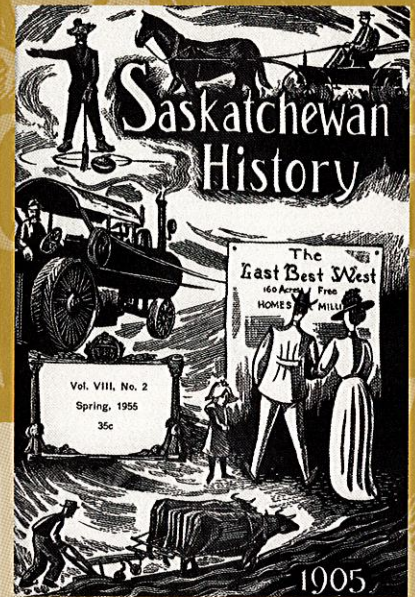
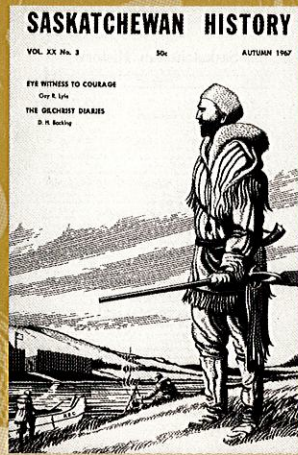
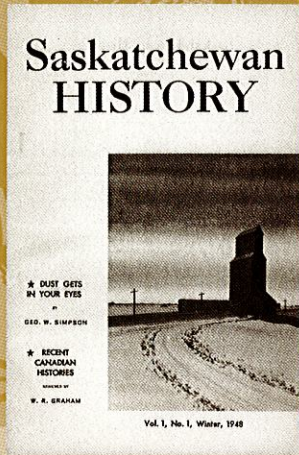
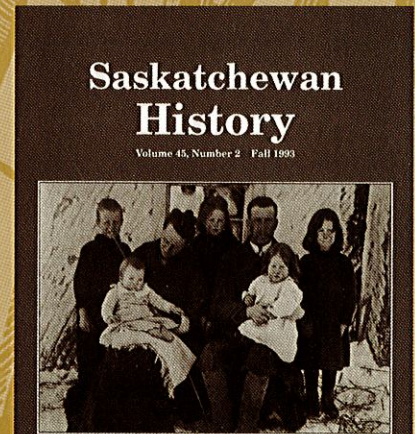
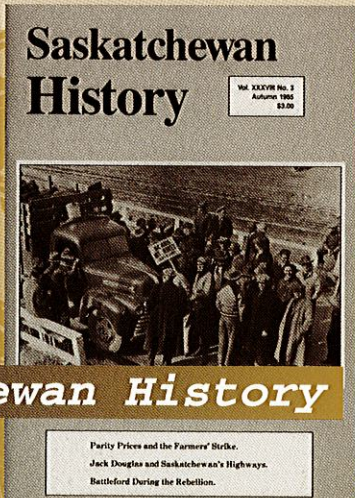
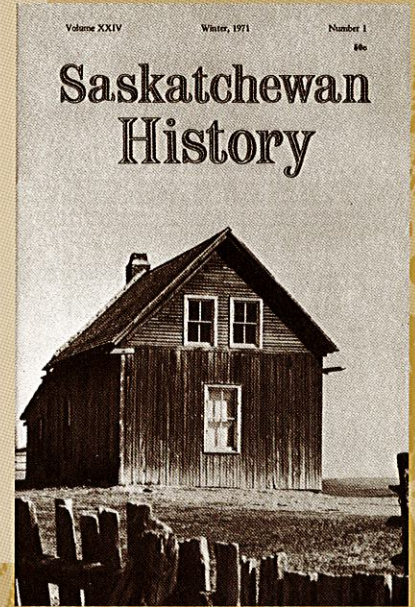


# SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY

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# 50 years



Vol. VIII, No. 2  
Spring, 1955

A History of *Saskatchewan History*

Treaty Ten

The Future of Saskatchewan History

A Contest

SPRING 1998  
VOLUME 50, NUMBER 1

# 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.

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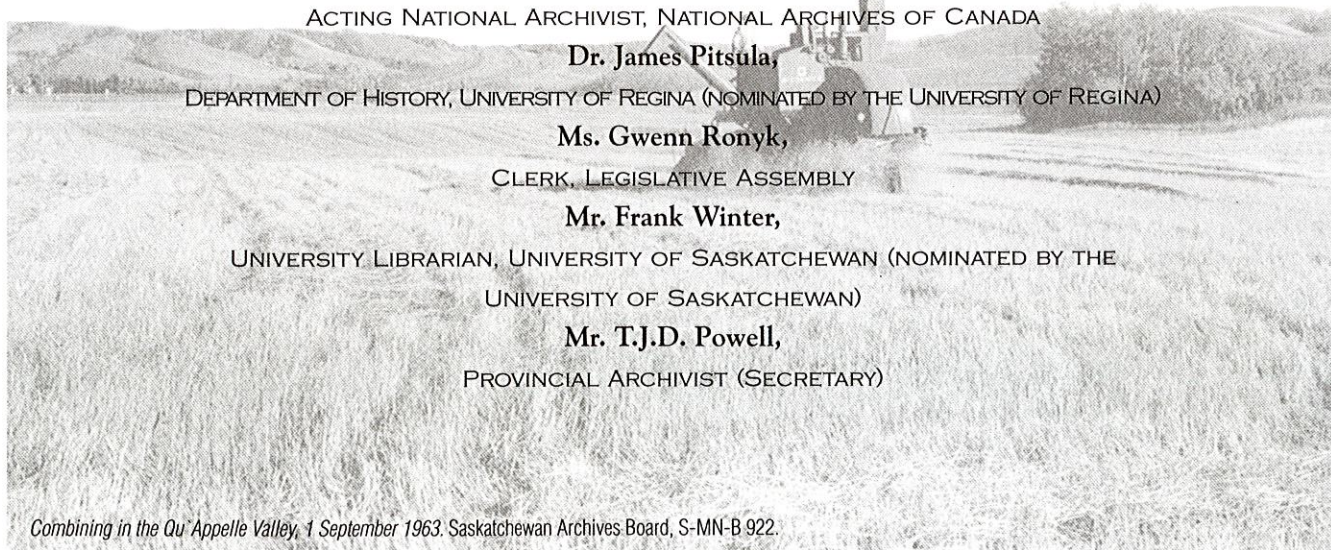
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*Combining in the Qu'Appelle Valley, 1 September 1963. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-MN-B 922.*

# SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY

VOLUME 50, NUMBER 1

SPRING 1998

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The editors of *Saskatchewan History* welcome 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 Word 6.0 or WordPerfect 6.0. 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 1997, The Saskatchewan Archives Board.

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# SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD: NEWS AND NOTES

## Are You A Saskatchewan History Original?

As part of the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of *Saskatchewan History*, we would like to honour those of our readers who have been subscribing to the journal right from volume one, number one. Unfortunately, the subscription records held by the Saskatchewan Archives Board stretch back only to the 1960s. So if you are a *Saskatchewan History* original, or you know someone who is, please drop us a line at A *Saskatchewan History* Original, c/o Saskatchewan Archives Board, University of Saskatchewan, Murray Building, 3 Campus Drive, Saskatoon, SK, S7N 5A4. Our original subscribers will be recognized in the fall issue.

## Final Issue for Current Editors

This is our final issue. Overall, we have enjoyed our time, and learned a great deal from our experience as the editors of *Saskatchewan History*. We are particularly honored to be involved in the production of the fiftieth anniversary issue, and we only wish that we could leave the journal convinced that it had another distinguished fifty years ahead of it.

Over the last half century *Saskatchewan History* has contained many articles written by well-known scholars, but the journal has also provided an important forum for graduate students seeking to publish their first article, for leaders in their field, like labor

historian Glenn Makahonuk, and for many of those loathe to consider themselves "academics." Without a provincial journal of this nature where would these last three groups find a venue in which to make their voices heard? Just as importantly, where would the general public get an opportunity to delve into the province's past - to learn more about Saskatchewan's First Nations, teachers, laborers, and farmers, or about its environment, economy and politics?

These are questions that should be addressed because, as Joan Champ's article indicates, *Saskatchewan History* is currently facing a crisis. Readership is dropping, the number of submissions are decreasing, and schools, faced with budget cuts, are no longer subscribing. Why? Champ provides one valid reason for the decline, the inability to balance "academic" with "popular" history to everyone's satisfaction. This dilemma is not unique to our provincial journal, however. Historical journals are facing the same criticisms (oh no, not more footnotes!) across North America. Yet journals like *North Dakota History* have more than three times as many general subscriptions (1,650), and are in far more schools (225 institutional subscribers) than *Saskatchewan History*, despite the fact that North Dakota has a smaller population base. Perhaps it is because *North Dakota History* has a full time editor, because it is published four times a year, or because it is affiliated with the State

Historical Society. Perhaps North Dakota citizens simply have more interest in their history.

Whatever the reasons for the decline, something has to be done to revive interest in the journal. A design change may help, but it is unlikely to solve the problem; although Joan Champ made *Saskatchewan History* one of Canada's most attractive historical journals a few years ago, there was no obvious increase in sales.

So, to a large degree, the onus falls on Saskatchewan citizens to decide whether or not they want the journal to survive. If so, they should let the editors know what they like and do not like about the current format and content, they should show the journal to friends, who may not be aware it exists, and they should submit articles to the editors, or prompt others to do so. In particular, those who have an interest in some aspect of Saskatchewan's past, or have stories to tell, should put the pen to paper. Recently, there has been a dearth of submissions, despite the fact that, as Bill Waiser's essay suggests, many interesting topics and stories remain for scholars and amateur historians to illuminate.

As we bid adieu, we would like to thank those who have contributed to the journal over the last two-and-a-half years, as well as those who have supported us through the good and bad.

Happy fiftieth.

Steve Hewitt  
Chris Kitzan

# to inform and encourage: Fifty Years of Saskatchewan History

by Joan Champ

"The value of a historical product cannot be debated without taking into account both the context of its production and the context of its consumption."

- Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*<sup>1</sup>

*Saskatchewan History* is an instrument of connection. Through its articles and book reviews, this journal has helped to connect the Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB) and the province's two universities more closely with each other and with those people in the province and beyond who have an interest in the history of Saskatchewan. Since its inauguration by the Saskatchewan Archives Board in 1948, the province's historical journal has consistently published a wealth of well-researched and informative material on what has been termed the "limited identities" of region, community, culture, and class.<sup>2</sup> Those involved in the production of *Saskatchewan History* over the past fifty years have played a leading role in the effort to bridge the gap between the intellectual elites and the general population by mixing or amalgamating scholarly and non-scholarly historical writing in the pages of the journal. The connection that the journal has helped to forge between Saskatchewan's learned institutions and the wider literate public has weakened, however. The focus of *Saskatchewan History* has gradually evolved from that of a historical magazine aimed at

Joan Champ is head archivist at the John G. Diefenbaker Canada Centre and a former editor of *Saskatchewan History*.



a broad, “grassroots” audience, to that of a narrower, more scholarly journal. In her “Foreword” in the first issue of *Saskatchewan History*, the editor, Dr. Hilda Neatby, stated that the magazine was designed to give information on provincial history and “encouragement” both to university scholars and students, and to “the primary historian” — “the pioneer who tells not what he has read, but what he has lived ... .”<sup>3</sup> Close scrutiny of the editorial correspondence and of *Saskatchewan History*’s content since it began reveals that, since the 1970s the participation of the academic historian has grown, while the presence of the “primary historian” has diminished. While *Saskatchewan History* continues to inform, its original goal to encourage non-scholarly writers has gradually become less of a priority.

4

Perhaps it is appropriate to share with readers the enthusiasm and high expectations that were engendered fifty years ago when *Saskatchewan History* first arrived. What wonderful information was found in each issue, many of which I read avidly from cover to cover. Articles about politics, religion, agriculture, railways and industry, but especially First Nations people, Metis, fur traders, pioneers, and the Royal North West Mounted Police. Covering every topic and every corner of the province. ... How many other readers have been on board from the very beginning and can boast a complete set on their shelves? I’d like to come in 25 years for a 75th anniversary party!

C. Stuart Houston, Naturalist\*

The story of *Saskatchewan History* is inextricably linked to that of its parent body, the Saskatchewan Archives Board. Since the time of its legislated formation in 1945 the campaign of the SAB to select, acquire, and preserve documentary material bearing on the history of the province of Saskatchewan has not been merely a passive exer-

cise in fact-assembly. There was a feeling on the part of the founders of the provincial archives that the preservation of documents was not enough; these documents had to be used in the writing of the province’s history. The founders, members of the history department at the University of Saskatchewan, including A.S. Morton, George W. Simpson and Lewis H. Thomas (then a student), felt that the creation of the archives would provide, for the first time, a “laboratory of research” in which a program for research and publication could be based.<sup>4</sup>

The University of Saskatchewan applied for and received a grant of \$15,000 in 1942 from the Rockefeller Foundation in the United States to assist in the development of western Canadian studies in the province. Part of the grant money was used to hire Lewis H. Thomas as a research assistant for the Department of History in 1944. Thomas was paid to make a special study of the administration of historical records housed in various state historical societies while he was at the University of Minnesota pursuing his Ph.D.<sup>5</sup> While in Minneapolis, Thomas wrote to Professor Simpson that he had acquired a “good general view of the extra mural activities of the [Minnesota Historical] Society,” including the publication of the society’s journal, *Minnesota History*. The knowledge and skills that Thomas acquired during his visits to state historical societies in Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and North Dakota were later applied to the organization of the Saskatchewan Archives Board.

The new Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) government, elected in June of 1944, expressed interest in enacting an archives bill.<sup>6</sup> J.H. Sturdy, Minister of Reconstruction and Rehabilitation, asked Thomas to outline for the government his assessment of the situation in Saskatchewan. In his “Memorandum on the Promotion of the Study of Provincial and Community History in Saskatchewan,” Thomas recom-

\*Quotations highlighted throughout this article are excerpted from letters received by the editors from readers and contributors to *Saskatchewan History* for inclusion in this special, commemorative issue.

mended the establishment of a provincial repository for both public and private records. This institution, he emphasized, would “provide leadership in the whole field of provincial and community study.” In Thomas’ view, the pioneer generation had an important contribution to make in the production of history. This generation, he wrote, was “interested in a study which places their personal experience in the grand panorama of the evolution of society in Western Canada.” Thomas made it clear, however, that the university historians involved in the establishment of the records repository were the natural leaders, whose duty it was not only to produce scholarly studies, but to provide guidance and encouragement for others in the telling of their stories. Under their “expert direction” the historians would work to cultivate an interest in the past among all the people of the province.<sup>7</sup>

On the basis of Thomas’ memorandum, as well as on the lobbying efforts of A.S. Morton (who passed away on 26 January 1945), the Archives Act was drafted. The Act was passed on 30 March, 1945. The first Annual Report of the SAB for 1945-1946 echoed the philosophy expressed in Thomas’ 1944 memorandum. The duty of the new provincial archives was to “encourage and stimulate scholarly use of the archives,” by members of university faculties, graduate and honors students. The SAB also recognized the “happy fact” that:

there are always other people who have native ability and a genuine scholarly interest and urge to productive writing. These bring to their task a vigor and freshness of outlook which are extremely valuable assets. Such people deserve every assistance and guidance possible. An archives office should be for them a centre for information and a source of sustaining inspiration.<sup>8</sup>

*Saskatchewan History* soon became a key instrument in the SAB’s task to teach the public about the province’s past.

George W. Simpson was appointed the first Provincial Archivist in 1945. Lewis H. Thomas, who had been employed as Simpson’s executive assistant, took over the position of Provincial Archivist in

1948 and served in that position until 1957. It was upon the recommendation of these two historians that, in September of 1947, the SAB decided to publish a provincial historical magazine, which was to appear in 1948. The budget for the magazine, the first of its kind in the province, was set at \$300.<sup>9</sup>

It is somewhat unusual for an archival institution to undertake the publication of a historical journal.<sup>10</sup> Usually, publication programs of this kind are sponsored by provincial or state historical societies. While there had existed in Regina a Saskatchewan Historical Society, it was largely moribund by the late 1940s. No other outlet existed for the publication of material bearing on provincial history. The main reason that the SAB decided to publish *Saskatchewan History* was to help meet the need “of augmenting the comparatively limited quantity of published material available to teachers, students and the general public” relating to the history of the province.<sup>11</sup>

In the first issue of the magazine, Simpson outlined this need in his short bibliographic essay, “Dust Gets in Your Eyes.” He indicated that while a number of books and articles had already been published relating to Saskatchewan and the wider prairie region, there had not yet been “a good provincial history which does justice to the broad stream of social and political development.”<sup>12</sup> He pointed out that while some themes of *Saskatchewan History* had received attention, including the fur trade in A.S. Morton’s *History of the Canadian West* (1939), and the story of the settlement period in *The History of Prairie Settlement and “Dominion Lands” Policy* (1938), by Morton and Chester Martin, much more work needed to be done.<sup>13</sup>

Another reason that the SAB established its historical magazine was to solicit source materials for deposit in the archives. The newly established archival institution was not only a repository for “public” or provincial government documents; its

acquisitions policy included all types of records from private sources as well. Publicity measures were required, the SAB felt, to stimulate what Thomas called a “records consciousness” among the general public.<sup>14</sup> At the outset, the editorial staff of *Saskatchewan History* established three mechanisms to accomplish this. First, “Recollections and Reminiscences” (“Pioneer Stories” in the first issue) were incorporated as a regular feature of the magazine. Often, contributors of the stories or reminiscences donated their manuscripts and supporting documents to the archives, even if their submissions were not published. Direct requests to readers for materials were also made in the pages of the magazine as a second means of acquiring documents for deposit in the archives. An example of this appears in the second volume of *Saskatchewan History* (1949) in a note at the end of A.N. Reid’s article, “Local Government in the North-West Territories.”

This article is based on rather fragmentary sources. Many records disappeared as these early government units lost their identity in successive reorganizations. It is thought, however, that some records may have been preserved. Those used in this article were found in the offices of present-day municipalities. Other municipal offices may also have such records. Some may be in the possession of the families of former overseers, councillors, secretaries of school districts, etc. The Saskatchewan Archives Office is interested in securing such materials for deposit or for microfilming. If any readers of this magazine are aware of the existence of any such papers or have personal knowledge of the workings of these organizations, they are urgently requested to write to [the] Office of the Saskatchewan Archives.<sup>15</sup>

The third method of gathering material for the provincial archives through its historical journal

SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES QUESTIONNAIRES

No. 2

PIONEER EXPERIENCES: A GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE



A word of explanation to the person answering this questionnaire

It is difficult to prepare a general questionnaire on pioneer life because no individual who is asked to answer it has exactly the same experiences as another. Some of the questions here will not apply to your experiences; others may prove impossible for you to answer, so don't worry about leaving blank spaces. Use extra sheets of paper if there is not sufficient space to answer the questions. Don't hesitate to give details, or describe particular events, if they help to answer the questions.

This questionnaire is intended for persons who lived in Western Canada before 1914, and may be answered by anyone who has personal experience of the pioneer years whether born in this province or not.

If more than one member of the family can answer the questions, they should write them on separate sheets or apply for a separate questionnaire.

Other Questionnaires

Saskatchewan Archives questionnaires which have been prepared or projected are listed below. Please mark the ones you would be willing to answer.

- ( ) All questionnaires
- ( ) Pioneer diet
- ( ) Pioneer schools
- ( ) Pioneer churches
- ( ) Pioneer recreation and social life
- ( ) Pioneer farming experiences
- ( ) Folklore in Saskatchewan
- ( ) Pioneer health and housing

Preservation of Questionnaires

All questionnaires will be preserved in the Office of the Saskatchewan Archives at the University of Saskatchewan as part of the permanent record of our Province. Please send your completed questionnaire to:

Saskatchewan Archives Office,  
University of Saskatchewan,  
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Pioneer questionnaire number two that was sent to subscribers in the 1950s. Courtesy of the Saskatchewan Archives Board.

was the circulation of a series of questionnaires to subscribers. In total, nine “pioneer” questionnaires were issued during the 1950s, each eliciting hundreds of responses.<sup>16</sup> The responses, all of which are now preserved in the Saskatoon Office of the SAB, were later used in the preparation of articles for publication in *Saskatchewan History*. These questionnaires yielded more than information; the archives’ staff noted that they also brought to their attention

the existence of such valuable items as the minute books of the S.G.G.A. locals, local improvement districts, and political party organizations, community histories, and reminiscences, as well as photographs which tell their own stories of the early days. The Saskatchewan Archives Board appreciates the contribution made by those who have completed these questionnaires, and who have brought to light the existence of material of potential value to the Archives.<sup>17</sup>



Thus, *Saskatchewan History* proved to be a useful tool for the SAB in its quest to acquire and preserve valuable historical records outside the “public” domain. By stimulating interest in Saskatchewan’s past, and by informing the general public about the need for preservation, the province’s archivists hoped that their journal would help to end the destruction of documents that had been taking place due to carelessness or ignorance.

When I first joined the Saskatchewan Archives in 1974, the direct involvement of staff was much higher. ... There was a much greater network among and conviviality between Archives staff and the historical community in the province in those days. Local history experts and enthusiasts were as vital to *Saskatchewan History* as the academic contributors. Among this wider heritage community there seemed to be a symbiosis of interest in and genuine concern for the preservation of the historical record and the interpretation of that record to a wider audience. The passion to achieve these objectives was shared between the grassroots and the “professionals.” There seemed to be no distinctions in the continuum between gathering original documents for preservation in archives and ensuring their broader use in researching and writing about our collective past. At least this is how it seemed to a novice archivist back in the mid-1970s, an exciting time to be joining the heritage community.

D’Arcy Hande, Archivist

In the production of a historical journal, editors have the power to accept or reject submitted manuscripts. In his fascinating study of how history is produced, scholar Michel-Rolph Trouillot asserts that the exercise of this power “makes some narratives possible and silences others.”<sup>18</sup> Trouillot

reminds us that writers are not the sole producers of history.

The editing of *Saskatchewan History*, yesterday and today, involves a highly complex set of functions. The editors communicate with authors, peer readers, advisory board members, the journal’s business managers, and the printers. They select and assemble articles; they perform the tedious and demanding word-by-word task of copy editing; they proofread galleys. They are involved in the design and formatting of the journal, and also assist with some business functions, including production, marketing, promotion and publicity. The pressures of this demanding editorial work mean it is sometimes easier to say “no” than “yes” to submissions. The journal’s editors are, and always have been, reluctant to accept articles that are flawed because of the extra work involved.

Editing is also an exercise in taste and judgement. In the assessment of a submission to *Saskatchewan History*, an editor’s personal emotional response, combined with that of the peer appraiser, plays a significant role in whether or not it is published. This was especially true during the years when the journal had no editorial advisory body.

There have been nine editors of *Saskatchewan History* over the past fifty years. Each editor brought to the journal his or her own unique background and skills which, combined with shifting historical trends and the fluctuating fortunes of the SAB, have colored the content and tone of the journal. All the editors have been steeped in the humanities, and all have had a good grasp of the field of *Saskatchewan History*.

The story of the journal can be divided into three periods, each divided by stages of change or crisis. During the first period, from 1948 to 1958 when Dr. Hilda Neatby and Dr. Lewis H. Thomas served as editors, *Saskatchewan History* established a consistent pattern of content, format and organizational structure. In 1958, the magazine reached

what John Archer called “a plateau” stage. Dr. Evelyn Eager, Assistant Provincial Archivist at the SAB, oversaw a review of its content, format and editorial set-up during her two-year tenure as editor from 1958 to 1960. The journal then entered its most stable period under the editorship of Douglas H. Bocking, the Assistant then Associate Provincial Archivist at the SAB’s Saskatoon Office. For over twenty-five years, Bocking steered *Saskatchewan History* on a steady course, maintaining, and indeed enhancing its reputation as a respectable scholarly journal. Then, in 1986-87, a crisis of major proportions rocked the SAB, precipitating a period of instability and uncertainty for the journal which has lasted to the present day. For over a year, the future of the journal was in jeopardy; no issues were published in 1987.<sup>19</sup> In 1988, the SAB began contracting out the editorship of *Saskatchewan History*. Over the past ten years, there have been five editors: Glennda Leslie (1988-1989); Kathlyn Szalasznyj (1989-1993); Joan Champ (1993-1995); and the current co-editors Chris Kitzan and Steve Hewitt. For most of its fifty years, the journal has been guided by an Editorial Committee or Advisory Board, with members drawn from a variety of scholarly disciplines and backgrounds.<sup>20</sup>

The first editor of *Saskatchewan History*, appointed by the Provincial Archivist, George Simpson, was Hilda Neatby. Neatby was a curious choice for the magazine’s editorship. She was a historian of Canada, specializing mainly in eighteenth-century Quebec history, rather than a historian of Saskatchewan.<sup>21</sup> Neatby had grown up in rural Saskatchewan, however, and her sensitivity toward the character and development of the western province’s history and its people is apparent in her “Foreword” to the magazine’s first issue:

No magazine with this title should need an introduction to the people of Saskatchewan who, after much poetic concentration on the future, are suddenly realizing that they have a past, and that the past is important too. Much Saskatchewan History is now being written and published in scattered books and periodicals; more would appear if



Hilda Neatby, the first editor of *Saskatchewan History*, honored as Saskatoon’s citizen of the year, 1954. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-SP-B 2797-1.

those able to and ready to write had some encouragement. *Saskatchewan History* is designed to give information and encouragement—information about what some are doing, and encouragement to them and others to do more. Space will be given to reviews and notices of all publications on provincial history and related subjects. We hope also to offer new material of various kinds: from the pioneer who tells not what he has read, but what he has lived—the primary historian; from writers who will gather up from little known books important, but rather inaccessible material; and from students who, in increasing numbers, are exploring our archives and fitting together from disjointed fragments the real story of our rather legendary past. Comments and suggestions for future issues will be welcomed. This new venture depends for its success on those people of Saskatchewan, living here at home, or scattered over the continent, who feel that our province has too long been represented on the historical map by distinguished but lonely pioneers.<sup>22</sup>

Neatby’s most significant contribution as the editor of *Saskatchewan History*’s first five issues was, perhaps, her understanding of how history works,

particularly within the unique environment of Saskatchewan. Neatby knew that the people of the province valued their history; they were willing to support not only the preservation of historical materials, but the writing of history as well. In a speech she delivered in the 1950s called "Some Western Canadian Paradoxes," she pointed out that in Saskatchewan "we have quite an extraordinary set of educational and cultural institutions costing very large sums of money, paid for almost entirely from public funds, and yet we have in our province relatively few people who could be said to belong to the intellectual classes."<sup>23</sup> Clearly, Neatby's "Foreword" reflected an awareness of what Trouillot has called "the complexity of the overlapping sites where history is produced."<sup>24</sup> She knew that working alongside the professional historians were participating members of the public whose contributions could complement and supplement the history produced inside the university. It was important for the success of *Saskatchewan History* that it reach the widest possible readership. It was therefore decided to present both scholarly and popular modes of history between its covers. This decision was made not only for practical reasons, but for intellectual ones as well. If a better understanding of the province's history was to be achieved, the general public could not be alienated from the process of producing it.

This is not to say, however, that throughout her short tenure as editor, Neatby did not struggle to maintain what she called "proper academic standards" in *Saskatchewan History*. It was important, she felt, that "rigid standards of research and scholarship" be upheld, partly, she advised L.H. Thomas, "to establish a real distinction between ourselves and the daily press."<sup>25</sup> Neatby attempted to provide guidelines and advice to avocational historians. In the spring of 1948, she asked Jean E. Murray, a professor of history at the university, to write a piece on how to research, write and publish local history. "I should think it might be well to stress

what they shouldn't do as well as what they should do," she suggested to Murray, "and to encourage them to get first-hand stories rather than to 'compile' history."<sup>26</sup> When an article on the history of Fort Qu'Appelle was received that Neatby felt was "of quite local interest," rather than rejecting it she suggested to the writer that it be published in the magazine as "a study in the use of various types of historical evidence using the Qu'Appelle problem as an illustration of methods and difficulties."<sup>27</sup> Occasionally, however, Neatby's frustration with amateur submissions spilled over into her memoranda to SAB staff involved in the production of *Saskatchewan History*. "I think we shouldn't even acknowledge for fear of getting another," she wrote of one manuscript. "These things are too awful."<sup>28</sup> Neatby's sentiments regarding non-professional historical writing were perhaps best expressed in a paper she delivered at a meeting of the Canadian Historical Association in 1952:

Much genuine and useful enthusiasm for history may be wasted on local efforts. As all historians know, the pursuit of local history is not without its dangers. It may, by over-emphasis on the trivial, the picturesque, and the pseudo-dramatic, produce the painful type of pedant who has so often been caricatured. Or, by way of reaction it may go to the other extreme and lead to endless and aimless counting and listing, sociological pedantry at its worst. Local history also nourishes the reminiscer. The editors of *Saskatchewan History* for example, know how much tact is required to maintain friendly relations with correspondents who have a natural desire to tell their stories and have them printed, but who lack discrimination in the selection of material, and experience in the verification of facts. And there is the chronic problem of the resentment of pioneers 'who were there all the time' when young people who might be their grandchildren venture to question any of their statements.<sup>29</sup>

Despite Neatby's ambivalence towards the work of local historians, the section called "Recollections and Reminiscences" was a prominent and regular feature in *Saskatchewan History* until the mid-1960s, after which time it was included on an occasional basis. As the magazine's business manager, Marion Hagerman, noted early in 1948, this section was the "largest drawing card as far as subscribers are concerned—most of them are old-timers."<sup>30</sup>

*Saskatchewan History* has been of invaluable assistance to me in my attempts to help Ontario students understand a region of the country other than their own (sometimes described in the bleaker moments as my 'mission to the heathen of southern Ontario'). I initiated and have taught a course in the politics of the Western provinces for over a quarter of a century at the University of Guelph and *Saskatchewan History* has always been there to help prove that Saskatchewan 'n'est pas une province comme les autres'. Saskatchewan has been described as Canada's laboratory and *Saskatchewan History* has chronicled the many social, political and economic experiments, successful and unsuccessful, which have given the province a national importance far greater than numbers alone would warrant. The province is indeed fortunate to have such a journal published by dedicated people determined to tell its story.

Patrick Kyba, Political Scientist

An interesting but short-lived feature in the earliest issues of *Saskatchewan History*, the "Teachers' Section," also revealed Neatby's influence. Four short articles based upon secondary sources were published in volumes one and two of the journal for the special use of teachers.<sup>31</sup> Attempts were made to tailor these articles directly to some aspect of the curricula prescribed by the Department of Education for high school social studies courses. According to Neatby, this section was "designed to offer teachers information in an interesting form, which they may use to supplement their rather scanty reference materials."<sup>32</sup> The "Teachers' Section" was discontinued in 1949, however, due to an apparent lack of interest on the part of teachers.

Neatby, a passionate advocate for educational reform throughout her life, was well acquainted with the lack of resources for the teaching of west-

ern Canadian history in Saskatchewan schools. She had taught history and French at Regina College from 1934 to 1946 where, according to her biographer, "by the end of the first year she was appalled at the change she perceived in the educational system of Saskatchewan."<sup>33</sup> Neatby had also served as an associate editor of *The Bulletin of the Saskatchewan Teacher's Federation* and "always," Michael Hayden writes, "felt close to school teachers and their problems . . ."<sup>34</sup>

At the time of its founding, the SAB was also aware that there were no adequate source books on the history of the province to assist social studies teachers. Prior to the establishment of *Saskatchewan History*, the provincial archives produced a series of articles in *The Bulletin*. These articles, written by members of the archives' staff, "were designed to suggest to teachers the value of local source material for teaching history and the importance of making students aware of their past."<sup>35</sup> The establishment of the historical magazine with a focus on education, obviously a more ambitious undertaking, was an indication of the level of the SAB's commitment to support the teaching of western Canadian history in Saskatchewan schools.

Unfortunately, this support was not reciprocated. While the Department of Education placed *Saskatchewan History* on its list of recommended books and periodicals for schools and school libraries in 1948, it did not provide financial assistance to help pay for the printing of the magazine so that it could be distributed to the high schools in the province. The Chairman of the SAB was Hon. W.S. Lloyd, Minister of Education. At a spring board meeting, Lloyd moved that 600 copies of the current issue of the province's historical journal be placed, through his department, at the disposal of school superintendents for the purpose of encouraging both school boards and teachers to subscribe. The SAB recommended "that each copy of the magazine should have a letter, endorsed by a member of the Department of Education and by the

archivist, urging school boards to subscribe to the magazine as a means of assembling source material for the history of the province and for social studies generally.”<sup>36</sup> Mr. Lloyd was unable to recommend the purchase of block subscriptions for the high schools, however, “due to the retrenchments in expenditure which are being made at the present time.”<sup>37</sup> By the fall of 1948, it was clear that the policy of encouraging schools to subscribe to *Saskatchewan History* had failed. Only thirty-five schools were subscribing to the magazine; by 1956, the number of school subscriptions had dropped to sixteen.<sup>38</sup> The magazine’s business manager, Marion Hagerman, was perplexed. “I cannot understand why it has been so difficult to interest school boards and teachers,” she wrote in a memorandum to Thomas. “They should have been the first to support us.”<sup>39</sup>

When Neatby resigned from *Saskatchewan History* in 1949 in order to serve on the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Social Sciences—the Massey Commission—Lewis H. Thomas, the Provincial Archivist, took over the role of editor. With his appointment, the magazine’s operations moved to the Regina office of the SAB. Thomas, who had been the “consulting editor” in Regina for the first five issues, brought to the journal his awareness of the importance of local history. Thomas’ views on this subject were articulated in his submission on behalf of the SAB (made jointly with Lloyd) to the Massey Commission in 1949:

The study of provincial and local history ... cannot be isolated from the study of national history. ... The province or community is not an entity in itself, but one in which every important activity is subjected to influences originating in other parts of Canada as well as other parts of the world. ... [T]he student of national development is frequently interested in local and provincial history and institutions, in order to make comparative studies of social development, and to trace the origins and assess the effects of many national policies and national movements. ... The Saskatchewan Archives Board has from its inception in 1945 followed a policy of encouraging scholarly research in the field of provincial and local history. ... This policy ... as



Lewis H. Thomas at the Saskatchewan Archives Board in 1960. He succeeded Hilda Neatby, editor in 1949. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 6490.

well as the publication of a provincial historical magazine, has resulted in a significant increase in the amount of research in the economic, social and political background of present day Saskatchewan.<sup>40</sup>

From the start, *Saskatchewan History* dealt with the people, places and issues that general readers could readily identify with. The conscious (and pragmatic) decision to heed popular taste was made out of an awareness that the public had a penchant for a kind of “personalized” history. In her paper delivered at the 1952 meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Neatby outlined the gains that could be made from this approach:

[E]xperience seems to show that, in Canada at least, many who care for no other kind of history can be interested in the history of their locality or of their region. Even if the historical enthusiasm of most of them begins and ends with local history, it may still serve more than one useful purpose. The Massey Commission heard much from local and from national bodies of the wastage of the historical sources through the deliberate or careless destruction of

documents. Ultimately collection and preservation of these must be a responsibility of public authorities, but meanwhile destruction will go on until the public is sufficiently interested and informed to put a stop to it. ... Finally, one can always hope that the interest aroused in local history ... may nourish future historians, and furnish existing ones with discriminating readers.<sup>41</sup>

12 With its focus on regional and local themes, *Saskatchewan History* was bucking the trends of historical writing in Canada in the late 1940s and 1950s. The Canadian historians of the day had turned their attention to the study of political and biographical subjects, eschewing economic, geographical and social themes such as Native history.<sup>42</sup> Saskatchewan's historical journal, on the other hand, presented instead a more pluralistic view of western Canadian society, reflecting, perhaps, the close ties of the university's professors with the "grass roots" of the province.<sup>43</sup> The contents of *Saskatchewan History* from the first issue to present-day have consistently emphasized the social history or the "limited identities" of the province's communities, classes, social structures, and ethnic pluralism. In doing so, the journal has been instrumental in the achievement of what historian J.M.S. Careless calls "the articulation of regional patterns in one transcontinental state" — part of the region building (as opposed to nation building) that he proposes may be the true theme of the country's history in the twentieth century.<sup>44</sup> *Saskatchewan History* was and is an expression of provincial autonomy: history was not something that happened somewhere else; it happened right here in Saskatchewan.

Like Neatby, Thomas also brought to the journal an understanding of "the complexity of the overlapping sites where history is produced." From the journal's earliest days, as Neatby's consulting editor in Regina, Thomas had welcomed submissions from non-historians. In 1948, for example, he suggested that they solicit articles from Grant MacEwan and Evan Hardy, both professors in the university's Department of Agriculture, on the history of cattle-

men and farm machinery, respectively.<sup>45</sup> Thomas' efforts were rewarded over the years. Influences from outside the historical discipline have always been plentiful in the pages of *Saskatchewan History*. Contributions from political scientists are especially prominent; other contributors have included economists, teachers, members of the clergy, sociologists, geographers, librarians, English professors, engineers, law professors and, of course, archivists. The interdisciplinary approach to the presentation of the past in the journal has permitted the exploration of the province's historical patterns from a variety of different perspectives. Occasionally, special thematic issues have been published. The second number in 1949 was devoted to the history of medicine in Saskatchewan and included Hilda Neatby's article, "The Medical Profession in the North-West Territories."<sup>46</sup> A special issue featuring sports history was developed in honour of the Jeux Canada Games which were held in Saskatchewan in 1989. An article on the history of basketball in the province by John Dewar, Professor of Physical Education at the University of Saskatchewan, and a biography of Ethel Catherwood, the Olympic gold medalist from Saskatoon, were highlights of that issue.<sup>47</sup>

Thomas was also largely responsible for introducing the publication of archival documents in *Saskatchewan History*. His scholarly interest in the government of the North-West Territories prompted him to assemble and to write introductions for selections of territorial documents in the "Archival Studies," later the "Documents in Western History" section of the magazine. The presentation of primary source documents in the journal was a familiar feature until the early 1970s. It was briefly revived in the late 1980s and again in the 1990s as a section called "From the Collection of the Saskatchewan Archives Board." This section remains important not only because it makes unique historical records accessible to the readers, but because it also reminds the readers of the journal's connection to the Saskatchewan Archives, and gives them a taste

of what they might expect to find if they were to visit the archives' reading room.

Thomas resigned from the position of Provincial Archivist in 1957 to accept an appointment as a professor of history at Regina College, later the University of Saskatchewan Regina Campus. He remained as the editor of *Saskatchewan History* until the appointment of Evelyn Eager was made by the new Provincial Archivist, John Archer, in 1958. Evelyn Eager had completed her Ph.D. requirements in political science while serving as Assistant Provincial Archivist at the Saskatoon Office. She also acted as the business manager for the historical journal from 1950 to 1958 and was thus well acquainted with the fact that, from a business perspective, it had reached, in Archer's words, "a plateau—perhaps a ceiling."<sup>48</sup> The number of subscribers had dropped by 200 in two years, from 847 in January 1956 to 647 in January 1958.<sup>49</sup> The SAB was also concerned by the appearance, in 1957, of the *Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society* (SHFS) on the provincial scene; it was feared that a competing magazine might emerge from this group. Archer and other Archives Board members were anxious to strengthen *Saskatchewan History*, both by making improvements to its format, and by establishing an effective liaison with SHFS so that the journal could serve the new organization's interests and activities.<sup>50</sup>

The first step was to enhance the "eye appeal" of the magazine. Under Eager's editorship, more black and white photographs were included in *Saskatchewan History* to illustrate the articles. The first and only colour illustration ever featured within the covers of the magazine was published in the spring issue of 1958 when a print of James Henderson's painting, "The End of Winter," was used to accompany an article about the Saskatchewan artist.<sup>51</sup> The print had to be glued into each copy of the issue, no doubt adding significantly to the costs of production.



*Evelyn Eager, who served as editor of Saskatchewan History between 1958 and 1960. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 6456.*

Eager added a new feature to the magazine called "Prairie People." "This section," she advised readers, "will present historical sketches of notable individuals or groups who have made a unique or outstanding contribution to their community or to the province."<sup>52</sup> While "Prairie People" only lasted until the mid-1960s, it was the vehicle for a series of short articles on ethnic settlement in Saskatchewan by a local historian named Gilbert Johnson. Johnson, an agent for the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool at Marchwell, contributed histories of the Syrians in western Canada, Swabian (or German) culture, Roumanian settlers, the New Finland Colony in the lower Qu'Appelle valley, and the Patagonia-Welsh of the Bangor district.<sup>53</sup> His pioneering studies were sometimes the only available sources on a given ethnic group. Habeeb Salloum points out in his

reminiscence of his Arab family's homesteading experiences, that Johnson's "is the only article on Syrians in Canada listed in the bibliographies of research on Canadian ethnic groups of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1920-1964."<sup>54</sup> D'Arcy Hande, Director of the Historical Research Branch of the SAB, states that Johnson was one of his early mentors. "He succeeded through his articles on the history of east-central Saskatchewan communities and topics in whetting my interest in the region where I grew up," Hande explains. "His writing revealed to younger readers like myself the personal dimension of the fur trade and pioneer period, including the origin of place names and studies of life in several ethnic settlements."<sup>55</sup>

By the end of 1958, the SAB had succeeded in creating a connection with the SHFS. Allan R. Turner, an archival assistant with the Regina Office, became an officer of the Society, serving on its Editorial Committee. In a memorandum to Eager, Turner reported that the SHFS had passed a resolution at its Annual General Meeting to the effect that a subscription to *Saskatchewan History* be included as part of its membership fee.<sup>56</sup> In addition, manuscript material collected by the new organization would be deposited in the Saskatchewan Archives. News about the activities of the SHFS was a regular feature in the SAB's journal throughout the 1960s.

Aggressive marketing strategies implemented by the SAB such as the special subscription rate for members of the SHFS as well as other historical societies in the province succeeded in increasing the circulation of the journal during Eager's term as the editor of *Saskatchewan History*. By the spring of 1959, the number of subscriptions had grown substantially to a total of 1,881.<sup>57</sup> Due to an appeal to educators, 488 of those subscribers were from the Teachers' College. A representative of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation also sat on the journal's advisory board. By the time Eager left in 1960 to pursue her career as a professor of political

science and Doug Bocking stepped in as acting editor, the journal was on solid footing.

I arrived in 1964 in Saskatchewan and at its university completely green when it came to knowing anything about provincial history. As my research interest turned toward the story of the province's Liberal party and the ideological abandonment of its progressive origins, I discovered *Saskatchewan History*, my first source of enlightenment. It gave me a sense of the province's past and present, illustrated the issues and events that had impressed themselves on people's minds and explored the institutions my fellow citizens thought important enough to study. In a methodical if not methodologically correct way, I sat down in 1967 and 1968 and read all issues from the previous twenty years. I learned (with belated thanks) more about what I was not looking for than I did about the Liberal party, and I have remembered much of it.

David E. Smith, Professor of Political Studies

Bocking officially became the editor of *Saskatchewan History* in 1962. A former high school teacher from Melfort, Bocking received his Master's degree in history from the University of Saskatchewan in 1959. His thesis on Premier Walter Scott's rise to political power had been supervised by Hilda Neatby.<sup>58</sup> Bocking held a variety of positions within the SAB from the time he joined the staff in 1957 until he retired as the Assistant Provincial Archivist in 1986. As head of the Saskatoon Office, Bocking was in charge of both the editorial and business operations of *Saskatchewan History*, as well as of the financial affairs of the SAB.

During his approximately twenty-five year term as editor, Bocking brought stability, respectability, and consistency to the journal. His academic and professional credentials, coupled with his quiet and gracious manner, inspired the confidence of the



many researchers he assisted during their visits to the SAB's campus facility in Saskatoon. As a result, Bocking was able to build up a considerable network of contacts over the years, including professors, graduate students and others. Bocking had a knack for identifying potential, reliable contributors; he did not hesitate to call upon them to write book reviews or articles for *Saskatchewan History*.<sup>59</sup> By the 1970s, Bocking had the luxury of being able to select articles from a two-year backlog of submissions.<sup>60</sup> This enabled him to maintain not only quality but also variety within the journal, which, he admitted to one contributor, "sometimes becomes quite a juggling act ...".<sup>61</sup> Bocking's editorial skills were in large measure responsible for the two awards won by *Saskatchewan History* during his tenure: the American Association for State and Local History's Award of Merit in 1963; and a Certificate of Merit from the Canadian Historical Association's Regional History Committee in 1979.

Significant changes took place over the course of Bocking's extended editorship of *Saskatchewan History*. These changes would alter the focus and ultimately the fortunes of the journal. The balance that the founders of the journal had struck between scholarly and popular modes of historical writing began to shift in favour of the scholarly focus by the late 1960s. This shift was due primarily to a considerable rise in the number of university scholars working on local and regional studies. On campuses across Canada, the 1970s were characterized by increased specialization, with, as Carl Berger points out, "ever larger numbers of researchers working on ever smaller subjects."<sup>62</sup> At the University of Saskatchewan, according to Michael Hayden, the Saskatoon faculty grew from 250 in 1959 to 887 in 1974; the Regina faculty from 19 in its first year to 376 by 1974. On the Saskatoon campus, the student population increased from 3,961 in 1958-59 to a high of 10,181 in 1969-70. In Regina, 327 students were registered in 1958-59; by 1969-70 the number of students had grown to 4,394.<sup>63</sup>

As the number of academics increased, so too did the need for topics for graduate theses, books, and scholarly articles. Scholars broadened the scope and subject matter of history, turning their attention to discussions of class and social structures, ethnic pluralism, working-class and trade union history. In addition, the burgeoning historical and political science professions were looking for outlets for the publication of their work. Over the past three decades, numerous members of the younger generation of scholars at Saskatchewan's two universities have published their first articles in *Saskatchewan History*. J. William Brennan, for example, now a Professor of History at the University of Regina, had his first article, based in part on his Master's thesis on former Premier Charles A. Dunning, published in this journal in 1969.<sup>64</sup> The dissemination of the research undertaken by professors and graduate students to a wider audience is not only a valuable experience for the writers. It also serves to inform the general public about the research being done in the various departments of the province's universities, and encourages the work of other scholars.

In the beginning the articles were a bit shorter and less pedantic, therefore a bit more interesting to us prairie yokels. More recently the articles have become more ponderous, verbose and full of endnotes, footnotes and ibids. This may be more to the satisfaction of Ph.D.s, and less so to us stubble jumpers on the open prairies. This in turn redounds to the number and kind of subscribers that you will have on your subscription lists. Perhaps, your focus is more on the learned and less on the unwashed students.

Anthony J. Hruska, Local Historian

One result of the intensified focus on scholarly writing in *Saskatchewan History* since the late 1960s has been the marginalization of the work of the

“primary” historians. An analysis of the profile of contributors to the journal over the years shows that while the number of items published by professionals and amateurs was about even during the 1950s, by the 1960s the contributions by scholars outnumbered those by non-scholars by three to one. By the end of the 1970s, there were six scholarly items for every non-scholarly one.<sup>65</sup> Another indication of the relative disappearance of the work of non-academic historians in *Saskatchewan History* is the decrease in the number of “Reminiscences and Recollections” published over the decades. From 1948 to 1959, items appeared in this section of the journal twenty-eight times; in the 1960s, there were eleven such items, and in the 1970s, only six were featured.

A review of the editorial correspondence over the years indicates that the journal’s editors often struggled with submissions that were based on personal experience and memory. Bocking was no exception. He expressed his frustration in a memorandum to Allan Turner after working with one particularly difficult piece of writing in the early 1960s. “The battle is over and I will finally make it to the press today,” he declared. “\_\_\_’s article took a tremendous amount of time and I am really not happy about it yet. ... Actually, we should not have undertaken the work on [the] article, but I knew that he probably would not produce anything better and I felt his work and our involvement pretty well committed us to publication.”<sup>66</sup> In the 1970s when he had a large amount of material on hand, Bocking was much more discriminating in his assessment of submissions. And by the 1980s the scholarly focus of the journal was so well established that he confidently requested at least one author’s academic credentials. “It seems to me,” he wrote to the potential contributor, “that part of the appraisal of your paper has to be related to what research you have done. I would appreciate it therefore if you could tell me a little bit about yourself and in particular what formal studies and research you have done.”

The writer subsequently withdrew his submission.<sup>67</sup>

*Saskatchewan History*’s change in focus created an opportunity for the Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society. In 1979, the SHFS launched its own magazine called *Folklore*. The expressed purpose of this publication was “[t]o meet a long-felt need to print and preserve certain facets of life before they are forgotten.”<sup>68</sup> Richard J. Wood, the editor of *Folklore* in 1993, explained the approach of the SHFS magazine:

History by those who have lived it is our favourite kind of story, though for some subjects and periods such authors are becoming more and more scarce. Fortunately, there is an abundance of ‘from the heart’ writers of succeeding generations—be they family, friends or others—who really care about our heritage and its preservation and know how to do the research. ... While the content of *Folklore* is mainly personal reminiscences, we strive as well to present a balanced perspective and encourage contributors to take a critical view.<sup>69</sup>

In spite of this new competition from the SHFS publication, *Saskatchewan History* remained relatively stable. On 6 August 1981, the SAB passed a motion reaffirming that the journal was “the ‘flagship’ publication of the Archives Board, and that if any changes are made to its format or content, its reputation for editorial excellence must remain intact.”<sup>70</sup> Early in 1985, Ian E. Wilson, the Provincial Archivist since 1976, again expressed the SAB’s commitment to its journal, stating that it was “the primary publication outlet for new research on aspects of Saskatchewan’s past ... .” Wilson noted, however, that over the past two years there had been “a small but continuing decline in subscribers (64 in 1983 and approximately 100 this year so far).” While the journal was not exactly in trouble, Wilson felt there was cause for concern. “Given the importance of *Saskatchewan History* to scholarship and to our knowledge of the past,” he advised the Board, “I would like to see us set *Saskatchewan History* on a firm long-term financial footing. I would also like to see it reach a broader audience than its current 1000 subscribers. Not even every school and library receives it!”<sup>71</sup>

Part of the reason for the decline, in Wilson's opinion, was austerity measures implemented in schools and libraries during the early 1980s which included cuts in subscription budgets. In an attempt to overcome this trend, complimentary copies of the first issue of 1985 was sent to schools and libraries throughout the province along with an invitation to subscribe. This issue also featured a message from the Lieutenant Governor, Frederick W. Johnson, commending the Archives Board for its efforts in preserving the historical records of the province and in encouraging research. "The pages of its magazine, *Saskatchewan History*, now in its 38th year of publication, have consistently presented the new research on which our knowledge of the past is based," Johnson wrote. "*Saskatchewan History* is a valuable, often intriguing source of reliable information deserving of a place in every Saskatchewan school and library."<sup>72</sup> By 1986, the number of subscribers to the journal had increased by about 200, to a total of 1,250.<sup>73</sup>

*Saskatchewan History* has played a unique part in my life. In my vocation, as a Research Historian for the provincial government, and in my avocation as a traveller in this province much of this journal has been a guide to people and places in Saskatchewan. Throughout the years "variety" has been the best term to describe the articles, book reviews and editorials in this publication. From "Skiing on the Prairies" to "Diefenbaker Memories" *Saskatchewan History* has shown that personal reminiscences and folk tales are the basis for much of our history. This journal has also tackled some controversial issues, giving other interpretations to matters as diverse as "La Corne's Farming Hoax" where Stuart Houston corrects one of the province's earliest farming myths. Steve Hewitt's "Spying 101" was equally revealing on the political front. The latter story also showed that time catches up with everyone, when I actually remember events described as history.

Terrence Sinclair, Research Historian

All seemed well. Bocking, who had served both the SAB and its historical journal ably for over twenty-five years, decided to take early retirement, effective June 1986. Bocking's retirement was the first of a series of changes that occurred at the SAB that year—changes which precipitated a crisis of major proportions for *Saskatchewan History*. The Provincial Archivist, Ian Wilson, resigned effective 31 August 1986, and Trevor J.D. Powell was named Acting Provincial Archivist. Other SAB staff members also left in 1986, including Lloyd Rodwell, Staff Archivist III and former business manager of the journal, who had to retire for health reasons; and Kathyln R. Szalasznyj, Staff Archivist II and business manager of *Saskatchewan History*, who took maternity leave. With no editor and no business manager in place, the journal was in a particularly vulnerable position, for it was at this time that Premier Grant Devine's Progressive Conservative government decided to review the SAB's budget.

In July of 1986, D'Arcy Hande, the Acting Director of the SAB's Saskatoon office, was already informing potential contributors that submissions of articles were not being accepted. Bocking's retirement, along with financial considerations, had made it necessary to re-evaluate the future of *Saskatchewan History*.<sup>74</sup> The period of uncertainty lasted until the spring of 1987 when it was learned that the provincial government had cut its grant to the Archives Board by twenty-five percent.<sup>75</sup>

This calamity nearly spelled the end for *Saskatchewan History*. After a one-year delay in publication, however, the SAB took steps to save its award-winning journal. The *Saskatchewan History* Advisory Board was created, and a new editor, Glenda Leslie, was appointed. Leslie, who had earned a Master of Arts degree in history, had become the City of Saskatoon Archivist in 1986. (At that time the city archives was run out of the SAB's Saskatoon office). She agreed to become the editor of *Saskatchewan History* on a part-time basis, on the understanding that she not work on the journal

during regular office hours. This arrangement signalled the beginning of the contracting out of the editorship of the publication; since 1988, all of the editors have worked on contract.<sup>76</sup> Unlike Leslie, however, who carried out her editing work at the Saskatoon office, subsequent editors have worked out of their homes or offices, with only a minimal presence (a mailbox) within the archives.

The hiatus in publication took a severe toll on

in January 1988, the board members expressed their desire to see *Saskatchewan History* return to its democratic roots by combining popular interpretations with more scholarly forms of analysis and interpretation. The Board agreed that *Saskatchewan History*

was a unique publication sharing characteristics of both an academic and a historical society journal. That combination of scholarly standards and popular appeal should continue as the goal of the journal. It is important therefore to continue to publish local history articles and it may even be necessary to solicit them through contacts with local history societies.<sup>78</sup>

There is little evidence in the pages of the journal of the late 1980s of a return to the more balanced approach of the early days, however. For the most part, contributors continued to be drawn from the ranks of university faculties and colleges of graduate studies. Exceptions included the reminiscences of a pioneer land surveyor, posthumously published in the spring issue of 1988 (actually 1989), and recollections about tennis in the early days of Saskatchewan by J.B. Kirkpatrick, Dean Emeritus of Education,

University of Saskatchewan, featured in the Autumn 1988 (1989) sports issue.<sup>79</sup> Contemporary, non-academic writers of history might not have felt encouraged by these models. One local historian, for example, wrote to Leslie in the spring of 1989 expressing his indignation at being instructed to submit his reminiscences for review. "I do not work that way and I doubt if many others who are not academics do," he exclaimed in his letter. "There

*After over twenty-five years at the helm, Douglas Bocking (left) stepped down as editor of the journal in 1986. Here he is congratulated on his fine work by Provincial Archivist Ian Wilson. Photo courtesy of the Saskatchewan Archives Board.*

the subscription base for *Saskatchewan History*. In October of 1987, the Provincial Archivist apologized to subscribers for the delay and appealed to them to maintain their subscriptions, but his appeal had little effect.<sup>77</sup> Subscribers gradually slipped away. One of the first tasks of the journal's new Advisory Board, beyond overseeing the resumption of publication, was to find ways to retain long-time readers and to attract new ones. At its first meeting

must be at least an expression of interest and some guidance as to the content and length, before investing time in a submission.”<sup>80</sup>

After editing five issues of *Saskatchewan History*, Glenda Leslie resigned her position at the SAB in 1989 to become the Olympic Archivist at the City of Calgary Archives. Her successor was Kathlyn R. Szalasznyj, a former employee of the Archives Board with a Master’s degree in history from the University of Saskatchewan. Szalasznyj brought to the journal her special interest in memoirs. During the late 1980s she had developed and taught classes through the University of Saskatchewan’s Extension Division for senior citizens called “Write Your Own History” and “Self-Portrait: The Art of the Memoir.” Szalasznyj and some of her students had also formed a Memories Club which met monthly to share their writings.<sup>81</sup> With her interest and skills in this area, Szalasznyj worked especially hard to encourage avocational historians to publish in *Saskatchewan History*, putting in hours of work editing and rewriting their manuscripts. At the same time, she also contributed to the maintenance of the solid scholarly reputation of *Saskatchewan History* over her three and a half years as editor. It was during her term, for instance, that the formal peer review process, in which manuscripts are assessed by qualified readers, was introduced. By the time Szalasznyj took over the editorship of the journal, however, the number of subscriptions had dropped to 704; by 1990 there were only 612 subscribers, half as many as there were just prior to the SAB’s budget cut in 1987.

Throughout the 1990s the SAB and the *Saskatchewan History* Advisory Board has undertaken several initiatives, including studies, surveys, promotional campaigns, and a format change, all in an effort to boost subscription numbers. In 1992, for example, the Advisory Board conducted a survey of its current readers to determine what their opinions were about the strengths and weaknesses of the journal.<sup>82</sup> Armed with the results of this readership

survey, an application was made to the Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society for a grant to help with the promotion of the SAB’s journal. Since 1992, the SHFS has generously provided an annual grant of over \$1,000 to assist in printing promotional brochures for *Saskatchewan History*.<sup>83</sup> A salutary consequence of this funding support has been the renewal of the formerly strong relationship between the SHFS and the SAB that had languished during the 1970s and 1980s. *Saskatchewan History* now features a page about the activities of the SHFS in each issue, and a representative of the Society serves on the journal’s advisory board.

When Szalasznyj resigned in 1993, she was replaced by the author of this article, another Master’s degree holder from the University of Saskatchewan’s history department. My first task as editor was to design a new, more contemporary format for *Saskatchewan History*, beginning with the spring 1993 issue. The press release announcing the journal’s new look stated that the change would provide the flexibility to adopt a more attractive layout and the inclusion of more photographs and illustrations. In addition, the SAB expressed its confidence

that *Saskatchewan History*’s solid scholarly reputation—which has remained constant throughout the past forty-five years of publication—will not be compromised by this change. We are hopeful that the more attractive presentation will increase reading pleasure and enhance sales and subscriptions.<sup>84</sup>

Unfortunately, there was no significant increase in the number of subscriptions to the journal after the introduction of the new format.

The current co-editors of *Saskatchewan History*, Chris Kitzen, a graduate of the University of Saskatchewan with a Master’s degree in history, and Steve Hewitt, an assistant professor in the History Department at the University of Saskatchewan, have continued to strive for scholarly excellence in the pages of the journal since they took over in 1996. Like their immediate predecessor, Kitzen and

**In the beginning the articles were a bit shorter and less pedantic, therefore a bit more interesting to us prairie yokels.** —Anthony J. Hruska, *Local Historian*.

**Saskatchewan History has been of invaluable assistance to me in my attempts to help Ontario students understand a region of the country other than their own** — Patrick Kyba, *Political Scientist*.

Hewitt have focused their editorial energies almost exclusively on the submissions of academics.<sup>85</sup> To a large degree, this has been due to a lack of submissions by non-professionals. Articles written by avocational historians have been rejected, however, on the grounds that they did not meet the scholarly standards of the journal. These rejections have been based largely on the recommendations of peer readers.

At the time this article was written, the total number of paid subscriptions to *Saskatchewan History* had dropped to an all-time low of 561; of these, forty-two were school subscriptions. Recently, Kitzan and Hewitt noticed another worrisome trend: submissions have been dropping off. The publication of the fall 1997 issue was delayed considerably due to a shortage of material.

One explanation for the low number of submissions may be the fact that since 1989 the editors of *Saskatchewan History* have had almost no presence within the SAB. Lacking regular contact with researchers, it has been difficult, if not impossible, for the recent editors to establish the kinds of networks that Doug Bocking sustained over his long tenure as both the head of the SAB's Saskatoon office and the editor of the journal. In addition, while the relationship between the staff at the Saskatoon office and the editors is, and always has been, cordial and productive, the contractual arrangement does not necessarily contribute to a sense of "ownership" in *Saskatchewan History* on the part of the editors. The rate of turnover in recent years has thus been significant, further compromising any hope of building up a stable of potential contributors and reliable book reviewers.

It is ... not difficult to make the argument that the articles which have appeared in *Saskatchewan History* over the past fifty years have been important building blocks in the writing of ever more detailed and sophisticated histories of the province. One of the reasons why John Archer's *Saskatchewan: A History* (1980) is so far superior to J.F.C. Wright's *Saskatchewan: The History of a Province* (1955) can be found from even a cursory examination of the bibliographic essay in Archer's book. ... Arguably John Archer would not have been able to write such a fine history of Saskatchewan without the "spade work" of the dozens and dozens of scholars who wrote articles about the province for *Saskatchewan History* between 1955 and 1980.

— J. William Brennan, Professor of History

In conclusion, changes in the historical discipline over the past couple of decades account, in part, for the scholarly reorientation of *Saskatchewan History*. The journal was initially quite hospitable to the inclusion of historical writing produced outside the university. The early editors, professional historians including Hilda Neatby and Lewis H. Thomas, were willing to share in the presentation of Saskatchewan's history with non-professionals. They believed that members of the pioneer generation had much to contribute to the study of history because of their first-hand knowledge of the past. Their willingness to cooperate with "amateur" historians was also a matter of necessity: in the late 1940s and early 1950s there were relatively few academics working in the field of western Canadian, let alone Saskatchewan, history.<sup>86</sup> This situation eventually changed. Beginning in the late 1960s

with an upsurge in the number of scholars working on increasingly specialized, localist studies, the cooperative relationship between scholars and lay historians began to break down. By 1979, another publication, *Folklore*, published by the

contracting out of the production of the SAB's flagship publication. The removal of the journal's editorial functions from the Saskatoon office of the SAB has meant the loss of a vital, direct link between the editors and history enthusiasts. No longer produced



21

Photo courtesy of the Saskatchewan Archives Board.

Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society, had assumed the role of featuring the reminiscences and recollections of Saskatchewan's "pioneers." While continuing to promote Saskatchewan's limited identities through the publication of scholarly articles on social history, *Saskatchewan History* today no longer embraces the democratic, participatory approach of its earlier years.

The diminished presence of non-academic historians in the pages of *Saskatchewan History* and the recent drop in the number of scholarly submissions to the journal is also connected to difficulties being experienced by the journal's parent body, the Saskatchewan Archives Board. With the exception of Neatby, the editors were initially drawn from the ranks of the archives' professional staff. Serious financial constraints in the late 1980s led to the

in-house, the former networks between the staff editors and potential contributors—both local historians and academics—no longer exist. In addition, the journal's stable base has been lost with the introduction of outside editors. Contracted editors come and go with greater frequency. With the reduced visibility of the journal within its walls, there is a risk that the SAB may stop thinking of *Saskatchewan History* as part of its core operations.

While these changes cannot be said to have affected *Saskatchewan History*'s solid reputation as an invaluable source of information on provincial history—a reputation based to a considerable extent on rigorous research and scholarship—they have been accompanied by a marked decline in readership in recent decades. The increased intellectualization of the journal may have alienated some

non-professional readers. The interest of general readers in research articles should not, however, be underestimated. History, if well told, will always capture a general readership. The local histories presented in *Saskatchewan History* are populist in the sense that they deal with the people and events that readers can readily comprehend and identify with. Serious readers looking for new ideas and information are prepared to stretch if the journal gives them something to think and talk about.

Hopefully, this examination of its original mandate and approach may provide clues for the revitalization of the journal. Perhaps the key to renewal lies with the scholars themselves. In at least one respect, *Saskatchewan History* has come full circle: like Hilda Neatby, one of the current editors, Steve Hewitt, is employed by the University of Saskatchewan's Department of History. Fifty years ago, university historians like A.S. Morton, George W. Simpson and Lewis H. Thomas saw themselves as the natural leaders of society whose duty it was to stimulate the public's interest in the history of the province. As the province's centennial in the year 2005 draws near, all those involved in the production of *Saskatchewan History* should be poised to build on its considerable strengths as it continues to publish new material bearing on our collective past.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many readers, former contributors and former editors responded to the invitation made by the current editors to contribute to the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of *Saskatchewan History*. Their comments, extracted from the letters, faxes and e-mail messages, which appear throughout this article are only a small sampling of the overwhelming support and enthusiasm which all of the respondents expressed for the journal. A number of people wrote to say that, like Dr. Stuart Houston, they are original subscribers! Thanks to all of those who took the time to respond; your support of the journal is greatly appreciated.

I wish to express my thanks to the Saskatchewan Archives Board for commissioning this article. In addition, I am grateful to several current and former members of the Saskatchewan Archives Board for providing background information, including B. Zagorin, John C. Courtney, and James Pitsula. Also helpful were members of *Saskatchewan History* Advisory Board, J.W. Brennan and D.S. Spafford. I would like to thank the staff of the Saskatchewan Archives Board, especially Trevor Powell, D'Arcy Hande, and Nadine Small for making the editorial and business records of the journal available to me; the co-editors of *Saskatchewan History*, Chris Kitzan and Steve Hewitt, for their assistance in the preparation of this article; and Bob Champ, for reading an earlier draft of this article and making several useful suggestions. ~

#### NOTES

- 1 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 146.
- 2 The term "limited identities" comes from a review article written by Ramsay Cook in 1967 in which he remarked: "Perhaps instead of constantly deploring our lack of identity we should attempt to understand and explain the regional, ethnic and class identities that we do have. It might just be that it is in these limited identities that 'Canadianism' can be found. ..." G.R. Cook, "Canadian Centennial Celebrations," *International Journal*, 22 (autumn, 1967): 663. In 1969, J.M.S. Careless promoted this approach in the Canadian Historical Review. J.M.S. Careless, "Limited Identities' in Canada," in *Canadian Historical Review*, 50 (March 1969): 1-10.
- 3 Hilda Neatby, "Foreword," in *Saskatchewan History*, 1:1 (1948): 1.
- 4 Saskatchewan Archives Board (hereafter SAB), Office Records, A.1, A.S. Morton to Professor A.R.M. Lower, 24 February 1944; and University of Saskatchewan Archives (hereafter UA), M G 7 S1, George W. Simpson Papers, File 5, Provincial Archives, Lewis H. Thomas, "Memorandum on the Promotion of the Study of Provincial and Community History in Saskatchewan," n.d. [1944].
- 5 UA, MG7 S1, Simpson Papers, File 5, Provincial Archives, Simpson to Dr. Lester B. Shippe, 14 October 1943. Lewis H. Thomas received his Bachelor of Arts degree with high honours in history and economics in 1939 and a Master of Arts degree in history in 1941, both from the University of Saskatchewan. In 1942-43, Thomas studied advanced history at the University of California at Berkeley. He volunteered for armed service during World War II, but was rejected on physical grounds.
- 6 Premier T.C. Douglas found, upon assuming office, that "only empty cabinets" were left behind by Patterson's Liberal government. All correspondence had been removed from other departments as well. This situation prompted the CCF government to consider very seriously a provincial public records policy. Saskatoon *Star Phoenix*, 25 July 1944; SAB, Office Records, Morton, "Report of A.S. Morton's Visit to Regina of January 8, 9, 10, 1945," n.d.
- 7 UA, MG7 S1, Simpson Papers, File 5, Provincial Archives, L.H. Thomas, "Memorandum on the Promotion of the Study of Provincial and Community History in Saskatchewan," n.d. [1944].
- 8 SAB, "First Report of the Saskatchewan Archives, 1945-1946," 12-13.
- 9 SAB, A-4, SAB 1945-1966, Minutes for Saskatchewan Archives Board meeting, 12 September 1947.
- 10 Both *Manitoba History* (published since 1947) and *Alberta History* (inaugurated in 1953) were published by their respective provincial historical societies.



*British Columbia Historical Quarterly* was published by the Archives of British Columbia, in cooperation with the British Columbia Historical Society, from 1937 to 1958.

- 11 SAB, *Annual Report, 1947-1948*, 14.
- 12 George W. Simpson, "Dust Gets in Your Eyes," in *Saskatchewan History*, 1:1 (1948): 2.
- 13 A.S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1939); and Morton and Chester Martin, *History of Prairie Settlement and "Dominion Lands" Policy* (Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1938).
- 14 UA, MG7 S1, Simpson Papers, File 5, Provincial Archives, L.H. Thomas, "Memorandum on the Promotion of the Study of Provincial and Community History in Saskatchewan," 14.
- 15 A.N. Reid, "Local Government in the North-West Territories," [Note], in *Saskatchewan History*, 2:1 (1949): 13.
- 16 Over 200 responses were received for the first pioneer questionnaire, "What Did Western Canadian Pioneers Eat?" The 1952 article, "Bannock, Beans and Bacon: An Investigation of Pioneer Diet," by Edith Rowles, Professor of Household Science at the University of Saskatchewan, was based largely on these responses. The following year, Questionnaire No. 2, entitled "Pioneer Experiences," yielded over 300 responses, resulting in the development of Evelyn Eager's article, "Our Pioneers Say:—." Three more questionnaires were issued in 1953, one dealing with pioneer schools (No. 3), another with churches in the early days (No. 4), and the third with recreation and social life (No. 5). No article on pioneer schools was published based on Questionnaire No. 3. "Pioneer Church Life in Saskatchewan," by Christine MacDonald, based on Questionnaire No. 4, was not published until 1960; E.C. Morgan's "Pioneer Recreation and Social Life" did not appear in the journal until 1965. Questionnaires No. 6 (Pioneer Farming Experiences) and No. 7 (Saskatchewan Folklore) were developed and distributed in 1954. The next year, articles based on the answers to these questionnaires appeared in *Saskatchewan History*: Dorothy Kamen-Kaye's, "The Composite Pioneer," featuring stories and folklore; and "Pioneer Farming Experiences" by Allan R. Turner. Questionnaire No. 9, "Pioneer Homes," furnished material for Kathleen M. Taggart's article, "The First Shelter of Early Pioneers," in 1958. The article, "Pioneer Reading" by Catherine Tulloch, published in 1965, was based on the ninth SAB questionnaire. *Saskatchewan History*, 5:1 (1952): 1-15; 6:1 (1953): 1-12; 8:1 (1955): 6-10; 8:2 (1955): 41-55; 11:3 (1958): 81-93; 12:3 (1959): 97-99; 13:1 (1960): 1-18; and 18:2 (1965): 41-54.
- 17 "Notes and Correspondence," in *Saskatchewan History*, 5:3 (1952): 120.
- 18 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 25.
- 19 Volume 40, No. 1 of *Saskatchewan History* is dated "Winter 1987." This issue was, however, published in 1988. It was not until 1991 (43:1) that an adjustment was made in the date to correct the anomaly created by the delay.
- 20 In 1948, an Editorial Committee was established to assist the editor. This committee was replaced in 1951 by an Advisory Board which remained in place until 1972, at which time it was dropped. The Advisory Board was reinstated in 1988, and serves the journal to this day.
- 21 After teaching history and French for twelve years at Regina College, Neatby was transferred to the Department of History at the University of Saskatchewan in 1946 where she planned to concentrate on *Saskatchewan History*. According to Neatby's biographer, Michael Hayden, "her heart was not in it." Her only western Canadian work was her article entitled "The Medical Profession in the North-West Territories," in *Saskatchewan History*, 2: 2 (1949): 1-15. Other demands, including her work for the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences—the Massey Commission—from 1949 to 1951, distracted her from pursuing provincial historical study. Hayden surmises that "Western Canadian historical writing might have been quite different if she had stayed with it, but when she had an opportunity to return to Quebec history she did so very happily . . ." Michael Hayden, ed., *So Much to Do, So Little Time: The Writings of Hilda Neatby* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 25-26, 165, 193.
- 22 Neatby, "Foreword," 1.
- 23 *So Much To Do, So Little Time*, Hayden, ed., 98.
- 24 Trouillot goes on to write: "Next to professional historians we discover artisans of different kinds, unpaid or unrecognized field laborers who augment, deflect, or reorganize the work of the professionals as politicians, students, fiction writers, filmmakers, and participating members of the public. In so doing, we gain a more complex view of academic history itself, since we do not consider professional historians the sole participants in its production." Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 19, 25.
- 25 SAB, M1, Editorial Correspondence, 1947-48, Neatby to Thomas, 28 July 1948.
- 26 SAB, M1, Editorial Correspondence, 1947-1948, Neatby to Murray, 2 April 1948.
- 27 SAB, M1, Editorial Correspondence, 1947-1948, Neatby to Thomas Petty, 17 July 1948.
- 28 SAB, M1, Editorial Correspondence, 1948-1949, Neatby to Marion Hagerman, n.d. [received 20 February 1949].
- 29 *So Much To Do, So Little Time*, Hayden, ed., as quoted on 105.
- 30 SAB, M1, Editorial Correspondence, Hagerman to L.H. Thomas, 9 March 1948.
- 31 Erwin Kreutzweiser, "Before the Railways," in *Saskatchewan History*, 1:1 (1948): 8-10; J.R.A. Pollard, "Railways and Settlement (1881-1891) i," in *Saskatchewan History*, 1:2 (1948): 16-19; Mary Weekes, "An Indian's Description of the Making of a Buffalo Pound," in *Saskatchewan History*, 1:3 (1948): 14-17; W.R. Graham, "Indian Treaties and the Settlement of the North-West," in *Saskatchewan History*, 2:1 (1949): 19-22.
- 32 SAB, M1, Editorial Correspondence, Neatby to Mary B. Weekes, 19 February 1948.
- 33 *So Much To Do, So Little Time*, Hayden, ed., 23.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 231.
- 35 SAB, *Annual Report for 1946-1947*, 10.
- 36 SAB, A-4, 1945-1966, Minutes of SAB meeting, 13 May 1948.
- 37 SAB, M2, Business Correspondence, Thomas to Hagerman, 1 April 1948.
- 38 *Ibid.*, Hagerman to Thomas, 1 October 1948; *Saskatchewan History* Subscriptions, 9 January 1956.
- 39 *Ibid.*, Hagerman to Thomas, 15 October 1948.
- 40 SAB, R-61.3, W.S. Lloyd Papers, G-15a, Libraries and Archives, 1949, "A Submission by the Saskatchewan Archives Board to The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences," n.d. [1949].
- 41 Hilda Neatby, "The Canadian Historical Association, in *Canadian Historical Review*, and Local History: A Symposium," 1952, as quoted in *So Much To Do, So Little Time*, Hayden, ed., 102-6.
- 42 In 1955, the *Canadian Historical Review* dropped its anthropological section, reinforcing the view "that Native history was not a fitting subject for Canadian historians." Marlene Shore, "Remember the Future: The *Canadian Historical Review* and the Discipline of History, 1920-95," in *Canadian Historical Review*, 76 (1995): 423-30.
- 43 Extension work by the University of Saskatchewan began in 1910. Michael Hayden explains that professors of agriculture and the Department of Extension were not the only ones to travel the province. "[President Walter] Murray was convinced of the importance of extension work by all members of the faculty both as a service to the state and as publicity for the university. The first professors in Arts and Science gave lectures on history and philosophy in Saskatoon, Regina, and Moose Jaw. The audience for lectures of this type declined after the novelty wore off and as entertainment opportunities increased. But university sponsored lectures on current events and economics were in demand into the 1960s." Michael Hayden, *Seeking a Balance: University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1982* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), 68-9.
- 44 Careless, "Limited Identities' in Canada," 9.
- 45 SAB, M1, Editorial Correspondence, 1947-1948, Thomas to Neatby, 31 January 1948; and *ibid.*, Thomas to Neatby, 1 March 1948.
- 46 Neatby, "The Medical Profession in the North-West Territories," in *Saskatchewan History*, 2:2 (1949): 1-15.
- 47 John Dewar, "Saskatchewan's Basketball Beginnings;" and Diane Ransom, "'The Saskatoon Lily': A Biography of Ethel Catherwood," in *Saskatchewan History*, 41:3 (1988): 99-112; 81-98.
- 48 SAB, M1, Editorial Correspondence, 1956-1959, Archer to Eager, 20 December 1957.
- 49 *Ibid.*, Eager to Archer, 8 January 1958. Eager wrote: "Our total paid-up subscription list at the present time is 453 plus 194 student subscriptions for the Teacher's College (they require students to subscribe . . .)."
- 50 *Ibid.*; and SAB, R-61.3, W.S. Lloyd Papers, G-15a, Libraries and Archives, 1958, L.H. Thomas to Lloyd, 7 January 1958. The SHFS was organized "for the purpose of gathering, preserving, and making available for use the history and folklore of Saskatchewan." "Notes and Correspondence," in *Saskatchewan History*, 12:1 (1959): 39-40.
- 51 Arthur Hayworth, "James Henderson of the Qu'Appelle Valley," in *Saskatchewan History*, 11:2 (1958): 59-66.
- 52 "Notes and Correspondence," in *Saskatchewan History*, 12:1 (1959): 39.
- 53 Gilbert Johnson, "The Syrians in Western Canada," in *Saskatchewan History*, 12:1 (1959): 31-32; "Swabian Folk Ways," in *Saskatchewan History*, 13:2 (1960): 73-5; "The Roumanians in Western Canada," in *Saskatchewan History*, 14:2 (1961): 64-70; "The New Finland Colony," in *Saskatchewan History*, 15:2 (1962): 69-72; and "The Patagonia-Welsh," in *Saskatchewan History*, 16:3 (1963): 90-4.

- 54 Habeeb Salloum, "The Urbanization of an Arab Homesteading Family," in *Saskatchewan History*, 42:2 (1989): fn 6, 84.
- 55 D'Arcy Hande to C. Kitzen and S.R. Hewitt, 15 January 1998.
- 56 SAB, M1, Editorial Correspondence, 1956-1959, Turner to Eager, 6 November 1958.
- 57 SAB, M2, Business Correspondence, 1959, *Saskatchewan History* Subscriptions, 19 May 1959. Of these subscriptions, 976 were "regular," 223 were gifts, 130 were complimentary, 56 were libraries, and 488 were sold to the Teacher's College.
- 58 Douglas H. Bocking, "Premier Walter Scott: A Study of His Rise to Political Power," Master's thesis, Department of History, University of Saskatchewan, 1959.
- 59 J. William Brennan and D'Arcy Hande, telephone interviews with author, 25 February 1998.
- 60 SAB, M1, Editorial Correspondence, April 1974 to March 1975, Bocking to E.F. Bush, 15 April 1974; Bocking to W.H. Brooks, 4 March 1974; and Bocking to Jane McCracken, 17 June 1975.
- 61 Ibid., Bocking to McCracken, 17 June 1975.
- 62 Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Writing Since 1900*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 283.
- 63 Hayden, *Seeking a Balance*, 250.
- 64 J. William Brennan, "C.A. Dunning and the Challenge of the Progressives, 1922-25," in *Saskatchewan History*, 22:1 (1969): 1-12. Brennan has since contributed several other articles and book reviews to the journal, and has served as a member of the *Saskatchewan History* Advisory Board since 1988.
- 65 For the purposes of this analysis, the division of contributors into professional and amateur categories is rather unscientific. The category of "scholar" is quite broad, and includes not only members of university history and political studies departments, but also graduate students and university-educated professionals such as lawyers, librarians, and archivists. The term "amateur" refers to local historians or history enthusiasts who have had little training in the rigors of historical research and methodology. The task of defining professional and amateur writers was made more difficult by the often brief biographical notes on contributors over the years.
- 66 SAB, M1, Editorial Correspondence, 1961, Bocking to Turner, 3 October 1961.
- 67 SAB, M1, Editorial Correspondence, April 1983 - March 1984, Bocking to Randall L. Brown, 3 October 1983.
- 68 Richard J. Wood, "Folklore: A Heritage Window," (*Saskatchewan History and Folklore Society*), in *Saskatchewan History*, 45:2 (1993): 48.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 SAB, 1100-110, Editorial Advisory Board, as quoted in SAB Agenda Paper, 4 January 1985.
- 71 Ibid. In his report to the Board, Wilson outlined the financial situation: "Traditionally, *Saskatchewan History* has been maintained on a cost recovery basis, with subscriptions paying for our direct costs—printing, postage and envelopes. However, in recent years, printing costs and postage have increased more rapidly than our subscription rate. The accumulated deficit to March 31, 1984 was \$7,784.15. For 1984/85 we are projecting a deficit of \$5,450. ... "These figures, however, must be seen in perspective. Every historical journal in Canada is subsidized by governments to some extent. ... In this context, our costs are reasonable and our project excellent."
- 72 Frederick W. Johnson, "A Message from the Lieutenant Governor," in *Saskatchewan History*, 38:1 (1985): 1.
- 73 SAB, Agenda Paper, 5 September 1990.
- 74 SAB, 1100-110, Editorial Correspondence, 1986-1989, Hande to H.D. Smiley, 18 July 1986.
- 75 SAB, 1100-110, Editorial Advisory Board, Powell to subscribers, 13 October 1987.
- 76 Since 1988, the editor of *Saskatchewan History* is paid an honorarium of \$1,500 per issue; currently, two issues are published annually.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 SAB, 1100-10, 1987-1988, Minutes: *Saskatchewan History* editorial board, 12 January 1988. The members of the board were Glenda Leslie (editor), Shirley Spafford, Dr. W. A. Waiser, Dr. J.W. Brennan, and Dr. David Smith.
- 79 Joseph Drummond Shepley, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer Land Surveyor," in *Saskatchewan History*, 41:2 (1988): 67-71; and J.B. Kirkpatrick, "The Way We Were," in *Saskatchewan History*, 41:3 (1988): 113-117.
- 80 SAB, 1100-10, Editorial Correspondence, 1989, William Clink to editor, 31 March 1989.
- 81 SAB, Editorial Correspondence, 1100-10, 1989, Szalasznyj to Dr. C.M. Williams, 23 November 1989.
- 82 SAB, "Saskatchewan History Readership Survey," 22 August 1991.

- 83 Assistance has also been recently received from the NeWest Institute for Western Canadian Studies and from the Canadian Heritage Low Frequency Publication Assistance Program.
- 84 Current editors' files, SAB Press Release, 1 November 1993.
- 85 Exceptions are Champ's publication of local historian W.D. (Bill) Smiley's "The Most Good to the Indians": The Reverend James Nisbet and the Prince Albert Mission," in *Saskatchewan History*, 46:2 (1994): 34-48; Edythe Humphrey Gibson's reminiscence, "The John Diefenbaker I Knew," in *Saskatchewan History*, 47:2 (1995): 32-3; and Cherie Smith's recollections of her father, Iser Steiman, "The Boy Who Loved James Fenimore Cooper," in *Saskatchewan History*, 49:1 (1997): 33-38, published by the current co-editors.
- 86 A.S. Morton (1870-1945) laid the foundations for the study of western Canadian history at the University of Saskatchewan. Several of Morton's students, including George W. Simpson, Hilda Neatby, Jean Murray, Bruce Peel, and Lewis H. Thomas, went on to pursue careers in Canadian history. See Joan Champ, "Laying the Foundations: Arthur Silver Morton and his Early Saskatchewan Heritage Activities," Master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1990.



Leonard Mosquito and Harry Brabbart praying in 1974 at the Battleford grave of the seven Indian men hanged in 1885. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 12,636.

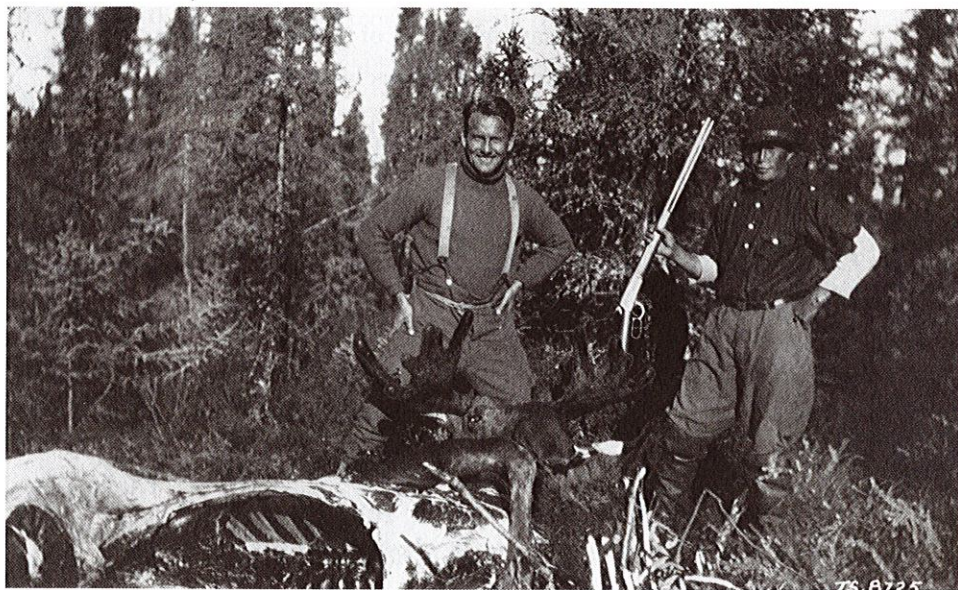


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# yesterday's promises: The Negotiation of Treaty Ten

by Anthony G. Gulig

The sound was unmistakable. In the silence of a crisp mid-September morning in 1994, the resonant staccato to thunder of the Canadian Forces helicopter was the only thing that could be heard in the small hunting camp at the north end of Watapi Lake in northern Saskatchewan. The occupants of the camp, five Dené men from the Buffalo River reserve in Dillon, Saskatchewan, had no idea what was going on, or why the helicopter was circling above them. They were about to find out as two military policemen and two Saskatchewan conservation officers rappelled to the ground and made their way to the camp. The officers and police promptly charged two members of the party with hunting in an area not prescribed by Saskatchewan's Wildlife Act and trespassing under the National Defence Act, since they were within the boundaries of the Primrose Lake Air Weapons Range. The Dené men stood in shock as the officers prepared the citation. That shock turned to horror as a float plane was summoned to collect the evidence hanging on drying racks in the camp. The entire moose, which from the perspective of the Dené hunters had willingly given itself to



*A moose hunting party at Reindeer Lake, 1924. National Archives of Canada, PA19707.*

them as food for the coming winter, was confiscated. In addition, a rifle and two rounds of ammunition were taken and held as evidence in the case.<sup>1</sup> The moose would never again be seen by the hunters.

The arrest in the fall of 1994 continued a long pattern of governmental interference with Indian efforts to secure a livelihood from the land in northern Saskatchewan. The interference began shortly after Treaty Ten was concluded in 1906. During negotiation of the treaty, Saskatchewan's northern Indian population recognized that should their resource base be lost, or should access to it be restricted, very few, if any, other activities could fill the void caused by such a change. From the Indians' perspective, there was only one way to survive on

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their traditional lands, and that survival was directly linked to the fur, fish, and game resources of the region. When negotiating, they spoke as if they could predict the future assault on their land-base, as well as on their access to its animal resources. As a result, they were suspicious when Ottawa initially hesitated to explicitly guarantee their hunting and fishing rights. Their suspicions were well-founded.

The issue identified by the 1994 arrests was an old one, reaching back almost a century. This particular hunting party, or at least members of it, had hunted the Watapi area for years, always believing that they were well within their treaty rights, as Treaty Ten Indians, to do so. Representatives of the federal government thought otherwise. How is it possible that the two sides confronting each other on that cold fall day had such differing interpretations of the meaning of Treaty Ten? An examination of the negotiation process which ultimately concluded the agreement reveals the nature of the historic federal-Indian relationship in northern Saskatchewan. Just as importantly, it appears that many of the promises made by the treaty commissioners in 1906 and 1907 have been forgotten, at least by the federal and provincial governments, evidenced at least in part by the charges against the two Dené men in the fall of 1994.

When Indians and treaty commissioners gathered to discuss the terms of treaties which would extinguish Indian title to vast tracts of traditional land, the Cree and Dené representatives did not take the process lightly. In fact, they were often much more prepared to voice their concerns than the commissioners were to respond to the issues they raised. The Indians, after all, had more to lose than did the federal representatives should the treaty fail and the government decide not to respect their relationship to the environment. On the other hand, the government simply wanted the treaty concluded so it could claim title to the land and begin exploiting natural resources for its own benefit.

Land cession treaties, in addition to their usual-

ly obvious intent, also established or reaffirmed a complex relationship between Indian tribes, bands, and the federal government with which they were negotiated. But more important than the document itself was the nature and language of the treaty negotiation process. It is clear that the Indians were not merely defrauded or coerced by federal actions, as is often suggested by some critics of North American Indian policy.<sup>2</sup> Rather, a closer examination of the negotiation process confirms that Indians were knowing and active participants in the treaty process which ultimately extinguished their Aboriginal title.<sup>3</sup> The plenary powers of the federal government set forth in The Indian Act of 1876 and reaffirmed in subsequent revisions intentionally left little room for the preservation of traditional tribal organization or attributes of self-determination.<sup>4</sup> But regardless of the political meaning or implications of the treaties, the Indian tribes and bands in northern Saskatchewan were interested in preserving their traditional access to the local resource base. The land and its myriad resident species of fish and game were to continue to provide for them even in the most difficult times.<sup>5</sup>

When engaging in treaty negotiations, Indians in northern Saskatchewan hoped to guarantee future survival and cultural integrity. Instead of remaining passive victims, they struggled to identify and protect that which was most important to them—their relationship to the land and the environment in which they lived. Nowhere does this struggle come across more clearly than in the treaty negotiations which ceded Indian land to the federal government in northern Saskatchewan. When confronted by federal treaty commissioners, Indians always worked to protect their continued access to natural resources, and while the legalistic language of the treaties often sounds cold and sterile, the text of the discussion between Aboriginal people and federal government representatives relates the valuable story of what the Indians gave up and, more importantly, what they attempted to keep.

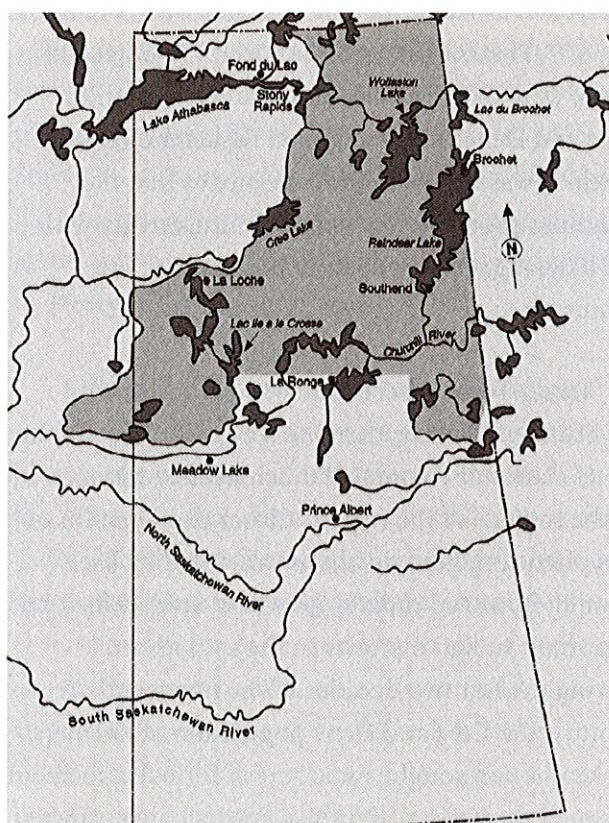
The negotiation of Treaty Ten followed a similar course to other land cession agreements in both Canada and the United States. From the government's perspective, it acquired vast tracts of land quickly at a very low cost, and the Indians received assurances—solemn promises—that their relationship to the land would be unaffected by the treaty. What was given up or ceded by the Indians was obvious and tangible. The land could be measured and defined; it was a finite quantity with physical boundaries. But Dorothy Jones, scholar of colonial North American Indian Policy and Indian-white relations, argues in *License for Empire: Colonialism by Treaty in Early America*, that it was the less tangible aspects of the treaty promises that proved their worth in the long term:

In return for their land, the American Indian received goods, which were quickly consumed; money, which was soon spent; and certain rights and privileges, which few Indians had the knowledge or power to use effectively at the time the rights were granted. The rights still exist, however, and are today the focus of legal battles between some of the states and Indian groups that are both knowledgeable and determined to defend what the treaties have left them.<sup>6</sup>

It is clear that the treaties did not vanquish forever all aspects of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the land on which they continued to live. The Cree and Dené of northern Saskatchewan sought to retain a strong subsistence relationship on their traditional lands. That desire was clear when the Indians of northern Saskatchewan pressed the federal government of Canada for a treaty. Occupying some of the last unceded regions of the North-West Territories south of the sixtieth parallel, they knew the value of their land.

Elk ranged from the North Saskatchewan River's watershed to the southern edge of Reindeer Lake, Cree Lake, and Lake Athabasca. Bison and mule deer occupied areas as far north as a line from Cumberland House to Lake Athabasca. In the

winter, barren ground caribou drifted into the northeast corner of the province. As for fur-bearing animals, coyotes roamed the western portions of the region, and beavers, bears, wolves, mink, muskrats, and foxes all occupied significant portions of the North. Among other species, the northern lakes teemed with lake trout, whitefish, walleye, and northern pike. Many varieties of waterfowl also made the northern part of the province their home during the nesting season.<sup>7</sup> By the millions, ducks and geese would migrate to and from the Arctic



A map of the Treaty Ten area. Courtesy of Kevin Short and Anthony G. Gulig.

each spring and fall.<sup>8</sup> The rich biotic diversity of the northern half of the province supported the Indian population of the region for thousands of years before the advent of commercial agriculture on the prairies. Northern Saskatchewan's Precambrian Shield and short growing season virtually eliminated the possibility of commercial agriculture. As a result, hunting, fishing, and trapping economies were, and remain, a staple for the Indians in the northern reaches of the province.

The land ceded by Treaty Ten included roughly 86,000 square miles of mostly Shield country in northern Saskatchewan and a small portion of east-central Alberta.<sup>9</sup> Unlike the areas ceded in Treaties One through Seven (1871-77), the Treaty Ten area included little land of agricultural value. In fact, only the western and southern-most portions of the land ceded in Treaty Ten could be utilized for the most limited commercial agricultural pursuits. Instead, the area encompassed by Treaty Ten was a land valued for its fur, fish, game, forest, and mineral resources.<sup>10</sup> There were many places that the Cree referred to as *kah kistak*, or “the area that is rich for game.”<sup>11</sup> These areas, and the species that lived in them, were of the utmost importance to both the Cree and Dené people living in Saskatchewan’s north. It was access to these resources that they sought to protect when entering into a treaty with the federal government early in the twentieth century.

Treaty Ten has been explained in terms of government efforts either to extinguish outstanding Métis claims or to provide much needed assistance to the Indians of the region. Closer examination of this often-forgotten northern treaty and its background, however, reveals otherwise unidentified but important Indian interests in the settlement.<sup>12</sup> During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Cree and Dené population of northern Saskatchewan sought some sort of formal agreement between themselves and the Canadian government which, in addition to protecting their way of life, would bring assistance from the Crown when needed. Indeed, like some of the southern numbered treaties, Treaty Ten was a belated response to the requests of Indians living in unceded territory<sup>13</sup>. Since the late 1870s, the bands, which eventually entered into treaty in 1906 and 1907, were interested in securing a treaty for the specific purpose of protecting their traditional access to fish and game resources in the area.<sup>14</sup> From the Indian perspective, Métis claims and the need for government support

in times of crisis were purely secondary when treaty commissioners arrived in 1906 and 1907.

The government all but ignored the earliest request for a treaty which came from the Cree and Dené population in the Stanley district, including Lac La Ronge, Île à la Crosse, and the Churchill River areas in 1879.<sup>15</sup> These initial requests, forwarded by local missionaries, made reference to the increasingly dire conditions in the North. One early request for the treaty cited “a reduction in the price of furs, and the scarceness of the animals upon which we have to depend on for our living” as the



A Treaty Ten medal with the bust of King Edward VII. National Archives of Canada, PA117761.

most important reason for the treaty. In 1886, the Bishop of St. Albert forwarded another request for treaty to Ottawa. This time the declining condition of game animals was cited as the reason for the treaty.<sup>16</sup> As well, the Indians hoped increased relief from Ottawa would help them through the most difficult times.<sup>17</sup> Some of the bands represented by these early petitions were included in the adhesion to Treaty Six in 1886, but others to the northeast and northwest of Stanley Mission were ignored for another twenty years.

When Saskatchewan became a province in 1905, jurisdiction over the wealth of natural resources was retained by the federal government “for the purposes of Canada”; it finally relinquished control in 1930.<sup>18</sup> The primary intention of the federal government in the retention of natural resources was to make it easier for the Crown to facilitate settlement in the west.<sup>19</sup> Control of fur-bearing and game animals was transferred to provincial authority in 1905. In short, the federal government retained control over that which it believed was valuable and turned the rest over to provincial control. Deciding to go ahead in 1906



with a treaty for the remaining unceded portion of what was now northern Saskatchewan, the Dominion government was interested in two main issues, neither of which was central to the Indian interest in the process. While the Crown wanted to see Métis claims in the area settled, more importantly, it wanted to ensure that all Aboriginal title in the newly formed provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta was extinguished as soon as possible. The Order in Council commissioning Treaty Ten recognized that the Indians and Métis of the unceded

portion of Saskatchewan and Alberta had “from time to time pressed their claim” to the region, and that provincial and federal interests would best be served by extinguishing Aboriginal title in the area.<sup>20</sup> From the government’s perspective, then, Treaty Ten was in the “public interest” and was to be concluded with great haste.<sup>21</sup>

Less than two weeks after the passage of the Order in Council authorizing Treaty Ten, the wheels of the treaty commission were set in motion. Everything about the treaty, from the creation of the document to the mechanics of the commission’s travel, suggests that the whole affair was incredibly rushed. There was not even time to draft a unique treaty document; Treaty Eight was adapted instead. Since the Indians living in the region could make no use of farm implements, it seemed pointless to mention those provisions, which had been included in Treaty Eight.<sup>22</sup>

Although the government wanted Aboriginal title in the region extinguished, it clearly did not place any great agricultural value on the land. In fact, Frank Pedley, deputy superintendent general of Indian Affairs, was “reasonably sure that [the Treaty Ten region was] not an agricultural country whatever its capacities may be, and that to give a *quid pro quo* on the same basis as for a country with great agricultural possibilities would be a mistake.”<sup>23</sup> With these ideas and intentions, the government hired James Andrew Joseph McKenna, former assistant secretary to Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald and commissioner for Treaty Nine, as the commissioner for Treaty Ten.<sup>24</sup> Employed at the last minute, McKenna was so rushed in the summer of 1906 that he was forced to create the treaty document himself. He scratched out the text of Treaty Ten, using the format of Treaty Eight as his guide, on fourteen pieces of legal-size paper.<sup>25</sup> Medals, embossed with the bust of King Edward VII, and flags were quickly sent to him as he prepared to depart Winnipeg on his whirlwind treaty tour.



*La Loche in the early twentieth century. National Archives of Canada, PA44550.*

When McKenna arrived in northern Saskatchewan, he found no evidence of the widespread starvation or ill health that had been mentioned in the earlier petitions forwarded by missionaries.<sup>26</sup> Instead, his report suggested that he dealt quickly with the Indians and certainly assuaged their fears that their way of life might change as a result of the treaty. The Indians did not desire substantial or constant government assistance; their primary concern was to obtain a guarantee that their way of life would remain undisturbed by federal efforts to regulate hunting and fishing.<sup>27</sup> They did, however, request that the old and infirm be taken care of by the government.<sup>28</sup>

McKenna's report demonstrated his experience with earlier treaty negotiations. He mentioned that there "was a marked absence of the old style Indian oratory" experienced in the earlier southern treaties. "Instead," he wrote, "the Indians confin[ed] themselves to asking questions and making brief statements."<sup>29</sup> The Indians McKenna met were not trying to convince the commissioner of the need for government support, nor were they marking the passing of their way of life. When McKenna reflected on his meetings with northern Indians that

summer, he noted the "general expression of fear that the making of a treaty would be followed by the curtailment of their hunting and fishing privileges, and the necessity of not allowing the lakes and rivers to be monopolized or depleted by commercial fishing was emphasized."<sup>30</sup> Responding to these concerns in a mixed message, McKenna "guaranteed that the treaty would not lead to any forced interference with their mode of life." He further explained that "whether they made a treaty or not, they were

subject to the law, bound to obey it and liable to punishment for any infringement thereof; that it was designed for the protection of all and must be respected by all the inhabitants of the country, irrespective of colour or origin."<sup>31</sup> This, McKenna told them, was in their own best interest. He added that their way of life would remain unchanged by such laws.<sup>32</sup> The Indians engaged McKenna with their concerns to the point where the commissioner was afraid no treaty could be struck without the express government promise that it would not interfere with their hunting and fishing activities. Three times in his report McKenna explained how he had assured the Indians that their way of life would be unaffected. Only with that promise did the Indians come forth and place a small "x" on the treaty document.<sup>33</sup> Given the level and consistent nature of issues raised by the Indians, it is unimaginable that they would have agreed to the terms of the treaty had they believed their hunting, trapping, and fishing might suffer.<sup>34</sup>

Upon his arrival at Île à la Crosse on 26 August 1906, McKenna found Dené people from the English River and Clear Lake bands waiting impatiently for him. Although McKenna planned to take



only Métis scrip applications at Île à la Crosse, the Indians had decided to meet him there rather than wait until the commissioner arrived at Portage La Loche, his next stop after he finished with the scrip disbursements. This was the time of year when hunting activities took priority, and the Cree and Dené were anxious to talk to the commissioner; they did not want their hunting season wasted by a drawn-out ceremony. They wanted to conclude the agreement and move on before winter set in.<sup>35</sup>

Treaty negotiations or annuity payments made in the fall were unpopular, since autumn was the traditional hunting season. Future meetings and annuity payments would be made in June, after the important spring spawning season and before the height of summer when other subsistence activities took priority.

In the negotiations that took place at Île à la Crosse, Buffalo Narrows, Bull's House,<sup>36</sup> and La Loche, McKenna was unable to make any special concessions to the Indians, whose demands included educational support, medical supplies, and care for the elderly. The commissioner bluntly informed the Indians that there was "no need for special stipulation[s] over and above the general provisions of the treaty, as it was the policy of the government to provide in every part of the country as far as circumstances would permit."<sup>37</sup> He also told those gathered for the various parleys that:

the government could not undertake to maintain the Indians in idleness; that the same means of earning a livelihood would continue after the treaty was made as before it; and that the Indians would be expected to make as good use of them in the future as in the past. ... [T]he government was always ready to assist the Indians in actual destitution; that in times of distress they would, without any special stipulation in the treaty, receive such assistance as it



*Feeding the turkeys, Buffalo Narrows, SK. National Archives of Canada, C7787.*

was usual to give in order to prevent starvation among them ...<sup>38</sup>

Even though he wrote the document himself, McKenna was a messenger, not a negotiator. Without the authority to alter the terms of the treaty to get Indian agreement, the commissioner was forced to tell them what they wanted to hear in order to conclude the treaty. More than anything, the government wanted a peaceful and speedy conclusion to the treaty. While McKenna had to be coy when explaining the extent to which the treaty would interfere with hunting and fishing, debates on the floor of the House of Commons concerning the level of interference the treaty might bring were more straightforward. Frank Oliver, minister of the interior, stated how little Indian concerns meant when it came to northern treaties. "If it becomes a question between the Indians and the whites," he boasted, "the interests of the whites will have to be provided for."<sup>39</sup> That honest language, of course, would not work in the North.

McKenna could not meet with all the Indian bands in northern Saskatchewan that summer. He had started late, and low water levels forced him to leave the region in October 1906 without visiting

territory east of Stanley Mission. A second commission consequently had to be sent in 1907 to finish the process. McKenna's successor was Thomas A. Borthwick, the Indian agent from the Mistawasis reserve in central Saskatchewan. Like McKenna, the new treaty commissioner was working with a fixed treaty text (this time a typed document)—no revisions were permitted. But in contrast to McKenna, Borthwick's experience as an Indian agent caused him to reflect more carefully on the claims of the bands he encountered. Following his travels in the summer of 1907, Borthwick left a more detailed report of his activities and, even more importantly, a detailed report of Indian concerns with the treaty.<sup>40</sup>

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With more time to plan ahead for his travels, Borthwick outfitted his trip through northern Saskatchewan from the Revillon Brothers fur trading company, the Hudson's Bay Company's major competitor in the North. In consultation with the Revillon Brothers, the dates selected were "perfectly convenient" with the Indians. Borthwick intended to make the most of the summer and be back in Mistawasis by early September at the latest. All Christian holidays were taken into account so as not to interfere with the missionaries in the area. Borthwick's treaty commission was a substantial undertaking. A full 3,500 pounds of gifts, treaty medals, food, and gear filled a handful of freighter canoes. The parley tent, which doubled as the commissioner's office, was a large twelve by fifteen foot white canvas tent, almost twelve feet high at the peak. Four other slightly smaller tents formed the cooking, eating, and sleeping facilities for the commissioner and his crew.<sup>41</sup> The extravagant facilities must have made an impression wherever the treaty camp was constructed.

On 16 June 1907, almost six weeks earlier than McKenna's start the previous year, Borthwick left Green Lake headed for Île à la Crosse, Portage la Loche, then back through Île à la Crosse to Stanley Mission, and on to the south end of Reindeer Lake. From there, he continued northward to Lac du



*Treaty party at Brochet, Manitoba, 1924. National Archives of Canada, PA19684.*

Brochet, returning through Pelican Narrows, Lac la Ronge, and Montreal Lake more than three months later. He would travel almost 2,000 miles that summer.<sup>42</sup> At the conclusion of Borthwick's travels, some 723 people had received their first annuity payment by the terms of the treaty, and a second annuity was paid to those bands who had met with McKenna the previous year. Of the \$12,000 that had been set aside for the treaty, \$8,856 was spent on annuities over the two-year period, bringing some 922 Indians in northern Saskatchewan into Treaty Ten.<sup>43</sup> But more importantly, Borthwick's 1907 treaty trip identified the same pattern of Indian concerns heard by McKenna when the first Indians affixed their marks to Treaty Ten a year earlier.

While receiving their annuity payment near Buffalo Narrows on 24 June 1907, Chief John Iron



and his headmen complained that they had not been given sufficient time by McKenna to present their views fully. Borthwick, however, refused to take seriously their complaints or concerns about infringements on their hunting or fishing rights in the area.<sup>44</sup> Iron further questioned Borthwick as to why the supplies, provisions, and gifts he had given them were less than those presented a year earlier during McKenna's trip. The chief clearly believed he had been misled.<sup>45</sup> William Apisis, the Chief of the English River band, had also met with McKenna in 1906; he repeated his fear to Borthwick in 1907 that the government, either by the treaty or otherwise, was working to prevent them from "fishing and hunting in the country as usual." "[We] would starve," declared Apisis, "if such were the case." Borthwick responded that "they would not at any

time be prevented from hunting and fishing for their own use as heretofore." The answer, noted the treaty secretary, "seemed to give them general satisfaction."<sup>46</sup>

When Borthwick's party arrived in the northeastern portion of the Treaty Ten area, the Barren Land and Hatchet Lake band at the head of Reindeer Lake reiterated the same concerns Borthwick had been hearing all summer. Petit Casimir, the leader of the Barren Land band, scoffed at the meager annuity payments. The notes of the treaty meeting with the Barren Land band read:

one of the Elderly Men, Petit Casimir, said that this was the first time they had been told of the value of money, but they were glad with what the commissioner told them. Casimir then added that they were anxious to know to what extent the Treaty, if accepted, would affect their present system of hunting and fishing in their country.<sup>47</sup>

The commissioner replied that the annuity payments and goods were not intended to support the Indians, but instead were "a gift" to sanctify the proceedings. He also argued that the treaty:

was not depriving them of any of the means on which they have been in the habit of living upon heretofore, and added that they had the privilege of fishing and hunting as before, and that with the money and some other useful articles which the government proposed to give them yearly, they would be in a better position than they were at the present time.<sup>48</sup>

With this assurance, all 232 members of the Barren Land signed the treaty on the afternoon of 19 August 1907.<sup>49</sup>

By the time Borthwick finished his travels in northern Saskatchewan in the summer of 1907, he had heard the same concerns repeatedly from the Cree and Dené who, after much discussion, finally made their marks on the treaty document. Their fears could not be mistaken, and they in turn were assured that the government had no interest in interfering in their hunting, fishing, gathering, and trapping activities—their way of life. At the same time, the text of the treaty seemed to support the commissioners' assurances. According to the treaty

terms, the Indians had succeeded in securing what they believed was the most significant reason for the negotiations:

And His Majesty the King hereby agrees with said Indians that they shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the territory surrendered as heretofore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the government of the country acting under the authority of His Majesty and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or as may be taken up from time to time for settlement, lumbering, trading or other purposes.<sup>50</sup>

Based on the wording of the treaty, it is easy to understand why the Dené and Cree believed they were ceding only the use of the land to the federal commissioners. It would be incorrect to assume that the Indians believed this clause would allow the government complete latitude with their traditional activities. It is clear by the consistent and voluminous Native comments during the negotiation process that the Indians would have never concluded the treaty unless they were absolutely certain, regardless of the limited implications of otherwise obscure terms like "from time to time," that their subsistence activities were secure. The hunting and fishing rights were reserved by the Indians, not granted or given by the government. As the Cree negotiators explained in the negotiations which adhered their bands to Treaty Six, they surrendered *aski-puko*, or the land alone.<sup>51</sup> But the government took more, conservatively construing the treaty and often regulating access to northern Saskatchewan's resources in the interest of commercial exploitation. The stage was set for future confrontations over natural resources and the Indians' hunting and fishing rights in northern Saskatchewan.

The texts of Canada's Indian treaties presented in seemingly unequivocal terms the transfer of land title to the federal government. In the case of Treaty Ten, for example, the sixth paragraph of the document stated that "now therefore the said Indians do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the government of the Dominion of Canada for His

Majesty the King and His successors forever all their rights, titles, and privileges whatsoever to the lands included with the following territorial limits."<sup>52</sup> The federal government, the author of the document, wanted to be as clear as possible in extinguishing Aboriginal title to the remaining portion of Saskatchewan. From the federal perspective, title to the land had changed hands; Aboriginal title was extinguished. The permanent ring of the language of the treaties was mitigated, however, by the desires of the Indian participants in the process. They worked to make those desires very clear to the federal treaty negotiators. The Indians were motivated by fear that the government, either then or at some time in the future, might interfere with their hunting, fishing, and trapping activities. The government, on the other hand, was hoping to extinguish Aboriginal title and access to other resources in these northern regions. The Indians were clearly less concerned with other resource interests, provided they received the solemn promise that their traditional way of life would be unaffected by the new treaty relationship and the usufructuary rights enumerated by the treaty documents.<sup>53</sup> It meant less to the Indians in each case that the federal government secured title to the land identified in these treaties.

The Cree and Dené participants believed that the treaty had been negotiated in good faith and that, as sovereign entities at the parley table, all were bound by the treaty promises. By the time Treaty Ten was concluded there was case law in Canada, occasionally drawing to some extent on the American experience in the field of Indian law, which supported these beliefs. In the 1820s and 1830s, American supreme court Chief Justice John Marshall ruled on three cases dealing specifically with the federal-Indian relationship.<sup>54</sup> In Canada, the most notable legal discussion of treaty rights came in the St. Catharines Milling case in 1886-1888. Emphasizing the same theme set out by Marshall in the American context, one of the

justices writing in *St. Catharines Milling v. R.* explained that Indians had “a personal and usufructuary right” before the treaties were negotiated. The treaties, then, served to further identify and uphold those rights while legitimizing federal interests in the land on which the Indians continued to live.<sup>55</sup> But as Canada entered an era of heightened interest in natural resource management and regulation in the early twentieth century, conflicting views of nature and the value of resources more than anything else would shape the Indian/newcomer relationship in these northern regions. The rather convincing arguments made by the treaty commissioner that the Indians’ way of life would be unaffected by the treaty unfortunately became yesterday’s promises in the face of growing non-Indian interest in Saskatchewan’s North.

It did not take long for the promises to fade. Soon after the treaties were signed, Chief William Aписis expressed his concerns. “We beg the government,” Aписis pleaded with Thomas Borthwick during the 1908 annuity payment, on only the second occasion Aписis and Borthwick met, “not to impose any laws upon us which would interfere with our hunting, fishing, and trapping. We are simply asking the privilege of hunting, fishing, and trapping as heretofore.”<sup>56</sup> Just two years earlier Aписis had been assured during the Treaty Ten negotiations that the government would not interfere with the way of life of his people, the English River band. Then, in 1907, Saskatchewan passed the first substantial revision to the territorial game act and, in doing so, signaled the beginning of provincial involvement in game regulation.<sup>57</sup> As it turned out the chief’s fears were not ill-founded.

Few policy makers in Ottawa or Regina would continue to hear Indian concerns after the treaty was concluded, even though all involved knew what the Cree and Dené wanted. Interested in calculating the dollar values of Aboriginal hunting and fishing, W.J. Chisholm, inspector of Indian agencies, point-

ed out in 1902 that most northern Indians “engage in these pursuits to [the] extent that the aggregate result is considerable, and for the year represented a value of \$139,366, an advance of \$27,482 over last year’s total.”<sup>58</sup> Chisholm explained that the Cree and Dené were “hardy hunters” and made their living by fishing and trapping as well. He added that “the deep, clear lakes and their connecting streams abound in fish of the best quality.”<sup>59</sup> Instead of protecting these resources in the Indians’ interest, however, both Ottawa and Regina favoured schemes

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which ultimately compromised Indian subsistence patterns. For Ottawa, expanding commercial access to the northern fishery was of the utmost importance. By the same measure, Regina was more concerned with increasing the fur royalties trapping produced, as well as protecting game animals for their sporting and aesthetic value.

Indians began experiencing the decline in resources and an increase in government interference soon after the treaty was concluded. In contrast to more positive reports of just a few years earlier, the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) reported in 1908 that “the Indians had not alone to contend with poor fishing, but some lacked success in finding game and fur” as well. In fact, according

to Indian office estimates, Indian subsistence hunting and fishing was reduced by fifty percent in 1908 alone.<sup>60</sup> The northern inspector reported that the Indians derive "a large portion of their food supply from the splendid fish in the lakes to the north."<sup>61</sup> He continued:

while the Indians admit that the white man can teach them how to rake the bottom of the lakes for fish, they are not supposed to be able to learn much about hunting deer or trapping fur animals, and accordingly this industry receives no direction. The remarkable falling off of game and furs, however, that has occurred within the last year or two is causing them much concern ...<sup>62</sup>

Nor were Treaty Ten Indians to be exempt from the game act. In 1919, the Department of Indian Affairs issued a public notice stating that:

the laws respecting the protection of game in force in the Provinces of Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan shall apply respectively to all Indians and Indian Reserves within the said Provinces, except to the Indians and reserves situated in those portions of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan comprised within what is known as Treaty No. 8.<sup>63</sup>

Neither the DIA or game branch cared much about the concerns Indians had with this interference in their way of life. What Saskatchewan's game branch overlooked, however, was that Indians were hunting for subsistence, not profit or trophies.<sup>64</sup> What was most confusing to the Indian population was that the most basic intent of the game branch's conservation efforts—to protect game stocks—was not incongruent with their own interests. The Cree and Dené believed in the need for conservation; they just could not understand how their activities violated the game branch's conservation efforts.

By entering into treaty, Indian peoples in northern Saskatchewan had hoped to decrease their dependence on specific fish and game species when nature required. Government support would help carry them through lean years. The rest of the time, they would continue to rely on the fur, fish, and game resources of the region. Their negotiators sought the best possible situation, and for a very short time in the post-treaty years thought they had

succeeded. The belief was that the treaty would be little more than an extension of their relationship to the land and its resources. Government assistance was incorporated into their traditional and adaptive pattern of land and resource use. Their relationship to the land remained unchanged from the pre-treaty years. But as Saskatchewan moved toward more complete control of its northern resource base, Indian people found themselves threatened by increased government involvement in the management of natural resources, regardless of yesterday's promises.

While many dramatic changes have taken place in northern Saskatchewan since those first meetings between the Cree and Dené chiefs and the treaty commissioners, hunting, fishing, and trapping are as significant today as they were one hundred years ago. The changes of the post-war period, namely the creation of fur conservation blocks intended to protect selected trapping areas for northerners, and the extension of the federal and provincial franchise to Indians in 1960, have been welcomed by most northern Indians. The dramatic influx of non-Indian interests in the region, however, as well as the desire of both the federal and provincial government to extract valuable natural resources, has seriously compromised the situation and condition of Indian people in the provincial North. There are few options for Indian people when their resources are depleted. For them, the North is their only home. To the Indians involved, northern resources are important beyond their market value.<sup>65</sup> Reliance on fish and game remains a significant part of their cultural, and often literal, survival. The struggles that have manifested themselves in today's courts, however, are rooted in the immediate post-treaty era. To fully understand these contemporary court battles, it is important to have a firm understanding of earlier conflicts over natural resource use in the North.

Debates over Aboriginal and treaty rights in Canada have gained prominence in the courts since

section thirty-five of the 1982 Constitution Act formally recognized and affirmed these existing rights.<sup>66</sup> The recent flurry of court cases suggests that neither the Indians nor the governments have forgotten about the treaties and the rights they identify.<sup>67</sup> Since 1982, several court cases have clarified the issues, concepts, and terms with which earlier resource-managing agencies struggled. Treaty hunting, fishing, and trapping rights and locations have not been limited, as the provincial government would hope, to those areas specified by the Game

The dramatic influx of non-Indian interests in the region, however, as well as the desire of both the federal and provincial government to extract valuable natural resources, has seriously compromised the situation and condition of Indian people in the provincial North. There are few options for Indian people when their resources are depleted. For them, the North is their only home

Act, but have been most liberally extended, as a result of recent cases, to those areas where hunting was not visibly incompatible with other uses—even if the hunting activity took place on private property.<sup>68</sup> This does not suggest that the federal or provincial government cannot infringe on treaty or Aboriginal rights, but rather that there are defined limits to the nature of that infringement. In *R. v. Sparrow*, a fishing rights case, the Supreme Court of Canada set out the test for justifiable infringement on existing Aboriginal rights. Although the *Sparrow* case dealt with Aboriginal rights, the most valuable implication of the decision is the very specific test

applied to determine the constitutionality of governmental regulations placed on both Aboriginal and treaty rights. The *Sparrow* test asks whether or not the infringement is unreasonable, imposes undue hardship, or denies the Indians their preferred method of hunting or fishing.<sup>69</sup>

Recent courts have convicted Indians of violating fish and game laws when it was clear that the hunting, fishing, or trapping activity posed a threat to the species at hand. The courts also uphold the Natural Resources Transfer Act when it comes to the commercial use of natural resources. In *R. v. Coullonneur*, for example, a member of the Canoe Lake band was convicted for using a small-mesh net to take whitefish.<sup>70</sup> While the judge accepted the validity of the rights enumerated in Treaty Ten, and the prosecution went so far as to concede that aspect of the case, he ruled that there was a conservation interest in protecting the fish species. The Canadian Supreme Court recently upheld the conviction of an Indian selling fish taken without a commercial license in *R. v. Van der Peet*.<sup>71</sup>

In Saskatchewan, recent problems have revolved around the concept of co-management of northern resources. The basic premise of co-management assumes that along with the right to use resources comes the responsibility to manage them effectively. Northern Indians are asking today to be heard as the province explores contemporary co-management programs.<sup>72</sup> They want to be a part of evolving co-management models. Indians have always spoken loudly whenever threats to their way of life appeared in the North. And most importantly, Indians have always displayed significant interest in discussing issues related to natural resources.

When they felt ignored by the Natural Resource Transfer Agreement, when the “Royal Commission on the Fisheries of Saskatchewan” went north in the late 1940s, Indians came out to voice their concerns. When a dam was proposed at Wintego Rapids on the Churchill River, Indian northerners came out in force against the project. A little more

than a decade later, when the current Indian Claims Commission was formed, several Saskatchewan bands engaged the grievance process set out by the commission as soon as possible. In these hearings, hundreds of Cree and Dené individuals have come forth to identify and explain their concern for their own livelihood, their land, and their home in the North. In fact, as of 1996, Saskatchewan had the dubious honor of having more inquiries before the Indian Claims Commission than any other province in Canada.<sup>73</sup>



A visit of the health nurse to Moosmin Indian Reserve. The legacy of Euro-Canadian racism is a long one. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B 6926-2.

In fact, as of 1996, Saskatchewan had the dubious honor of having more inquiries before the Indian Claims Commission than any other province in Canada.

These current concerns and complaints sound markedly similar to those made by northern Saskatchewan's chiefs and headmen who met with the treaty commissioners over ninety years ago.<sup>74</sup>

#### Notes

- 1 R. v. Catarat and Sylvestre, [trial transcripts], Provincial Court of Saskatchewan, Buffalo Narrows, testimony of Saskatchewan conservation officer Larry F. Freemont, 1:174-175.
- 2 Vine Deloria Jr., *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1969; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 23-25; Howard Adams, *Prison of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View*, rev. ed. (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1989), 60-61.
- 3 Ken Coates and William Morrison, *The Forgotten North: A History of Canada's Provincial Norths* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1992), 83.
- 4 See "The Indian Act, 1876," and "The Indian Act, 1880," in Dave De Brou and Bill Waiser, eds., *Documenting Canada: A History of Modern Canada in Documents* (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1992), 95-102, 115-116.

- 5 Peter Usher, "Fair Game?" *Nature Canada* 11 (1, 1982): 11.
- 6 Dorothy V. Jones, *License for Empire: Colonialism by Treaty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), xii. Annuity payments in the case of Treaty Ten were not limited to a certain period, but were to be paid in perpetuity. The value of the annuity to the individual band members, however, has steadily declined as the ten dollar sum paid to most band members has remained constant.
- 7 Robert Jarvenpa, *The Trappers of Patuanak: Toward a Spatial Ecology of Modern Hunters* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1980), 16-18.
- 8 J.H. Richards and K.I. Fung, eds., *Atlas of Saskatchewan* (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1969), 83, 88.
- 9 National Archives of Canada [NAC], Record Group [RG] 2, Records of the Privy Council, Privy Council No. 1459, Order in Council Setting Up Commission for Treaty No. Ten, 20 July 1906, 6.
- 10 Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison, *Treaty Research Report: Treaty Ten* (Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, 1986), 12.
- 11 Ron Mirasty, testimony before the Churchill River Board of Inquiry, Southend, Saskatchewan, 22 January 1978, TMs, 6. Mirasty was referring to the many muskeg swamps which occur in lower lying areas where water and land meet and where big game, smaller mammals, fish, and waterfowl abound.
- 12 Olive Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples From Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 316-317.
- 13 John Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885," in J.R. Miller, ed., *Sweet Promises: A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 213.
- 14 NAC, RG 10, Records Relating to Indian Affairs, vol. 3692, file 13,979, Prince Morra, Adam McKenzie, et al. to David Laird, 7 February 1879.
- 15 *Ibid.*, Church Missionary Society to Laird, 7 February 1879.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 NAC, RG 10, vol. 4006, file 241209-1, Bishop of St. Albert to Sir John A. Macdonald, February 1886.
- 18 See *The Alberta Act, Statutes of Canada*, 4-5 Edward VII, Chap. 3, section 21, in De Brou and Waiser, eds., *Documenting Canada*, 203.
- 19 Robert Craig Brown and Ramsey Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), 75.
- 20 NAC, RG 2, Order in Council No. 1459, 20 July 1906, 7.
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 NAC, RG 10, vol. 4006, file 241209-1, Acting Deputy Minister of Justice to Department of Indian Affairs, 2 August 1906.
- 23 *Ibid.*, Frank Pedley to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 7 April 1906.
- 24 *The Canadian Who's Who* (London: The Times, 1910), 1: 158; NAC, RG 10, vol. 4006, file 241209-1, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to J.A.J.



- McKenna, 2 August 1906.
- 25 NAC, RG 10, vol. 1852, file IT 443.
- 26 *Treaty No. 10 and Reports of Commissioners*, J.A.J. McKenna to Frank Oliver, 18 January 1907, 8.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 6-9.
- 28 McKenna makes little mention of requests for assistance. It is likely that since the federal government wanted to engage this treaty as cheaply as possible, the commissioner saw no need to forward such requests to Ottawa. On the subsequent treaty commission, Thomas Borthwick did record the interests in relief for the aged and infirm. In fact, on several occasions the Indians wondered why their concerns from the previous year had not been answered. Those concerns had not been answered because McKenna did not forward them to Ottawa. See, for example, NAC, RG 10 vol. 8595, file 1/1-11/6, "Ile à la Crosse Treaty, 1907-1908."
- 29 *Treaty No. 10 and Reports of Commissioners*, 6.
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 *Ibid.*, 5-7; RG 10, vol. 1852, file IT 443.
- 34 *Treaty No. 10 and Reports of Commissioners*, 11-12. McKenna had the support of the local missionary from Ile à la Crosse. In fact, Father I. Rapet, O.M.I., and the interpreter, Magloire Maurice, both assured the Indians that the treaty would not affect their hunting and fishing activities. Rapet became very involved in the process, and by more recent accounts was trusted by the Clear Lake, Canoe Lake, and English River bands. Over two days, the priest encouraged the Indians to accept the treaty and, like McKenna, assured those present that the treaty would not adversely affect their relationship to the land and its resources.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 36 Three members of the Clear Lake Band were treated at Bull's House, a traditional gathering point on the northeastern shore of Peter Pond Lake. *Treaty No. 10 and Reports of Commissioners*, 6.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 38 *Ibid.*
- 39 Canada, *Debates of the House of Commons*, Frank Oliver, 30 March 1906.
- 40 *Treaty No. 10 and Reports of Commissioners*.
- 41 *Ibid.*
- 42 *Ibid.*
- 43 The number of Indians living in northern Saskatchewan was estimated at approximately 1,800 a few years earlier. With no accurate census data for the region during this era, it is possible that the difference between the 922 Indians who were paid their first annuity in 1906-1907 and the 1,800 estimated by Bishop Pascal in 1905 included those Indians who were part of the Treaty Six Adhesion a few decades earlier. See NAC, RG 10, vol. 1618, Bishop Pascal to J.A.J. McKenna, n.d.; *Treaty No. 10 and Reports of Commissioners*, McKenna to Oliver, 18 January 1907, 5-9; *Ibid.*, Borthwick to Pedley, 14 October 1907, 14-16.
- 44 *Ibid.*, "Canoe Lake Band Meeting with the Treaty 10 Commissioner," 24 June 1907, 5.
- 45 *Ibid.*
- 46 *Ibid.*, "Memoranda re: the Indians of Treaty No. 10 for the Year 1907, English River Band at the meeting of with the Commissioner 29 June 1907," 2.
- 47 *Ibid.*, "Memoranda re: Treaty No. 10 Meeting of The Barren Land Band in Lac du Brochet, 19 August 1907," 16.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 19.
- 49 *Ibid.*; Arsène Turquetil, *Missions de la Congregation des Oblats de Marie Immaculee* no. 198, (June 1912), 61; *Treaty No. 10 and Reports of Commissioners*, 13. Like McKenna, Borthwick had the support of the local missionary. The difference this time was that Father Arsène Turquetil, OMI, was not well known to the local Dené population. In fact, when he arrived at the mission at the north end of Reindeer Lake just a few years earlier, he admittedly understood little of the Dené language. Nonetheless, after assisting the interpreter on 19 August, he became the sole interpreter for the commissioner when the Hatchet Lake band was brought into the parley tent three days later.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 11; NAC, RG 10, Vol. 7972, File 62-132, W.J. Chisholm, to J.D. McLean, 17 November 1910; Thomas Flanagan, "Aboriginal Land Claims in the Prairie Provinces," in Ken Coates, ed., *Aboriginal Land Claims in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1992), 60. The last reserves promised in Treaty Ten were not surveyed until the 1960s. See *Schedule of Indian Reserves in the Dominion of Canada, Part I, Reserves in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Yukon, North West Territories, and Agency Lands* (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs Canada, 1928), 61-62. The Makwa Lake and Makwa Lake Hay Lands reserves were surveyed in 1919. The La Plonge, Elak Dase, Knee Lake, Dipper Rapids, Wapachewunak, Ile à la Crosse, Peter Pond Lake, Churchill River, and Turnor Lake reserves were surveyed in 1925. In addition to recognizing hunting and fishing rights, the treaty also included provisions for either reserves of one square mile per family of five or 160 acres in severalty for individuals if they desired. There are no records of Indians desiring lands in severalty in the Treaty Ten region. Instead, several individuals who took treaty in 1906 and 1907 opted out of the treaty soon after in search of Métis scrip, perhaps realizing that the 240 acres was a better deal than the 160 acres in severalty offered in the treaty. The severalty clause was seldom invoked in any of these northern treaties.
- 51 Phillip Ballantyne, et. al, *Aski-Puko: The Land Alone: A Report on the Expected Effects of the Proposed Hydro-Electric Installation at Wintego Rapids upon the Cree of the Peter Ballantyne and Lac la Ronge Bands* (n.p., 1976), ii.
- 52 *Treaty No. 10 and Reports of Commissioners*, 10.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 5-16.
- 54 Wilcomb E. Washburn, *Red Man's Land: White Man's Law*, 2d ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 65, 198-204.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 198-204; Dickason, *Canada's First Nations*, 342-343; Donald B. Smith, "Aboriginal Rights A Century Ago," *The Beaver* 67, 1 (1987), 7; *St. Catharines Milling and Lumber Company v. R. S.C.R.* 1886, 577-676.
- 56 NAC, RG 10, vol. 8595, file 1/1-11-6, June 1908.
- 57 Canada, *Ordinances of the North-West Territories*, chapter 29, An Ordinance for the Protection of Game, (Regina: Government Printer, 1902), 128-134; Saskatchewan, *Statutes of the Province of Saskatchewan*, chapter 27, Game Act (Regina: Government Printer, 1907), 257-262.
- 58 Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended June 30 1902*, Sessional Paper no. 27 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1903), xxii.
- 59 *Ibid.*, Report of W.J. Chisholm, Inspector of Indian Agencies, 184.
- 60 Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended March 31st 1908*, Sessional Paper no. 27 (Ottawa: Kings Printer, 1908), xxx.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 160.
- 62 *Ibid.*
- 63 NAC, RG 10, vol. 6731, file 420-1, 10 March 1919.
- 64 *Ibid.*
- 65 Usher, "Fair Game?," 11.
- 66 Canada, *Statutes of Canada*, 29-32 Elizabeth II, section 35.
- 67 Over one hundred court cases concerning treaty and Aboriginal rights in Canada have been heard since the Constitution Act of 1982; most of these cases have come about in the last seven years. By comparison, fewer than twenty cases concerning Aboriginal and treaty rights were heard between 1930 and 1982. See Shin Imai, *The 1997 Annotated Indian Act* (Scarborough, Ontario: Carswell Thomson Professional Publishing, 1996), 280-287, 288-317.
- 68 *R. v. Badger*, [1996] 2 S.C.C., C.N.L.R. 77.
- 69 *R. v. Sparrow* [1990] 1 S.C.R. 1075; Thomas Berger, *A Long and Terrible Shadow: White Values, Native Rights in the Americas, 1492-1992* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 154.
- 70 *R. v. Coullonneur* [1996] S.J. No. 305.
- 71 *R. v. Van der Peet* [1996] 2 S.C.R. 507.
- 72 Richard Gosse, "Searching for Common Ground: First Nations and the Management of Natural Resources in Saskatchewan," TMs in possession of the author, 34-35.
- 73 Canada, Indian Claims Commission, *Indian Claims Commission: Annual Report, 1995-1996*, 11. Saskatchewan currently has fifteen of the twenty-two inquiries before the commission.
- 74 See Clemens, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Fisheries of Saskatchewan*; Ballentyne, *Aski-Puko*; Indian Claims Commission, *Primrose Lake Air Weapons Range I and II*; Indian Claims Commission, *Athabasca Denesulné Inquiry*.

Clearing of the land at the Carrot River Cooperative Farming Project, 1949. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-MN-B 4204.



## What's Next: The Future and Saskatchewan History

by Bill Waiser

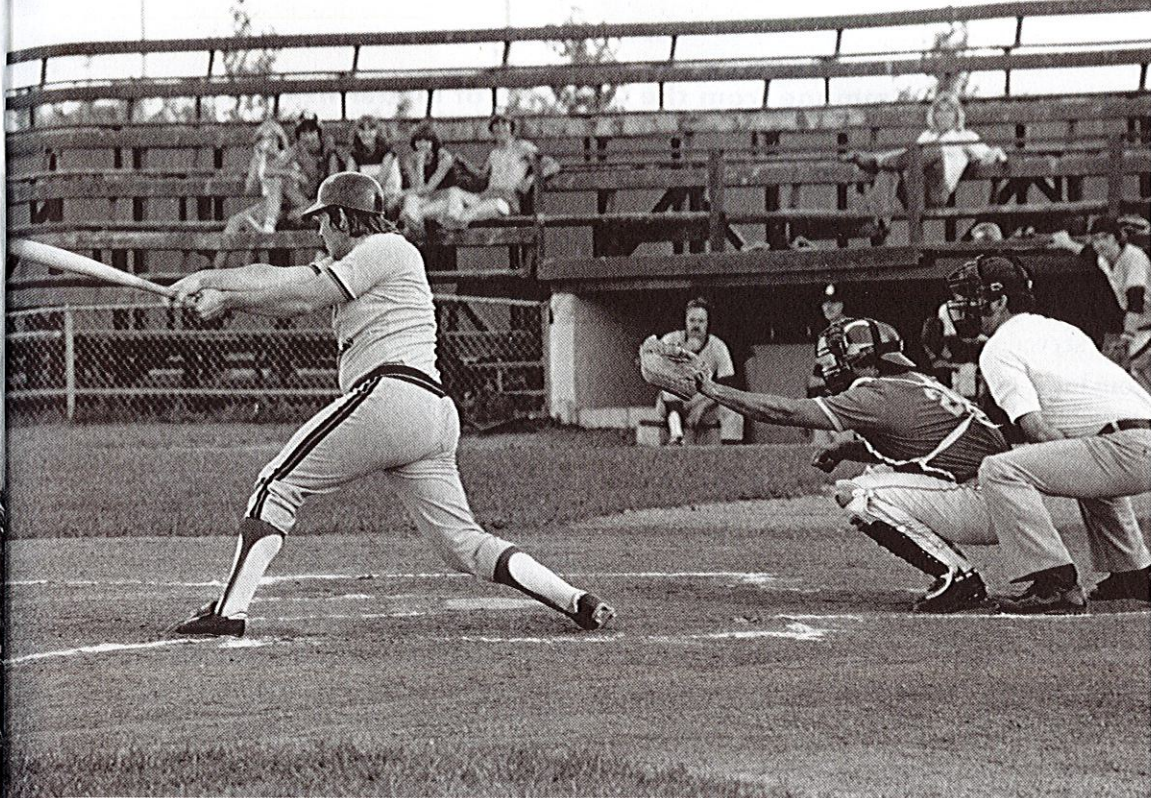
In her preface to the first issue of *Saskatchewan History*, editor-in-chief Hilda Neatby announced that the journal was "designed to give information and encouragement—information about what some are doing, and encouragement to them and others to do more." These original purposes remain fundamental to the continued success and vitality of *Saskatchewan History* as it enters its second half-century of publication. But there is also a need to give some thought to a third purpose—namely, direction, or what might be more appropriately phrased, "what's next?"

In reviewing past issues of *Saskatchewan History*, one is immediately struck by the fact that most articles deal with the period before 1945; in fact, the Second World War seemed to serve as an

artificial barrier—anything after the war was contemporary history. Given that the journal was launched in 1948 in the belief, in Neatby's words, that "the past is important," this emphasis is not surprising. But now that "the past" has effectively moved forward fifty years, there is a great deal of provincial history to be addressed in the journal. Until such time, our understanding and appreciation of the recent past will remain limited, if not uneven.

Saskatchewan's boundaries are the most artificial of any province in Canada, in that they are based on imaginary lines of latitude and longitude. A comparison of the province's experience (in any number of areas) with that of its neighbouring borderlands, whether in Canada or the United States, would therefore have great merit. So, too, would comparative studies between regions within the province. There are not only many different wests in Saskatchewan, but the defining character

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Baseball game in Saskatoon, 1979. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-P, 9 July 1979.

and features of these wests have changed over time—and in relation to one another. The construction of these local identities should be examined in an effort to determine common factors and more importantly, differences and the reasons for those differences. The history of the Swift Current area is not that of Kindersley or Moose Jaw—nor should it be.

Nowhere is the need for regional history stronger than in the area of the provincial north. Saskatchewan historians, largely preoccupied with the settlement and development of the prairie south, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, rarely cast their eyes northward. Indeed, until the last few decades, it was as if the history of the province stopped at Prince Albert, the southern edge of the boreal forest. This prairie emphasis is doubly ironic: not only is the province's early post-contact period northern in focus, but the European fur traders who were active in the boreal forest and adjacent parklands in the eighteenth century believed the open grasslands to be barren and sterile. The history of the provincial north, however, has been largely overlooked or ignored—an unfortunate situation given the unique society

and culture of the region. There is tremendous opportunity here: from studying the interplay between the centre and the periphery to examining the impact of new resource developments to studying the traditional economy of the native majority.

One of the most promising new fields of scholarship is environmental history. It is a theme particularly suited to the Saskatchewan experience given the central place of land in the provincial consciousness; the landscape and its many faces and moods not only dominate prairie literature, but our daily lives—even our conversations. Environmental history is more than the story of the assault on nature and the damage incurred. Certainly, there needs to be studies of how commercial fishing emptied northern lakes or how pesticide use may have increased crop production but contaminated the water table or surface waters. But it is equally important to analyze the relationship between people and the environment, in particular how human activity has adjusted to or been shaped by environmental circumstances. What, for example, was the legacy of the series of ecological disasters of the 1930s?

**Saskatchewan has also not been immune from the influence of modernization and mass consumer culture—be it television, chain stores, or credit financing. How have these forces affected life in rural areas and urban centres over the last few decades? Is there still such a thing as a distinctive regional culture?**


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Race, class, and gender—the sacred troika of social history—have been well served in past issues of *Saskatchewan History*. More must be done, however, in these areas. It is readily apparent from existing literature that gender is only one tool in explaining the experience of Saskatchewan women and that their identity and lives depended on a number of variables; these different experiences need to be told. Most studies of labour, moreover, have tended to focus on defining events, such as the 1931 Estevan strike and riot. What of daily working-class lives on the farm, in the city, or in the bush? Then, there's ethnicity. Saskatchewan prides itself on being a province built by immigrants; one of the most notable achievements in recent years has been the election of a premier of Ukrainian descent. But the mosaic ideal does not fit past circumstances. Established settlers resented the so-called foreigners, while newcomers readily resisted assimilation efforts. The immigrant experience was complex and varied—something that should be reflected in its interpretation.

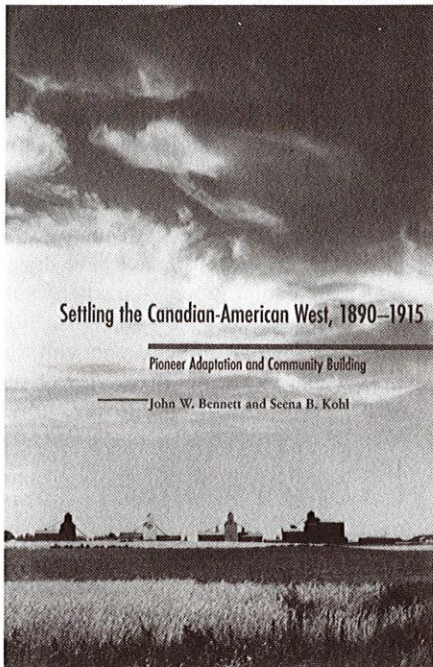
There is also a need for a more detailed examination of Saskatchewan institutions, traditions, and activities—from agricultural societies to sports days to circulating libraries. But if these kinds of cultural studies are to offer new insights into the province and its people, they must get beyond the simple recounting of when the first baseball game was held in a particular district or how many women belonged to Homemakers Clubs during the depression. It is more valuable to know what sporting events meant to a small prairie town or what members of a club talked about at their meetings and hoped to achieve. Saskatchewan has also not been immune from the influence of modernization and mass consumer culture—be it television, chain stores, or credit financing. How have these forces

affected life in rural areas and urban centres over the last few decades? Is there still such a thing as a distinctive regional culture?

One final area that should be considered, if not re-considered, is Aboriginal history. Most articles in *Saskatchewan History* on this topic have focused on the treaty period and the 1885 North-West Rebellion and its immediate aftermath; one might easily conclude that Aboriginal people were not a factor in Saskatchewan life after 1900. Recent research has shown the value of re-examining and re-evaluating the events and developments of the 1870s and 1880s from the Aboriginal point of view. This same reassessment should be extended to Indian and Métis history before and after the late nineteenth century. These people did not suddenly appear on the scene, dominate Saskatchewan life for two decades, and then fade away. Recent demographic predictions suggest that the Aboriginal population will constitute an increasing percentage of Saskatchewan's population, and our history will be richer only when the Aboriginal experience becomes an integral part of the larger history of the province.

These suggestions do not begin to exhaust the list of possibilities for future issues. Many of the standard assumptions about the wheat economy—the backbone of the Canadian economy in the early twentieth century—should be scrutinized. A number of political topics remain untouched, in particular mass political behaviour. And as the new millennium approaches, one wonders whether there are any interpretive continuities between the end of the nineteenth century and the end of the twentieth century. In short, there is considerable work to be done on both old and new themes, topics, and issues. Hilda Neatby's challenge of fifty years ago—although admirably met—is still valid today. 

# BOOK REVIEWS



**Settling the Canadian-American West, 1890-1915: Pioneer Adaptation and Community Building**

By John W. Bennett and Seena B. Kohl. Lincoln NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1995. Pp. xii, 295. Illustrations. Maps. \$50.00.

IN THIS INCREASINGLY DISNEYESQUE era in which we live, with Mickey Mouse now marketing the Mounties (Mickey Mountie?), Michael Eisner creating animated history for children, and horrors(!), a very close call for a proposed Colonial Disney in Northern Virginia, I suppose it is hardly surprising to find that Disney-like interpretations of consensus history also appear to be making inroads into academic presses. *Settling the Canadian-American West, 1890-1915: Pioneer Adaptation and Community Building* by John W. Bennett and Seena B. Kohl, a highly romanticized interpretation of northern Great Plains settlement, reads so much like a "happily

ever after" or "can't we all be friends" Disney script, that upon finishing the book I wondered if the Canadian-American west described by the authors could be reached quickly by bus, because I was ready to pack my bags and make a quick visit to this magical kingdom. Who would not be intrigued by a place with "a culture of egalitarian values" (p.38), "tolerance of cultural differences" (p.33), and "communal mutualism" (p.38)? Sadly, those of us who grew up in the prairie provinces or who studied Canadian prairie history know this is not so.

Bennett and Kohl's book is the culmination of a very lengthy sociological study begun in the 1960s in Saskatchewan. Over the course of their careers, both authors have published widely, both as a team and as individuals, using material generated from that longitudinal study. In the process they have added a great deal of thoughtful and carefully researched scholarship in their fields of anthropology and sociology respectively. However, Bennett and Kohl seem to have lost their verve for the history end of their research some years ago. They claim this book to be "an anthropological history," and explain that they are "telling stories through the lenses of history and social science," but the historical research in this book is far from current. Bennett and Kohl may have become leaders in their fields of anthropology and sociology, but apparently they have not kept abreast of new developments or recent trends in history. The bibliography of *Settling the Canadian-American West*, for example, lists few works of history published after 1987, which is quite remarkable since prairie history has become increasingly popular in the past ten years, and there has been an explosion of scholarship. If this study is supposed to be "a synthesis of Canadian and U.S. settlement experiences," as the book jacket states, the authors should have at bare minimum made an attempt to incorporate recent Canadian historical scholarship. One glaring example of the authors' chauvinism is found in Chapter

Four where they reference "the increased attention to women in historical writing," and suggest to readers interested in more information to consult six studies, all American, the most recent published in 1987.

As much as Bennett and Kohl would like us to think that the Canadian west was a haven of equality and tolerance, the truth is that imported social categories based on ethnicity, religion, the level of education and other arbitrary cultural markers precluded the development of an egalitarian social system. Although the development of community and "networks of mutual aid" were key to the growth and subsequent survival of many western villages and settlements, social and cultural patterns imported from "home" remained dominant and strong. Between 1881 and 1901, no less than seventy-two percent of the population of the Territories was Canadian or British born, and when these folk moved west they brought along with them dearly held values, mores, and notions of how a society ought to be set up. While it is true that the formation of associations, church groups, or clubs, for example, demonstrated a desire for community, more often than not membership in such organizations was strictly limited to "the right sort of people," which more often than not meant people who were English-speaking, Protestant, educated, middle-class, and of British heritage. A "culture of egalitarian values" simply did not exist.

In attempting to make sense of what is now a vast body of scholarship on American and Canadian western settlement, Bennett and Kohl have over-generalized and over-characterized a variety of settlement experiences. Unfortunately, the book often reads like a romantic saga of triumph over adversity. For example, on page twenty-six they conclude that the "experience not only produced a remarkable folk literature but also a remarkable type of human being: hard working, able to take defeat and carry on, and above all, in possession of a sense of self detachment and the ability

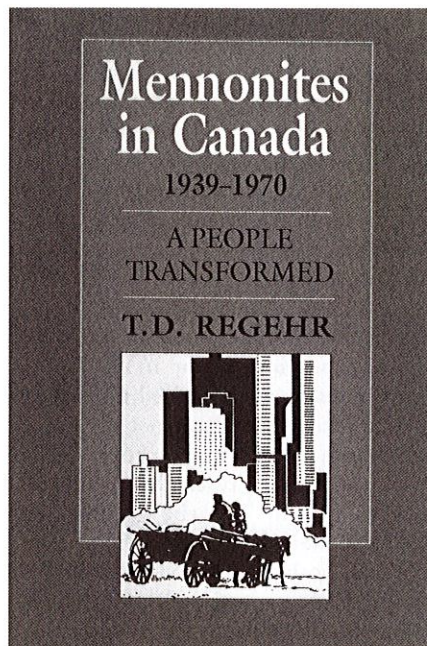
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to laugh at one's foolishness in putting up with the hardships." Drama, adversity, perseverance, and humor, a great plot line, interesting characters, and in the end a kind of redemption—it is all there, everything one needs for a blockbuster Disney Christmas-release movie. Except, this is supposed to be a scholarly analysis by two respected academics. What went wrong here?

To be honest, there are numerous terrific first-person accounts of life on the plains and prairie throughout the book. They are wonderfully evocative and speak directly to the reader. They are by far and away the best part of the book. And, fortunately, there are many of them to enjoy. Read them with care, however, as Bennett and Kohl point out, since they are subject to "the law of literary authenticity" and "the law of retrospective enhancement" and may be somewhat imaginative (p. 8). The authors have tried "to choose sources that had reasonable veracity as well as an element of authentic colour" (p. 8). They are to be commended for their creative use of local history books, autobiographical accounts, and other primary source materials. If only they had been as creative in perusing the more recently published literature on the Canadian west, it would have added some currency to the analysis accompanying the primary material.

Do I recommend this book? Many people will enjoy the stories and the tone of the book as it is easy, comfortable, and comes with few surprises. Readers looking for a scholarly tool or synthesis of this broad topic, Canadian-American settlement, will be left wanting. Maybe it is just best to wait for the movie, by Disney, of course.

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Historical Society of Washington, D.C.



**Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970:  
A People Transformed**  
By T.D. Regehr. Toronto: University  
of Toronto Press, 1996. Pp. xxi, 563.  
Illustrations. \$29.95 (cloth).

APPENDIX A Of T.D. Regehr's *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970* refers to five Mennonite groups in our country stemming from five major migrations. The first group came from Pennsylvania to what is now Ontario, beginning in 1786. Often mistakenly called Pennsylvania Dutch (because the German word for "German" is *Deutsch*), these people traced their original homeland to southern Germany and Switzerland. Another group from that region, the Amish Mennonites, first arrived in Ontario in 1824.

Western Canada was next to be settled. The third migration, from Russia, came to Manitoba in 1874 and the years following; some of these Mennonites later spread out to the other western provinces. They were of Dutch origin, but their ancestors had already made other treks for religious freedom—princi-

pally to Poland, where their marsh-draining expertise changed the delta area about Gdansk into productive farmland, and, after this area fell under Prussian control, to the steppes of Russia. Following the Russian Revolution, many of the Mennonites who had stayed behind sought refuge in Canada after 1923. To distinguish between the two groups, Mennonite historians have designated the earlier group "Kanadier," and the latter "Russlaender." Finally, a fifth group, having much in common with the Russlaender in fleeing the ravages of yet another war in eastern Europe (World War II), settled in Canada in the late 1940s.

Regehr, a recently retired history professor from the University of Saskatchewan, and himself of Russlaender stock, took on a gargantuan task in describing how the five groups, singly and collectively, fared through the forties, fifties and sixties. That he succeeded in producing a comprehensive and highly readable volume is testament to his acumen and hard work. He began the book in 1988.

This volume is the last of three detailing the lives of Mennonites in Canada. The first, describing the years 1786-1920, and the second, 1920-1940, were published in 1974 and 1982 respectively, and were written by historian Frank H. Epp, a friend and mentor of Regehr. With Epp's early death, the work of completing this final volume fell to the present author, who realized the difficulties in store: "There is, inevitably, much selection, evaluation, arranging, and explaining to be done, and all these functions are subject to individual bias"(xiii). This said, he has provided a nice balance in analysis—local and national (and international) situations, positive and negative comments, individual examples and broader implications.

The book is "user-friendly." It begins with a candid "Personal Prologue," which humanizes this scholarly undertaking by informing the readers that the author is part of the history he is writing. Fifteen pages of carefully chosen photographs

provide a vivid glimpse at the varied activities of Mennonites in the five provinces. Each chapter contains a "Conclusion," a useful summary since there is such a wealth of anecdote and detail in the foregoing pages. A reader might choose to read it in conjunction with the chapter's opening preamble before delving into the chapter itself. The chapters, divided into serviceable sections, are replete with tables, where one may learn, for example, that Saskatoon today has the third highest population of Mennonites in any Canadian city (Winnipeg and Vancouver

sixteenth century and, coupled with less labor-intensive farming methods and greater ease of communication and transportation, led to an urban migration for many. In 1970, the Mennonites, now 181,800 in number, were only fifty-six per cent rural.

Both rural and urban members prospered during these years, expanding their roles in business, the arts (especially music), education and public service. For example, the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) in Canada, created in 1963, carried out relief work, social assistance, and agricultural development

**Significantly, despite becoming more involved in mainstream Canada, the Mennonites still retained their identity, "accommodating" themselves to new circumstances, being transformed but not assimilated.**

rank higher). More statistics are found in six appendices. There are also extensive endnotes, cross-referenced to pages, facilitating easy use. A "Bibliographical Essay" and a good index complete the book.

The volume proceeds through five divisions of three to five chapters each, apart from the opening section of one chapter. The division headings are pretty much self-explanatory: "The Setting," the "Crucible of War," "Years of Prosperity," "Preparing the Next Generation," and "Mission and Witness."

In 1941, Canadian Mennonites, 111,380 of them, were predominantly a rural people; eighty-seven per cent lived on farms or in small towns. The Second World War, as Regehr explains, greatly changed their lives. About 7,500 enlisted in the armed forces, while another 4,500 gave alternate service as conscientious objectors. Meanwhile, many women at home kept the farms going on their own. These experiences helped to alter the Mennonite mind set: "The world came to be seen less as an evil place to be avoided and more a place of great suffering in need of love and healing" (125). This philosophy was more in keeping with the Mennonites' Anabaptist roots of the

in Third World countries and elsewhere. Significantly, despite becoming more involved in mainstream Canada, the Mennonites still retained their identity, "accommodating" themselves to new circumstances, being transformed but not assimilated. The exposition of this unique transformation is the gist of the book, and the author presents it in a logical and straightforward manner.

I have some special delights in this book, and a few quibbles. While Regehr has devoted a few excellent pages (312-15) to the changing use of German versus English (the Luther Bible versus the King James Version) in church services between 1939 and 1970, he has said almost nothing about the use of *Plautdietsch* in relation to these two languages. *Plautdietsch* is the *Folkjsproak* (folk speech) of the Russian Mennonites, adopted during their Poland-Prussia sojourn as their everyday language, and the ethnic glue that gave them their distinct identity. *Plautdietsch*, a form of Low German with close linguistic ties to these people's native Dutch (also a Low Germanic language—as is English) was beginning a literary revival of sorts in the 1960s while the use of standard (High) German had waned.

On an allied matter, the author states that "Seventeenth-century Polish/Prussian Mennonites changed the language of worship from Dutch to German" (274). But it was in 1762, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, that a sermon in German was given for the first time in a Danzig (later Gdansk) Mennonite church. There was such an uproar among the members at the time that this experiment was not tried again for another five years, and yet another year elapsed before the Dutch hymnbook was finally replaced by one in German.

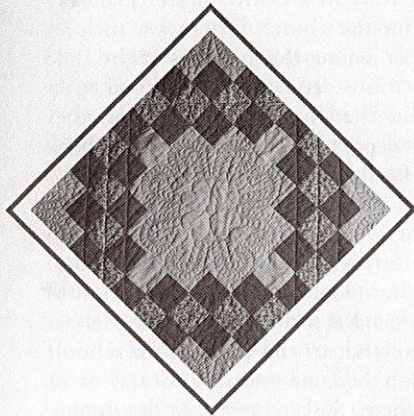
I particularly like the lengthy treatment of church music (273-85)—with references to the boost which choral singing received from immigration of Russlaenders with training in their former homeland; to the Mennonite schools which became music centers, as at Rosthern, Saskatchewan; to the inspiration which came through the revival and acceptance of classical religious compositions. Mennonite musicians and musical groups have indeed achieved international attention.

Even the inclusion, elsewhere in the book, of one Mennonite's disapproval of the "Hallelujah Chorus" from Handel's *Messiah* is noteworthy, for it not only depicts the droll humor so typical of Mennonite character, but shows, in a backhanded way, that individual's appreciation of the piece's rhythm: "It[']s like singing the cows are jumping over the fence, the brown cows, the red cows, the white cows, the black cows are jumping, jumping, are jumping over, jumping over the fence, over, over, over, over the fence" (303).

All in all, T.D. Regehr's *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, is an excellent account of our people. If another volume is ever planned, to bring the story through another three decades up the millennium, it will need to focus on the continuation of those very trends which Regehr recognized as important in the immediately preceding decades. Such a book would point to even more involvement by Mennonites in the rich Canadian mosaic—in the professions, politics, media, sports and literature.

Victor Carl Friesen  
Rosthern, Saskatchewan

*Piecing the Quilt*  
Sources for Women's History  
in the Saskatchewan Archives Board



by Barbara Powell and Myrna Williams

**Piecing the Quilt: Sources for Women's History in the Saskatchewan Archives Board**  
By Barbara Powell and Myrna Williams. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1996. Pp. 177. Illustrations. \$32.00 (paper).

BARBARA POWELL AND MYRNA WILLIAMS' bibliographic guide, *Piecing the Quilt*, employs the quilting metaphor which women's historians, most recently Gail Cuthbert Brandt in "Postmodern Patchwork," are so fond of invoking. Like quilting, their work was the product of a number of years worth of work in the Saskatchewan archives, as the compilers searched through document holdings to find unique and overlooked women's history holdings which were buried in other document and oral history collections. In the end, they hope that their collection will encourage students, historians and members of the general public to undertake more studies of Saskatchewan women, and thus to expand our knowledge of the province's foremothers.

Although bibliographic guides are not normally the sort of books one enjoys

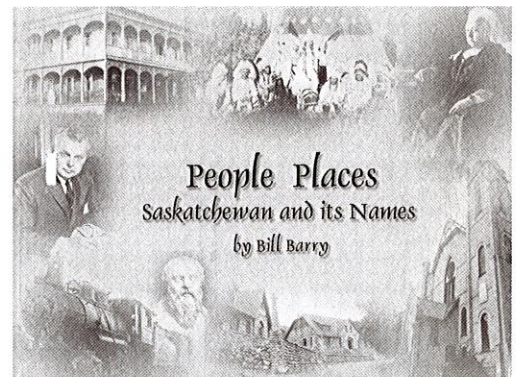
to browse through, in this case the wonderful number of photographs and some of the tantalizing descriptions of the archival holdings will be of interest to women's historians and genealogists. For instance, photographs of Christina Bateman and her friend Nan McKay's camping trip to La Ronge in 1919 challenge our often stereotypical perception of women's lives and recreational pursuits. The photo of Bateman and McKay indicates that the two women were clearly fond of the outdoors, energetic and apparently unfazed by the prescriptive literature of the day which usually cautioned "ladies" about such strenuous activities. Or the wonderful photograph of Harriet Purdy of Balcarres with one of her prize winning roosters. Purdy, described as "a pioneer poultry farmer and member of the Poultry Council Hall of Fame," donated her professional and personal papers to the archives. Purdy's papers, and others, bear testament to women's involvement in the agricultural life of the province. In fact, interested readers might be delighted to know that Purdy's file also contains a series of "handwritten medicinal remedies."

There are many other photographs of prominent professional women, female politicians, women's voluntary organizations, and farm wives, in addition to the citations which direct readers to a host of papers, documents, journals and oral history sources on women's public and private experiences. Powell and Williams are careful to include immigrant, ethnic and aboriginal women's experiences, and in this regard, the compilers have clearly attempted to provide a balanced portrait of provincial women, and an indication of the diverse holdings of the Saskatchewan Archives.

Powell and Williams are to be commended for their pioneering effort, but one organizational flaw mars this study. *Piecing the Quilt* is organized in alphabetical order, with a supplementary index of names at the back of the book. The addition of a subject index would have made the guide more accessible—particularly to undergraduate students, who could have quickly located topics of interest without reading the entire book. This alphabetical organizational structure results in a crazy quilt of topics, time periods and individuals stitched together on

each page, but I defy those readers who take the time to peruse the entire book, not to find archival entries that will spur them on to further research on the women of Saskatchewan.

Valerie J. Korinek  
Department of History  
University of Saskatchewan



**People Places: Saskatchewan and its Names**  
By Bill Barry. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1997. Pp. xii, 202. Illustrations. Maps. \$29.95 (paper).

MANY SASKATCHEWAN PEOPLE have come to know Bill Barry from his regular slot on CBC Radio's "The Afternoon Edition." Since 1995 he has provided listeners with interesting information and commentary on the origins of Saskatchewan place names. At first glance it might appear that *People Places: Saskatchewan and its Names* is an encyclopedic compilation of his material on provincial place names. However, as Barry points out in the introduction, it is instead a thematic approach to aspects of Saskatchewan toponymy. It relates approximately 2,000 (out of the 26,000 which Barry has entered on a computer data base) names of cities, towns, villages, Indian reserves, rural municipalities, school districts, rural post offices and, in some cases, lakes and rivers to certain themes in the province's history.

The first such theme is Saskatchewan's First Nations, to which Barry devotes a quarter of the entire



book. He relates the history of the Cree, Saulteaux, Dené and Sioux in Saskatchewan and refers to other Indian Nations which have had a less direct connection to the province, such as the Blackfoot and the Gros Ventres. We learn that a great number of Saskatchewan place names have Native origins either directly from Indian languages, from English or French translations of those languages, or from events that are a part of Native history. Thus Kawacatoose First Nation is named after the Cree chief of that name who was one of the original signers of Treaty 4. Muscow, a rail siding and post office west of Fort Qu'Appelle, is a Cree and Saulteaux word meaning strong. And the name Old Wives Lake relates to an incident from the nineteenth century rivalry between the Cree and the Blackfoot.

Until recently popular historical accounts have not paid serious attention to Aboriginal history. *People Places* is intended for the general public, and for this reason the section on Saskatchewan's First Nations is especially valuable. A brief but sympathetic account, reflecting current scholarship, is given on the Native past in Saskatchewan. The book contains a table listing the names of all First Nations, including the nation/language of each, the number of the treaty under which the reserve was established and the 1996 population of each First Nation. Emphasis is placed on the differences in background and experience of the various Indian Nations. An appendix to the book contains a Cree pronunciation guide and references to the Saulteaux language and the Dakota, Nakota and Lakota dialects of the Siouan language. Most people in the province likely have little understanding or even realization of the Indian connections to so many places. The gap is large, and Bill Barry to his credit has helped somewhat to close it.

A large number of Saskatchewan's place names date back to the settlement era. Two factors during the period were especially influential in determining names: the railways and the places of origin of the settlers. There is a section in the book on each. Canora is simply an abbreviation of the Canadian Northern Railway which reached the town in 1905. It probably would not cheer Saskatchewan farmers to discover that

the C.P.R. not only determined their freight rates but likely also named hundreds of their towns. Thus in 1911, a year when imperialist sentiment was strong in Canada, points along the new rail line on the west side of Last Mountain Lake, were christened by the C.P.R. Imperial, Liberty and Stalwart.

*People Places* provides numerous examples of place names which reflect the background of the people who settled the area. So Saskatchewan, like Europe, has its Odessa, Fulda, Leipzig and Strasbourg. The influence of the United States was even stronger. Barry discovered more than 150 names of American origin, with more than thirty traceable to Minnesota. Ceylon, Climax, Plato and Wadema were all brought to Saskatchewan by Norwegians who came from Minnesota.

Barry also refers to many places named after individuals, some famous and some not. Verigin, of course, is named after the Doukhobor leader John Verigin, and Borden after the Canadian prime minister, Robert Borden. It likely is less well known that Smuts is named after Jan Christiaan Smuts, prime minister of South Africa, and completely unknown that Plunkett recalls an Irish judge and orator by the name of Viscount Horace Plunkett.

As this book and others make clear, Saskatchewan has a great number of people of German background and place names of German origin. As the patriotic fervour increased during the First World War, Germans, who had been viewed as industrious and desirable immigrants, were suspected by some in the province to be unpatriotic and by others as the very epitome of evil. Barry shows the effect that this changed attitude had on Saskatchewan place names. In 1916 the village of Coblenz, named after Koblenz, Germany, was renamed Cavell to honour Edith Cavell, the British Red Cross matron who was executed by the Germans. In 1917 the village of Prussia, named in 1912 following an influx of German settlers into the area, became Leader. Barry provides several other examples. What is unclear from Barry's book is who made the name changes and under what circumstances. As a result a lot of questions regarding this aspect of Saskatchewan's ethnic history remain unanswered. Were the changes forced on

the Germans in these areas, and if so by whom and how? Or did the Germans of these districts approve the changes in self-defence as a way of proving their loyalty to Canada? And why were some German names changed while others were not?

Historians are naturally interested in knowing what sources were used in determining the origin of the place names. For example, how does Barry know that Ponteix is named after a French parish or that Oungre owes its name to the Jewish Colonization Association? In general the question of sources is answered in the foreword and introduction to the book, in the note on sources at the end, within the text itself or occasionally in a footnote. Thus reference is made to Canada Post records, local histories, C.P.R. files, sources in the National and Saskatchewan archives and to some secondary sources. Barry adds that "to list every source that has been consulted in the preparation of *People Places* would require a second book" (p.183).

However, the difficulty is that one is seldom certain of the exact source. This could lead to some of the same criticisms which Barry correctly makes of an earlier publication on provincial place names, *What's in a Name*. Perhaps it is impossible to expect in a book of this type to document precisely the source for each place name. Is such information contained in the computer data base referred to earlier? It is mentioned in the introduction that a more comprehensive dictionary-style reference based on the data base will be available in 1998. The problem in regard to sources could be cleared up in that publication.

*People Places: Saskatchewan and its Names* is an enjoyable and useful book. Bill Barry put an immense amount of work into it, and the book will be widely read and appreciated by the people of the province.

George Hoffman  
Weyburn, Saskatchewan

*A game of rugby in Saskatoon, 1979. In the latter half of the twentieth century women have increasingly broken free of traditional gender roles. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-P 4 July 1979*

# Saskatchewan in Pictures and Numbers, 1948-1998

Compiled by Steve Hewitt



*Ice fishing at the Buffalo Pound Lake, 13 April 1965. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-MN-B 2073.*

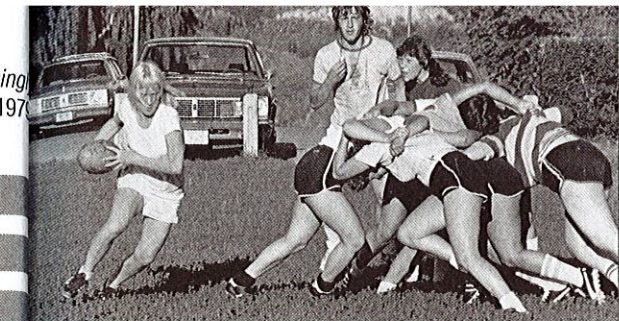
## POPULATION, 1951-1996

	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	1996	%CHANGE, 1951-1996
ALTA.	940,000	1,332,000	1,628,000	2,238,000	2,546,000	2,697,000	+187
<b>SASK.</b>	<b>832,000</b>	<b>925,000</b>	<b>926,000</b>	<b>968,000</b>	<b>989,000</b>	<b>990,000</b>	<b>+19</b>
MAN.	777,000	922,000	988,000	1,026,000	1,092,000	1,114,000	+44
CAN.	14.009 m	18.238 m	21.568 m	24.343 m	27.297 m	28.847 m	+106

Source: Canadian Census



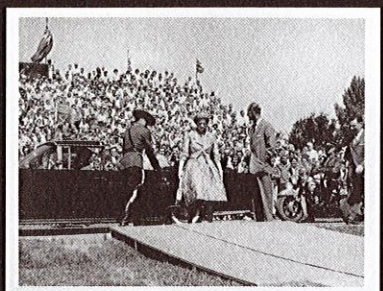
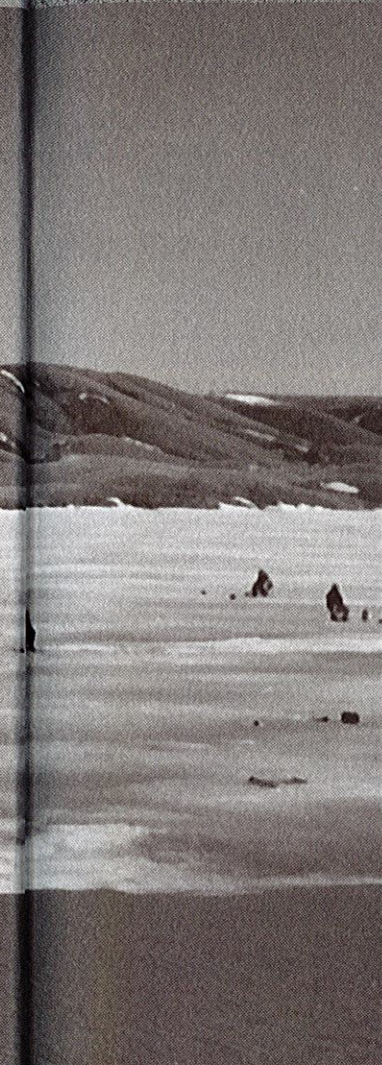
*Steve Hewitt co-edits Saskatchewan History.*



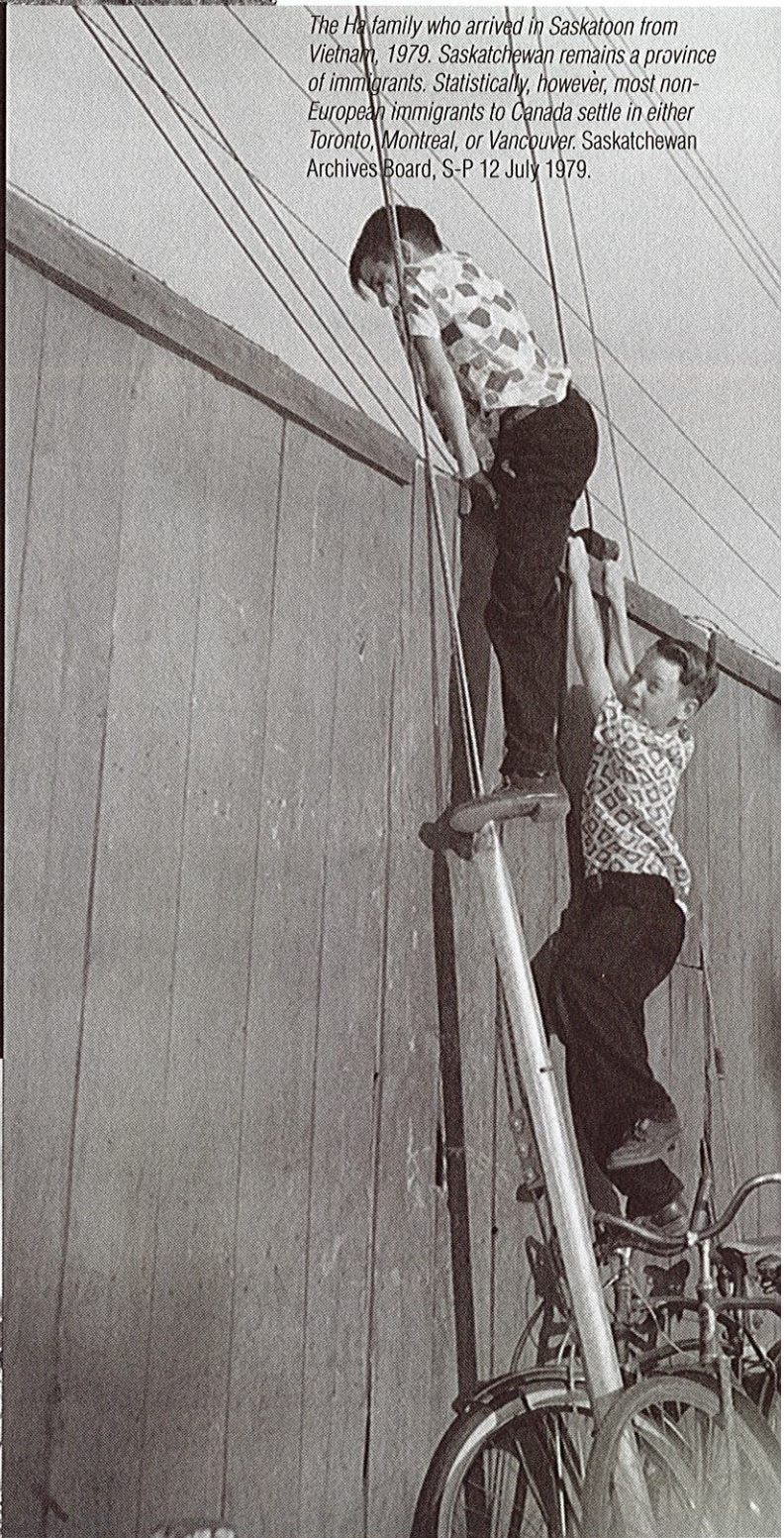
Aboriginal woman at the sixtieth anniversary sports day, Duck Lake, 1948. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 6323.

Children dancing at Eagleholme school, 1948. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 6439.

Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip visiting Saskatoon in 1959. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 6140.



The Ha family who arrived in Saskatoon from Vietnam, 1979. Saskatchewan remains a province of immigrants. Statistically, however, most non-European immigrants to Canada settle in either Toronto, Montreal, or Vancouver. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-P 12 July 1979.

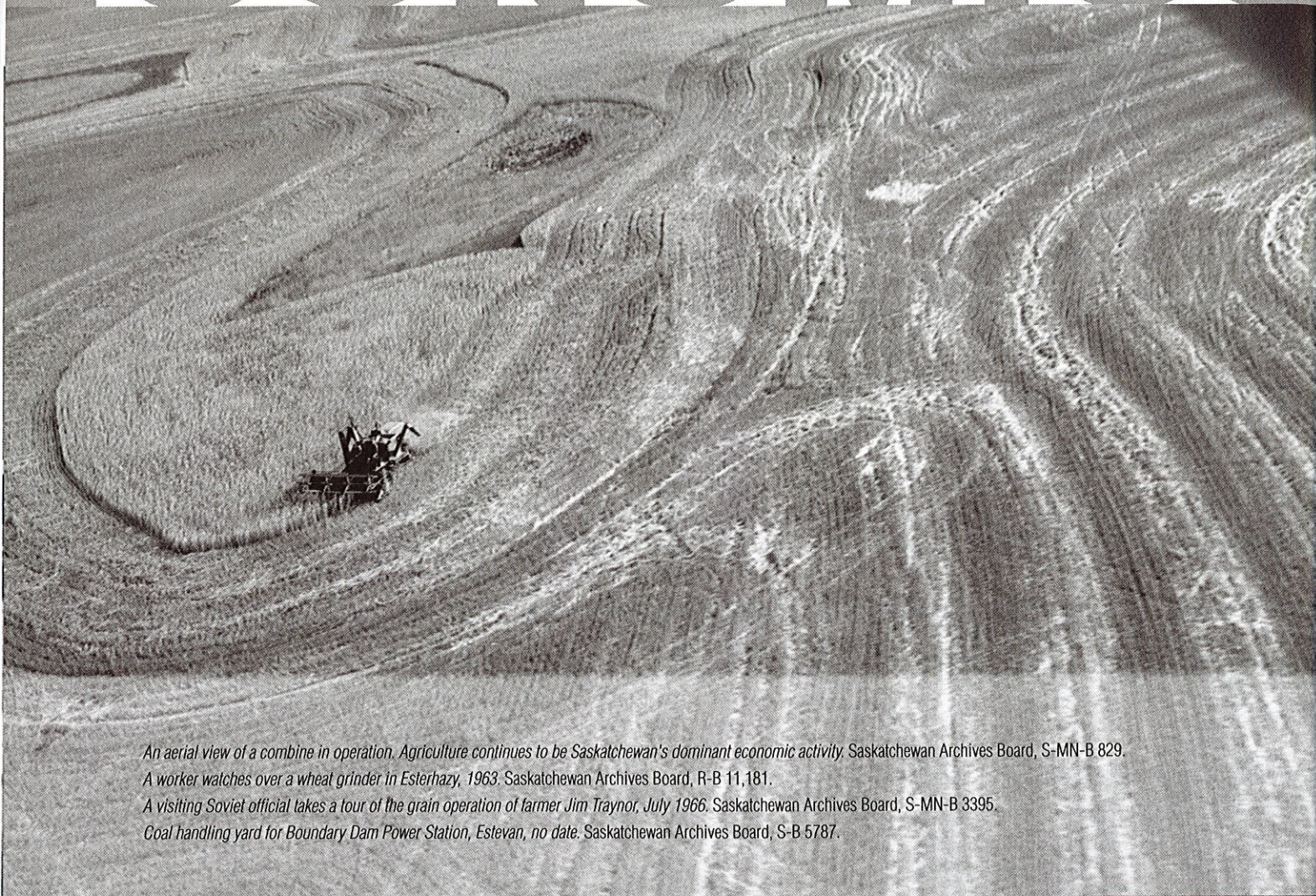


Boys scaling the wall at Cairns Field, Saskatoon, 1955. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-SP-3385-2.

Crowd at the dedication ceremony of the South Saskatchewan River Dam, 1967. As the flags demonstrate, 1967 was also Canada's centennial year. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 5811.



# ECONOMICS



An aerial view of a combine in operation. Agriculture continues to be Saskatchewan's dominant economic activity. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-MN-B 829.

A worker watches over a wheat grinder in Esterhazy, 1963. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B 11,181.

A visiting Soviet official takes a tour of the grain operation of farmer Jim Traynor, July 1966. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-MN-B 3395.

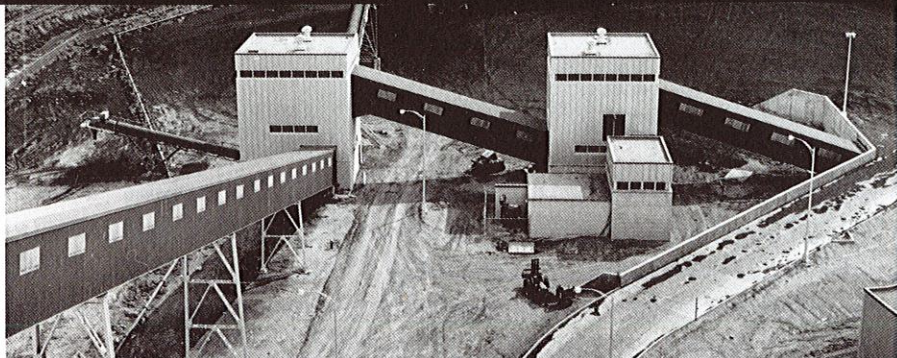
Coal handling yard for Boundary Dam Power Station, Estevan, no date. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 5787.

## SASKATCHEWAN'S VALUE OF PRODUCTION, 1951-1981

	1951	%	1961	%	1971	%	1981	%
	\$000		\$000		\$000		\$000	
Agriculture	685,255	78	219,388	29	820,216	49	2,468,100	45
Forestry	4,532	1	3,556	—	6,649	—	34,400	1
Fishing	910	—	1,385	—	1,802	—	2,200	—
Trapping	1,985	—	1,591	—	1,317	—	4,600	—
Mining	38,723	4	170,208	22	348,321	21	1,329,200	24
Electrical Power	11,059	1	36,192	5	75,246	4	182,500	1
Manufacturing	61,089	7	120,972	16	209,965	12	679,100	12
Construction	72,900	8	207,487	27	225,337	13	820,900	15



Source: Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987) 518.



Premier W.S. Lloyd (second from left) listening to election results, 1964. His government was defeated by Ross Thatcher and the Liberals. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-SP-5798-1.

Premier Ross Thatcher (second from left) at the announcement of a new addition to the Canada Cement Plant, Floral, 1964. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-SP-5889-1.

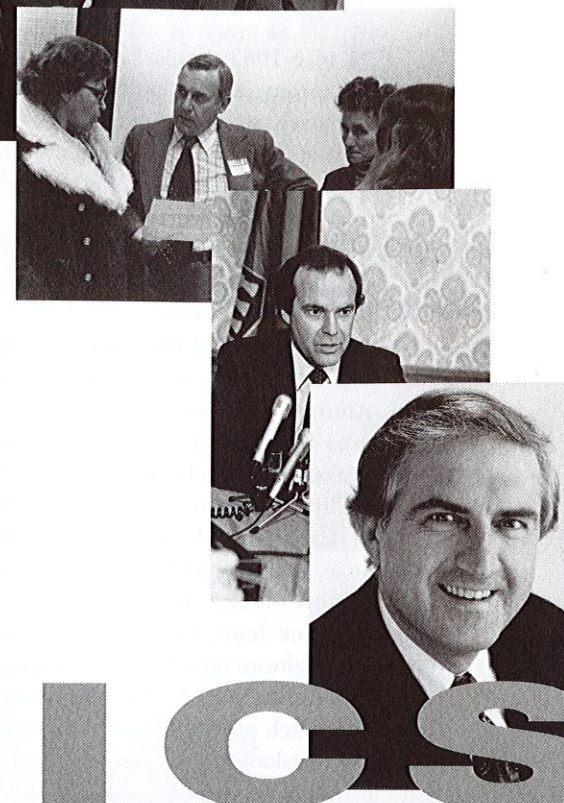
Premier Allan Blakeney chatting with a group of voters, October 1977. Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 23,090.

Premier Grant Devine at a press conference after his 1982 election victory. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-P 27 April 1982.

Premier Roy Romanow. Courtesy of Roy Romanow.



Premier Tommy Douglas at his desk. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-MN-B 3471.



# POLITICS

## Provincial Election Results in Saskatchewan, 1948-1998

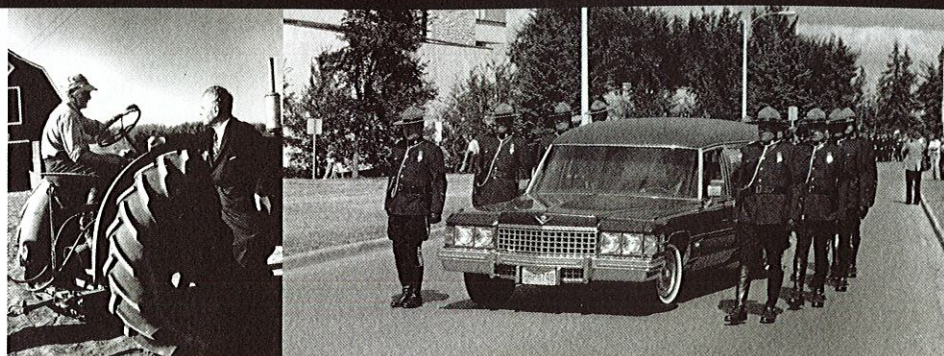
Parties	1948	1952	1956	1960	1964	1967	1971	1975	1978	1982	1986	1991	1996
Liberal	14	11	14	17	33	35	15	15				1	11
New Democratic	31	42	36	38	25	24	45	39	44	8	25	55	42
Party/Co-operative													
Commonwealth													
Federation													
Progressive													
Conservative	1			1			7	17	56	38	10	5	
Other	1	3								1			

Source: *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*

John George Diefenbaker, prime minister between 1957 and 1963, meeting the people. RT. Hon. J. G. Diefenbaker Canada Centre, MG01/XVII/JGD 4347. Funeral procession of John Diefenbaker, 1979. Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-D12.

### PREMIERS, 1948-1998

- Tommy Douglas, 1948-1961
- Woodrow Lloyd, 1961-1964
- Ross Thatcher, 1964-1971
- Allan Blakeney, 1971-1982
- Grant Devine, 1982-1991
- Roy Romanow, 1991-present



# Saskatchewan History & Folklore Society

Since 1982 the Saskatchewan History & Folklore Society (SHFS) has been operating hosted motorcoach tours to points of heritage interest, both within Saskatchewan and occasionally to points beyond. Once again this year SHFS is offering a choice of four fully escorted, all inclusive, worry free heritage motorcoach packages to the general public. All four tours offer the option to tour participants of being picked-up and dropped-off in either Regina or Saskatoon.

SHFS's first tour of the season will travel a bit farther afield than in the past, as we help in Celebrating Yukon's 100th Anniversary. We begin our June 14 to 28 journey with stops in Edmonton, Dawson Creek, Fort Nelson, Watson Lake and Whitehorse, before spending two nights in Dawson City during the summer solstice. Highlights in Dawson City include the Frantic Follies Show in Whitehorse, the Gaslight Follies, the Pleasure Island Cruise with Salmon Blake, and the Bonanza Gold-fields and Midnight Dome Tours. From there we will travel the Top of the World Highway into Alaska. In Alaska we will also visit Haines, where we will, among other things, enjoy the Port Chilkoot Potlach and Chilkat Centre Indian Dancers. After taking the Alaska Ferries from Haines to Skagway, we will visit the Trail of '98 Museum, Days of 1898 Show, Gold Rush Cemetery and Reid Falls. Returning to Saskatchewan after fifteen days in Klondike country, we will bring with us a treasure of memories as precious as gold.

SHFS's next tour, July 3 to July 5, travels to our most popular destination. **Drumheller—From Passion Play to Hoodoos**, begins with a stop at the Flaxcombe Dried Flower Farm. Once in Drumheller, the tour will follow the Dinosaur Trail, which would not be complete without a stop at the Royal Tyrell Museum of Paleontology. On the afternoon of Saturday, July 4, we will partake in the renowned outdoor presentation of the Passion Play. That evening, we will travel to the historic East Coulee, stopping along the way at the site of the fascinating Hoodoos. After our second night in Drumheller, we will head back to Saskatchewan via Settler.

The third SHFS tour for 1998 will be the **History and Culture of South Central Saskatchewan** tour, August 7 and 8. The tour's first stop will be at the nationally recognized heritage site, the brick manufacturing plant at Claybank. After our tour of the brick plant, we will continue to Weyburn, where the afternoon will be highlighted with a viewing of the 5,000 piece silver, crystal and glassware

collection of Charlie Wilson, housed in the Soo Line Museum. Friday evening we will enjoy the thespian fare provided by Signal Hill Theatre Company in their production of "Wheatfest 2000." On Saturday we will head west to Coronach, where we will partake in an in-depth tour of the "Big Muddy" region, visiting such sites as the Outlaw Caves, Castle Butte, Paisley Brook school, and other unique regional attractions. Our tour of South Central Saskatchewan ends with a pleasant meal at the Temple Gardens Spa in Moose Jaw, before our return home.

Northern Shores, from August 21 to 24, will be SHFS's final tour of the 1998 season. On the first day we will stop for a relaxing and leisurely stay in Prince Albert National Park. On our second day we will travel via the northern route from Waskesiu to Beauval, and then continue north for History on the Road's initial visit to the community of La Loche. Day three includes visits to Buffalo Narrows and Ile-a-la-Crosse, before returning to Beauval for one final evening in the Northern Shores country. While in this part of Saskatchewan, we will be visiting some of our province's oldest Roman Catholic Missions and Hudson Bay trading posts, as well as the birth place of Louis Riel's grandfather. On Monday's return to Saskatoon and Regina we will be stopping at Hafford for a tour of the federally designated migratory bird sanctuary at Redberry Lake. Upon returning, tour participants will have plenty of memories of the sites, sounds and aromas of the Northern Shores as we end another year of tours through SHFS's History on the Road.

SHFS has an exciting 1998 History on the Road planned. With 2-day, 3-day, 4-day and 15-day tours being offered, a wide variety of travel preferences have been accommodated. We hope to see many familiar and new faces during this tour season. As always, the purchase price of an SHFS tour is all-inclusive. For one low price, you will enjoy travelling in air-conditioned comfort aboard modern, fully equipped coaches, while staying in quality overnight accommodations and being provided with full meals and entrance to all attractions.

SHFS tours have been widely acclaimed for the insightful experiences they provide, and for being enjoyable and pleasurable trips. For more information about the above listed tours, please contact Liz Tiefenbach or Finn Andersen through SHFS's offices at 1860 Lorne Street, Regina, SK S4P 2L7. Telephone: (306) 780-9240 or 1-800-919-9437 (toll free).

# SASKATCHEWAN'S MOST INFLUENTIAL PERSON IS ..

# GORDIE HOWE? TOMMY DOUGLAS? YOUR MOTHER? THE GUY DOWN THE STREET

**WHO DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST INFLUENTIAL PERSON IN THE LAST FIFTY YEARS OF SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY?**

As part of its fiftieth anniversary celebrations *Saskatchewan History* would like to invite readers to submit in 500 words or less their nomination for Saskatchewan's most influential person of the last fifty years and the reason(s) why. Several of the entries will be published in the fall 1998 issue of the journal. The top entry will receive a \$100 prize. Those whose entries are published will receive a free subscription or, for those who already receive *Saskatchewan History*, a subscription extension.

Submit your entries along with your name and address by Sept. 1, 1998 to:

SASKATCHEWAN'S MOST INFLUENTIAL PERSON IS  
C/O SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY  
SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD  
3 CAMPUS DRIVE  
MURRAY BUILDING  
UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN  
SASKATOON, SK S7N 5A4





**BOOK REVIEWS**

**43** John W. Bennett and  
Seena B. Kohl.

"Settling the Canadian-  
American West, 1890-  
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