehensive analysis of both Native and non-Native communities in the Broadview area. Changing research trends have swung toward the study of both Native history and community history, and the professional records within the Tarasoff Papers offer a rich source of documentation on either of these themes.

# Frog Lake Settlement Scene

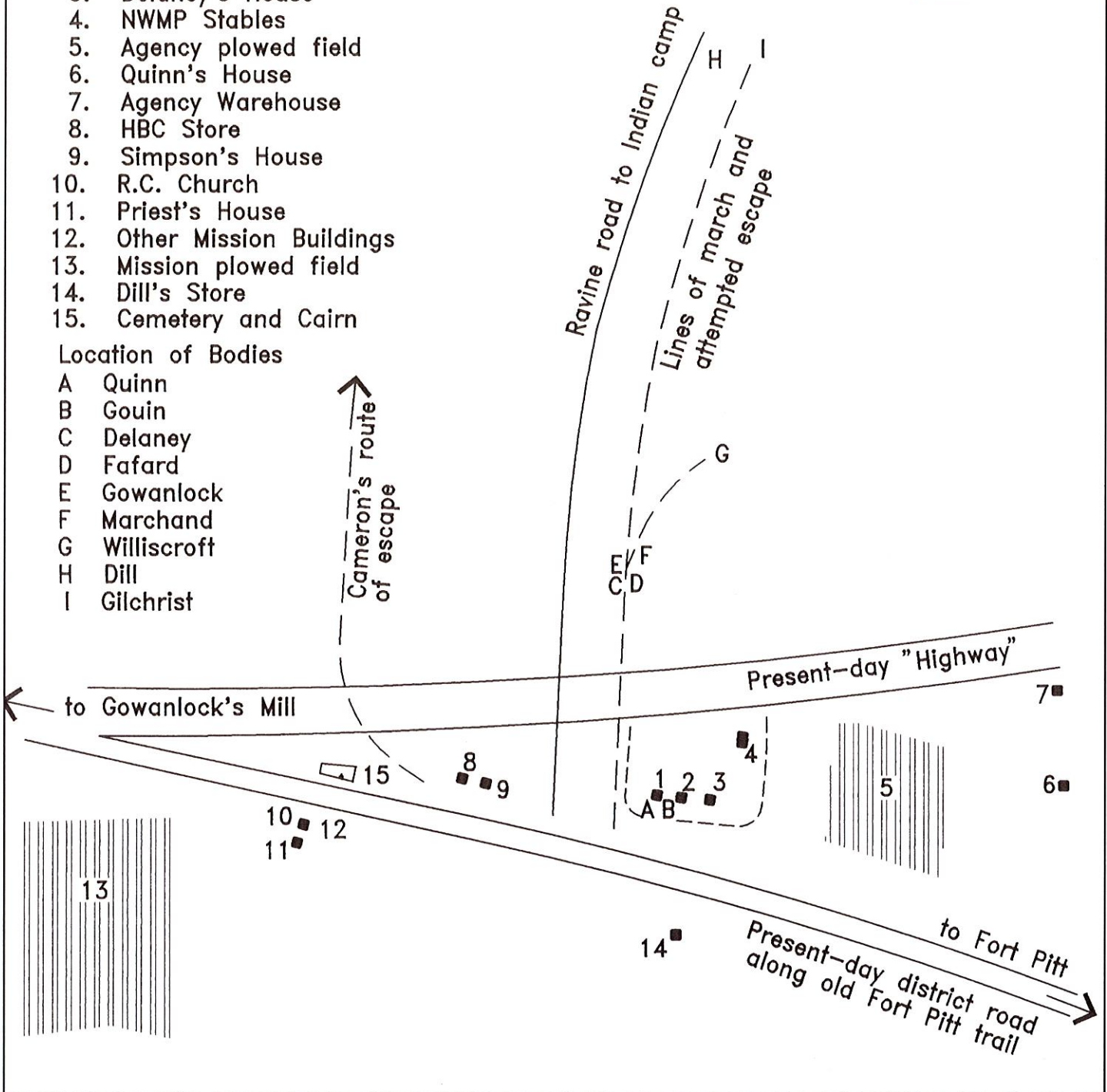
April 2, 1885



1. Pritchard's House
2. NWMP Barracks
3. Delaney's House
4. NWMP Stables
5. Agency plowed field
6. Quinn's House
7. Agency Warehouse
8. HBC Store
9. Simpson's House
10. R.C. Church
11. Priest's House
12. Other Mission Buildings
13. Mission plowed field
14. Dill's Store
15. Cemetery and Cairn

## Location of Bodies

- A Quinn
- B Gouin
- C Delaney
- D Fafard
- E Gowanlock
- F Marchand
- G Williscroft
- H Dill
- I Gilchrist



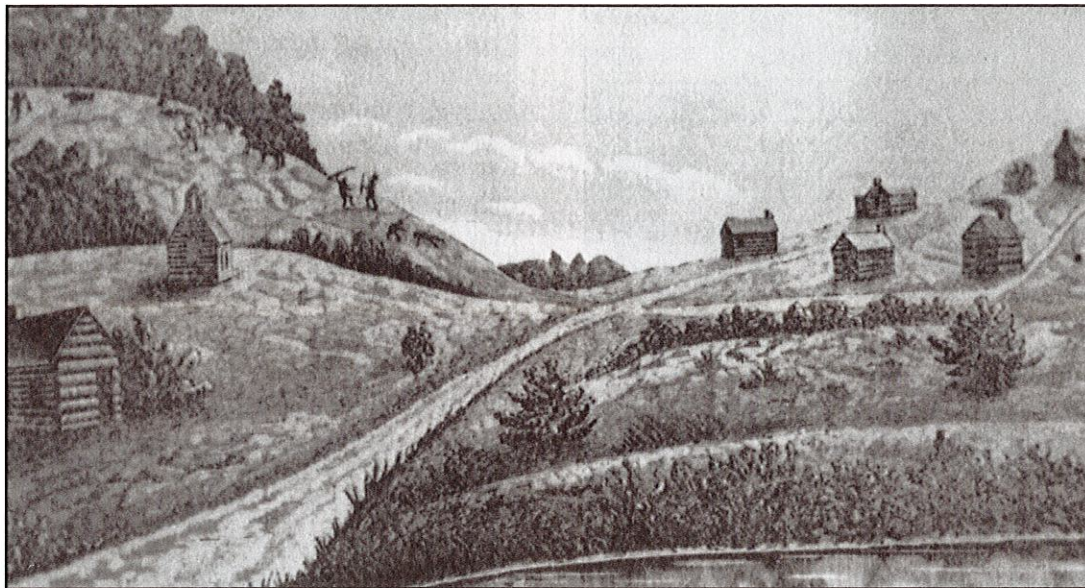
Courtesy of Hilderman Witty Crosby Hanna and Associates.

Based on a map drawn by W.B. Cameron in about 1949, this map by Allen Ronaghan shows the present-day roads which cut through the historic Frog Lake settlement site. It also shows the location of the cemetery and the cairn erected by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in 1925.

# Who Was The “Fine Young Man”?

## The Frog Lake “Massacre” Revisited

by Allen Ronaghan



Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 3429.

*Scene of the Frog Lake “massacre”.*

It may appear presumptuous to reopen the question of how many people died at Frog Lake on 2 April 1885. The event took place 110 years ago, and the figure nine is firmly established both in regional folklore and in western Canadian history. The number nine first appeared in the report given to Major General Thomas Bland Strange by William Bleasdel Cameron immediately after the latter's release from captivity in late May 1885.<sup>1</sup> Cameron wrote with the authority of one who had been involved in the events of that Holy Thursday morning and who had revisited the scene of the action later in April. Nevertheless, there is evidence which suggests that another person was killed at Frog Lake on that fateful day.

The first shots of the North-West Rebellion were fired on 26 March 1885 at Duck Lake, where Metis under Gabriel Dumont's command fought an engagement with North-West Mounted Police under Superintendent L.N.F. Crozier. After counting the casualties, the Metis consid-

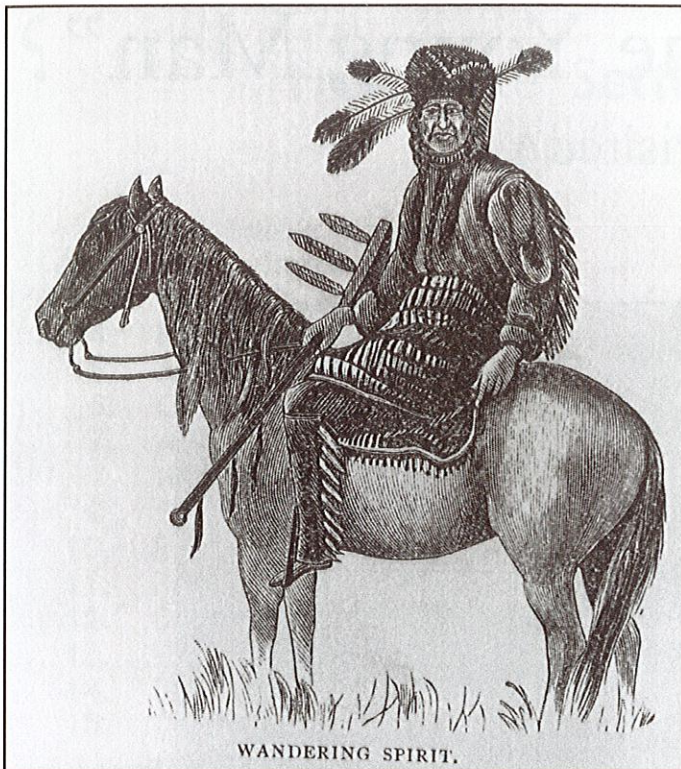
ered that they had won a victory, and this news travelled quickly throughout the North-West. Mobilization of military forces began all across Canada.

The killings at Frog Lake on 2 April by a group of Plains Cree warriors coincided with the Metis uprising. An isolated expression of pent-up anger directed at specific individuals, these killings were also celebrated by the Indians as if they had won a victory, if only for a few days. But the news of the killings—and of the taking of two white women as hostages—did much to crystallize the sense of purpose in the young and untried volunteers making their way West over the Canadian Pacific Railway and the prairie trails. Many of the young soldiers would soon be making their own count of the casualties at Frog Lake. Their writings make an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of what happened in that isolated little outpost.

In 1885 Frog Lake was a village still very much at its beginnings. It owed its location to the decision of the Wood Cree Chief Chaschakiskwis to choose a reserve at Frog Lake where his people had long maintained a fishery. An Indian Department subagency was established at a convenient place not far from the mouth of Frog Creek at the south end of the lake. A Hudson's Bay Company trading post, a Mounted Police detachment, and a Roman Catholic mission soon followed. During the winter of 1884-85 a grist mill was under construction at Frog Creek several kilometres to the west of the settlement.

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*Allen Ronaghan spent his working career as a teacher. He received his Master's degree in history from the University of Saskatchewan, and his doctorate from the University of Manitoba in 1988. Recently, he has been conducting research in the Oblate Papers at the Provincial Archives of Alberta.*



Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-Bb024.

*Wandering Spirit, the head warrior in Big Bear's band, led the attack on the white men of Frog Lake. Sketch copied from "The North-West Rebellion" by C.P. Mulvaney, 1886.*

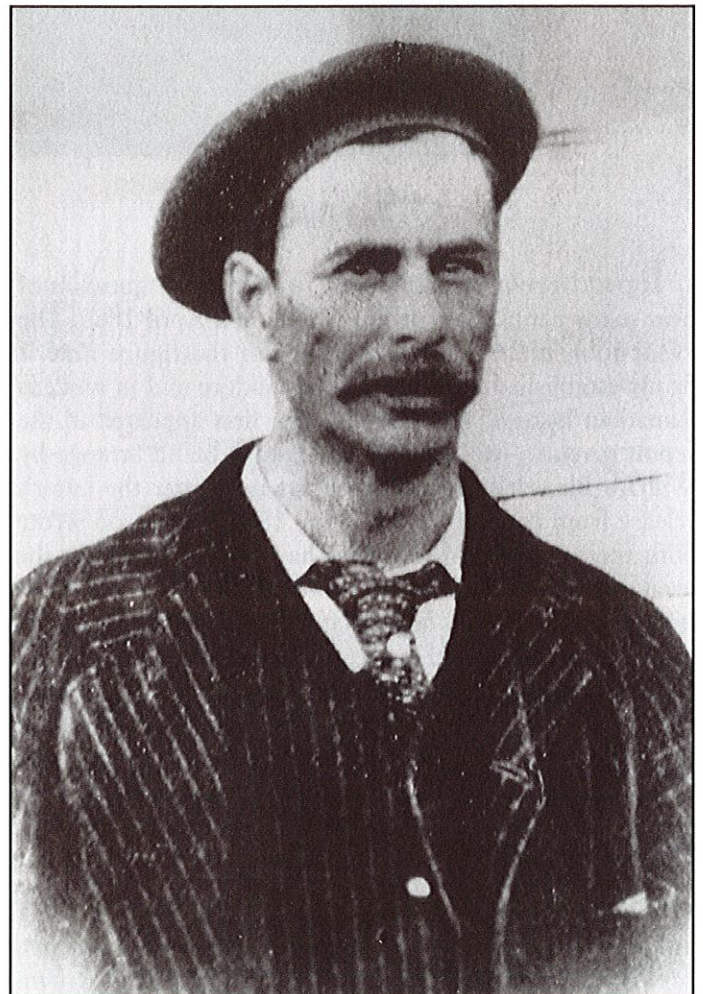
A large band of Plains Cree under the leadership of Chief Big Bear moved onto the Frog Lake reserve for the long and bitter winter of 1884-85. Their traditional food source, the buffalo, had disappeared from the prairies, and while at Frog Lake they received food rations from the Indian Department in exchange for labour. Big Bear had refused to select and settle on his own reserve as part of his strategy to negotiate better treaty provisions with the Canadian government. George Stanley (Mesunekuwapen) recalled the day his father, Chief Ohneepahao, gave his permission for Big Bear to camp on his reserve with the understanding that the following summer another reserve would be found for Big Bear's band.<sup>2</sup> Ohneepahao did not know the extent of the trouble brewing among Big Bear's people.

Resentment and unrest built up throughout the difficult winter. Some 600 cords of wood were cut by Big Bear's band in exchange for food, yet people continued to suffer from hunger. Fears of impending starvation and anger against whites, such as the arrogant and brutal Subagent Thomas Trueman Quinn, had the young men of the band spoiling for violence. They grew less and less inclined to listen to their old chief as he attempted to achieve diplomatic solutions to their problems. News of the fighting at Duck Lake excited them to act out their feelings of hatred toward certain white men at Frog Lake. Big Bear was no longer in control of his band, and he was unable to prevent the resulting "massacre".

The events of 2 April 1885 may be visualized best by considering Frog Lake village as consisting of four quad-

rants, with the trail from John Gowanlock's mill to Fort Pitt as the horizontal or east-west axis, and the ravine road from John Pritchard's house north to the Indian camp as the vertical or north-south axis. In the northeast quadrant were Pritchard's house, the North-West Mounted Police barracks, Delaney's house, the Mounted Police stables, a ploughed field, and, beyond that field to the east, Indian Subagent Quinn's house and agency warehouse. In the northwest quadrant were the Hudson's Bay Company store and Factor James K. Simpson's house and garden, not far from the ravine road. In the southwest quadrant, and several hundred metres from Pritchard's house, were the buildings of the Roman Catholic mission: a church, a school,<sup>3</sup> two houses, a shed, a stable, a cemetery, and a ploughed field. In the southeast quadrant the only building of importance was George Dill's store. There may have been other buildings in this and other quadrants, but of these we are certain. In addition, several kilometres to the west, near Frog Creek, were the buildings making up the establishment of Gowanlock's mill.<sup>4</sup>

On the morning in question a group of Plains Cree Indians under the leadership of young warriors,



Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 5093.

*The Indian Subagent at Frog Lake, Thomas Trueman Quinn, was considered by many to be an arrogant and brutal man. Quinn was the first man shot on 2 April 1885.*



Wandering Spirit and Big Bear's son, Imasees, disarmed and collected together most of the white people of the village. In a series of moves which probably cannot now be explained, the Indians led the whites on a march extending from Pritchard's house at the main intersection north along a lane which eventually became a prairie trail veering in a slightly northeast direction.<sup>5</sup>

Quinn and Charles Gouin were shot in front of Pritchard's house.<sup>6</sup> Gowanlock, Delaney, and Fathers Leon-Adelard Fafard and Felix-Marie Marchand were killed in a sort of cluster several hundred metres north of this main intersection.<sup>7</sup>

John Williscraft, Father Fafard's lay assistant, ran north past this cluster and tried to make his escape to a clump of trees somewhat off to the side of the trail, but he was shot and killed before he got there.<sup>8</sup> Dill and William Gilchrist, Gowanlock's clerk, also ran; they were not overtaken and killed until they had reached a point more than a kilometre north of the main intersection at Pritchard's.<sup>9</sup>

All those who were present at the time of the killings and who have left us accounts of them—Cameron, Mrs. Delaney, Mrs. Gowanlock, Louis Goulet, Isabelle Little Bear Johns—saw or heard only events which occurred along the line from Pritchard's house north. George Stanley, a member of the Frog Lake Indian Band who also wrote an account, heard shots and came from the north shortly after the killings. Stanley saw the bodies of those in the cluster; he also saw the bodies of Gouin and Quinn. He then went over to the mission and saw the young Indian men cavorting there. Joined by his father, Stanley also saw the activity around the Hudson's Bay Company buildings.<sup>10</sup> Our knowledge of what occurred at Frog Lake that April morning is limited to these six accounts.

Those who had done the killings were not content with killing. They had to move and mutilate the bodies as well. When Mrs. Gowanlock saw this she asked Louis Goulet whether it would be possible to have her husband's body moved and buried.<sup>11</sup> Goulet spoke to Big Bear and got his permission to do this. Goulet borrowed a team and wagon from Pritchard, and, with the help of Andre Nault, William Gladu, and a Native person, transported the bodies of the four men who had been killed in a cluster—Delaney, Fafard, Gowanlock, and Marchand—to the mission, laying them in the cellar of the church.<sup>12</sup>

Goulet wanted to do the same for the bodies of Quinn and Gouin. He was warned, however, by the young Indian men that he and his friends would be killed if they did this.<sup>13</sup> Shortly afterwards, several of the young Natives carried the two bodies and laid them in Pritchard's cellar. At least, this is what the survivors who later wrote about the event believed had happened, and it is corroborated by reports of where those bodies were later found.<sup>14</sup>

On that Easter weekend, buildings in the village, including the church and Pritchard's house, were set on fire by the Indians and destroyed.<sup>15</sup>

By the end of the Easter weekend, six of the bodies were in the ashes of two buildings. The others—those of

Dill, Gilchrist and Williscraft—lay where they had fallen a considerable distance to the north, subject to indignities from time to time. So it was that, when the Indians returned from Fort Pitt with their prisoners in late April, Elizabeth McLean thought she saw the body of one of the priests “propped up against a tree with a pipe stuck in his mouth.”<sup>16</sup> She was wrong in her identification, of course. She was only one of the people who saw the bodies of one or other of the three men that day. Father Laurent Legoff recognized Gilchrist.<sup>17</sup> The bodies of Dill and Gilchrist were recognized as well by Cameron, Louis Patenaude and Stanley Simpson.<sup>18</sup> The next day, 20 April, Elizabeth's father, W.J. McLean, assisted by Stanley Simpson and others, buried these three bodies in shallow graves near where they had lain, placing markers on the graves.<sup>19</sup>

As of 20 April, then, six bodies lay in the cellars of burned buildings. Three bodies lay in shallow graves. According to the statements of soldiers who later saw these graves, earth had been removed from one or more of the bodies, possibly by marauding animals, leaving them partially exposed.<sup>20</sup> The soldiers may have dug deeper graves for these bodies or may have thrown more earth over them.

More than a month later, the Alberta Field Force under the command of Major Thomas B. Strange arrived at Frog Lake. These troops found the four bodies in the cellar of the church and laid them out on the grass beside the cellar. The stench from decomposition was overwhelming, and the men who handled the bodies wore masks of sponge saturated with army rum.<sup>21</sup> The surgeon with the force, John J. Pennefather, was ordered to examine the bodies and make what identification he could. He was able to say that two of the bodies were those of the priests. He guessed that a third was that of farming instructor, Delaney, but he could make no certain identification of the fourth, suggesting only that it might be that of a lay brother. Strange gave orders for the making of four wooden coffins for these four bodies. This was done using rough lumber scrounged from somewhere, possibly Gowanlock's mill. Graves were dug just at the southern edge of the mission cemetery. Before the troops left Frog Lake on Monday, 25 May, these four bodies were given a Christian burial. A correspondent of the *Manitoba Free Press* was with the troops, and an account of the burials later appeared in that newspaper.<sup>22</sup>

While the troops were thus occupied, William Parker of the Mounted Police did some scouting around in the immediate vicinity of the settlement and found a body which he supposed to be that of “young Gilchrist.” Parker later wrote that the man was

lying on his face along a footpath from his shack. Evidently he had been running away in his underclothes from mounted Indians and had been shot at close range in the back: his undershirt was all black from the powder. As he fell on his face in his death agonies he had bitten a mouthful out of the prairie sod.<sup>23</sup>

Pennefather, who also later wrote of this discovery, used the words “fine young man” in his description.

Pennefather reported that the “remains were placed in a common grave and decently covered over.”<sup>24</sup>

Who was this “fine young man?” That is a question to which we must now turn. But before doing so it must be pointed out that, with the discovery of the body of the “fine young man,” we know of the disposition of eight bodies. Those of Gouin and Quinn make ten. Let us consider them now.

The men of the Alberta Field Force went on to see the smoking ruins of Fort Pitt and then to take part in the Battle of Frenchman’s Butte on 28 May. They went in pursuit of Big Bear and eventually were joined by troops serving under General Middleton. In early June, men of the 65th Mount Royal Rifles of Montreal and of the Midland Regiment from Ontario saw Frog Lake village for the first time, while men of the 92nd Winnipeg Light Infantry saw it for the second time. Three men of these units later wrote of their adventures.

The first account to appear was that of C.R. Daoust in *Cent-Vingt Jours de Service Actif au Nord-Ouest*, published in 1886. Daoust told of the discovery of bodies at Frog Lake and went on to say that

a detail from Company No. 3 was ordered to bury them. Certain indications make us believe that they are the bodies of Quinn and Gouin: like the other victims of that sad day of 3 [sic] April, they are half-burned and no longer have a human form.<sup>25</sup>

The next account to appear was Pennefather’s in 1892. He corroborated that “while at Frog Lake two more bodies were found and buried.”<sup>26</sup> The diary of Lieut. J.A.V. Preston did not appear in print until 1955. His entry for 8 June 1885 provided the detail that “in one of the cellars of the burnt houses we saw the remains of two of the victims...”<sup>27</sup>

So, by early June 1885, ten bodies lay buried at Frog Lake: four of them side by side at the cemetery; six of them in graves scattered over more than a kilometre and a half. A study of the sequence of events has shown us that the body referred to by Parker and Pennefather was not that of “young Gilchrist.”

There is evidence to suggest that an attempt to correct the record of the Frog Lake killings was made by Bishop Vital-Justin Grandin of St. Albert in June of 1885. News of the incident at Frog Lake had reached St. Albert on 7 April; that settlement had been shocked by the losses suffered by the missions at Frog Lake and Onion Lake. Various news reports continued to come, but no one knew what to believe.

In June, Bishop Grandin visited Calgary. He was embarking on a tour that would take him to the area where the main actions of the rebellion had been fought. After visiting Battleford, he hoped to stop at Frog Lake on his way home. While in Calgary, Grandin read the 8 June issue of the *Manitoba Free Press* which gave an account of the discovery of the four bodies by the men of the Alberta Field Force on 24 May and of the burial of those bodies the following day. Grandin’s eye fell upon references to Father Fafard, “Father Laflac,” and a “lay brother.”

Grandin was in a position to know who had been at the missions at Frog Lake and Onion Lake. He immediately wrote a letter to the editor of the *Free Press* with the purpose of setting the record straight. First of all, the bishop expressed his appreciation to those who had given the bodies Christian burials. He then went on to say a few words about Father Fafard, giving details of his birth, training and service in the North-West. The second priest’s name, Grandin pointed out, had been given incorrectly; it was really Marchand. He explained that Marchand’s place of service was Onion Lake, and that he was only at Frog Lake to assist Father Fafard during the busy Easter season. Finally, Grandin came to the subject of the “lay brother.” He wrote as follows:

There was no Lay-Brother killed in the massacre. Mr. Michaux, who was buried with the others as a Lay-Brother, was a school teacher and had formerly been a lawyer in France.<sup>28</sup>

Grandin must have surmised that Pennefather could only guess at the identity of the four burned bodies found in the cellar of the church. His assumption was that all three of his people in service in the Frog Lake-Onion Lake area were killed, and he wanted their true identities made known. In correcting the record, the bishop named Mr. Michaux, a person so recently arrived in the Frog Lake area that most white survivors who later told what had occurred either did not know he was at Frog Lake or simply forgot about him.

Grandin had not forgotten. He was intimately acquainted with the work of his missionaries in the region, and his correspondence shows that he maintained the closest possible supervision over that work. Father Joseph-Jean-Marie Lestanc<sup>29</sup> had visited the missions in early February. His report, along with earlier reports of missionary work, are part of the Oblate Collection in the Provincial Archives of Alberta. Through these reports and Grandin’s correspondence we can get a good picture of Roman Catholic outreach in that part of the Canadian West in the 1870s and 1880s.

Fathers Fafard and Lestanc had assisted in the founding of the St. Jean-Francois Regis Mission at Fort Pitt in 1877. That mission was used for a time as a headquarters while Father Fafard went out onto the plains past Sounding Lake to minister to the Cree Indians, and while Father Lestanc went into Battleford to serve the growing Roman Catholic community there.<sup>30</sup> It soon became clear, however, that, with the disappearance of the buffalo, Fort Pitt no longer enjoyed a central position in the movements of the Native peoples. In the early 1880s, St. Jean-Francois Regis was closed and a new mission—Notre Dame de Bon Conseil—was begun at Frog Lake, not far from where Father Thibault had had a mission many years before. Here Father Fafard worked with his customary zeal; by 1885 this mission was something of a showpiece in the Catholic outreach system. There was a church, two houses, a school with a good library, a stable, three horses, a plough, a buckboard, a farm wagon, and a



Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 3428.

*Father Leon-Adelard Fafard founded the new mission—Notre Dame de Bon Conseil—at Frog Lake in the early 1880s.*

cart.<sup>31</sup> A large field had been ploughed and there Fafard grew potatoes, turnips and other vegetables.

The mission work at Frog Lake prospered. The school was so successful that Father Marchand was sent to help Father Fafard. Marchand mastered Cree quickly and was so satisfactory as a teacher that he was given permission to start a mission of his own—St. Louis—at Onion Lake. This left Fafard alone again at Frog Lake, and Grandin did all he could to replace Marchand with someone who could teach.

In November of 1884 Grandin reported to his superior that he was going to send—on a provisional basis—a new man to Frog Lake. This man had volunteered to come to a frontier country where alcohol was not readily available. He had, it appeared, a drinking problem. Grandin did not give the man's name, but said he hoped he could make a teacher out of him.<sup>32</sup> Presumably, this man was Mr. Michaux, and he was sent to Frog Lake to begin his duties.

Grandin wanted the best use made of scarce resources. In what may have been his last letter to Fafard, written on 9 March 1885, the bishop asked Fafard to make a selection of Cree books that could be spared for use by Father Bonald at the Cumberland mission. Fafard was instructed to place these books in a sturdy box to be sent to Cumber-

land House by the first eastbound steamboat in the spring.<sup>33</sup> If Fafard acted with his usual energy, this box of books was ready and waiting and was destroyed by fire along with the rest of the mission in early April.

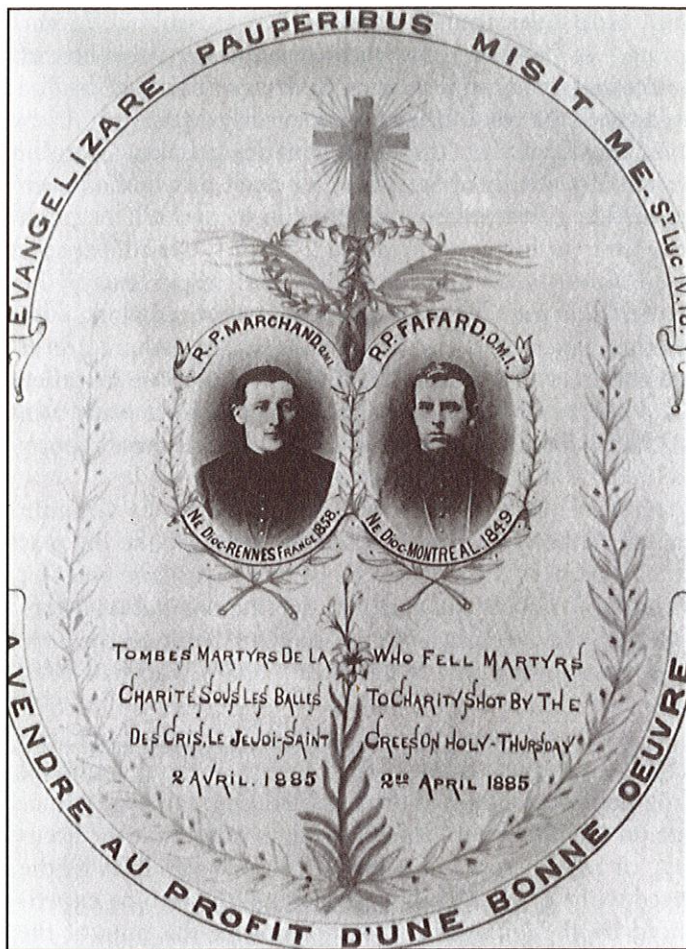
In the days after the killings at Frog Lake, Grandin waited impatiently at St. Albert for news of who had been killed. The news was vague, sometimes contradictory, and in a letter to his superior dated 24 April, Grandin speculated about what had happened. "All reports say," he wrote, "that Father Fafard has been massacred along with another father and two lay brothers. Since there are at present no lay brothers in the district we suppose that they are Fathers Fafard, Marchand and LeGoff with Mr. Michaux, Father Fafard's helper. Please God these reports are false or at least exaggerated..."<sup>34</sup>

As we have seen, the truth was not quite as Grandin feared; Father Legoff had not been at Frog Lake (he was at St. Raphael's Mission on the Beaver River) and was not killed. Nor was the truth quite as the newspapers reported. As a result, Grandin sent his letter to the *Free Press* mentioning Mr. Michaux, a person who had been very little noticed at Frog Lake.

It is curious that the presence of Mr. Michaux, the school teacher, is not mentioned in any of the accounts of Frog Lake at the time of the troubles. One can only speculate on the reasons for this, bearing in mind that the accuracy of reporting was hampered by such variables as the speed with which the killings occurred, the trauma experienced by the witnesses, their position at the time of the events, the natural limitations of the spectators, to name only the most obvious. As well, Michaux was a teacher—a common civilian. As such, he was more or less unnoticed by the populace. Bishop Grandin's letters are the only sources which name the man who was teaching at Notre Dame de Bon Conseil mission in April of 1885. Even the school itself receives very little mention in later accounts. We would not even know that classes were held on that Holy Thursday at Frog Lake if Isabelle Little Bear Johns had not told her story long after the event. Many years after the killings at Frog Lake, she told of her experiences as a twelve-year-old girl that fateful April day. She said she was late for school that morning and "the priest" was very angry with her. He wanted to give her a whipping, but she ran home. Later that morning she witnessed Wandering Spirit's killing of Quinn.<sup>35</sup> A study of the events makes it clear that "the priest" who was teaching that morning could not have been either Fafard or Marchand.<sup>36</sup>

Of the remaining narrators such as Mrs. Delaney, Mrs. Gowanlock, Stanley, and Goulet, none witnessed all of the action. It was not until the survivors were prisoners in the Indian camp that they compared notes and determined the number killed in the line of march north from Pritchard's. There was no one to speak about what had happened at the mission. Cameron was asked by Major Strange to make a statement, and that statement—fixing the number of victims at nine—has remained gospel ever since.

A second tiny shred of evidence that Michaux was the



National Archives of Canada, C597.

Father Felix-Marie Marchand, Oblate Missionary at Onion Lake, had been sent to assist Father Leon-Adelard Fafard at the Frog Lake mission during the busy Easter season in 1885.

tenth victim at Frog Lake is in a “list of prisoners” now in the Mann Papers at the Glenbow Archives in Calgary. This list contains the names of a number of Indians awaiting trial before Judge Rolleau. Beside the number fifteen are the enigmatic words, “Koo pise Kanew Big Bears son Killing Brother [sic].”<sup>37</sup> It is difficult to explain this entry.

Someone, possibly a Native person, mentioned a “brother” or this entry would not have been made. However, none of the eyewitnesses to the killings—not Cameron, Goulet, Mrs. Delaney, or Mrs. Gowanlock—said anything about a “brother” being shot. This reference simply disappeared into oblivion.

It is also strange that, while the Roman Catholic Church was careful to honor the memory of the two slain priests, it apparently did nothing to acknowledge Michaux. Bishop Grandin visited the scene of the killings several times and did all he could to find out exactly what happened on that 2 April morning. He interviewed Native people and marked the spots they indicated as being the places where Fafard and Marchand had fallen. Grandin considered the two priests to be martyrs, and had crosses erected at these two spots. The crosses have since disappeared. Eventually, Grandin had the bodies of Fafard and Marchand exhumed and removed to the new mission at Onion Lake. Later, they were moved again to St. Albert.

Why was there no recognition for Michaux? The answer is probably that Grandin could not find the teacher’s grave and be sure of his fate. It will be remembered that both Parker and Pennefather thought that the “fine young man” was Gilchrist. If they marked the grave they more than likely used the name “Gilchrist”. Grandin could find no grave marked “Michaux”. If he saw Gilchrist’s grave near Dill’s—more than a kilometre and a half to the north and east of the mission—he probably realized that he was confronted with a problem that he was in no position to solve. He may have begun to wonder if the man he had sent to teach at Frog Lake had, in fact, made his escape. The bishop may be excused if he decided to leave matters at that.

A close study of the disposition of the bodies of the victims at Frog Lake on 2 April 1885 shows, however, that there were not nine but ten people killed that day. Grandin’s letter to the *Free Press* reveals the identity of the “fine young man” discovered and buried by members of the Alberta Field Force. The tenth victim was Mr. Michaux, the new schoolteacher who had “formerly been a lawyer in France.”

## Endnotes

- 1 Major General T. B. Strange, *Gunner Jingo’s Jubilee* (London and Sydney: Remington & Co., 1893), 473-4.
- 2 George Stanley (Mesunekwepan), “An Account of the Frog Lake Massacre,” in *The Frog Lake “Massacre”; Personal Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict*, Stuart Hughes, ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 160.
- 3 The exact location of the school is not known. There are three cellar depressions at the site of the Frog Lake mission, but there is no clear evidence as to which was the school’s cellar.
- 4 See map. John J. Pennefather, *Thirteen Years on the Prairies* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Tribner & Co. Ltd., 1892), 34-5.
- 5 Guillaume Charette, *Vanishing Species: Memoirs of Louis Goulet* (Winnipeg: Editions Bois-Brules, 1976. Originally published as *L’Espace de Louis Goulet*), 124-6. W.B. Cameron in Stuart Hughes,

*The Frog Lake “Massacre”; Personal Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 43-6. Hughes’ book contains several documents and publications that are either difficult to consult or are long out of print, notably Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Delaney, *Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear: The Life and Adventures of Theresa Gowanlock and Theresa Delaney* (1885), and W.B. Cameron, *The War Trail of Big Bear* (1926), later issued as *Blood Red the Sun* (1950). Hughes has been cited when referring to any of these sources.

- 6 Charette, *Vanishing Species*, 128. Cameron in Hughes, *The Frog Lake “Massacre”*, 43; 54.
- 7 Stanley in Hughes, *The Frog Lake “Massacre”*, 162.
- 8 Gowanlock in Hughes, *The Frog Lake “Massacre”*, 180; Delaney in *ibid.*, 226.

- 9 Cameron in *ibid.*, 51; Charette, *Vanishing Species*, 126; National Archives of Canada, RG18, Royal North-West Mounted Police Records, Report of Sergeant Hall, 20-7-1909. In his description of the shooting of George Dill, Hall states that Dill "made a dash for it when the shooting commenced and succeeded in getting nearly a mile away, when he was overtaken and shot in the head." Gilchrist, Hall reports, "made a dash for it and caught up to George Dill, and both fell together..."
- 10 Stanley in Hughes, *The Frog Lake Massacre*, 162-3.
- 11 Gowanlock in *ibid.*, 184; Charette, *Vanishing Species*, 127.
- 12 Charette, *Vanishing Spaces*, 127.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 128.
- 14 Cameron in Hughes, *The Frog Lake Massacre*, 51. See endnote 26.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 51; Charette, *Vanishing Spaces*, 130; Mrs. Gowanlock in Hughes, *The Frog Lake "Massacre"*, 130; Mrs. Delaney in *ibid.*, 233.
- 16 Elizabeth M. McLean, "The Siege of Fort Pitt" (1946), in Hughes *The Frog Lake "Massacre"*, 281.
- 17 Anonymous in *ibid.*, 299.
- 18 Cameron in *ibid.*, 83.
- 19 W.J. McLean, "Tragic Events at Frog Lake and Fort Pitt During the North West Rebellion," in *ibid.*, 251.
- 20 "The Diary of Lieut. J.A.V. Preston, 1885," in *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 (Autumn 1955), 103.
- 21 Joseph Hicks, "With Hatton's Scouts in Pursuit of Big Bear" (1970), in Hughes, *The Frog Lake Massacre*, 341.
- 22 *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, 8 June 1885; Strange, *Gummer Jingo's Jubilee*, 472-3; John J. Pennefather, *Thirteen Years on the Prairies*, 33; Provincial Archives of Alberta (hereafter referred to as PAA), Oblate Collection, Grandin Papers, 84.400, Boite 38, Item 1016. Grandin gave the detail about the lumber and about the location at the edge of the mission cemetery.
- 23 Hugh A. Dempsey, *William Parker, Mounted Policeman (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1973)*, 69.
- 24 Pennefather, *Thirteen Years on the Prairies*, 33.
- 25 Charles R. Daoust, *Cent-Vingt Jours de Service Actif au Nord-Ouest* (Montreal: Senecal et Fils, 1886), 97. Translation mine. See also Howard Angus Kennedy, "Memoirs of 1885," in *Canadian Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXX, No. 5 (May 1965), 154.
- 26 Pennefather, 45.
- 27 Preston, 102.
- 28 *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 June 1885. A copy of Grandin's original letter is in PAA, Oblate Collection, Grandin Papers, 84.400, Boite 33, Item 927, Grandin to the editor, 10 June 1885.
- 29 *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. XII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), gives Lestanc's Christian names as Jean-Marie-Joseph. The undated account in the Oblate Papers refers to him as Joseph-Jean-Marie, and this is the version used here.
- 30 PAA, Oblate Collection, Lestanc Papers, 71.220, Boite 170, Item 6874, Joseph-Jean-Marie Lestanc, "Notes Privees," n.d.
- 31 PAA, Oblate Collection, Grandin Papers, 84.400, Boite 42, Item 1028 (26), Report of Father Lestanc, February 1885.
- 32 *Ibid.*, Boite 38, Item 1016, Grandin to his superior, Father Soullier, 8 November 1884.
- 33 *Ibid.*, Boite 220, Item 1021, Grandin to Fafard, 9 March 1885.
- 34 *Ibid.*, Boite 38, Item 1016, Grandin to Father Soullier, 24 April 1885.
- 35 Isabelle Little Bear Johns, "My Own Story," in *Bonnyville Tribune*, 18 and 25 April, 2 May 1958. Reprinted in Elk Point District Historical Society, *Reflections - A History of Elk Point and District*, 197ff.
- 36 The priests breakfasted with Cameron, Henry Quinn and Yellow Bear at a time when school classes would have been well under way. Their movements from then until they were killed are known with fair accuracy. They went to the church and attempted to hold Mass. They then went with the others to Delaney's, and started with the others for the Indian camp.
- 37 Glenbow Archives, Mann Papers, A/M 281. Kapisikenew, or Thunder, was Big Bear's adopted son. Hugh Dempsey, *Big Bear: The End of Freedom* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1984), 110.

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# Spying 101:

## The RCMP's Secret Activities at the University of Saskatchewan, 1920–1971

by S.R. Hewitt



University of Saskatchewan Archives, A-6401.

*Student demonstrations such as this one against the war in Vietnam in 1969 at the Saskatoon campus were watched closely by the Mounted Police.*

*“The reason there are so few historical certainties is that so much of history is done in secret.”*

For Robert Samson the sound was deafening and the light was blinding. The bomb he had been attempting to plant outside the house of Melvyn Dobrin, a prominent Montreal businessman, on the night of 26 July 1974 had exploded prematurely, taking with it part of Samson's hand. One other problem plagued the injured man: he was a Mountie. Eventually caught and tried, he boasted that he had done far worse things as a Mountie than plant bombs.<sup>2</sup> This admission served as the impetus for several investigations into the activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security Service. The

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“dirty tricks” scandal would reveal Mounted Police involvement in buggings, break-ins, and even a barn burning, all largely directed at organizations considered to be enemies to the Canadian state. As punishment for its indiscretions, the RCMP had its security role taken over by the newly created Canadian Security Intelligence Service in 1982.<sup>3</sup>

While the scandals and prosecutions largely involved Mounted Police actions in Quebec, the Force's activities in other areas of Canada have largely gone unnoticed and unreported. No institution with even a hint of radicalism escaped the tentacles of the RCMP Security Service. This is certainly true of the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon which, almost entirely unbeknownst to its faculty, students and chroniclers, had a secret and intricate relationship with the Mounted Police for over fifty years. For the first time the nature of that relationship and what it says about both the RCMP and the security of civil liberties will be revealed.

The modern Canadian security service had its beginnings in the conclusion of the First World War which

unleashed social forces directly challenging the status quo of capitalism. The focus of this service in the first few decades was on Communists who were viewed as foreign and un-British. By the 1960s the threat of Quebec separatism had captured the attention of the Mounted Police spying resources and directly led to a “dirty tricks” campaign and the downfall of the Security Service.<sup>4</sup> The underlying mentality in Canada during the past seventy years has represented what historian Wesley Wark calls “a national insecurity state” and includes characteristics such as

1. A record of government fears of external threats and internal conspiracies and subversion... .
2. A popular mentality that stresses insecurity at home, perhaps a product of an insufficiently strong or cohesive national identity.
3. The appearance of a national security force that sees itself as beleaguered and that privileges its expertise and unique understanding of threats. A security intelligence service, in other words, that is itself insecure.<sup>5</sup>

While separatists and Communists topped the list of targets for the attention of the RCMP Security Service, several other groups were not ignored. Homosexuals, specifically those in the federal civil service who, because of their sexual orientation, were considered security risks, also faced harassment from Canada’s national police force. The RCMP employed its infamous “fruit machine” in a vain attempt to determine an individual’s sexual orientation.<sup>6</sup> Student protest which erupted in France and the United States in the 1960s soon spilled over into Canada.<sup>7</sup> In 1969, retired RCMP deputy commissioner William Kelly wrote that because some sympathetic students could be recruited by the Soviet Union they had to be spied upon. A year earlier Kelly had called protests by students, labour, and black and Native groups part of a “coherent movement.”<sup>8</sup>

There was more smoke than fire when it came to student dissent at the University of Saskatchewan. According to historian Michael Hayden,

[a]nyone who reads the administrative correspondence of the University of Saskatchewan gets, at first, the impression that the university was deeply involved in the North American and European explosion of discontent. ... In Saskatoon, despite the reaction of administration and some faculty, the outbreak was very mild — a few picketings, several speeches, a few tentative invasions of faculty meetings, one short strike, and one almost friendly sit-in do not a revolution make.<sup>9</sup>

Close to 1500 pages of recently released RCMP documents related to the University of Saskatchewan suggest that Canada’s national police force felt otherwise. The records reveal a great deal about the paranoia of an institution of the Canadian state and the persistence of that mentality over several decades.

The records in question truly mirror the modern history of the Mounted Police. They begin in March 1920,

a month after the Dominion Police was amalgamated with the Royal North-West Mounted Police (RNWMP) to create what today is known as the RCMP. The Dominion Police had traditionally been the federal government’s chief intelligence force, although World War One proved beyond its meagre resources. Moreover, its limitations led to intelligence gathering by the RNWMP in prairie Canada. The end of the war would see the Mounted Police emerge triumphant in the battle over which agency should dominate Canada’s security operations.<sup>10</sup> The Mounted Police’s key role in crushing the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike only further entrenched its position as Canada’s preeminent security/police force.

The Winnipeg General Strike, and the accompanying sympathy strikes, marked the opening salvo of an internal war which was fought by ensuing Canadian governments, over consecutive decades, against successive opponents on the political left. Many in the Canadian government believed that the Winnipeg General Strike was one stage in the campaign towards an international Communist revolution; that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was behind the events there was no doubt, at least to those in power. Thus an ideological war ensued with the RCMP serving as foot soldiers until the 1980s when its security role was taken away. During this period the Mounted Police became so fixated on the threat to the social order from the political left that in the 1930s it all but ignored the rise of fascism, both internationally and internally. Even two years after Nazi aggression sparked the Second World War, Commissioner S.T. Wood warned in a published article that the number one threat to Canadian security differed from what most Canadians thought:

Many may be surprised to hear that it is not the Nazi nor the Fascist but the radical who constitutes our most troublesome problem. Whereas the enemy alien is usually recognizable and easily rendered innocuous by clear-cut laws applicable to his case, your “Red” has the protection of citizenship, his foreign master is not officially an enemy and, unless he blunders into the open and provides proof of his guilt, he is much more difficult to suppress. Since Communism was outlawed, most of his work is carried on under cover of other organizations and associations pretending to be, or in reality, loyal to the Constitution. It is important to remember this for the reason that this type of fifth column activity is least understood by our Canadian people, and yet is doing most harm at the present time.<sup>11</sup>

Interestingly enough, it was in connection with radicalism and the Winnipeg General Strike that the University of Saskatchewan first gained the attention of a member of the Mounted Police. The specific event was a lecture given at the university by J.S. Woodsworth, a minister and prominent labour activist, and one of those arrested less than a year earlier during the labour conflict in Winnipeg. In the aftermath of Woodsworth’s talk on the outlawed One Big Union, a student in the class

approached the *Saskatoon Daily Star* with the story.<sup>12</sup> The newspaper's report prompted Detective Sergeant C.T. Hildyard to investigate. He obtained the student's name through the newspaper and proceeded to interview the man, finding "him to be an absolutely reliable youth of about 23 years of age..."<sup>13</sup> Hildyard reported on the professors involved in Woodsworth's appearance (Prof. Swanson in whose class the lecture took place, Prof. Elliott also of the Economics Department, and Prof. A.S. Morton, head of the History Department),<sup>14</sup> but his main concern was with its impact on the students. The fear that youth would be indoctrinated was a recurring theme in the RCMP's espionage activities at Canadian universities. In this case, the concerned Mountie was reassured by his source. "While there were quite a few young boys of 17 and 18 years of age present," Hildyard wrote, "he did not think that any harm had been done" although "he would discuss this address with the rest of his class and find out as to whether any harm had been done or not..."<sup>15</sup> Hildyard quickly discovered, however, that many of the parents of the students did not share his fear about the persuasive power of Woodsworth's lectures. In fact, through telephone calls to the newspaper and personal conversations with the police officer several parents stated that

it was only right that they as students should hear both sides of the industrial questions of the day, and it was preferable for them to hear the Radical side under such circumstances than for them to hear these views from agitators on the street corners or at labour meetings.<sup>16</sup>

With public indifference to the actual content of Woodsworth's speech, a chastened Hildyard in the end complained only that the students had no choice in whether or not to hear the labour activist's address.<sup>17</sup>

That was not the end of Hildyard's observation of University of Saskatchewan affairs. Three years later the Detective Sergeant, in a report on a speech given in Saskatoon by Communist activist Becky Buhay, found it necessary to note that the audience was composed of "a large crowd of Ukrainians and Russians and a sprinkling of English speaking people, including a few students from the Saskatchewan University."<sup>18</sup>

Mountie activities at the University of Saskatchewan, however, did not begin in a substantial way until 1935 and 1936. The 1930s had opened with the national election of R.B. Bennett and the Conservative Party. Bennett's attempts to cure Canada's economic ills quickly proved futile in the face of the rapidly worsening depression. As protest increased, the government's only recourse became repression. Bennett boasted of employing "iron heels" to stamp out the spectre of Communism.<sup>19</sup> In such an atmosphere the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, under the leadership of Major-General J.H. MacBrien, gained new power and prominence. MacBrien, like the prime minister he served, fervently believed that the real problem in the Canada of the 1930s was Communism:

It is notable that 99% of these fellows [Communists] are foreigners and many of them have not been here long. The best thing to do would be to send them back where they came from in every way possible. If we were rid of them there would be no unemployment or unrest in Canada.<sup>20</sup>

His police force echoed that view. Historian Paul Axelrod succinctly sums up the Mounted Police attitude towards Communists during this period. "From the RCMP perspective: heads the communists win and tails their enemies lose," Axelrod writes. "Hence vigilance against them was ever necessary."<sup>21</sup>

Such an approach seemed even more applicable in 1935, a pivotal point in the decade. The year opened with Bennett promising radical change to the Canadian political and economic systems. Midway through the year over a thousand unemployed men set off for Ottawa to take their grievances directly to the Prime Minister only to find their journey, known as the "On to Ottawa" Trek, halted in Regina by the RCMP and themselves dispersed in the aftermath of a police-provoked riot on 1 July. In October of 1935 the Bennett government was swept from power by the Liberals under William Lyon Mackenzie King. The RCMP, however, remained in place; its gaze on Communists in Canada proved unflinching.

The target of RCMP attention at the University of Saskatchewan in 1935 and 1936 appears on the surface to be rather innocuous; it was the student newspaper, *The Sheaf*. A Mountie taking law classes discovered several articles in this publication which contained unflattering comments about the Mounted Police, the Canadian state, and the British Empire.<sup>22</sup> For example, the 28 February 1936 issue carried material which Sergeant H.W.H. Williams of the Saskatoon Sub Division "respectfully suggested, amounts to a criminal libel..."<sup>23</sup> Specifically, he objected to an editorial and a cartoon (see accompanying photo) which contained a dangling figure with the name "Leopold" on his sleeve. "Leopold" was Sergeant John Leopold who had infiltrated the Communist Party in the 1920s and who, on 1 July 1935, had been present at the Regina Riot. Leopold had supplied evidence implicating the Trek leaders, something the cartoon indirectly alluded to and criticized.<sup>24</sup>

The first article, however, which brought *The Sheaf* to the attention of the Mounted Police appeared in November 1935 just before Armistice Day. The editorial, entitled "Thanksgiving Day," accused the British Empire of having "a record of rapine, savage murder, diplomatic deviltry, cold-blooded bargaining, wholesale stealing, unholy alliances and general aggrandizement unequalled by any other nation in the world's history."<sup>25</sup> Obviously written to generate a reaction, the editorial prompted one veteran to "bet my last dollar that 50 percent of those who voiced their opinions never did a day's work in their short lives and do not know anything except what they read in books, and another





University of Saskatchewan Archives, A-4797.

This cartoon, published in *The Sheaf* on 28 November 1936, shows the justice system weighted against Canadian workers at Regina during the "On to Ottawa" Trek. The dangling RCMP officer labelled "Leopold" is supposed to be Sergeant John Leopold who had supplied evidence against Trek leaders.

thing, I do not think they have a drop of British blood in their veins."<sup>26</sup> The Mountie on campus, however, investigating "the source of the apparent radical activities of a Communist nature, and the authorship of the attached articles in particular" discovered that one of the authors was indeed "of Anglo-Saxon parentage"<sup>27</sup> and also "an avowed supporter of the Communist Party of Canada..."<sup>28</sup> Three days after this report Stuart Taylor Wood, the commander of RCMP units in Saskatchewan, sent the Attorney General of the province a copy of the offending article noting that it was "not calculated to imbrue [sic] the susceptible minds of the youthful reader with healthy and prideful views of our British Empire, its history, traditions, and institutions."<sup>29</sup>

The Mountie on campus investigated the source of *The Sheaf's* funding, and, in particular, what body or individual had the power to remove its staff. He noted that the faculty did not become involved in the matter

since "the paper has always *delighted in attacking [them]* on any pretext and causing trouble amongst the students [original emphasis]."<sup>30</sup> The matter was brought to the attention of the University president, Walter Murray, but he replied that the students were free to publish such articles.<sup>31</sup> The only course of action open to Wood was to instruct members of the Saskatoon detachment that future copies of *The Sheaf* "be obtained and forwarded to this office as soon as they become available in order that the tendencies of this publication may be followed consecutively..."<sup>32</sup> Three years later there would be less tolerance of criticism of patriotic symbols; in 1938, the Student Representative Council fired Cleo Mowers, *The Sheaf's* editor, over an article attacking the commemoration of Armistice Day.<sup>33</sup>

The Mounted Police's interest in activities at the University of Saskatchewan was not unique in that, throughout this era, the RCMP became more aware of what was happening on university campuses across Canada. The Mounties spied on student groups such as the Canadian Youth Congress (CYC) and the Canadian Student Assembly (CSA), and MacBrien stated his desire for university officials to control professors more tightly.<sup>34</sup> Later, a dire warning was issued in a weekly RCMP Security Bulletin:

When a disease spreads until it affects a vital organ it is time for strong remedial action. The virus of Communism, long coursing, almost unopposed, in our social blood-stream has now reached the heart of our educational system as represented by undergraduates and even college professors in several of our leading universities. ... Evidence of a Communist "drive" upon our College youth is steadily accumulating. As yet the majority in every student body is loyal to Democracy but it appears to be waging an unequal fight against well organized foreign-controlled disruption and disaffection.<sup>35</sup>

Although the amount of Communist involvement in student organizations was minimal, the Mounted Police continued to cast a wary eye at any student activism. When the 1939 Royal Tour had a stop at the Saskatoon campus which coincided with a provincial CYC meeting, the RCMP believed it "advisable that plain clothes men be detailed to mingle with the youth congress" during the Royal visit.<sup>36</sup> The following year, Dave Bowman, the national chairman of the CYC, resigned his position shortly after being interviewed by the Mounted Police in Saskatoon. This event became more controversial when Bowman died soon afterwards.<sup>37</sup>

RCMP activities at the University of Saskatchewan seem to have waned during the war years. During this period many of the groups and individuals which most concerned the Mounted Police found themselves either interned or declared illegal organizations; hence they were less of a threat to security. And of course, many ignored the RCMP's anti-Communist rhetoric since the Soviet Union was Canada's ally. Specific Mountie files

on the university resume in 1946 when the Force focused its attention squarely on faculty and students. The Cold War had begun, in part triggered by the 1945 defection in Ottawa of Igor Gouzenko, a Soviet Embassy cipher clerk. The Gouzenko case, investigated by the RCMP, shocked the Canadian government when the extent of Soviet espionage in Canada was revealed.<sup>38</sup> This revelation, however, only confirmed the RCMP's suspicions, since it had always considered Communism to be a greater threat to the Canadian state than fascism. Combine this decade-long view with Commissioner S.T. Wood's pronouncement that "Youth by nature is radical and therefore receptive to subversive propaganda promising social and economic reforms" and it is not difficult to understand why university campuses, and specifically the University of Saskatchewan, would be a target of RCMP security units.<sup>39</sup>

At the University of Saskatchewan, the Force would focus until the 1960s on the Communist Party of Canada and its various guises, specifically the Labour-Progressive Party (LPP), a name the Communist Party assumed during World War Two. In addition, the RCMP was extremely wary of any criticism of the United States, Canada's ally during the Cold War, and of any praise of the Soviet Union, Canada's Cold War enemy.

The Mounted Police decided in November of 1947 that radicalism at the Saskatoon campus was of enough interest to be included in a monthly national RCMP bulletin on such activities.<sup>40</sup> Despite their belief that the total number of "Leftists" on campus stood at no more than thirty, the police began collecting files, including photographs, on anyone or any event considered to have radical connections.<sup>41</sup> Often the material consisted solely of clippings from *The Sheaf*,<sup>42</sup> but undercover Mounties and informants also covered meetings. A Mountie report dated 19 October 1949 described a debate between campus members of the LPP's Karl Marx University Club and the Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), although the individual making the report was careful to note that "No notes were taken during the C.C.F. version of the debate."<sup>43</sup>

Mock parliamentary elections occurred yearly on campus and the Mounted Police seemed concerned that the LPP captured eight seats and 174 votes in 1949, having only taken two seats the previous year. That concern was heightened by a brief article in *Saturday Night* which alluded to the election results and noted that "the university elections in past years have provided a good bellwether for Saskatchewan opinion."<sup>44</sup> The Saskatoon detachment forwarded LPP election material to Ottawa and investigated a member of the Karl Marx Club. His place of residence and the fact that he had re-enrolled in the University of Saskatchewan for another year were included in a Mounted Police report.<sup>45</sup> One member of the LPP, a student with the last name of Bardal, had his activities in 1950 and 1951 carefully documented by

Mountie surveillance.<sup>46</sup> Searches knew no boundaries. While looking for a woman connected with radical activities, a member of the Saskatoon Special Branch gained access to university records to see if she was either a teacher or a student.<sup>47</sup>

The meetings of other groups also turned up in Mounted Police reports. A debate held in Convocation Hall on the question "Is the United States a War-mongering Nation?" was considered sufficient grounds to report on the Student Christian Movement.<sup>48</sup> This organization, which dated from the 1930s and had helped to found the Canadian Student Assembly,<sup>49</sup> would be the subject of Mountie enquiries well into the 1960s.<sup>50</sup> In 1952 the Little Theatre of Wynyard, affiliated with the Extension Department of the University of Saskatchewan, was investigated because it had been allegedly infiltrated by a "Communist element." "It will be of interest to see to what extent the Communists will use this group to further their aims and activities," noted the inspector in charge of the Yorkton Sub-Division.<sup>51</sup>

All of these activities on the part of the RCMP, however, paled in comparison to those of the 1960s. During this decade of radicalism, universities, and specifically university students, were at the forefront of protest movements throughout the western world.<sup>52</sup> The Mounted Police had a difficult time coping with the various forms of social protest because, although most were still leftist in origin, they were not necessarily Communist-inspired.

To deal with the upsurge in radicalism the Mounted Police accelerated its activities on campuses across Canada, although it denied such action throughout the decade. In 1961, then-Commissioner George McClellan assured the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) "that there was no general surveillance on university campuses... [and] that the RCMP did not ask... either faculty or students to act as informants."<sup>53</sup> Previously this was not the case nor did it prevent individuals from volunteering their services to the Mounted Police. In 1964 a University of Saskatchewan student walked into RCMP headquarters in Saskatoon and offered his services as an informant. The Mounted Policeman who interviewed him was suspicious of the individual's motivation and apparently nothing came of the offer.<sup>54</sup> Other informants, however, were used although their identities remain protected under the *Access to Information Act*.

Some restrictions on the Intelligence Service's recruitment and use of informants on campus apparently did exist, although their extent is not clear. These rules, however, did not please Superintendent H.G. Langton of the Security and Intelligence Service (SIS), "F" Division, Saskatchewan. In 1965 he expressed frustration that a certain individual connected with the University of Saskatchewan could not further assist the Force regarding a "Teach-in" and other radical activities and suggested that this

file... should be studied and a complete new look taken at the possible ways and means of gaining or obtaining the services [deleted under Access] to report on Communist activities within these groups. It is realized that existing policy in relation to enquiries at educational institutions brings about some problems in this respect, however the necessity of having available [deleted] in all fields of endeavour cannot be overemphasized.<sup>55</sup>

The limitations of informants were overcome through the use of undercover surveillance teams which spied on individuals and groups both on and off campus. Those spied upon included individuals and organizations at the university, such as Students for a Democratic University (SDU) and visitors to the campus. For example, a September 1966 film presentation on the guerilla struggle in Venezuela led to the use of a five-man RCMP surveillance team which followed the four members of Vanguard Tours all over Saskatoon and watched as they set up a table in front of Marquis Hall. The report concluded with a comforting note, reassuring the reader that most students had been either indifferent to the radical appeal or openly hostile to it, offering ridicule [see Appendix A for the surveillance report].<sup>56</sup> Later, a team of six Mounties spied on three members of the Black Panther Party when they visited the University of Saskatchewan in November of 1969.<sup>57</sup>

Often surveillance related to the Saskatchewan university occurred off campus. At Prince Albert in Octo-

ber 1968, John Gallagher<sup>58</sup> of the University of Saskatchewan's SRC spoke on issues of concern to students at the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour's annual convention. Also in the audience was a RCMP "source" who depicted the speech as "of a low-key nature [which] did not make any demands or threats of student revolution."<sup>59</sup>

Even social democratic campus groups could not escape the attention of the Mounted Police. The RCMP, using information gleaned from *The Commonwealth*, the official newspaper of the New Democratic Party, took an interest in a New Democratic Youth (NDY) meeting in November of 1968 at which "The Need for Radical Youth" was the scheduled topic. Despite the fact that the New Democratic Party was within the Canadian political mainstream, two Mounties monitored the meeting, watching those that entered and reporting on their identities, although they were only able to identify one individual. An informant present at the meeting offered a detailed description of the discussion which took place. These findings were included in a report under the title of "Trotskyist Activities in Political Parties - Saskatchewan."<sup>60</sup>

It is almost unfortunate that Saskatoon members of the Mounted Police were not attending the University of Saskatchewan in the 1960s because they would have received "A's" for attention and documentation. The RCMP followed events on campus with an intensity that would have put all but the most dedicated student to shame. Even the most obscure political references did not escape their gaze as they faithfully clipped articles from *The Sheaf* and collected political pamphlets and handouts. At the end of most reports the sources for the information contained within were listed, much the way a bibliography concludes an essay. These sources consisted of printed material, such as clippings from student publications, and human resources, including the names of informants and undercover Mounties. The more important the occurrence, the more sources employed in creating a report.

In 1969 the Security and Intelligence Section

7  
SEMINAR

black panthers

fred hampton  
jules cook  
stephanie fischer

monday,  
12:30 gym.  
3:30 105 thorvaldson

the only  
solution?

University of Saskatchewan Archives, A-4818.

This advertisement in *The Sheaf*, 14 November 1969, caught the attention of Saskatoon members of the RCMP.

of "F" Division in Saskatchewan was asked by headquarters in Ottawa to assess radical threats connected with educational institutions, a sort of summary of the decade in the form of a scorecard of radicals. The report to the commissioner did not express concern about the potential for university-inspired disorder:

3. These institutions [Saskatoon and Regina campuses of the University of Saskatchewan] have, in the past, been controlled to a degree at the top level by academics who have held a conservative point of view. Changes that have been necessary as it related to University/Student problems have been made by the University by sitting down with the students and the necessary changes made prior to any unrest becoming evident... These have had their share of student radicals and professors, but, in our opinion, they have been controlled fairly well by the university, as it is apparent the administration is well aware of those who have leftist viewpoints.
4. The usual demonstrations, along the anti-U.S. involvement in Vietnam theme, as well as those of a more local nature such as the university budgetary problems with the Saskatchewan Provincial Government over student loans, cutbacks in grants to various colleges, and student voice on the Board of Governors, etc., will likely take place again. However, through our liaison [deleted] we have learned that little or no violence is expected. It is apparent the University is aware that changes must be made in certain areas of the educational process and endeavours are being made in this direction without losing control to some of the demands being put forth to most campuses across Canada.
5. We are aware that the Saskatoon City Police have a riot squad which has been specially trained to handle any problems that may occur on Saskatoon campus. It is our understanding complete liaison between the Saskatoon campus and Saskatoon City Police has been established and are of the opinion that Force can handle any problems which might arise.<sup>61</sup>

The report also included a list of individuals, both students and faculty, and organizations, such as the SDU, likely to be the sources of disorder on campus. The report continued, "Experience has shown these people to be 'talkers' and behind-the-scenes manipulators and not of a violent type nature other than [deleted] a well-known Red Power advocate, has, to this date, confined his activities off-campus, although he solicits and receives support from campus leftists."<sup>62</sup>

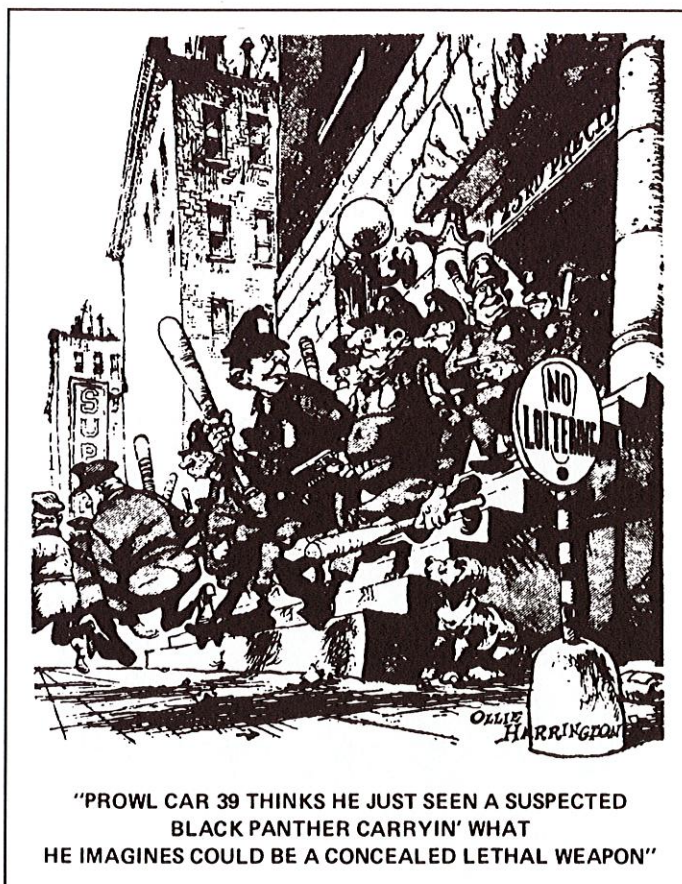
The section on the Regina campus of the university contained lengthy comments on certain faculty members:

The leading activist both as an organizer of students and the radical left faculty. Has a strong influence over both. His effectiveness would be overwhelming should an occasion arise.

Close associate [deleted]. Considered that he will be a leading activist should trouble result. Will probably be effective with the radical left students.

A leading figure in the New Left. Has influence over students as a lecturer and from living and social contact. Would probably have good effect over the radical left students.<sup>63</sup>

The RCMP viewed the Regina campus, especially its faculty members, as more radical than the Saskatoon campus. Regina was a young institution with nascent faculty members, many of whom had experienced the radicalism of American university campuses.<sup>64</sup> On at least one occasion, members of the Mounted Police apparently tried to interfere with the hiring of a faculty member at Regina. A report dated 10 June 1965 noted that "it is indeed unfortunate that notwithstanding the views [deleted] the Regina Campus Board of Governors have approved the appointment of [deleted] to the University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus. [section



University of Saskatchewan Archives, A-4809.

Cartoon published in *The Sheaf*, 12 November 1969.

[deleted] It therefore becomes more evident that the Regina Campus will bear close watching."<sup>65</sup>

By the end of the decade, the RCMP's university gaze was increasingly directed at Native and Metis organizations on campus and their connections with radical Black organizations in the United States. Controversial speeches by Black activist Dick Gregory and members of the Black Panther Party, part of a student-organized seminar series, were closely monitored, especially for any references to Canadian Natives and their political

activities.<sup>66</sup> Members of the RCMP also spied upon campus meetings connected with the Metis Society of Saskatchewan<sup>67</sup> and speculated about connections between Native activists and radical student organizations:

the lot of native people in Saskatchewan remains very poor and if conditions do not improve there will most certainly be trouble... the universities throughout Canada have taken an interest in Indian problems... This interest, however, has sparked many university groups, particularly the radical groups, to become involved. Here in Saskatoon, at the University of Saskatchewan [deleted] the Students for a Democratic University (S.D.U.)... have had a great deal to say about the Indian situation. They have also attempted to influence Indian and Metis students from this campus in their programs and activities.<sup>68</sup>

The Mountie making this report felt particularly indignant that a speaker at the university had stated that Indians experienced starvation in the North. He felt it necessary to disagree in his report:

The talk about people starving in La Loche is unjustified. Hunting and fishing in the area is good and food is plentiful; enough so that when these people receive their welfare cheques they spend the money on liquor. As an example, if a person receives a \$90 cheque, he will charter a plane from La Loche to Buffalo Narrows for \$60 and return with \$30 worth of liquor.<sup>69</sup>

Social tensions in Canadian society, which had been building throughout the 1960s, finally erupted during October 1970 with Le Front de Liberation du Quebec (FLQ) crisis. Several rallies related to the imposition of the War Measures Act occurred on the Saskatoon campus and the RCMP covered all of them, reporting on the participants and the speeches made, and collecting pertinent articles and letters from *The Sheaf* and the *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*.<sup>70</sup>

One final event grabbed the attention of the RCMP in the early 1970s. In the spirit of student unrest which had developed in the United States in the late 1960s, University of Saskatchewan students staged a sit-in, occupying the eighth floor of the Arts Building to protest the failure of the Department of Economics and Political Science to renew the contract of John Richards, an assistant professor. Many students felt that Richards's contract had not been renewed because of his leftist views.<sup>71</sup> As it had during the previous year's October Crisis, the local RCMP intelligence contingent gathered relevant newspaper articles, listed some material about Richards, and speculated on the outcome of the sit-in, correctly noting that the peaceful demonstration was losing momentum and would probably end when final exams began. The report concluded, however, with a promise of vigilance: "Should future demonstrations be staged by local student activists... [they] will be duly reported."<sup>72</sup>

What do these documents tell us about the Mounted Police view of universities in general? A 1967 comment

scrawled on a Department of External Affairs document seems particularly revealing. That year External Affairs decided it needed more of a presence on university campuses across Canada, so an official was dispatched to meet with faculty members at several Canadian universities, including the University of Saskatchewan.<sup>73</sup> An External Affairs official, noting the RCMP's "involvement from time to time with the university authorities," sent a copy to the RCMP and asked for comments. One police official wrote that there was "nothing of particular interest to the RCMP, except that it is gratifying to note author realizes the ideological hostility that prevails throughout the university community."<sup>74</sup>

To many Mounties the university must have seemed like a strange and hostile place. Sometimes the police felt the hostility directly, especially when they attempted to recruit future Force members on campus. Concern about the reception awaiting recruiters was so great that Assistant Commissioner W.L. Higgitt issued a memo on the subject:

2. We would suggest that in future when "On Campus" interviews are contemplated at Universities, the member/members responsible for conducting the interviews also liaise directly with S.I.S. [Security Intelligence Service] personnel at the local level, who would be in a position to brief these members on conditions on a particular campus, i.e., personalities to be wary of, etc.<sup>75</sup>

The Saskatoon office of the S.I.S. reported that it did not expect any "unfavourable incidents" during recruiting at the University of Saskatchewan.<sup>76</sup>



University of Saskatchewan Archives, A-4827.

Fred Hampton of the Black Panthers speaking at the University of Saskatchewan in November 1969. Hampton was shot and killed in Chicago by the Cook County Police three weeks later.

Then there was the real or perceived belligerence of institutions that represented the bastions of a certain economic and social class to which most police officers could never aspire. Many members of the RCMP lacked a great deal of education. Prior to 1974 (when it was raised to Grade 12) the minimum educational requirement for a Mountie was Grade 11; education levels had been even lower in earlier years. In 1963, after being asked how many Mounties had university degrees, Commissioner Cliff Harvison responded, "I don't have time for all that research."<sup>77</sup> Sixteen years later a high-ranking mountie estimated that fifteen per cent of the Force had a university degree.<sup>78</sup> The university campus was truly a foreign country to most members of the Mounted Police.

This paper deals with only about one third of the material the Mounted Police collected on the University of Saskatchewan. The majority of the records cover the 1970s and early 1980s, a period when the Mounted Police Security Service reached its zenith before plummeting into apparent extinction in 1982. At its inception in 1984 the Canadian Security Intelligence Service promised to bring about profound change. In reality, however, it was the old RCMP Security Intelligence Service reconstituted, since ninety-five per cent of the Mounties in that organization simply transferred to the new spy agency.<sup>79</sup> The recent allegations against CSIS suggest that the old Mountie mentality probably transferred with them.

## Appendix A

### Royal Canadian Mounted Police

DIVISION "F" DATE 11 OCT. 66  
SUB-DIVISION SASKATOON  
DETACHMENT S.I.S.

Re: Workers Vanguard - General Information, Toronto, Ontario.

#### INFORMATION

1. [Passage deleted under Access] placing advertisements on bulletin boards on the Saskatoon Campus, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask. These advertisements, attached in duplicate, advertised a film on the guerilla struggle in Venezuela, to be presented by the Vanguard Tours, 8:00 p.m., 29-9-66, Union Centre, 416 - 21 St., Saskatoon, Sask.

2. Surveillance Report. ...  
29-9-66

7:00 am.

(B & C) - Surveillance set up covering the [name deleted] back yard. The [1962 Volkswagen] van was still parked therein... .

8:00 a.m. - After leaving [name deleted] drove to Evan Hardy Collegiate, ..., where [name deleted] left the van carrying books and pamphlets.

8:10 a.m. - Subjects arrived in front of Walter Murray Collegiate, ... . [Name deleted] left the van carrying books and pamphlets.

8:13 a.m. - Van continued on to Aden Bowman Collegiate, ..., where [deleted] left the vehicle.

8:20 a.m. - [Name deleted], alone, drove to Nutana Collegiate, ..., and parked.

8:25 a.m. - [Name deleted] drove away from in front of Nutana Collegiate, east on Taylor St., then stopped, turned around and returned west on Taylor and stopped in front of Queen Elizabeth School, Taylor St. and Eastlake Ave. Proceeded on to Aden Bowman Collegiate and picked up [name deleted]. After driving to both Walter Murray and Evan Hardy Collegiate, all four subjects returned to [name deleted], parked the van in the back yard and entered the house.

9:00 a.m. - [Name deleted] left the house and walked to the van. He could be seen looking around the immediate area as if looking for surveillance, then returned into the house.

9:15 a.m. - [Name deleted] arrived in his car, parked in the back yard and entered the house.

9:45 a.m.

(B & C) - [Name deleted] left the house, walked to the van opened the rear door and appeared to be rummaging for something.

9:50 a.m. - He returned to the house and entered, meeting [name deleted] who walked to the van got something from inside, then returned to the house.

9:55 a.m. - [Name deleted] left the house and walked to a trash barrel, walked to the van then returned to the house.

10:30 a.m.

(B, C & E) - [Name deleted] left the house and walked to the back door of the van and stood talking. Joined shortly [name deleted].

10:45 a.m.

11:00 A.M.

(B, C, D, E) - All four entered the van and drove directly to Saskatoon Campus, University of Saskatchewan and parked in the Public Parking lot. After locking the vehicle, the four split up, [name deleted] to Marquis Hall, [name deleted] to a main path between buildings where he started to sell copies of the Young Socialist Forum. [Name deleted] walked to the Administration Office, left that building and lost from sight near Alumni Association Bldg. [Name deleted] went to St. Andrews Hall and was lost from sight inside.

11:00 a.m.

12:00 noon - All three subjects could be seen attempting to sell the Y.S.F. on campus. [Name deleted], in the meantime, had set up a table in the main lobby of Marquis Hall and had placed copies of Y.S.F., War and Revolution in Viet Nam and announcements regarding the forthcoming film and discussion that evening (29-9-66) at the Union Centre. In addition, pamphlets announcing the Canadian Student Days of Protest, Nov. 11-12, 1966 were available for those interested.

12:00 noon

4:30 p.m. - All four subjects attempt to sell subscriptions and the Y.S.F. to students going back and forth. At the same time, [name deleted] got a discussion going with students who were taking the time to stop at the table. The following persons were identified as being near the table while the group were [sic] there:

[Section deleted]

COMMENT:

The main lobby of Marquis Hall is the entrance to the cafeteria for a large segment of the student body who take their meals there during the noon hour. Consequently it is estimated that the Vanguard group had access to seeing at least 2000 or more students who would have been going to and from the cafeteria and classes. There were from 20 to 100 students at any given time crowding around the table listening and arguing with the four subjects, although the majority of students usually moved on, laughing or making snide remarks, after hearing the Vanguard "pitch."

3:30 p.m.

4:00 p.m.

(B & C) - [Name deleted] left Marquis Hall, walked to the van and returned to the University of Saskatchewan Bookstore carrying a small suitcase and a binder. She entered the bookstore, browsed, checked the magazine racks, then left the store. After leaving the bookstore, she walked upstairs and entered room 236. After talking to an U/F receptionist, she left and went to the main library, sat there a short while then returned to Marquis Hall.

[Several pages deleted]

SOURCES:

16. (1): Cst. D.I. MacKenzie.

(2): Surveillance teams -

(A) - Sgt. A.M. KUIACK.

(B) - Cst. J.C. DUDLEY.

(C) - Cst. J.S. RAE

(D) - Cst. D.I. MacKENZIE

(E) - Cst. A.H. GODIN.

[Section deleted]

INVESTIGATOR'S COMMENTS:

17. It would appear this group left Saskatoon during the early a.m., 30-9-66 after surveillance was ended.
18. Although they confined themselves to the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon Campus and the Union Centre, we cannot, at the present time give an accurate assessment of subscriptions sold or new followers gained while here.
19. The fact that they visited high schools in this City is of interest, however, whether or not high school students attended the meeting cannot be reported upon at this time.
20. Although this group were in proximity of approximately 2000 students during the time on Saskatoon Campus, it is our opinion the discussion did not go over very well with the students as it appeared that the majority who stopped at the table did so only to kill time during the noon hour, most appearing to take part only to heckle or to get an argument going which at times became heated between [name deleted] and whoever he happened to be talking to.
21. We are presently endeavouring to further identify those who attended the meeting held at the Union Centre. Information we received will be reported.
22. Information has just recently been received regarding the Canadian Student Days of Protest. A movement has just been organized on Saskatoon Campus for this protest and information concerning it can be expected shortly from this office, caption, Saskatoon Student Committee for Protest Against the War in Vietnam.
23. Information as supplied in paras (14) and (15) would indicate the Vanguard Tour has been travelling extensively and is submitted for informational purposes.

Cst. J.C. Dudley, #19419

Source: National Archives of Canada, RG 146, Vol. 2774, File 94-A-00057, Pt. 4, Report of Const. J.C. Dudley, 11 October 1966.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Special thanks to Prof. W.A. Waiser, Prof. Michael Hayden, Joan Champ, Moira Harris, and Stacey Hewitt for their comments and criticism.*

# Endnotes

- 1 Bernard Porter, *The Origins of the Vigilant State: The London Metropolitan Police Special Branch Before the First World War* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), xi.
- 2 Jeff Sallot, *Nobody Said No: The Real Story About How the Mounties Always Get Their Man* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1979), 94-5. It has never been made clear whether Samson was planting the bomb on behalf of the Mounted Police or was performing freelance work for another organization.
- 3 Several books have been written regarding the RCMP "dirty tricks" scandal and the subsequent inquiries. They include Robert Dion, *Crimes of the Secret Police* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1982); John Sawatsky, *Men in the Shadows: The Shocking Truth About the RCMP Security Service* (Don Mills, Ont.: Totem Books, 1983); and Sallot, *Nobody Said No*. For information on the formation of CSIS, see Richard Cleroux, *Official Secrets: The Story Behind the Canadian Security Intelligence Service* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1990).
- 4 Sallot, *Nobody Said No*, 38-53.
- 5 Wesley K. Wark, "Security Intelligence in Canada, 1864-1945: The History of a National Insecurity State," in *Go Spy the Land: Military Intelligence in History*, Keith Nelson and B.J.C. McKeercher, eds. (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1992), 157.
- 6 Sawatsky, *Men in the Shadows*, 124-137; Daniel J. Robinson and David Kimmel, "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada," in *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 75, no. 3 (Sept. 1994), 319-45; Gary Kinsman, "'Character Weakness' and 'Fruit Machines': Towards an Analysis of the Anti-Homosexual Security Campaign in the Canadian Civil Service," in *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 35 (Spring 1995), 133-61.
- 7 The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) focused on student groups in the United States. See Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (London: Hutchinson Ltd., 1987).
- 8 Marquis, 303. The revelation that the Mounted Police had spied on black activists in Nova Scotia sparked an outcry when it was discovered that on several instances the recording Mounties employed racist terminology and engaged in activity designed to disrupt the black organizations. "RCMP apologizes for racist comments," *Globe and Mail*, 21 July 1994: A2.
- 9 Michael Hayden, *Seeking a Balance: The University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1982* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 257, 261. This limited discontent in the 1960s prompted Robert Begg, the Saskatoon campus principal, to hire a student in 1968 whose job was to spy on student activities.
- 10 Gregory S. Kealey, "The Surveillance State: The Origins of Domestic Intelligence and Counter-Subversion in Canada, 1914-21," in *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1992), 179-210.
- 11 S.T. Wood, "Tools for Treachery," in *RCMP Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 394-7.
- 12 "J.S. Woodsworth in Address Tells the 'Inside' of Strike," in *Saskatoon Daily Star*, 23 March 1920: 3, 9.
- 13 Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Personnel Records, Records for Cecil Thoroton Hildyard, Report of C.T. Hildyard, 24 March 1920.
- 14 Ibid. Hildyard dealt with the loyalty of the three. Only one was listed as "absolutely reliable and quite beyond any suspicions of radical leanings." He raised the possibility of approaching the University's administration over the conduct of the three professors but nothing seems to have been done.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid. Hildyard even found himself publicly embarrassed when W.F. Herman, editor of the *Saskatoon Daily Star*, published an editorial entitled "Liberty of Speech" which mentioned the interest of the RCMP in Woodsworth's appearance at the University. Herman had apparently promised to keep the Mountie's investigation confidential. "Liberty of Speech," *Saskatoon Daily Star*, 27 March 1920: 4.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 National Archives of Canada (NAC), Record Group (RG) 146, Vol. 10, File 92-A-000012, Report of Det. Sergt. Hildyard, 22 February 1923: 7.
- 19 John Herd Thompson, with Allen Seager, *Canada: 1922-1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), 226.
- 20 Lorne and Caroline Brown, *An Unauthorized History of the RCMP* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1978 [1973]), 63.
- 21 Paul Axelrod, "Spying on the Young in Depression and War: Students, Youth Groups and the RCMP, 1935-1942," in *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 35 (Spring 1995), 56.
- 22 The Mountie was constable M.F.A. Lindsay who three decades later would become Commissioner. His attendance, and that of six others (all but one of whom already had university degrees), at university was sponsored by the Mounted Police; all studied law. William and Nora Kelly, *The Royal Canadian Mounted Police: A Century of History, 1873-1973* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1973), 175.
- 23 NAC, RG 146, Vol. 2774, File 94-A-00057, Pt. 1, Report of Sergt. H.W.H. Williams, 19 March 1936.
- 24 *The Sheaf*, 28 February 1936.
- 25 "Thanksgiving Day," in *ibid*, 25 October 1935.
- 26 *Regina Leader*, 25 November 1935.
- 27 For a discussion of Mounted Police attitudes towards ethnicity see S.R. Hewitt, "Malczewski's List: A Case Study of Royal North-West Mounted Police-Immigrant Relations," in *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Spring 1994), 35-41.
- 28 NAC, RG 146, Vol. 2774, File 94-A-00057, Pt. 1, Report of Constable. M.F.A. Lindsay, 6 November 1935.
- 29 *Ibid.*, S.T. Wood to the Attorney General of Saskatchewan, 9 Nov. 1935.
- 30 *Ibid.*, Report of Cst. Lindsay, 6 November 1935, 2.
- 31 *Ibid.*, Wood to Commissioner J.H. MacBrien, 30 March 1936. MacBrien scratched his signature in the margin indicating that he had read Wood's message.
- 32 *Ibid.*, Wood to the O.C., Saskatoon Detachment, 14 March 1936.
- 33 Stan Hanson and Don Kerr, "Pacifism, Dissent and the University of Saskatchewan," in *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 45, No. 2, 4. This article details several prominent cases, including the one of Professor Carlyle King, surrounding freedom of speech at the University of Saskatchewan during the final years of the 1930s and the period of the war. There is no evidence that the Mounted Police played a role in any of these cases, although clearly the Force would have approved of the silencing of any dissent against the war effort or Canada's war capability.
- 34 Axelrod, "Spying on the Young in Depression and War," 44-6.
- 35 "Intelligence Bulletin, Weekly Summary February 12, 1940," in *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The War Series, 1939-1941*, Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds. (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1989), 140-1.
- 36 Axelrod, "Spying on the Young in Depression and War," 56.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 58.
- 38 C.W. Harvison, *The Horsemen* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1967), 147-67.
- 39 S.T. Wood, "Tools for Treachery," in *RCMP Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (April 1941), 394-397.
- 40 *Ibid.*, Report of Insp. T.W. Chard, i/c CIB, 7 Nov. 1947. For examples of earlier RCMP Security Bulletins see Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The War Series, 1939-1941* (St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1989); Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part 1, 1933-1934* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1993); and Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The Early Years, 1919-1929* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1994).
- 41 NAC, RG 146, Vol. 2774, File 94-A-00057, Pt. 1, Report of Cst. J.A. MacKenzie, 16 Dec. 1947.
- 42 These clippings included any stories related to the LPP and even letters written on the subject of technocracy.
- 43 For a long time the RCMP was careful to avoid spying on democratic socialist organizations. This policy can be traced back to 1925 when word came down from on high to end surveillance



- activities against J.S. Woodsworth who by that time had been elected to parliament.
- 44 NAC, RG 146, Vol. 2774, File 94-A-00057, Pt. 1, RCMP Security Service Records, Report of Const. S.J. Anderson, RCMP Special Branch, 17 Nov. 1949. "Saskatchewan: A Bellwether," in *Toronto Saturday Night*. A copy of the latter was included in the RCMP's University of Saskatchewan files.
  - 45 RG 146, Vol. 2774, File 94-A-00057, Pt. 1, Report of Const. S.J. Anderson, 21 October 1949.
  - 46 Ibid., Report of S.J. Anderson, 12 June 1951.
  - 47 Ibid., Report of Cst. S.J. Anderson, 7 October 1950.
  - 48 Ibid., Report of Const. J.A. MacKenzie, i/c Saskatoon Special Branch, 11 March 1949. The following week's topic, "Is the Soviet Union a Warmonger?", was also reported on as was the topic the week after that, "Can we Believe what we Read in the Newspapers?"
  - 49 Axelrod, "Spying on the Young in Depression and War," 47.
  - 50 Ibid., Pt. 5, Report of Sgt. R.L. Firby, 14 August 1965.
  - 51 Ibid., Pt. 1, Insp. H.C. Forbes to the O.C. "F" Division, 9 May 1952.
  - 52 The activities of students in France and the United States are the obvious examples.
  - 53 Edward Mann and John Alan Lee, *RCMP Vs. the People: Inside Canada's Security Service* (Don Mills, Ont.: General Publishing Co., Ltd., 1979), 191.
  - 54 NAC, RG 146, Vol. 2774, File 94-A-00057, Pt. 3, Report of Corpl. R.L. Firby, 2 February 1964. The individual "was told that should he obtain information which causes him concern and he felt this Force should be made aware of he should feel free to contact myself [Firby] at any time.... This individual's true motive for coming to this Force at this time cannot be properly assessed, however this matter is being reported under this reference for future informational purposes."
  - 55 Ibid., Report of Supt. H.G. Langton, i/c "F" Div. Security and Intelligence, 27 August 1965.
  - 56 Ibid., Report of Const. J.C. Dudley, 11 October 1966: 4.
  - 57 Ibid., Pt. 7, Report of Corpl. W.G. Andrew, 2 December 1969.
  - 58 Gallagher's name was deleted from the RCMP material under the Access to Information Act. His name, however, was easily obtainable from newspaper accounts of the labour meeting.
  - 59 Ibid., RCMP Report, 3 December 1968.
  - 60 Ibid., Report of Cst. W.P. Lozinski, 27 November 1968.
  - 61 Ibid., Supt. R.J. Ross, i/c "F" Division Security and Intelligence Section, to the Commissioner, 18 August 1969.
  - 62 Ibid.
  - 63 Ibid.
  - 64 Hayden, *Seeking a Balance*, 244-6.
  - 65 RG 146, Vol. 2774, File 94-A-00057, Pt. 5, Supt. H.G. Langton to the Commissioner, 10 June 1965. Another report apparently connected with the same event mentioned that "Although it was known the appointment... had been approved prior to the interview [deleted] on the 10-6-65, this open information, was relayed to [deleted] in an effort to show good faith on the part of the Force." Ibid., Report of Sgt. R.L. Firby, 10 June 1965.
  - 66 For a description of Gregory's speech see "U.S. comedian drops humor in lambasting own country," in *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, 28 November 1968. Gregory's visit disturbed the Saskatoon Chief of Police, Jim Kettles, who complained to the federal government about his entrance into Canada. Marquis, *Policing Canada's Century*, 303. The visit of the Black Panthers disturbed the Attorney-General of Saskatchewan, Darrell Heald, who accused them of promoting agitation among Native Canadians. "Panther deportation solved," in *The Sheaf*, 28 November 1968.
  - 67 RG 146, Vol. 2774, File 94-A-00057, Pt. 7, Report of Const. J.S. Rae, 5 December 1969.
  - 68 Ibid., Report of Cst. J.S. Rae, 20 August 1969.
  - 69 Ibid., 4.
  - 70 Ibid., Report of Cst. B.W. Traynor, 26 November 1970.
  - 71 For a detailed description of the events see Hayden, *Seeking a Balance*, 262-3.
  - 72 NAC, RG 146, Vol. 2774, File 94-A-00057, Part 7, Report of Cst. B.W. Traynor, 25 March 1971.
  - 73 Ibid., Pt. 6, L.A.D. Stephens to the Under-Secretary, External Affairs, 25 October 1967. The faculty members interviewed at the university's Saskatoon campus were Norman Ward, Political Science; Fred C. Barnard, Political Science; David E. Smith, Political Science; John C. Courtney, Political Science; John Cartwright, Political Science; David Kwavnik, Political Science; Kenneth Laycock, Economics; Kenneth Rea, Economics; John McConnell, Geography; Joseph Fry, History; and Harold Bronson, Economics.
  - 74 Ibid., J.J. McCardle, Defence Liaison for External Affairs, to Dep. Com. W.H. Kelly, RCMP, and responding comments, 9 Nov. 1967.
  - 75 Ibid., Pt. 7, Memo of Asst. Com. W.L. Higgitt, 14 March 1969.
  - 76 Ibid.
  - 77 *Toronto Telegram*, 14 June 1963, as cited in Mann and Lee, *The RCMP vs. the People*, 123.
  - 78 Ibid., 123. This level of education in the RCMP contrasts with the Federal Bureau of Investigation which since 1947 has required that every applicant have a university degree with honours.
  - 79 See Cleroux, *Official Secrets*, 82.

# Diefenbaker Memories

In recognition of the centenary of the birth of The Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker, "Saskatchewan's Prime Minister," the Prince Albert Daily Herald invited readers to submit their written reminiscences of the man. The entries were published in a special section of the Herald entitled "Diefenbaker Memories" on September 18. The winning entry, selected by staff at the Diefenbaker Centre in Saskatoon, is reprinted below with the permission of the Prince Albert newspaper.

Mrs. Edythe Humphrey Gibson is a writer, editor and columnist who now resides in Richmond, B.C. She wrote her recollections of Mr. Diefenbaker on her battered old typewriter from a retreat at Emma Lake. In her covering letter, Mrs. Gibson wrote: "I am only a visitor in Saskatchewan now, but I share my thoughts on the John Diefenbaker I knew because I feel they are a piece of the patchwork quilt that made up this enigmatic man."

## The John Diefenbaker I Knew

By Edythe Humphrey Gibson

I FIRST MET John Diefenbaker in 1947, when he was the dashing Member of Parliament from Lake Centre Constituency. I was a young bride, still a teenager, when I went west to Nokomis, Saskatchewan. Mr. Diefenbaker's reputation was already established in western Canada, and even before I left my parents' home in Kenora, Ontario to begin a new life, I eagerly anticipated meeting this dashing figure.

There was no doubt that I would meet him. That September, my new husband, Jack Humphrey, had entered a partnership with his father, Gerald Humphrey, in the *Nokomis Times & Gowan Prairie News*, the largest weekly newspaper in the rural constituency of Lake Centre. I had already begun my own career as a journalist two years earlier, at the tender age of sixteen, so it was with a sense of barely repressed excitement that I anticipated a meeting with the man I already considered the "most important politician in Canada."

That fall, our newspaper printed the handbills announcing John Diefenbaker would be speaking in the theatre next door to the *Times* office, and I knew I was going to be there with my notebook and pen in hand. I was not only covering the story for our own newspaper, but for the *Regina Leader-Post* and the *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix* as well, as their local correspondent.

In those days, most local reporters did not cover political meetings because they could upset their paper's so-called impartiality, and women NEVER attended "those filthy meetings." But there I was, with my notebook and pen poised on one side of me, and my knitting on my lap as I waited. Then a hush came over the hall and this charismatic figure entered, my knitting went into my bag, and I was all eyes and ears. I was also nervous, for how many teenaged reporters got to cover as important a political figure as John Diefenbaker, even in

his early years as an M.P.? Had I heard him say what I thought he said? Was I understanding and interpreting correctly the words he spoke? There were a couple of issues I wanted to clarify, so, at the end of the meeting I waited, and as the crowd of largely farmers filed out of the hall, I approached the platform.

Trembling inwardly but determined to get my story correct, I said, "Excuse me, Mr. Diefenbaker. I am Edythe Humphrey, Jack Humphrey's wife, and I am covering for the *Leader-Post* and the *Star-Phoenix* as well as our own paper, so I'd like to clarify a couple of comments you made."

The tall, imposing figure leaped down toward my five foot, two inch stature, smiled graciously, and began to fiddle with a front tooth. I questioned and he responded, still fiddling with that troublesome tooth. Another question, another answer. Then, suddenly and without warning, the tooth hit me in the face. As we both paused, momentarily shocked by the action of the errant tooth, a woman's dismayed voice behind me said, "Oh John! That was one your own!" The woman, of course, was John's first wife, Edna. She attended a number of meetings in the constituency with her husband in those days, and became a familiar figure.

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As the 1952 federal election approached, it was still the pre-television era, and political meetings were covered by reporters who "wired" their stories to the dailies by overnight telegraph. I had gained more experience and more self-confidence by that time, and when Mr. Diefenbaker arrived at the hall in Strasbourg to address a meeting, there I was ensconced at a press table (a folding card table the local Progressive Conservatives had set up for me).

Mr. Diefenbaker came over to greet me and, as the meeting began, and the earlier business of the constituency was being done, he scribbled a note in his infamous, barely legible scrawl, and sent it across to me. It read: "I am going to refer to prices that are spiralling out of sight as "spiralic." He loved to coin words, and he wanted to make sure I understood that one.

Following the meeting, I began to write on my ever-present portable typewriter while he visited with various people who hung around, and demonstrated his infinite patience with a young reporter. I was interested in reporting accurately and he was interested in having his message properly covered, so we had a common goal. This occasion was his first mention of the need for a dam on the South Saskatchewan River near Outlook that later became known as the Gardiner Dam, and he was sparring with his arch foe, Jimmy Gardiner (the Rt. Hon. James G. Gardiner, also a Saskatchewan product and then Canada's Minister of Agriculture).

A couple of weeks after the story ran in the dailies and in our newspaper, I received an impressive and thoughtful note from Ottawa, from Mr. Diefenbaker. "To the young Mrs. Humphrey," (he always addressed me in that manner). "I am impelled to write and compliment you on the excellent story you wrote in Strasbourg on the occasion of my remarks about the need for a dam on the South Saskatchewan River. The subject matter was of a complicated nature, and I compliment you on the expert manner in which you handled it."

Since I took notes in longhand, I appreciated that letter and treasure it to this day because it came from the Mr. Diefenbaker I knew.

\*\*\*\*\*

When the constituency of Lake Centre was carved up, Mr. Diefenbaker chose to represent Prince Albert. I felt as if I had lost a good friend, for he had moved beyond my world.

He began to get bad press. The Eastern media did not understand my friend, I told myself. Why do they treat him as they do? I had always found him to be patient and gallant.

I was in Ottawa on a special course during the Pipeline Debate in the mid-1950s and, on one occasion, I was crossing from the Chateau Laurier to the CPR station. Midway through the tunnel, an unmistakable figure came striding toward me. Will he remember me now that our worlds no longer meet, I wondered? He was not yet the Prime Minister, but he was on his way.

He stopped, smiled, hesitated momentarily, and said, "Ah, the young Mrs. Humphrey." We chatted briefly, then each moved on about our own business. He HAD remembered a kinder, gentler time. It was to be our last face-to-face meeting.

\*\*\*\*\*

John Diefenbaker, former Prime Minister of Canada, and one-time Member of Parliament for the constituency of Lake Centre, returned to my life for a brief, few final moments when his funeral train passed through my hometown of Kenora, Ontario in the summer of 1979. I was there visiting family, and stood on the crowded platform meeting many old friends who wanted only to be there that beautiful evening to pay their final tribute to a man they loved. Among the throng of people were the Robertson boys, with whom I had grown up. They were there to pay their respects, too, for it was John Diefenbaker, as Prime Minister of Canada, who had appointed their older brother, Pete, to the Senate—the first labor senator ever to be named.

It was dark when the train arrived at the depot, and the crowd was silent. The door of the car carrying Mr. Diefenbaker's casket and earthly remains to Saskatoon opened. Grateful that I had been given one last chance to "touch base" with the man who had played a significant role in my younger life, I filed by the open car and murmured quietly, "Good-bye, old friend. I'll miss you."

I no longer live in Saskatchewan, which I will always think of as "Diefenbaker-land," but occasionally I return, and when I do, I walk the main street of the little town of Nokomis, pause to look at the aged brick building that was, fifty years ago, *The Nokomis Times*. I can still hear the echo of Mr. Diefenbaker chortling in the back shop. And I think of the John Diefenbaker I knew. In my memory, he hasn't changed.

# From the Collection of the Saskatchewan Archives Board

## Letters from Ty Cobb

*The Koozma J. Tarasoff Papers (S-A690; see "News and Notes," p. 2) include a series of letters written to Koozma by baseball great Tyrus R. Cobb. After meeting at baseball camp in the United States, Ty Cobb and Tarasoff corresponded for a few years in the early 1950s. Cobb filled his letters with helpful training tips for the young baseball player, and even arranged a try-out for Tarasoff with a California baseball team. Tarasoff sent Cobb a gift of Canadian bacon, which, he had learned, was one of Cobb's favorite foods. The following are reprints of some of Cobb's letters to Koozma from the Tarasoff Papers (File III.B.34. Baseball - Cobb, Ty - Correspondence, 1952-1954). These letters show a kinder, gentler side of the first baseball Hall-of-Famer, called by his biographer, Al Stump, the "greatest, most thoroughly disliked player of this century."<sup>1</sup> Some punctuation has been added for clarity.*

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1 Al Stump, *Cobb; A Biography* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Algonquin Books, 1994), xv.

26 October 1952

Dear Koozma:

Your letter of Aug. 28th was received along with a flood of other requests for autographs etc. and possibly I am away or going away and I can tell pretty well the autograph requests and I weed them out of my regular mail and may lay them aside and not answer at once. *But* sooner or later I see all of them and do answer all, hence delay with yours. I am pleased you were nice enough to write.

It is fine that you have helped your father with the harvesting and also it is good physical development. It is too bad you were not able to play ball since Camp in Missouri for to keep playing the game is the best developer.

I am for the quick start & sprint exercise. I caution you not to use weight exercising or pulley with weight or resistance exercises. Do not develop arm & shoulder muscles. Exception, swing bats, cutting at imaginary ball all you want or can, this is good. Also keep bat and elbows away from your body and your left elbow up and with a bending over of body from waist up.

Koozma this is good advice and what I say is in no way meant to criticize or damage Mr. Bolin. Also is in confidence. Mr. Bolin doesn't know baseball. Also he cannot impart information if he did know. He runs his place strictly for commercial reasons. Also what I say is confined only to the baseball part of his set up.

As to going to a baseball school in Florida or some other place *at your expense*, unless you go for a pleasure to see the state and participate in the workouts, you don't need to do the expense part. You write me if you would like a try out, your expense will be paid. Also will be under a fellow who broke into major

league under my management at Detroit, Fred Haney of Hollywood, Pacific Coast League. He is fine with young and serious boys. He will tell you much that I have told you in the short time as he uses what I coached him in.

If can be arranged and I think so, and you want it, I think I can have him send you a contract you to sign, get a trip and work out (spring) somewhere in Southern Calif. Hollywood is in Pittsburgh chain, also Billings, Montana and possibly a lower class league club. They will look you over and may send you to Billings which is in a fine league along with Boise, Pocatello, Twin Falls in Idaho, Ogden & Salt Lake City, Utah etc. You will not have to look for or contract for job. They will classify you and send you to proper club etc.

You will experience a different baseball atmosphere & conduct of coaching than you saw in Missouri.

Drop me a line and let me know your wishes, and I will get busy.

I am,

*Sincerely,  
Ty Cobb  
Glenbrook, Douglas County  
Nevada*

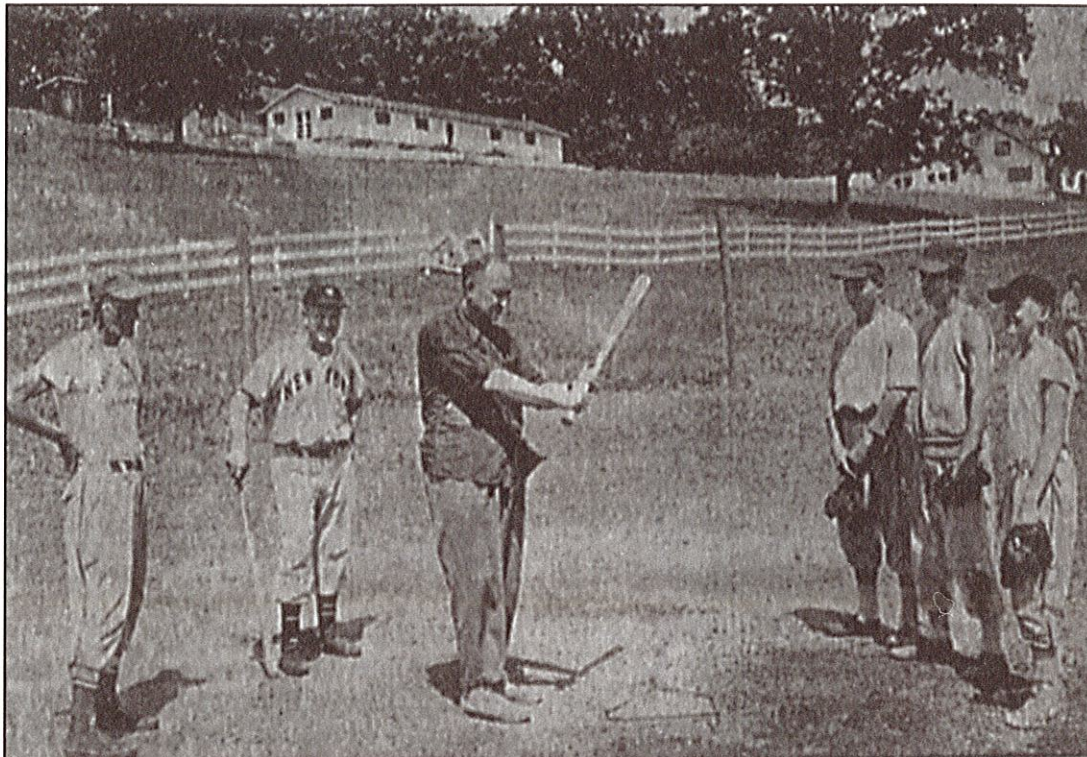
P.S. You can address me as above. Will be here until snow comes, then my winter address—Menlo Park, Calif. near San Francisco. T.R.C.

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16 November 1952

Dear Koozma:

The enclosed as you see its all arranged. Also have underscored that your expenses are to be paid which is better than your going to a school.



**TY COBB SHOWS THEM HOW** — Ty Cobb, the greatest of them all, who compiled a batting average of .367 in 24 years in the majors, spent from Sunday through Wednesday giving the boys at Mr. and Mrs. Carl Bolin's Montauk Baseball Camp the thrill of their lives. Here Mr. Cobb, relaxed and hearty at 65, shows his famed grip — he used to push the ball to left field, with this choked, extended grip or slide his left hand down in his swing to pull the ball. Coaches in back of Mr. Cobb are Salem's Elmer Jacobs, who pitched against Ty in 1927, and Mr. Bolin. The interested youngsters are Kuzma Tarasoff, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada; Ted Butcher, Fairbanks, Alaska; and Matty Bertash, Chicago, Ill.

S-A690, Koozma Tarasoff Papers, file III.B. 38.

Dont do any developing of your shoulder or arm muscles as I explained before. Can swing a bat in front of mirror or simply take cuts at an imaginary ball. Very important walking, trotting and quick starts after you are warmed up and legs are in condition. These starts from a walk or trot. Simply break as quick as can and 10 or 12 steps as hard as can, then back to walk etc. Cross country work is good. Dont grind yourself too much, say a workout every other day, say three weeks before you are to report, but do some work through the winter.

No doubt up there you can secure a sheep skin with wool. Take a heavy paper or card board and put it in your hip and shape it around your buttocks then cut it out to shape. This should be the form [*diagram*]*—*then have a sateen or silk surfaced cloth quilted*—*not to thick. This is sewed up at top, the straight side only, and on skin side of sheep piece then the wool side is worn next to your skin. What happens is when you slide, the sateen next to your pants catches and it slides against sheep skin side. The soft wool next to your skin holds and safes you from sliders. You can attach by sewing the pads to a

small canvas belt around your waist to hold in place or use safety pins through upper part of pads through uniform or pants. Pin this from inside of pad through inside of pants. The straight side, not top of pads, should be placed on a line just to the side of front of your leg.

Let me hear from you when you can. When you hear from Mr. Haney or the club, acknowledge same at once.

I am,

*Sincerely,*  
*Ty Cobb*  
 Glenbrook, Douglas County  
 Nevada

*[Enclosed with above letter.]*

30 October 1952

Dear Ty:

Your letter of October 26 received and very glad to know you are feeling so much better. When I was in Sacramento I tried to get in touch with you, but all I

could get from the hospital was "you were doing as well as could be expected".

I appreciate very much your advice and had the same ideas as you have. At the present time that is what is holding up the deal.

Regarding the youngster you mentioned in your letter [*Koozma Tarasoff*], will be only too happy to have him in Spring training. I think it would be better because of the new legislation that has come out in the Coast League for us to have him come into Spring training as a free agent and then we could sign him to a contract in a league that he would be able to play in. If you will send me the boy's address, I will write him and invite him into our Spring training camp and will explain we will take care of his transportation and expenses, and if his work is such that he can play organized ball, we will see that he has a contract with a club of that classification. The reason I mention this is that with the new Coast League resolutions the transferring of players might become annoying and it would be better for the boy's sake to sign an original contract of a club he can play on....

Mrs. Haney joins me in sincere congratulations on your recovery, and with best wishes to Mrs. Cobb and yourself, I remain

*Sincerely yours,*  
*Fred [Haney]*  
*Hollywood Stars*  
*Hollywood Baseball Association*

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26 January 1953

Dear Koozma:

The enclosed is self explanatory. You should hear from them soon.

Now at least a week or ten days before you leave there to report to where they direct you, it should be in Calif. or near so I want you to arrange to stop here at my house for a day or so. I would like to talk and tell you things that will help. I am at Atherton, Calif. only 1 1/2 miles from Palo Alto, 28 miles south of San Francisco.

So do this.

T.

---

[Enclosed with the above letter.]

16 January 1953

Dear Koozma:

I have had several talks with Ty Cobb regarding your baseball ability and told Ty I would see that you had an opportunity to get to play.

At that time I thought I would still be here with

the Hollywood Club, but I have taken it up with them and you will be invited to the Hollywood camp this Spring and they will give you a good chance to show what classification ball you can play. You will be notified as to the reporting date and transportation will be sent you in plenty of time; however, you may tentatively plan about March 1 as the reporting date.

I sincerely hope you are successful and that you have a good year in the coming season.

With best wishes, I remain

*Sincerely,*  
*Fred Haney*

---

19 February 1953

Dear Koozma:

Yours received note your plans.

Now if you have no special reason to go into San Francisco on night you arrive let me know at once by return mail and if you haven't I may drive up to airport and meet you. Now airport is some 15 miles out of San Francisco and towards my home, so in case your letter tells me you have no reason to go into San Francisco and that I am not at airport to meet you, I say this just in case its impossible for me to come, you get taxi and go to San Bruno which is close to airport and catch a 10:19 p.m. train for Palo Alto, then call me from Palo Alto station, Davenport 2-0452, and will run down and get you as its only about 3 minutes from my house.

See you soon,

*Sincerely,*  
*Ty Cobb*  
*Menlo Park, California*

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Sunday [n.d.]

Dear Koozma:

I am sending you under separate cover a true model of the bat I used when I played baseball.

Should you want any of my model bats, write to Henry Morrow, c/o Hillerich & Bradsky Bat Co., Louisville, Ky. Tell him I told you to write him to send you some good ones, that you had met me in baseball camp etc.

Try this bat and see how you like it. Also Koozma stand away from plate. Also back of plate towards back line and hit straight away and to right field. Dont try to hit too hard. Also bend or crouch a little from waist up which puts your head and eyes in proper place to follow ball better. Also you will find your body in better balance to step in and hit to right or step straight to hit towards center. Keep your left elbow up, and do not spread your feet too far. Your being behind plate will

feel unnatural for a short time but soon you will be O.K. and by this the curves from a right hand pitcher will never bother you.

You should make a good ball player. You have the right spirit and interest.

I send you a booklet that contains my story on hitting. Dont try to absorb all at once, learn a little at a time, before you go to bat check over what you are going to do in way of stance, grip, elbow and where you stand in batters box, hit left handers fast ball straight away and pull his curve, stand closer to plate on left hand pitching. Dont try to pull his fast ball. Also any inside ball from left hander you will automatically pull. Learn to bunt to beat out if 3rd baseman is back or push towards second baseman just so you get it past where pitcher can field and remember well to come in on a slow ball is hardest paly for 3rd & 2nd baseman.

Drop me a line to Glenbrook, Douglas Co., Nevada if you receive bat & booklet. Also how you are progressing as I am interested in you. Then later let me know how you are coming along. Also if ever you want a job let me know and I will recommend you.

With all kinds of luck to you I am,

*Sincerely,  
Ty Cobb  
Menlo Park, California*

P.S. The address on this stationery is my winter place. The Glenbrook address, summer place. I leave here on Tuesday.

*Hurriedly* Get good & thick sliding pads.

*(over)*

#### MEMO

\* Keep Fit, work Hard, Play Fair, Live Clean.

- running workout

- sliding pads

electric juice extractor

vegetable juicer

vegetable salt

soya beans

relaxation control \*

Sleep control

yawning - feeling of relaxation restores equilibrium between air pressure in the middle ear & the normal atmospheric pressure

smile - 13 muscles used

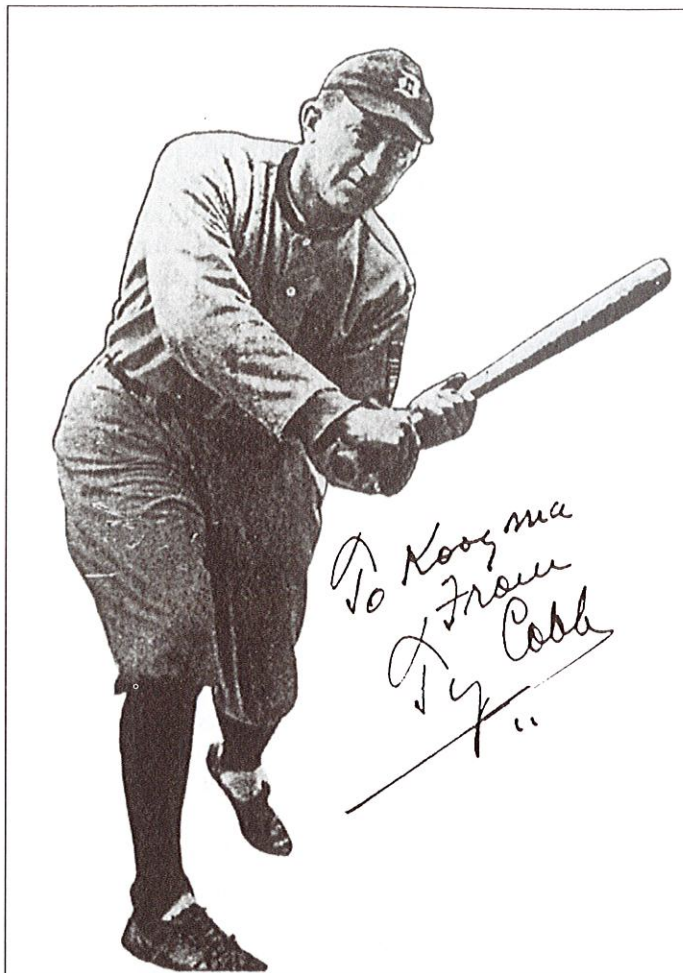
frown - 50 " "

ankle exercises

toughen feet

hiking \*

If your sleep is broken at night, remember that somnologists say that lying awake is just about as restorative as sleeping so long as you don't think unpleasant thoughts or keep your body tense. (Ray Giles - How To Retire & Enjoy It)



## SCIENCE OF BATTING

BY

*Ty Cobb*

28 May 1953

Dear Koozma:

Was nice of you to write me while in hospital. Was there about a week. A recurrence of same I had Mch. 1952. Too much tension and demands upon my time. Trying to go to appear and make talks for the many that ask, missing sleep, having to sit up and fan, talk baseball, etc.

I feel very well now and am cutting out so much activity. I was disappointed also surprised to know of your showing with tryout down here. I thought with natural development since I saw you in Missouri you would be able to show enough for them to send you to a smaller league. I considered you were fast on feet, a *good* arm and good fielder. I did not see enough of your hitting to say about that. Anything worth doing or having a desire to

attain, one should do a thing well and it takes work and effort. Also study. Always one will be judged on what they see so what you showed them down in your tryout must not have convinced them. One is or should be always out to excel in every way. I have thought possibly during fall or winter or spring since I saw you in Missouri that you had injured your arm, also legs. Now if you want to play baseball then get with any club, amateur, semi pro or what not where you can play a lot of baseball and if you fail there then forget it all and go for something else.

Hope you luck,

*Sincerely,*

*Ty Cobb*

*Menlo Park, California*

---

*16 January 1954*

Dear Koozma,

I want to acknowledge receipt of the very fine Canadian bacon you sent me some time ago. It arrived in good condition. By the way how did you happen to know I was fond of it?

It was certainly thoughtful of you to send me this bacon and I appreciate it very much.

I am wondering what you did last summer whatever it was I hope you were successful.

Thanking you again,

*I am, as ever,*

*Ty*



*From the Collection of the Saskatchewan Archives Board*

# “Back to the Land” in Northern Saskatchewan;

## A Letter from Jack Jordan

*Recently, Mrs. Joan Russell of Lewes, East Sussex, England sent the following letter to her friend, Dr. Irene Spry. Dr. Spry, in turn, forwarded the letter to the Saskatchewan Archives Board to be added to its collection (R94-317). The letter, written by Jack Jordan in 1932 to Mrs. Russell's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Foster, describes the circumstances and lifestyle of the Jordan family shortly after they moved from Moose Jaw to the Choiceland district in northern Saskatchewan under the government-sponsored Land Settlement Scheme.*

*As Trevor Powell explains in his article, “Northern Settlement, 1929-1935,” the “back-to-the-land” movement of the early 1930s appeared promising to countless Saskatchewan families facing severe drought conditions and unemployment on prairie farms and in southern urban centers. Unfortunately, however, many of these families experienced poverty and even worse conditions than those they had left behind in the south.<sup>1</sup>*

*Jack Jordan, his wife Alice and their three teenaged children (including Jack Jr. and Joan, the youngest) emigrated to Canada from Furze Road, Sholing, Southhampton, England in about 1926. The family spent their first few years in Canada at Moose Jaw before choosing to resettle in the province's north. According to Mrs. Russell, the Jordans*

*were very practical, hard-working people who were determined to make a go of things in Canada and they never grumbled about some of the harsh conditions. One letter [to the Fosters] contained a quite hilarious description of Alice's visit to town for Christmas shopping. She travelled in a dog-sledge which overturned in the snow, miles from anywhere. Alice, quite undeterred, but with a broken legs and several other injuries, righted the sledge, drove to a doctor or hospital, did her shopping and drove home. All in a day's work!*

*While the Jordan family kept up what Mrs. Russell calls “a very lively correspondence” with the Fosters for about twenty years, this is the only letter that has survived. The punctuation and spelling are unedited.*

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1 T.J.D. Powell, “Northern Settlement, 1929-1935,” in *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. XXX (1977), pp. 81-98.

*Choiceland, Sask., Canada  
4.12.32*

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Foster,

The annual budget herewith, wishing you all a Happy Christmas & a prosperous New Year. I don't know when you will receive this, as we are 15 miles from the nearest Post office, 3 1/2 miles from our nearest neighbour, & the only road out is one we have hacked for ourselves through the forest: add to this that it is blowing hard from the North and snowing hard, and you will begin to appreciate the difficulties of keeping in touch with friends at Home.

We left Moose Jaw the first week in June, & came North under a Government Land Settlement Scheme inaugurated to place unemployed families from the cities on the land & so enable them to become self-supporting:

had already chosen this location, and had nominal possession since April '30 but never had enough capital to occupy the land: however Mother and the rest of us were more than willing to give it a trial, so when the Government offered us a chance, & undertook to loan us 300 dollars (or about £360) we volunteered & were accepted as suitable Settlers, & here we are.

I would say in explanation, that all Western Canada, that is West of Winnipeg and East of the Rockies, is practically on Outdoor Relief.

Farmers with over a thousand acres of arable wheat land, who six years ago were enjoying an income of two or three thousand pounds a year, are getting feed for their stock and food and clothing for themselves and dependents through the Relief Commissions set up in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, & financed by the Federal Government: nobody has any money nor has had for nearly four years: everybody is in debt as far

as they can get, and nobody is paying wages anymore, simply because they cannot.

This sounds pretty terrible, but then Saskatchewan is about four times as big as Great Britain, and has barely a million population, including Indians, & of course they are, and have been for many years, a permanent charge on the State.

The whole of the West depends on wheat: for three years previous to this year, the crop has been a failure: this year the crop was better, but it costs roughly 45 cents production to sow, harvest & deliver at railway one bushel or 60 lbs. of wheat, & the price at point of shipment is 30 cents for the highest grade: some of the farmers, anticipating the trouble, branched out into "mixed" farming, i.e. the production of cattle, hogs, sheep, & poultry: this was, if anything, yet more disastrous [sic] to them: as you will appreciate when I tell you that cattle when marketed, fetch only from 1/2d to 2d a pound live weight, according to grade, hogs still less, eggs 3d a dozen, butter 3 1/2d a pound, sheep—no selling price, and wool does not pay to shear.

Consequently the country is in the position of having a tremendous supply of food stuffs, which nobody can buy: a system of barter obtains, & up here in the forest area, lumber is commonly traded at the shops for food stuffs: a man who has too much hay trades his surplus for potatoes or whatnot and a dollar bill is as rare as the Dodo.

However, we, under the Settlement Scheme, are allowed 10 [dollars] a week for groceries, parafin [sic] oil, etc, 50 dollars for building material, wherewith to build a log house, and 130 dollars toward equipment: we have a horse, & hope to buy a cow, some hens, and a sow in the spring: we could of course have bought them before, but have no winter feed, and with ordinary winter weather, (about 4 feet of snow, and temperature anywhere from 20 to 95 degrees of frost) couldn't do that, so we are eating venison & rabbits & wild partridges, pheasants & such like feathered fowl, all of which are very plentiful: don't tell the police about this though as its "agin the lor" and we are poaching.

I am working all day and getting up at least once during the night to replenish the fire, which seldom goes out now-a-days.

We have what mother calls a "dear little home" built of spruce logs: we have one window, one door, and one room: also one well in the corner of the room—a brain wave which obviates melting snow for washing and culinary purposes & which I believe is the only indoor water supply for miles around.

We are very happy and comfortable, the only fly in the ointment being that mother has, as usual, overestimated her strength, and brought on a heart attack: she has been in bed for three weeks, having a second, though milder, attack on getting up for an hour or two after being in bed for a fortnight: she is mending now, and I am duly thankful, for it takes all day, when well, to get to the railway, and the nearest doctor is 50 miles away, and there is only one train a week.

Jack, who helped me build the house, has gone further North about a hundred miles, with a trapper, after furs: of course, there is no earthly means of any communication with him, but he managed to send a scribbled note to Joan by a party who were taking them supplies: he is apparently having a great time & may be home for Xmas for a day or two: it depends on how the trapping fares & whether they are on the North or South end of the trap line about that time: the said trap line is 70 miles long, & they have log cabins about 10 miles apart on it: all forest and swamp.

I spend the daylight hours doing what is known throughout Western America as "chores" which means work for the house such as getting fire wood (it takes quite a lot for of course coal simply is not) shovelling snow around the place, fixing shelves, etc. etc. & clearing the land of trees to enable us to grow things next year: it kinder [sic] hurts, but we have already dug out and burnt over 3000 beautiful young Xmas trees, from 2 to 12 ft. high: of course, they would fetch a price in Winnipeg or Montreal, but the cost of transportation would exceed the price received by 100 percent.

That is the controlling factor with everything. I know one man who shipped a carload of sheep from Sask. to Winnipeg, and had a bill for 20 dollars, being in excess of freight charges etc. above the price realised for his sheep.

Joan is growing rapidly since we came North: I think it must be the Pine Woods combined with the altitude: we are 2000 ft. above sea level, and, incidentally, 50 miles due East of Prince Albert, which is [...] on the map (our "town" 15 miles south consists of two shops, a livery barn, and a house belonging to the railway.)

Notwithstanding the severity of the winter, the summer days here are very long & the heat at times severe: everything that can be grown out of doors in Hampshire can be grown here, in addition to which there are wild berries in profusion—raspberries, equal to any cultivated at home, strawberries, blueberries, cranberries, even gooseberries, also red and black currants: the only trouble is to get enough sugar to preserve them: also to guard against the mosquitoes, whose number is legion.

We often think about the little house in Furze Rd. & sometimes when things are not so bright, I, for one, feel a sneaking longing for the "flesh pots of Egypt," but taking things all round, and remembering that things are bad all over the world, I really believe that we are as well off here as we should be anywhere: we at least have a comfortable home, plenty to eat, and no immediate financial worries: how many can say the same in England?

As to the future, I feel at least we shall be able to make enough or grow enough to keep us in comfort: beyond that—who worries?

Mother & Joan join me in sending you all our best wishes for your happiness and prosperity: if you can spare a few minutes just drop us a line: not several lines like this—I know you haven't time, but I have lots of it after dark!

*Yours sincerely,*  
*J. Jordan*

# Book Reviews

## The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780-1870.

By Laura Peers. *Manitoba Studies in Native History*, volume 8. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994. Pp. 288. Maps. Illustrations. \$39.95 (Cloth). \$18.95 (Paper).

THERE ARE MANY GAPS that remain unfilled in the ethnographic and historical record about specific aboriginal groups within Canada; this important volume ably fills one of these. Laura Peers, in an extensive revision of her M.A. thesis, has produced a readable and theoretically significant monograph about the early history of the Ojibwa who migrated to the parklands and prairies from the eastern woodlands and waterways of the western Great Lakes. Peers demonstrates that this migration cannot be viewed in simple monolithic or mechanical terms; rather, it was a complex emigration involving considerable adjustments which are reflected in a range of emergent social and cultural formations.

The initial commutes, and later permanent arrival to the West by Ojibwa individuals and groups influenced the particular roles these individuals and their networks played in the changing fur trade of late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Many factors contributed to present opportunities available to the Ojibwa in the western Great Lakes. Among these were the demographic consequences of periodic massive population collapse among various northern Plains Indian societies due to the 1780-81 smallpox pandemic; the rising competition among fur trading companies and their changing practices, which affected Indian societies as parties to the trade; and most fundamentally, the introduction of the credits system to secure the guarantee of return on the output of individual trappers' labour.

It was this latter practice that particularly attracted Ojibwa men, who later brought their families or forged new ones from relations with their allies the Cree and, to a lesser extent, the Assiniboine. Peers notes that the disposition of the Algonquian world view made the interactions of Ojibwa with Cree more cooperative than competitive, and united them as enemies against the ascendancy of the Sioux in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The human ecological adaptations of the Ojibwa over a period of time amounted in several regions to a niche that had the advantage of a highly diversified diet, balanced among wild rice, sugar, and fish, supplemented by deer and buffalo. The competitions for access to the scarce resources of horses and later buffalo also influenced choices. The division of labour among men and

women in their evolving roles affected the construction of family life, and Peers is particularly perceptive in the historically grounded description and interpretation of these aspects of western Ojibwa experience. The material culture was also affected by the range of adjustments made in the overall lifeways of the western Ojibwa; the culture changes brought a range of expressions in the aesthetics and symbolic displays.

The arrival also of three groups of competitors became a gradation of social relations such as Indian groups of the northern plains, parklands and prairies also formed social continuums among allies. Peers characterizes the three groups as the freemen, the free agents of those European and mixed-native ancestry who had once worked for one of the companies but had become free agents, taking credits under the new economic order; the Metis, who culturally stayed more attached and integrated in their interactions with their relatives among the Indian groups; and the settlers, the trickle before the flood of European colonists who came to transform the region into agricultural production, living as the Indians only in a temporary adaptation. It is among this amalgam of diverse competitors that the western Ojibwa commuters become fur trade workers (credit trappers/debtors) and consumers.

The phenomenon of mixed-interethnic camping formations emerged in association with the role of the trading captains and their often composite crews; this legitimized pattern contributed complexity both to the polity and political economy of these social formations, crosscutting previous ones. Particularly insightful is Peers' discussion and analysis of the production and reproduction of the emergent inter-ethnic camping band phenomenon in the prairies and parklands. She discusses at length the role of adaptation and culture change in this social formation, which from extant historical accounts appears to have been more a continuum of choices made by local individuals and entities than a lock-step linear progression of traits experienced by all western Ojibwa. Peers concentrates her description on the ecological adjustments and patterns of observed or attributed behaviour to emphasize the range of choices manifested in the lives of individuals, families, relatives, allies, and "bands". The choices made from the survival of family and followers is vividly demonstrated in Peers' reconstruction of the lives of several western Ojibwa leaders and their unique "adaptations," which are presented chronologically either in a number of geographically scattered locations over time in the case of Tolibee, or within a region in the case of Peguis.

Throughout Peers' ethnohistory of the western Ojibwa, she provides many examples drawn from her

careful reading of the extensive documentary sources from the Hudson's Bay Company to the narratives of John Tanner, Alexander Henry (the younger), and George Nelson. She strikes a measured balance between description and interpretation in her very readable text, enlightening both the general reader and the specialist. Her monograph is a study worth emulating, and exemplifies a new standard for such tribal and regional treatments. Every library on the prairies and regions from the Great Lakes West should have this title in its collection. It is a welcome instructional text about the Ojibwa (*Anishinaabe*) culture and history.

David Reed Miller  
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## The Palliser Expedition: The Dramatic Story of Western Canadian Exploration 1857-1960.

By Irene M. Spry. Western Canadian Classics. Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1995. Originally published by Macmillan, Toronto, 1963. Pp. 336. \$12.95 (Paper).

THE REVIEWER OF A BOOK which has been reprinted must take a very different approach from that taken for a first edition. The essential point is whether the volume in question is worthy of a reappearance. There can be no doubt that in the cast of Irene Spry's *The Palliser Expedition* the answer is resoundingly in the affirmative.

Saskatoon's Fifth House Publishers have done a notable service in making this book available once again. *The Palliser Expedition* appears as part of their new "Western Canadian Classics" series. It would be difficult to imagine a volume more worthy of inclusion in such a group.

In his valuable foreword to this new edition, University of Saskatchewan historian Bill Waiser describes this book as "...one of the great works in Canadian exploration literature." He notes in particular its combination of archival research, field work, and lucid prose. He might also have added what can only be described as Spry's quiet passion for the subject.

This combination of emotion tempered by a striving for scholarly objectivity has produced a unique book. Over thirty years after it first appeared it is still informative and interesting. It also still provides an enjoyable reading experience, something which cannot be said of too many volumes on western Canada which have appeared in the interim.

Thanks to Spry's descriptive approach, the reader becomes a part of the hardships endured by Palliser and his compatriots. For example, one cannot but be struck by the overwhelming importance to these people of simply getting enough to eat. Scarcely a week goes by without a difficulty, problem, or crisis related to obtaining food. There were moments of real desperation. The contrast with our overly indulgent society is a poignant reminder of how precarious life on the Canadian plains could be just over a century ago.

In these "politically correct" times it often seems that works such as Spry's, touching as it frequently does on the interactions of peoples from very different societies, are targets for attack. Perhaps because of her upbringing in South Africa, Spry is extremely sensitive to such issues. Given that the author composed this work decades ago, long before the current debates began, this book is refreshingly perceptive on matters of race and ethnicity.

Irene Spry's *The Palliser Expedition* is still a good book. It is effective, engaging and enjoyable. It deserves to be in print once again.

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Diefenbaker Centre  
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## Strange Empire.

By Joseph Kinsey Howard. Borealis Book. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1994. Originally published 1952. Pp. 601. \$16.95 (Paper).

EVERY SO OFTEN a book is published which becomes a standard by which others on the topic are judged. Joseph Kinsey Howard's *Strange Empire* is the case in point. Originally published in 1952, this recent re-release from the Minnesota Historical Society Press (Borealis) is most welcome indeed at a time of renewed interest in Native American history in general and Canadian and American Metis studies in particular. I still remember having difficulty finding copies of it while in graduate school, so popular was it among my fellow doctoral students of Native American history. Upon hearing of its paperback release, I made it mandatory reading for my senior history seminars in both the American West and American Indian history.

Joseph Kinsey Howard originally crafted *Strange Empire* as a salute to and an apologist for the Metis people of Canada and the United States. Having lived in Montana for a good part of his life, the author developed an appreciation for Metis culture at a time when it was rarely considered outside academic circles. Considering the Metis among the continent's "lost" peoples, Howard's narrative takes on a conciliatory tone from

the very beginning. Moreover, *Strange Empire* is written in what Howard himself described as a narrative. This approach—one of telling a story in novel form—at once provided the author with backers and detractors. Many in the professional history community believed that the manner of telling the story took away from its “professional” credibility. By all accounts, Howard kept it in its present form because he believed it would reach a greater audience and provide a better forum for telling the fascinating tale of the Metis people. He succeeded in his quest in a superlative manner, writing a fast-paced account of true events in a way that holds the reader from beginning to end.

There is much to say about this book in praise and, for me at least, only one point of criticism: I wish it had not taken so long for the reprint to have come along. Hopefully all true great works of history and literature

are never lost forever—merely waiting a time for rediscovery. For a new generation of readers and scholars unfamiliar with the work, a rare treat awaits them.

The praise heaped on this tome simply does not properly address its greatness. *Strange Empire* must be experienced by the individual and not simply quoted or footnoted; as I have found in my senior seminars, delving into such a book is its own reward and often has the effect of prompting the reader(s) to seek further information. Whether one agrees with Howard’s approach and interpretation or not, this is good reading and good history. I highly recommend it and congratulate Borealis Press for releasing it again to grateful readers.

**Gregory S. Camp**  
Minot State University



## *Local History Marker Program*

Since its establishment in 1957, the mandate of the Saskatchewan History & Folklore Society has been to gather, preserve and share the history and folklore of Saskatchewan. In meeting this mandate, SHFS has implemented a number of projects, one of these being the Local History Marker Program. LHMP is aimed at establishing a permanent acknowledgement of a community's or area's history.

Any community or individual with a historical story to tell may apply for assistance under the LHMP. Generally, the applications supported by the Society relate to items of local rather than national or provincial significance; it is important, however, to remember that the intended marker must still recognize an item of historical interest. To this end the criteria SHFS uses in reviewing applications are as follows:

- For items dealing with an individual, the individual must be deceased and the historical story being depicted at least twenty-five years old.
- In recognizing local institutions that have ceased to operate or exist (i.e. schools), the proposal should provide more information than simply the institution's duration. The narrative should attempt to outline past choices made within the context of time and place, as they uniquely apply to the community and institution.
- All applications must be backed by documentation, with this documentation being as close to the primary source as possible. For example, if a district school which opened in 1903 and closed in 1957 is being recognized, a note from a local history book stating these dates is not appropriate documentation. In support of such an application, SHFS would want to see copies of confirming evidence from the Saskatchewan Archives Board, School Board or Department of

Education, local newspaper clippings of the day, pioneer journals, etc. Research work is the applicant's obligation, although SHFS may be called upon to point the applicant in the right direction.

- In approving submitted applications, SHFS reserves the right to recommend alternative wording.

To successful applicants, SHFS provides both administrative and partial financial help in securing a historical plaque. A typical plaque is cast of either aluminum or bronze and is eighteen inches wide by twenty-four inches tall. It is a rectangular shape with a rounded top. The inscription is in silver, raised upper case letters on a painted, glossy black background, all bordered with a raised silver flat edge. SHFS's name and logo appears at the top of the plaque and the Society's mandate is stated at the bottom. All plaques must be appropriately displayed at a site that is accessible to the general public. Plaque ownership and maintenance responsibilities are retained by the applicant. It takes approximately four months from the time the SHFS receives the application until the finished plaque is delivered from the casting foundry.

Currently, there are over 100 SHFS-supported historical markers throughout the province. Following the points of the compass, the marker farthest north is at Rapid View, farthest south is near Big Beaver, the western-most marker is near Artland, and the eastern-most point is represented by a marker in Fleming. Over the years, SHFS's Local History Marker Program has provided in excess of \$26,500 in direct financial assistance to various communities and organizations in Saskatchewan.

For further information on the Local History Marker Program or any other SHFS program, please contact the SHFS office at 780-9204 (Regina); 1-800-919-9437 (outside Regina); fax (306) 781-6021, or at 1860 Lorne Street, Regina, Sask., S4P 2L7.

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*Kingsley Tegart, son of photographer William M. Tegart.*

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