

Saskatchewan History

VOLUME 52
NUMBER 2
FALL 2000

Cattle at Gull Lake.



Carrying Grain to the Elevators, Saskatchewan, Canada



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.

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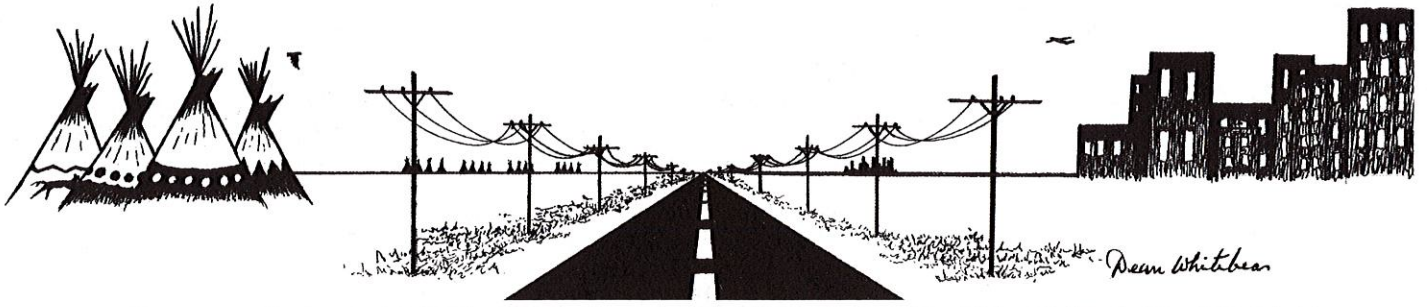
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SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY

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The editor of *Saskatchewan History* welcomes the submission of articles relating to the history of the province. Manuscripts must be submitted in duplicate, typewritten, and double-spaced. The endnotes, prepared according to the Chicago Manual of Style, should also be double spaced. Authors should submit manuscripts on PC/DOS floppy disk. The disk must be IBM compatible, in Word Perfect 6.0, 7 or 8 for Windows but Word 6.0 for Windows is also acceptable. Two hard copies are also 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. Dr. Taylor's e-mail address is gmtaylor@sk.sympatico.ca

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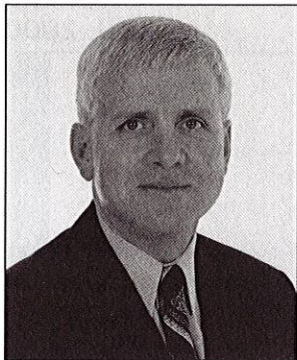
Features



Saskatchewan Archives Board News

FOUR NEW MEMBERS ADDED TO ARCHIVES BOARD

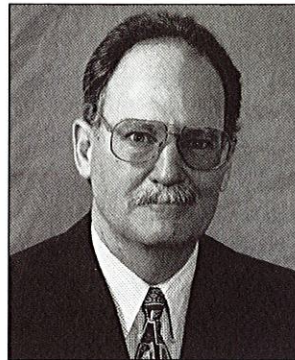
Effective 6th September 2000, four new members were appointed to the Saskatchewan Archives Board.



George Hoffman

Mr. George Hoffman is a retired History and Social Studies Teacher who taught at the Weyburn Comprehensive School and has been a sessional lecturer in the History Department, University of Regina, for a number of years. He was born in Humboldt and attended high school at St. Peter's College, Muenster.

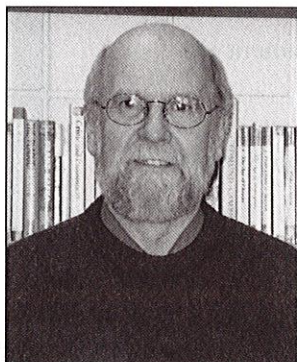
He has a B.A. (Honours) degree in History and a B.Ed. from the University of Saskatchewan, and an M.A. degree in History from the University of Regina. He was introduced to the Saskatchewan Archives when doing graduate work and research for his thesis and has maintained contact ever since.



Alan Moffat

Mr. Alan Moffat is currently Vice-President, Commercial Services, for Saskatchewan Property Management Corporation, Regina. He has a Bachelor of Administration degree from the University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus, and a Master of Public Administration degree from Queen's

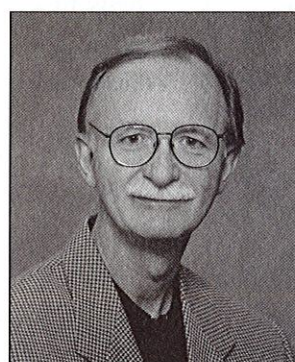
University. He has worked in various capacities in the Saskatchewan civil service, since 1971 with Saskatchewan Finance, Saskatchewan Health, Saskatchewan Supply and Services, and since 1988 with the Saskatchewan Property Management Corporation.



Bill Howard

Professor Bill Howard, nominee of the University of Regina, has taught English at the University for the past 31 years. He is the author of *John Clare* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1981), several articles on early nineteenth-century poetry and fiction, and has edited *Wascana Review* and served on the editorial board of *Prairie Forum*. Dr.

Howard has held several administrative positions at the University, including Head of the Department of English, Assistant to the Dean of Graduate Studies and Research, and Acting University Librarian. From 1989 to 1995, he served on the University's Board of Governors.



Tom Nesmith

Dr. Tom Nesmith is Associate Professor in the Master's programme in Archival Studies at the University of Manitoba. Prior to establishing the programme in 1990, he had been an archivist at the National Archives of Canada since 1978. He obtained his doctorate in History from Carleton University. He was

editor of *Archivaria*, the journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists (ACA), 1984-1986. He was also editor of, and a contributing author to, *Canadian Archival Studies and the Rediscovery of Provenance* (1993), a joint publication of the ACA and the Society of American Archivists.

Mr. Hoffman, Dr. Howard, Mr. Moffat and Dr. Nesmith will serve on the Saskatchewan Archives Board with Dr. Brett Fairbairn (chair), Ms. Gwen Charman, Dr. Brij Mathur, Ms. Gwenn Ronyk, Mr. Frank Winter, and Mr. Trevor Powell (Provincial Archivist and Secretary). Retiring from the Board are Dr. Eber Hampton, Mr. John Law, Mr. Lee McDonald, and Dr. James Pitsula. The Chair, Dr. Fairbairn, expressed appreciation for their service to the Board since 1997.

The Editor's Comments



This issue of *Saskatchewan History* focusses on two groups, the First Nations, who made up most of the population of present-day Saskatchewan prior to the early 1880s, and people of British descent, who were the largest ethnic group from 1885 onward. We opened our series on "The Peoples of Saskatchewan in Pictures" in the Spring 1999 issue by focussing on the First Nations and in this issue the British are the people whose pictures we are featuring.

In recent years there have been many books and articles published about the history of the Aboriginal Peoples in Saskatchewan. However, many of them were written by Euro-Canadian historians. The history of any cultural group is better if it is interpreted not only by outsiders, but also by insiders. Therefore, since I have been the editor of *Saskatchewan History* I have attempted to find and publish material by First Nations Peoples themselves. In this issue Hugh Dempsey, who has written extensively on prairie Indians, reviews a new book by Deanna Christiansen about Ahtahkakoop, a chief from Saskatchewan, and his people. The book is the result of years of collaboration with the people of the Ahtahkakoop First Nation.

In this issue Leona Monroe, a First Nations scholar who teaches Cree at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, reviews two books by Freda Ahenakew and H.C. Wolfart. Dr. Ahenakew grew up on the Ahtahkakoop First Nation and began her academic career after the birth of her twelfth and last child. She made an outstanding contribution to teaching Cree and to the preservation of Cree language, culture, and history. The author of numerous books, she has received many awards for her service to First Nations and to Canada, including the Order of Canada, a National Aboriginal Achievement Award, and an honorary doctorate from the University of Saskatchewan. Dr. Ahenakew and Cree Elder Stan Cuthand, who translated and taught Cree and Indian Studies for many years, were both honoured by the Canadian Indigenous/Native Studies Association when it met in Saskatoon at the beginning of June, 2001.¹ The work of Aboriginal scholars, like Ahenakew and Cuthand, who are working to preserve their languages is an extremely important part of our history. Languages carry culture and history and most "Aboriginal languages in Canada are teetering on the brink of extinction."²

One of the other things I have attempted to do as

Editor of *Saskatchewan History* is to bring a discussion of primary sources and historical methods to the forefront. Our series on "Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Histories" has focussed on methods for the study of Indigenous history in Saskatchewan. Dr. David McNab, the author of the last article in this series, is a Cree of the Bear clan whose mother's family came originally from Cumberland House. A First Nations historian with an international reputation, he has written numerous historical articles. His most recent books on the history of the First Nations are *Earth, Water, Air and Fire: Studies in Canadian Ethnohistory* and *Circles of Time: Aboriginal Land Rights and Resistance in Ontario*.³ McNab's article in this issue of *Saskatchewan History* is about the Battle at Belly River Crossing in 1870, the last battle between the Cree and the Blackfoot. He discusses an important primary source on the Battle, which has previously been ignored by other historians. Up to now historical accounts of the Battle have relied mainly on reports from the point of view of the Blackfoot. McNab analyses a Cree account of the Battle in his article, which will have an impact on the way the history of relations between the Cree and the Blackfoot on the Canadian prairies is written. His article is valuable not only because it gives new historical information, but also because of the method he uses to analyse a Cree oral history that was written down and preserved by Euro-Canadians. McNab not only makes use of written documents and a Cree oral tradition, he also combines them with family history.⁴

In this issue several contributors deal with people of British descent in Saskatchewan. One of the reviews deals with a biography of Edgar Dewdney, an English immigrant, and another reviews a book about Anglo-Canadians who migrated to the United States and to Saskatchewan. Dr. Marjory Harper is an historian with an international reputation whose research focuses on the British abroad. Her work includes *Emigration from Scotland between the wars: opportunity or exile?*⁵ and an introduction to a new edition of Lady Aberdeen's 1893 book *Through Canada with a kodak*.⁵ In this issue Harper looks at another valuable primary source on the history of Saskatchewan, the pioneer questionnaires collected and held by the Saskatchewan Archives Board. By skilfully analysing these questionnaires Harper provides a revealing picture of British immigrants to Saskatchewan. She points out that, although other articles have been written using the questionnaires, they still contain a

great deal of valuable information about Saskatchewan's pioneers that could be mined by future historians.

Ruth Millar's latest article in her series "Rogues, Heroes, Adventurers, and Trailblazers" is about Gladys Arnold, a Second World War correspondent and Free French advocate. It tells the exciting story of one of Saskatchewan's unsung heroes. Arnold was involved in national and international adventures that are little known in her home province.

This is the last issue of *Saskatchewan History* I will be editing, in part because my teaching load has increased and the demands on the Editor are onerous. I enjoyed rethinking and redesigning the journal. I also enjoyed my contact with the readers and the subscribers and with the authors of the material we published in the five issues I edited. I would like to thank all those who gave me continuing support as I edited this and previous issues of the journal.⁶ I wish *Saskatchewan History* and the new Editor well. Saskatchewan has a rich and varied history and this journal plays an important role in sustaining interest in the history of the province and publishing new material.

Georgina M. Taylor, Editor

NOTES:

1. For biographies and pictures of Freda Ahenakew and Stan Cuthand see the web site "Aboriginal Faces of Saskatchewan: A Photo Gallery" < <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/faces/> >
2. Alison Sebastian, "SIFC working to keep First Nations languages alive," *The Star Phoenix*, Saskatoon, 26 May 2001.
3. David T. McNab, edited for the Nin.Da.Waab.Jig., *Earth, Water, Air and Fire: Studies in Canadian Ethnohistory* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1998). David T. McNab, *Circles of Time: Aboriginal Land Rights and Resistance in Ontario* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999).
4. For an article about Charles Pratt, a Cree man from present-day Saskatchewan, that also makes use of written documents, Cree oral tradition, and family history see Winona Stevenson, "The Journals and Voices of a Church of England Native Catechist: Askenootow (Charles Pratt), 1851-1884," in *Reading Beyond Words — Contexts for Native History* ed. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Hadleigh Essex: Broadview Press, 1996), 304-359.
5. Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland between the wars : opportunity or exile?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998). The Countess of Aberdeen, *Through Canada with a kodak / the Countess of Aberdeen*, new edition introduced by Marjory Harper (1893; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).
6. In particular I would like to thank Alan Anderson, Finn Anderson, Inger Anderson, Cheryl Avery, Margaret Baldock, Marilyn Barber, Freda Beberfall, Sharon Butala, April and Cal Chief Calf, Chris and Stan Cuthand, Paul Denham, Elaine and Serge Federoff, Anna Feldman, Alvin Finkel, Morris Flewwelling, Deborah Gorham, Sharon Hildebrand, Jacqueline Hutchings, Mary and Stuart Houston, Nanci Langford, Boris and Anne Maduke, Sophia Malinowski, Connie Maquire, Andrea McLellan, David McNabb, Ruth Miller, Gail Osachoff, Grace Pine, Jim Pitsula, Neil Richards, Jan Schmitz, Meg Smart, Bruce Shepard, Dorinda Stahl, Carly Stewart, Mabel Taylor, Tyrone Tootoosis, Winona (Stevenson) Wheeler, Patty Williams, and Ilene Youchezin.

Our Cover, Our Designs, and Our Drawings



While I have been Editor of *Saskatchewan History* I have emphasized the use of visual images from Saskatchewan's past. Visual images are enjoyable and when they are skillfully interpreted they can tell us a great deal about our history. The design on our cover is once again an adaptation of the Art Nouveau design on the cover of a 1905 Department of the Interior booklet written to encourage immigrants to come to the prairies, which we first used in the Fall of 1998 with the original paintings. Since then we have been varying the background colour on our cover from one issue to the next and in each subsequent issue we used different pictures in place of the paintings on the original 1905 booklet.¹

The "picture postcards" we are using on the cover of this issue were published during "the Golden Age" of postcards when there was a "craze" for collecting "postal cards."² This "Golden Age" coincided with the peak years of immigration to Saskatchewan. Most of the postcards published in Canada during this period were printed in Britain or Germany. Postcards were popular, in part, because postal systems were

fast and reliable, the postal rate for postcards was cheap, and it only cost a penny to mail a postcard in Canada.³ The pictures we are using on the cover of this issue are just two of the many postcards from this period that can be found in the postcard collection in the Special Collections Department of the University of Saskatchewan Libraries.

The pictures on the cover of this issue depict aspects of the two most important agricultural endeavours in Saskatchewan during the settlement period, ranching and growing grain. The postcard with a picture of "Cattle at Gull Lake" was published by Stedman Bros. Ltd. in Brantford Ontario and printed in Germany. The only hand-written message on the back of this postcard is the inscription "To Carrie from George" in childlike handwriting. The postcard labelled "Carrying Grain to Elevators, Saskatchewan Canada" was published by the Valentine & Sons Publishing Company in Montreal and Toronto and it was printed in Britain. It appears to have been mailed on August 16th 1913. A hand-written message to Miss Alice Mills in Gorham Maine reads "well dear friend am still riding rain is all over

nice day all day ... am sending Mrs. Higgins a card. also my sister we are going over the plains about fifty miles per hour. some speed ain't it? will write again am just the same Bob."⁴

When I took over as Editor I decided to try to redesign *Saskatchewan History* so it resembled an early twentieth-century album or book. One of the ways we attempted to achieve this effect was to feature the use of genuine designs from Saskatchewan's past, rather than relying heavily on modern computer designs and techniques. Art Nouveau, an international style that was popular in Saskatchewan at the turn of the century, provides not only our cover design, but also another design in this issue. We are again using an Art Nouveau design at the top of the pages that begin the "Features," "Articles," and "Book Review" sections of our journal. It was taken from a 1911 postcard of "Roping and Ranching" near Maple Creek Saskatchewan.⁵

We have also been using frames around some of our pictures that are copied from mass-produced cardboard frames used to mount photographs taken in studios early in the twentieth century in Saskatchewan. Several of the photographs in this issue are framed in an Art Deco frame used by a studio in Saskatoon early in the twentieth century.⁶ Art Deco, an international art style related to Art Nouveau that appeared around 1910, was fashionable in the 1920s and the 1930s.⁷ We are also using an Art Deco design from an advertisement in *The Saskatchewan Year Book* for 1928 around the large capital letters at the beginning of each feature, article, or book review.⁸

During my time as Editor I stressed using visual images that reflect both our Aboriginal and our non-Aboriginal heritage in *Saskatchewan History*. We have been using drawings by Dean Whitebear, a young artist from the Whitebear First Nation. He drew the drawing above the table of contents and on the inside back cover and the signature image of Chief Poundmaker at the top of the first page of the article in our series on "Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Histories." Whitebear, who is graduating with a Bachelor of Arts from Saskatchewan Indian Federated College this spring, will return to his studies to take a fine arts degree in the fall.

In this issue we are also using two other visual images that we have used in previous issues. The signature image at the top of the first page of Ruth Millar's series "Rogues, Heroes, Adventurers, and Trailblazers" is a high-contrast reproduction of a photograph of Charlie Parmer, one of "Ruth's Rogues."⁹ The signature drawing of prairie lilies, Saskatchewan's official flower, at the top of "The Peoples of

Saskatchewan" was originally used in *Saskatchewan History* in 1948 on the back cover of our first issue.

I have also emphasized the value of "reading" visual images for the historical information they can give us, in addition to using them as illustrations.¹⁰ In this issue the interpretation by Cree Elder and scholar Stan Cuthand of a picture of an unidentified Cree man is an example of "reading" a picture.¹¹ One of the tragedies of Saskatchewan's history is that because the Aboriginal Peoples were subjugated and colonized there has been a profound loss of Aboriginal knowledge in our province, as there has been elsewhere among Indigenous Peoples.¹² The Elders of the First Nations in Saskatchewan are carriers of the oral tradition and are important sources of Aboriginal knowledge, so when an Elder looks at a picture and shares what he or she knows about the picture it is one way to preserve knowledge that might otherwise be lost.¹³

Georgina M. Taylor, Editor

NOTES:

1. For a copy of the original paintings in the design on the 1905 Department of the Interior booklet, a discussion of Art Nouveau and the historical background of the booklet, a photograph of the cover of the original booklet, and an interpretation of its significance see the cover of *Saskatchewan History* Fall 1998 and Georgina M. Taylor, "Art Nouveau, Immigration Propaganda, and the Peoples of Saskatchewan," *Saskatchewan History*, 50(2) (Fall 1998): 31-44.
2. Tonie and Valmai Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age — A Collector's Guide* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1971), 18-20. George and Dorothy Miller, *Picture Postcards in the United States 1893-1918* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc./Publishers, 1976), 16. W. Gutzman, *The Canadian Picture Post Card Catalogue 1988* (Toronto: The Unirade Press, 1987), vi.
3. Holt and Holt, *Picture Postcards of the Golden Age*, 18-20. Gutzman, *The Canadian Picture Post Card Catalogue 1988*, vi-vii.
4. Special Collections Department of the University of Saskatchewan Libraries, two postcards that have not been catalogued as yet and therefore they do not have numbers.
5. Special Collections Department of the University of Saskatchewan Libraries, postcard LXX — 243. For a reproduction of the Maple Creek postcard, a discussion of its design, and more about the "eraze" for sending "picture postcards" at the turn of the century see Georgina M. Taylor, "Our Cover, Our Designs, and Our Drawings," *Saskatchewan History*, 51(2) (Fall 1999): 4-6.
6. Saskatoon Public Library — Local History Room (SPL — LHR), a cardboard frame used to mount a picture of an unidentified house. For a similar frame used to mount a picture of the University Bridge taken by a photographer with the Dill Studio in Saskatoon see SPL—LHR, LH 378.
7. Jean Cassou, "The Beginnings of Modern Art," in *Larousse Encyclopedia of Modern Art*, ed. René Huyghe (Toronto: Hamlyn, 1965), 265. Hugh Honour and John Fleming, *The Visual Arts: A History*, 4th ed. (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc. Publishers, 1995), 773. For more information on Art Deco and the Art Deco designs we have used in *Saskatchewan History* see Georgina M. Taylor, "Our Cover, Our Designs, and Our Drawings," *Saskatchewan History* 52(1) (Spring 2000): 4-7.
8. *The Saskatchewan Year Book* (Regina: The Western Printers Association, 1929). *The Saskatchewan Year Book* was only published in 1927, 1928, and 1929.

9. Saskatoon Public Library — Local History Room, photograph LH 3581. Ruth Millar, “Rogues, Heroes, Adventurers, and Trailblazers — Charlie Parmer: Notorious Outlaw or Faker?,” *Saskatchewan History* 51(2) (Fall 1999): 44-47. Shelia Robertson, “Ruth’s Rogues,” in *Western People*, a supplement to *The Western Producer*, 1 April 1999.
10. For a discussion of “reading” visual images see John Herd Thompson, *Forging the Prairie West* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), x-xi.
11. For more pictures of the First Nations, some of which Stan Cuthand read, see Georgina M. Taylor, “The Peoples of Saskatchewan in Pictures: The First Nations,” *Saskatchewan History*, 51(1) (Spring 1999): 7-9, 28, 31, 41, 47. See also Brock Silversides, *The Face Pullers — Photographing Native Canadians 1871-1939*, (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1994); Donny White, *In Search of Geraldine Moodie* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center University of Regina, 1998).
12. For articles in recent issues of *Saskatchewan History* that discuss the loss of Aboriginal knowledge and impact of colonization on the Aboriginal Peoples of Saskatchewan see Winona Stevenson, “Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Histories — The Othering of Indigenous History,” *Saskatchewan History*, 50(2) (Fall 1998): 24-17; Winona Stevenson, “Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Histories — The Social Relations of Oral History,” *Saskatchewan History*, 51(2) (Fall 1999): 29-35; Taylor, “Art Nouveau,” 31-44. See also John L. Tobias, “Canada’s Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885,” in *Readings in Canadian History — Post-confederation*, 3rd ed., ed. R. Douglas Francis and Donald R. Smith (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1990), 122-147. For an example of the scholarly literature on the loss and retention of Indigenous knowledge elsewhere see Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, *México Profundo — Reclaiming a Civilization* (Austin: University of Texas Press, Institute of Latin America Studies, 1996). For an example of the literature on the impact of colonization on Indigenous Peoples around the world see John H. Bodley, *Victims of Progress*, 4th ed., (Toronto: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1999).
13. For examples of the knowledge of First Nations Elders of Saskatchewan see Harold Cardinal and Walter Hildebrandt, *Treaty Elders of Saskatchewan — Our Dream is That Our Peoples Will One Day Be Clearly Recognized as Nations* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000). For information on Aboriginal knowledge elsewhere in Canada go to http://groups.yahoo.com/group/protecting_knowledge > and the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs’ Protecting Knowledge Conference site < <http://www.ubcic.bc.ca/protect.htm> >

Correspondence, Notes, and Comments

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

“Am renewing [my subscription] and happy to do it.

Allen Ronaghan, Edmonton

“Article on homesteaders extremely interesting and not just dry facts! Keep it up!”

Carol M. Clark, Medicine Hat

“Ms. Beverley Ledgerwood wanted me to let you know that she obtained a copy of the Fall 1999 issue and that she thinks it is a very well-written and informative magazine.”

Ilene Youchezin, Saskatoon

“After the arrival of each new issue of *Saskatchewan History*, I tell myself that I really should write to congratulate you on your efforts. I finally decided I simply must take the time after receiving the latest (Spring 2000) issue. You are doing a wonderful job! Each issue is full to overflowing with interesting, informative articles, along with fascinating photographs, illustrations, and drawings. I wholeheartedly agree with your comment that visual images tell us a great deal about our history, and you manage very well to integrate a wide variety of these images with the text in each issue. Using original designs on the covers, rather than modern computer-generated simulations, demonstrates a concern for authenticity,

which is echoed throughout the journal itself. Wishing you continued success! I can hardly wait for the next issue!”

Connie Maguire, Regina

COMMENTS

Gordon Burchill of Toronto, who was brought up in Saskatchewan, checked some of the web sites we are publishing in this issue and sent e-mail messages commenting favorably on two of them. He liked “Exploring Saskatchewan History Through the Decades: Story of The Missouri Coteau Region” < <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/exploring/homestead/women.htm> > where he found interesting information about the area in which his father homesteaded. In “Aboriginal Faces of Saskatchewan: A Photo Gallery” < <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/faces/> > he was pleased to find “a picture and a biography of Stan Cuthand.” Gordon recalled that Stan “was a councillor at an Anglican camp I attended for a couple of summers on the shores of Loon Lake when I was about 10 or 12 years old. He has gone on to make a great name for himself. I remember, as a kid I liked him very much.”

Georgina M. Taylor, The Editor

NOTES

As a local contribution to the multitude of exhibits and public events commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of Irish playwright Oscar Wilde on November the 30th 2000 the University of Saskatchewan Libraries presented "Wilde in Saskatchewan." An exhibition from October 12th to December 10th 2000, it explored the history of Saskatchewan responses to the artist's work and tumultuous life.

Included in the show were books, photographs, programs and newspaper reviews, theatrical artifacts and artworks from the University's collections and from the archives of many Saskatchewan individuals and drama groups. Copies of Wilde's work purchased in the 1920s by Charles Dixon, a homestead farmer at Tramping Lake near Unity,* introduced the show. Several display cases were devoted to documenting Saskatchewan productions of plays by or about Wilde, including six productions of Wilde's comic masterpiece "The Importance of Being Earnest." The earliest Saskatchewan Earnest was produced by the University of Saskatchewan Dramatic Directorate in 1932. Two display cases were devoted to Persephone Theatre's premiere production of Jim Bartley's "Stephen and Mr. Wilde" in 1993 by noted Canadian director Bill Glassco.

Wilde's 1895 conviction and imprisonment for 'homosexual offences' destroyed his health and literary career, and have made him a martyr to many in the contemporary gay liberation movement. The exhibition included several examples of the use of Wilde's life and work by gay artists and activists in Saskatchewan during the past two decades.

Neil Richards
Special Collections Department
University of Saskatchewan Libraries

* Charles Dixon was married to long-time agrarian and political activist Sophia Dixon. G.M.T.

NOTES FROM THE EDITOR:

Margaret Baldock, a subscriber to *Saskatchewan History*, used a web site that includes information on post offices in Canada and thought it might be of interest to our readers. By going into the National Archives web site < <http://www.archives.ca> > and clicking on English, services to the public, ArchiviaNet, and Post Offices, and then searching the data base you can find post offices that are still in existence or post offices that no longer exist. This web site also has another section that might also be of

interest to our readers. It provides information on Dominion Land Descriptions. For example I found the land description of Delamark Spittle Jackson, who homesteaded near Harris in this data base.

The Library of Parliament Information and Documentation Branch web site is a unique electronic resource that provides information on the electoral history of Canada since Confederation. For instance, you can find the names of all the candidates to all the federal elections as well as a description of all the ridings.

< <http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/process/house/hfer/> >

Historic documents with regard to Louis Riel and his papers were returned to Manitoba's Francophone and Métis communities in an official ceremony in Winnipeg in May of this year. The material was transferred from the Provincial Archives to the Centre du Patrimoine in St. Boniface. The documents include a diary Riel wrote in 1885 while imprisoned in Regina and a letter Riel wrote to his mother, Julie Riel, the day before he was hanged. Microfilm and photocopies of the original Riel documents will remain at the Province Archives building.

< http://winnipeg.cbc.ca/cgi-bin/templates/view.cgi?/news/2001/05/13/mb_riel13 >

Georgina M. Taylor, *The Editor*

NOTES FROM CHERYL AVERY:

In addition to the list of web sites I compiled with material on the history of Saskatchewan, which were printed in the Fall 1999 and the Spring 2000 issues of *Saskatchewan History*, you may want to check the following sites:

"Exploring Saskatchewan History Through the Decades: Story of The Missouri Coteau Region" < <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/exploring/homestead/women.htm> >

"Aboriginal Faces of Saskatchewan: A Photo Gallery" < <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/faces/> >

"First Nations Bands of Saskatchewan" < <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/bands/> >

"Canoe Saskatchewan" provides "detailed canoe route descriptions or enables one to go in person to canoe the rivers of Saskatchewan. Informative background about the history or the Aboriginal rock art or the legends of each waterway is explained." < <http://www.lights.com/waterways/> >

"Saskatchewan Writes," a "database of Saskatchewan authors." < <http://www.lights.com/saskwrites/> >

“Saint Victor Petroglyphs,” “shows and gives the history of the petroglyphs found at St. Victor Saskatchewan. There is also a history of the area and descriptions of the church at St. Victor.”

< <http://collections.ic.gc.ca/petroglyphes/indexme.htm> >

The Canadian Archival Information Network (CAIN), plus enhancements to the Saskatchewan Archival Information Network (SAIN), as well as two province-wide virtual exhibits (one on ‘Saskatchewan at War’ — the First World War and the Second World War — and one on ‘Saskatchewan Artists’) are exciting. The CAIN and SAIN initiatives, once these are fully up and functional, will be extraordinary resources for the readers of Saskatchewan History. The two virtual exhibits highlight materials found in

Saskatchewan archives, which currently have records on SAIN. It is very likely that similar exhibits will be created over the next few years. SAIN is available from the Saskatchewan Council for Archives and Archivists website at <<http://scaa.usask.ca>> We have a prototype for CAIN, and are looking at having a public launch sometime in late June 2001. It is really great to see all of this come together at last. We have records from every province and territory and, of course, we will be updating both the provincial and national databases regularly. You can access the other provincial databases through our website, at

< <http://www.usask.ca/archives/car/cainmenu.html> >

*Cheryl Avery, University Archivist
University of Saskatchewan*

The Peoples of Saskatchewan



A LeMesurier wedding at Cannington Manor.

Saskatchewan Archives Board. R-A 4739.

.... to be continued on page 9

The Peoples of Saskatchewan in Pictures: The British

Introduced and selected by Georgina M. Taylor



The British, who were the largest ethnic group in Saskatchewan during the first half of the twentieth century, had a great deal of influence in the province.¹ In part because they were a large diverse group, this introduction is not meant to be a thorough examination of the British in Saskatchewan. Rather it is intended as a brief introduction to the people in the pictures that follow and as a complement to Marjory Harper's article "Probing the Pioneer Questionnaires: British Settlement in Saskatchewan, 1887-1914," Alan Anderson's review of Randy Widdis' *With Scarcely a Ripple: Anglo-Canadian Migration into the United States and Western Canada, 1880-1920*, and J.R. Miller's review of Brian Titley's *The Frontier World of Edgar Dewdney*, all in this issue of *Saskatchewan History*. Like the pictures we used in earlier articles in this series, which focussed on "The First Nations," "The Doukhobors," and "The Francophones," most of the pictures in this selection were taken during the settlement period.² In other words, they depict the peoples of British descent who helped establish a settler society in Saskatchewan.³

The people of British descent who lived in the area that is present-day Saskatchewan were a large group from 1885 onward. The 1881 Canadian census reported that they were only 10% of the population. The First Nations were still 78% of the population. However, by 1885 the British were up to 50.5% and by 1921 they were 52.9%, the highest proportion of British people in the province during any census year. From 1931 to 1951 the British were between 47.5% and 42.3% of the population, with their proportion of the population in steady decline. Although there were a large number of people of British descent, Saskatchewan was a polyglot province. For instance in 1911 there were 251,010 people of British descent in the province, 51% of the population, but the balance of the population was 13.9% German, 4.7% French, 6.9% Scandinavian, 3.7% Russian or Ukrainian, 9.7% other Eastern Europeans, 2.4% First Nations, and 7.7% Métis and other peoples⁴.

Citing census statistics is simple compared to an

attempt to come up with a clear-cut definition of who the province's British people were. As sociologist Alan Anderson, who has done extensive work on ethnic groups in Saskatchewan, points out in his review in this issue, the "whole question of ethnicity and ethnic identification is extremely problematic."⁵ The study of the British in Saskatchewan raises many complex questions. They were a large complicated group of people whose ancestors came originally from Wales, Ireland, Scotland, or England. As a group they can be seen as the British, but individually they often preferred to think of themselves as Welsh, Irish, Scottish, or English, in part because the Scots, the Welsh, and the Irish often resented domination by England. In addition to this they belonged to various churches in a day when religion was closely connected with ethnicity.⁶ There were many Irish people in eastern Canada, but in Saskatchewan there were not as many Irish. Most of the British people in this province came originally from England or Scotland.⁷ Some of the British were immigrants who came directly from Britain to Canada, such as settlers discussed in Harper's article. However many of those who were reported as British in the census had lived in other countries like the United States prior to coming to Saskatchewan, some from families that had left Britain generations before. Many of the settlers of British descent came from other areas of Canada, such as the Anglo-Canadians discussed in Anderson's review.⁸

The people of British descent in Saskatchewan had a "sense of power," as they did elsewhere in Canada. Canada was part of the British Empire and Canadian imperialists believed this gave the British a special role to play in the North-West and subsequently in Saskatchewan when it became a province in 1905.⁹ Edgar Dewdney, an English immigrant who settled originally in British Columbia, moved to Regina where he was the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1879 to 1888 and the territorial lieutenant-governor from 1881 to 1888. He played a leading role in the subjugation of the Plains Cree from present-day Saskatchewan between 1879 and 1885.¹⁰



Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 19000.

Scotsmen with bagpipes in the Wapella district ca. 1925. (Left to right) Donald John McDonald, an unidentified piper, Willie MacGregor, two unidentified pipers.

Dewdney and others, such as George Exton Lloyd, an Anglican clergyman who came to the prairies from England in 1903 with the Barr colonists, and Grace Fletcher from Ontario, believed the British had a right and a duty to control peoples of other ethnic, racial, and religious groups.¹¹ Like many people of their day they were Social Darwinists who ranked people on an evolutionary ladder with the British at the top and the Blacks at the bottom.¹²

Grace Fletcher's attitudes were typical of those who glorified their British background. She arrived in the Methodist Temperance Colony in Saskatoon in 1885. Her family, who were originally from Scotland, had migrated to Ontario and from there Grace, her husband Joseph, their children, and several members of Grace's extended family moved to the Saskatchewan District of the North-West Territories. Fletcher, who had been raised a Presbyterian and had converted to Methodism, believed in "British fair play," but her ideas about what "British fair play" was were based on ethnocentric and bigoted judgments of French Catholics, the Métis, and other groups like the Mennonites. She envisioned a West that would be Protestant, Anglo-Celtic, Tory, and free from the 'evils' of liquor. Finding herself in a culturally and religiously diverse area, she tried to mould it according to this vision.¹³

However, there were British settlers who opposed

imperialism and were comfortable with the cultural and religious diversity they found in Saskatchewan.¹⁴ The Jackson and McNaughton families, who settled in the Hillview farm district close to the village of Harris half way between Saskatoon and Rosetown, were a good example of broad-minded, flexible British settlers. They wanted to shape a province in which those of British descent respected and co-operated with peoples of other ethnic groups. William Jackson, his son Delamark, and his daughter Violet were broad-minded, tolerant Anglicans who migrated from radical north Kent in south-eastern England to homestead in Saskatchewan. Delamark, the first of the Jacksons to migrate, met the like-minded McNaughtons brothers when he arrived in Hillview in 1905. The McNaughtons, who came originally from Scotland, had a long family history of opposition to English imperialism. They had migrated to New Zealand where they lived for over two decades. John McNaughton went to South Africa to work and then he headed for Saskatchewan, where he met his brother William who came directly to the Canadian prairies from New Zealand. The McNaughton brothers, Congregationalists who settled on homesteads in Hillview in 1905, were later joined by another brother, their sister, and their widowed mother. Violet Jackson, whose life was guided by the ideal of co-operation, arrived in 1909 and soon thereafter married

John McNaughton.¹⁵

Together they and their families they took part in interdenominational services in Hillview and they became enthusiastic members of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association (SGGA). As they saw it, the SGGA was the best vehicle for improving the lot of the settlers in rural Saskatchewan, many of whom lived in extremely difficult conditions. The McNaughtons and the Jacksons wanted to live in harmony with all of their neighbours no matter what their background was.¹⁶ They believed that people should "come together on common ground for common good."¹⁷ In a culturally and religiously diverse province they believed it was best to create groups and form alliances in which people worked together "unfettered" by ethnic differences and denominationalism.¹⁸ As Violet put it in another context, "it is a great mistake to maintain friction, if common sense can prevent [it]."¹⁹

However, whether or not settlers of British descent had imperialist attitudes toward other settlers, by the 1890s federal politicians and officials like Dewdney had succeeded in creating a situation where the settlers lived separate from treaty Indians who were iso-

lated on reserves. Therefore most settlers had very little contact with treaty Indians, unless they lived next to a reserve. As a result settlers like the Jacksons and the McNaughtons, who lived a long way from the nearest reserve, had little if any interaction with people of the First Nations and therefore they had no first hand knowledge of how difficult conditions were on the reserves.²⁰

The British in Saskatchewan not only joined the farm movement, they also joined or organized numerous other groups, some of which centered on their own ethnic groups, such as the Orange Lodge and "Sons of Scotland."²¹ Many British immigrants came to present-day Saskatchewan originally as individuals or as families, but some came in organized groups of British immigrants, like the Barr Colonists who settled in the area of the present town of Lloydminster in 1903.²² Most of the people of British descent were ordinary people who came to Saskatchewan in order to better their economic prospects by getting cheap homestead land. However a few were privileged settlers from genteel, prosperous backgrounds, such as the settlers at Cannington Manor.²³

Scholars debate about the influence of various



Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 20448.

A group gathered for the wedding of Eva Chandler and John Lemon, who was the eldest son of William and Margaret Lemon. They were settlers from Ireland. The group is in front of the White Cross Stone House built in 1894 near Kirkella on NE 18-12-29-W1.

groups during the formative years of the prairie provinces. Political scientist Nelson Wiseman argues convincingly that Ontarians were the most influential group in Manitoba, Americans had the greatest impact in Alberta, and immigrants from Britain played a particularly important role in the establishment of Saskatchewan's institutions.²⁴ Whether they came to Saskatchewan from other areas of Canada, from the United States, from Britain, or from other countries such as New Zealand, the peoples of British descent were at the top of the "ethnic pecking order" during the establishment of a settler society in the province.²⁵ Nevertheless during the settlement period life was not easy for them. Like the Aboriginal Peoples and other settlers, those of British descent had to struggle to survive in a harsh land with very few of the services they needed. Along with their neighbours in other groups, the people of British descent helped to establish the services and the institutions that gradually improved life in Saskatchewan.

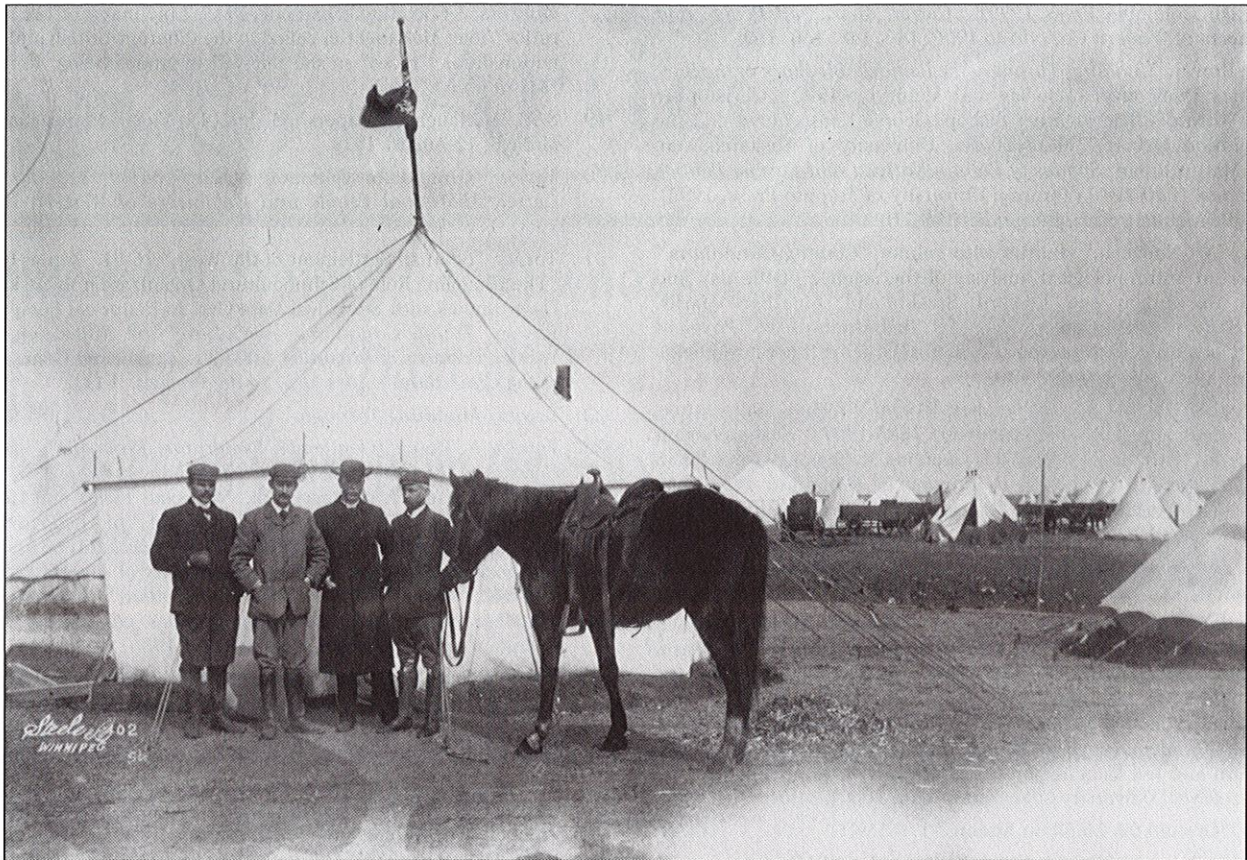
NOTES:

1. Some Canadians argue that the French and the British have a special place in Canada as the 'two founding peoples,' rather than being two of many ethnic groups. Others disagree. For a discussion of the criticism by Canadians in the "other ethnic groups" of the idea that the French and the British were "the two founding races" in Canada see Jean R. Burnet, with Howard Palmer, *Coming Canadians: An Introduction to a History of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988), 4, 223-224. For discussions of the idea of "the cultural duality of the Canadian nation state," the attitude of the French in Quebec toward "biligualism and biculturalism," and "biculturalism and multiculturalism" in Canada see Ramsay Cook, *Canada and the French-Canadian Question* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1966); Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *The Dream of Nation - A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1982), 310-324; Alan B. Anderson and James S. Frideres, *Ethnicity in Canada — Theoretical Perspectives*, (Toronto: Butterworths, 1981), 81-129; Alvin Finkel and Margaret Conrad, *History of the Canadian Peoples 1867 to the Present*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, Ltd., 1993), 353-354.
2. Georgina M. Taylor, "The Peoples of Saskatchewan in Pictures: The First Nations," *Saskatchewan History*, 51(1) (Spring 1999): 7-9, 28, 31, 41, 47. Georgina M. Taylor, "The Peoples of Saskatchewan in Pictures: The Doukhobors," *Saskatchewan History*, 51(2) (Fall 1999): 8-11, 28, 43, 47. Andrè Lalonde and Richard Lapointe, "The Peoples of Saskatchewan in Pictures: The Francophones," *Saskatchewan History*, 52 (1) (Spring 2000): 16-26, 31, 35, 36, 39, 43.



Photographer: W.H. Farthing, Millwood Manitoba. Photograph courtesy of D'Arcy Hande.

Mary M. and Robert Boles' first home in the Bavelaw district, near Spy Hill Saskatchewan, ca. 1906. (Left to right) Alberta MacDonald, seated on the horse is Alexander S. Boles who was the son of Mary and Robert Boles, Mary and Robert Boles, and an unidentified man on the right. Alberta "Bertie" MacDonald and Mary M. Bennett were foster sisters. Both were daughters of Scottish immigrants. Mary's husband, Robert Boles, was born in Lanark County near Ottawa Ontario.



The English Barr Colonists stopping at Saskatoon in 1903. George Exton Lloyd is second from the right.

3. The concept of 'a settler society' is helpful in understanding not only ethnic and racial relations in Saskatchewan, but also the way the British and Europeans created new settler societies around the world. As James Frideres points out, settler societies are societies where the colonizers moved in and usurped the land and the resources of the Indigenous Peoples. He argues that in these societies the newcomers gained dominance not only over the land and the resources, but also over the colonized Indigenous Peoples themselves, controlling their lives and using their labour. He also argues that settler societies usually establish boundaries between the Indigenous Peoples and the settlers, which are defined by the newcomers. These boundaries "determine the actions that are defined as legitimate and legal for all members of society." In most settlers societies the dominant culture reflects the values and culture of the "mother" country. James S. Frideres, *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada - Contemporary Conflicts* 5th ed. (Scarborough: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canada, 1998), 3-7, 422-459. See also Sarah Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).
4. For these and other statistics about the population of Saskatchewan see John H. Archer, *Saskatchewan A History* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980), 358-359, 391-392. See also David De Brou, "Population Characteristics of the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Atlas of Saskatchewan*, ed. Ka-ia Fung (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1999), 54-56.
5. Alan Anderson, "Ethnic Block Settlements," in Fung, *Atlas of Saskatchewan*, 56-58. Alan B. Anderson, "Linguistic Trends Among Saskatchewan Ethnic Groups," in *Ethnic Canadians — Culture and Education* ed. Martin L. Kovacs (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1978), 63-86. A.B. Anderson, "French Settlements in Saskatchewan: Historical and Demographic Perspectives," Research Report No. 5 (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, Research Unit for French-Canadian Studies and the Department of Sociology, 1985). A.B. Anderson, "Ethnic Identity Retention in Francophone Communities in Saskatchewan — A Sociological Survey," Research Report No. 6 (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, Research Unit for French-Canadian Studies and the Department of Sociology, 1985). Anderson and Frideres, *Ethnicity in Canada — Theoretical Perspectives*.
6. Finkel and Conrad, *History of the Canadian Peoples 1867 to the Present*, 10. Benjamin G. Smillie, ed. *Visions of the New Jerusalem — Religious settlement on the prairies* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1983). Trevor Powell, "The Church of England and the Immigrants in the Diocese of Qu'Appelle" in *The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970*, ed. Barry Ferguson (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1910), 143-155.
7. Finkel and Conrad, *History of the Canadian Peoples 1867 to the Present*, 10. Alan R. Turner, "Scottish Settlement of the West," in *The Scottish Tradition in Canada*, ed. W. Stanford Reid (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart in association with the Multiculturalism Program, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada and the Publishing Centre, Supply and Services Canada, 1976), 76-91.
8. Archer, *Saskatchewan A History*, 358-359, 391-392. Georgina M. Taylor, "Art Nouveau, Immigration Propaganda, and the Peoples of Saskatchewan," *Saskatchewan History*, 50(2) (Fall 1998): 31-44. Anderson, "Ethnic Block Settlements," 56-58. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 242-273. Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice — A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982). Howard Palmer, "Patterns of Immigration and Ethnic Settlements in Alberta: 1880-1920," in *Peoples of Alberta — Portraits of Cultural Diversity*, ed. Howard and Tamara Palmer, (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), 28-49. Burnet with Palmer, "Coming Canadians," 25-56.
9. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970). Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900*, 101-175. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies A History*, 220-273.
10. John L. Tobias, "Canada's Subjugation of the Plains Cree, 1879-1885," in *Readings in Canadian History — Post-confederation*, 3rd ed., ed. R. Douglas Francis and Donald R. Smith (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1990), 122-147. Brian Tittle, *The Frontier World of Edgar Dewdney* (Vancouver: University

of British Columbia Press 1999). Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900*, 142, 148, 160, 162.

11. Lynne Brown, *Muddling Through: the Remarkable Story of the Barr Colonists* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1992). Christopher James Kitzan, "The Fighting Bishop: George Exton Lloyd and the Immigration Debate," M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1996. Martin Robin, *Shades of Right – Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada 1920-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 45-86. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 98-110.
12. Taylor, "Art Nouveau." Burnet with Palmer, "Coming Canadians," 32. For an anthropological analysis of the science of the day and Social Darwinism see Edward Staski and Jonathan Marks, *Evolutionary Anthropology – An Introduction to Physical Anthropology and Archaeology* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1992), 85-107.
13. Georgina M. Taylor, "Grace Fletcher, Women's Rights, Temperance, and 'British Fair Play' in Saskatoon, 1885-1907," *Saskatchewan History* 46(1) (Spring 1994): 3-21. Georgina M. Taylor, "Grace Sarah Hall Thompson (Fletcher)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Volume XIII 1901 To 1910*, ed. Ramsay Cook (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 1025-1026.
14. Finkel and Conrad, *History of the Canadian Peoples 1867 to the Present*, 10.
15. Georgina M. Taylor, "'Ground for Common Action': Violet McNaughton's Agrarian Feminism and the Origins of the Farm Women's Movement in Canada," Ph.D. diss., Carleton University, 1997, 117-178. Georgina M. Taylor, "'Let us co-operate': Violet McNaughton and the Co-operative Ideal," in *Co-operatives in the Year 2000: Memory, Mutual Aid, and the Millennium* ed. Brett Fairbairn and Ian MacPherson (Saskatoon: Centre for the Study of Co-operatives, University of Saskatchewan, 2000), 57-78.
16. Taylor, "Ground for Common Action," 179-469.
17. *Saturday Press and Prairie Farm* 18 December 1915.
18. SAB, pamphlets G35.1, Women's Section, Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association Yearbook 1918. Like many of her contemporaries Violet McNaughton called to the different British and European nationalities "races" so she referred to groups being "unfettered by race or creed."
19. SAB, McNaughton Papers A1 E92(4), Violet McNaughton to Ida McNeal, 12 August 1919.
20. Taylor, "Ground for Common Action," 34-39, 119-120, 491-516. Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900*, 172-175.
21. Turner, "Scottish Settlement of the West," 76-91. Zenon Pohorecky, "The Changing Role of Ethnocultural Organization in Saskatchewan: Case Studies with Statistical Data Cast in Historical Perspective," in Kovacs, *Ethnic Canadians – Culture and Education*, 189-228. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 100-111. Finkel and Conrad, *History of the Canadian Peoples 1867 to the Present*, 9-11.
22. Brown, *Muddling Through*.
23. Patrick A. Dunae, *Gentlemen Emigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981), 151-62. A.W. Rasporich, "Utopian Ideals and Community Settlements in Western Canada, 1880-1914," in *The Prairie West – Historical Readings*, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, The University of Alberta Press, 1992), 340-342. Lewis G. Thomas, "Privileged Settler," in *Rancher's Legacy – Alberta Essays* by Lewis G. Thomas ed. Patrick A. Dunae, (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1986), 153-168.
24. Nelson Wiseman, "The Pattern of Prairie Politics," in Francis and Palmer, *The Prairie West - Historical Readings*, 2nd ed., 640-660.
25. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 22-37. Marilyn Barber, "Canadianizing Through the Schools of the Prairie Provinces Before World War I: The Attitude and Aims of the English-Speaking Majority," and in Kovacs, *Ethnic Canadians – Culture and Education*, 281-294. Raymond J. A. Huel, "The Public School as a Guardian of Anglo-Saxon Traditions: The Saskatchewan Experience, 1913-1918," in Kovacs, *Ethnic Canadians – Culture and Education*, 295-303.



Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 190.

Saskatchewan was also the home of Welsh settlers. Here Mina and Howard Jones return to their home at Quill Lake in 1925 with a load of wood on a sleigh.

.... to be continued on page 27

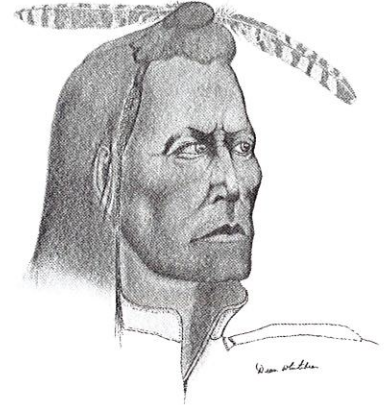


Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Histories

- Part IV

Gathering Gum from the Silver Pine: A Cree Woman's Dream and the Battle of Belly River Crossing

by David T. McNab



Tndigenous knowledge always comes from specific places as events take place.¹ In an earlier article in this series on “Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Histories” in *Saskatchewan History*, Winona (Stevenson) Wheeler pointed out that the historical process of gathering the oral traditions is “hard work traipsing around in Indian country, following or chauffeuring Old People around, picking berries, hauling wood, smoking meat, digging wild turnips, hoeing potatoes, or taking them to and from bingo.”² While the author would not claim to have undertaken such difficult work with this paper, sometimes it does take a long time to understand oral traditions as they are handed down through the telling of stories and the subsequent written versions. Often these oral traditions tell us as much about ourselves and the future as they do about the past, especially in terms of family history. Such is the case with “Gathering Gum from the Silver Pine.”

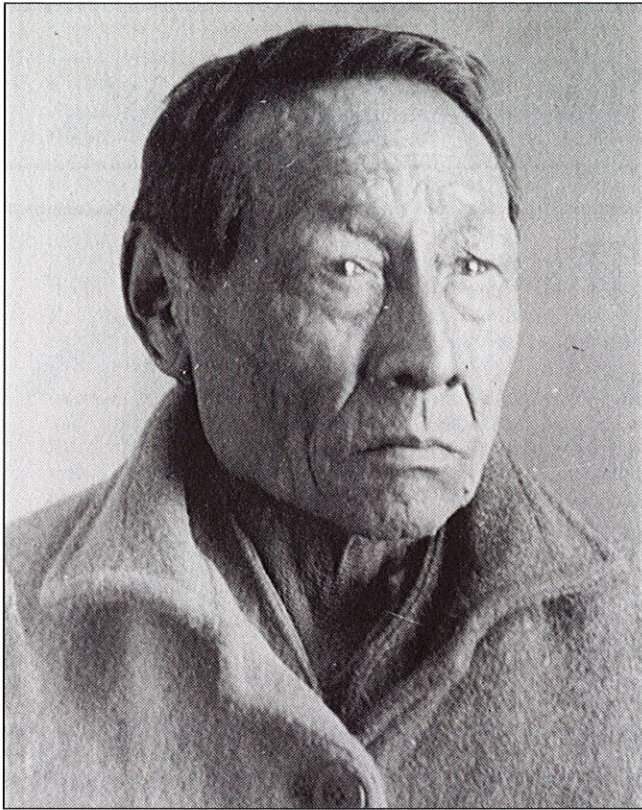
Historians tell stories creating and re-creating the past and thereby infusing the present with it, establishing as an integral part of the process, myths, or in other words, the components of oral tradition.³ Over

time, and within circles of time, these oral components often find their way into the written record as well.⁴ There are, to be sure, limits to a written tradition based on documentary evidence. The latter is based on understanding, knowledge and, above all else, direct experience about what could be termed the “inside” of events. There are boundaries to historical knowledge from the written record as they pertain to dreams and oral tradition and of spiritual power from both the natural and the spirit worlds.

The story, “Gathering Gum from the Silver Pine,” of the Battle of Belly River Crossing in 1870 that follows was told during a prairie blizzard in Cree Territory in the Qu’Appelle valley about 18 miles east of the Cypress Hills in October of 1881. The storyteller was a Cree/Métis person who was identified in it as Humphrey Faveur (variously spelled in English as Fevor, Fevour) and as a head soldier of Mistahimaskwá, known also as Big Bear (ca.1825-1888).⁵ A Cree travel story or song, it is likely just one of a number of Cree or Métis perspectives on the battle.⁶ In it a Cree woman, who is unidentified except as the partner of Humphrey Faveur, is prominent. The story was told to an audience of travellers, among whom was included William Kennedy (1835-1925),⁷ my great-great grandfather, as well as the leader of the surveying expedition, Lachlan Kennedy, W. F. Tye, William Grant, Harry Rowand, the artist Captain Dickenson and James Lewis Morris (1862-1946). Morris was the first graduate of the School of Practical Science (subsequently Engineering) of the University of Toronto.⁸ It was Morris who wrote down the story and then handed it down in the Morris family until it

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The drawing by Dean Whitebear at the top of this page is of Poundmaker. He was the first chief of the Poundmaker Band.



Archives of Ontario, C. 224-0030, Acc 16062-68.

Mistahimaskwá, also known as Big Bear, ca. 1885-1888.

came to my attention through Morris's daughter, Grace Morris Craig, when we met in Toronto just over one hundred years after the story had been told by Faveur.⁹

This story may be a significant and early document of part of the Cree oral tradition of this battle between the Cree and the Blackfoot. According to many Canadian historians this battle signalled the end of the old way of life on the Plains for both peoples, but this is an exaggeration based on the non-Aboriginal framework of Canada's history. Furthermore, the story is a fascinating perspective on Cree oral tradition in a documentary form. The Battle of Belly River Crossing took place on the banks of what is now called the Oldman River in present-day Lethbridge in southern Alberta. It is significant since it has been described in Canadian history as the last great battle between the Blackfoot and the Cree Nations on the western Plains. The battle ended and subsequently the two Nations entered into a peace treaty in January of 1871, which has remained in effect to this day. This story represents not war but rather a peace established by two sovereign Aboriginal Nations quite independent of the Canadian nation-state after the Confederation of Canada in 1867.

The story of the Battle of Belly River Crossing has usually been told by Canadian historians from the perspective of the "victors," the Blackfoot. The story

is almost exclusively that of Jerry Potts, whose father was a Scot and mother a Blood Indian. The Blood (Kaini), the Blackfoot (Siksika), and the Peigan (Pekuni) made up the Blackfoot Confederacy. Historians usually refer to Potts' story as a "Blackfoot" perspective. Cree or a Métis perspectives of this battle are not included in these published accounts. For example, one of the best summaries of this battle is by Gerald Friesen in his exemplary *The Canadian Prairies, A History*. He describes the battle, which "ended the last plains war," as follows:

They [the Plains Cree war party] met a large force of Bloods and Piegans (Blackfoot) near the junction of Oldman and St. Mary's rivers, not far from the whisky post Fort Whoop-up, and launched a full-scale attack. If surprise was on their side, fire power favoured the Blackfoot, who were equipped with modern repeating rifles, needle guns, and revolvers. As Jerry Potts, later a guide and interpreter for the North-West Mounted Police but then a member of the Blackfoot force, reported: 'You could fire with your eyes shut and would be sure to kill a Cree.' The surprise attack was quickly repulsed and the Blackfoot then counterattacked, driving the Crees across the river and into a bluff of trees. Bodies littered the bank of the river, the water's edge was red with blood, and the fast current carried many more bodies downstream. It is certain that 200 to 300 Crees and perhaps 40 Blackfeet died that day at the Oldman River.¹⁰

However the two accounts, the Blackfoot account and the Cree account given below, differ markedly in many ways: the reason for the battle, the events during the battle, as well as the outcome, and the number of fatalities. Then there was a mutual military disengagement and peace with no further warfare between the Cree and the Blackfoot.¹¹

The provenance of this Cree travel song is noteworthy. Seventeen years ago, early in 1984, I found a manuscript, prepared "For Literary Competition," entitled "A Destitute Indian" and signed by "Siram," in the course of my research on the history of the Ontario Department of Crown Lands in which James Lewis Morris figured prominently.¹² Lodged in the Provincial Archives of Ontario, this document is in the James Lewis Morris Papers.¹³ Seven years later, in November, 1991, in the Family Correspondence in the

same papers, I also discovered that the author of this particular document was not James Lewis Morris, which had been my original supposition, but rather his son, Ramsey (1893-1954), a lawyer, who was raised in the family home in Pembroke and resided for most of his life in Leamington, Ontario.

Morris wrote the original draft of "A Destitute Indian" sometime in 1882, likely in the Spring of 1882, about six months after his trip to the Canadian North-West, sometime between May and November, 1882. Previously unpublished, the paper, later re-written by Ramsey Morris and entitled "A Destitute Indian," is typewritten and based on James Lewis Morris's original, handwritten diary of 1881 and his recollections of Humphrey Faveur's stories, of which this is but one. Unfortunately, none of the other stories told by Faveur appears to have been saved in written form in these papers.

Morris recognized that the history of Aboriginal Peoples is significant. He is remembered, if at all, as the author of "Indians of Ontario," a booklet that was published by the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests in 1943 and reprinted in 1960. That work was a compilation of the major Indian Treaties and Purchases in Ontario rather than a history of Aboriginal Peoples of Ontario.¹⁴ Morris had some con-

tact with Aboriginal Peoples in Ontario as well as in the North-West Territories in the 1880's. After 1882, he was one of the surveyors who was employed by the federal government to conduct surveys for the Canadian Pacific Railway through northern Ontario and across the prairies. He kept a diary of his experiences and, in it, there are frequent references to his observations about Aboriginal people and their cultures. Like many other nineteenth-century surveyors, Morris's interest in Aboriginal Peoples was based on frequent and fairly close contacts with them, which he mentioned in his papers and in his published articles. Thus, he appears to be, through his training and interest, a fairly reliable recorder in the paper "A Destitute Indian".

From an examination of the James Lewis Morris Papers in the Provincial Archives of Ontario, it is clear that there was an earlier document, the title of which is unknown, which had been prepared by James Lewis Morris. Ramsey Morris drew on this work for his paper "A Destitute Indian," which he was preparing for literary competition in 1913. There is nothing in the Morris Papers indicating whether Ramsey won the competition or if the document was ever published.¹⁵

It is instructive to compare the paper "A Destitute Indian" with the James Lewis Morris diaries of the



Archives of Ontario, F 1060 AO 5258, Acc 16542.

James Lewis Morris, second from the left, with an "engineer" and his household. This picture was taken in the early 1880s around the time that the young Morris heard and wrote down Humphrey Faveur's story of the Battle of Belly River Crossing.

same period. There exists, as well, a fragment of the original manuscript that is undated, but which seems to have been written in 1882. At the time Morris was working on the Canadian Pacific railway line near Sudbury, Ontario. This 1882 document was likely changed only minimally by his son, Ramsey. The latter can be determined, at least partly from an examination of the family correspondence in the Morris Papers, to be the author of "A Destitute Indian." A letter, dated June 22, 1913, from Ramsey to his mother explains this fact. In addition, Ramsey's literary nom de plume, "Siram," stands for his real name, that is to say "Si" reversed is a short form for "Morris" and "ram" is for Ramsey; "Siram" is, of course, when it is reversed, a phonetic rendering of Ramsey. One of the few changes made by Ramsey included the title. Another was the embellishments in the language used to appeal to the author's intended audience at the University of Toronto.

James Lewis Morris, in his diaries, called Humphrey Faveur a "half breed," but he may have been Cree/Métis. The title is "a destitute Indian," probably because Faveur identified himself as a Cree who resided in the Cypress Hills and that he was a head soldier for Big Bear. While he may have been partly non-Aboriginal, likely on the male side of the family, there is little evidence, other than his name, to make such an assumption. Humphrey Faveur was his English name and not his Cree name.¹⁶ Both Indians

Cree Elder and scholar Stan Cuthand kindly agreed to examine this photograph of an unidentified Cree man wearing traditional dress. Cuthand, who grew up on the Little Pine Reserve in Saskatchewan, remembers seeing men dressed like this when he was a child. He



A Cree man. See "Our Cover, Our Drawings, and our Pictures" for more details about this picture.

says the photograph was likely taken before 1920 and that probably this man belonged to the Okicitaw, the Worthy Men's Society. The Okicitaw, was not a warrior society, but its members functioned as warriors. Traditionally they had to be good hunters, good providers, and they had to be generous men who shared any "loot" from war with others. The circle of feathers was held by dancers in their hands or strapped to their backs. Later the feather circle was attached to a metal circle cut from a tin can so it would hold its shape. The Cree man in this picture is wearing ermineskin, which indicated a man was a leader of a society or he was elderly. The roach on his head was made from the long hair from the tail of a deer and worn by dancers. The ear rings were sea shells, likely acquired through trade with Peoples of the coastal Nations. Like other early dancers this Cree man is not wearing a shirt because leather shirts were too hot to wear when dancing. Later dancers wore cotton shirts. The necklace is not traditional to the Cree and Cuthand suspects it was supplied by the photographer.*

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and Métis usually had two names which may connote the differences in language rather than racial origins. Another clue is that he was with Ann Tait, "his daughter." Ann is described as being with a "Band of Indians," likely either Plains or Woodland Cree geographically located in the Cypress Hills. (Recognizing that at that time there were a number of First Nations in the area as there are still today.) The story was told in October 1881 only about eighteen miles east of the Cypress Hills in present-day southwestern Saskatchewan.

In his 1881 diary, the elder Morris did not call Faveur destitute or any other term signifying such a condition. Ramsey seems to have coined the term either in an attempt to sensationalize his story or as a result of misunderstanding the opening of Humphrey's story: "we are poor" Unlike his father, James, who was present for Humphrey Faveur's story in 1881, Ramsey misunderstood the story and thought that Humphrey was a

* Interviews by Georgina M. Taylor with Stan Cuthand on 18 and 19 May 2001. See also Stan Cuthand, "Introduction" to *Voices of the Plains Cree*, by Edward Ahenakew, ed. Ruth M. Buck. (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1995), ix-xxiii; Stan Cuthand, "The Native Peoples of the Prairie Provinces in the 1920s and 1930s," in *Sweet Promises — A Reader on Indian-White Relations in Canada*, ed. J.R. Miller. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 381-392; David G. Mandelbaum, *The Plains Cree — An Ethnographic, Historical and Comparative Study* (1940; reprint, Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1979).

mendicant and “blind.” Other evidence seems to indicate he was neither poor nor blind. He and Ann Tait, given the season and the early prairie blizzard, were more likely ‘snowblind.’

The ending of the story is puzzling. It seems unlikely that Morris, senior, would have concluded that he had met “a good Indian” when he met Humphrey Faveur whom he called a “halfbreed” in the 1881 diary. This seems to be Ramsey’s literary device concocted to pander to, and sensationalize his story for, his potential white audience, the judges of the literary competition. Most of the derogatory or racial terms used in the manuscript such as “squaw”¹⁷ were also used by James Lewis Morris and were part and parcel of the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Weltanschauung and racial language. This is not to excuse them or their use of such words in this or any other context.

Judging by other manuscripts written by James Lewis Morris, except for the beginning and ending of “A Destitute Indian,” Ramsey appears to have left the foundation document, especially the dream and the story itself, virtually unchanged in substance.¹⁸ However in the future, additional internal and external verification of the manuscripts and perhaps, more importantly, access to other documentary evidence and Cree oral traditions, may reveal that this is a very significant early documentary record from the Cree oral traditions about this Battle. As it is, it provides a fascinating perspective from the Cree oral traditions.

This geographical and historical framework became the time and the event for Faveur’s story. Winter was the time to tell stories and fall was the time to gather gum from the silver pines (a variant of the white pine found in western Canada) to prevent snow blindness in the winter, hence the recollection of the dream sequence of gathering gum from the silver pines eleven years earlier. This story is multi-dimensional. It is a Cree travel song, also a Cree woman’s dream, and part of Cree Indigenous history. It is a Cree *raison d’être* for the Battle of Belly River Crossing in October, 1870. In it are “Indigenous Voices” and “Indigenous Histories.”

Humphrey Faveur’s story is part of the oral tradition of the Plains Cree especially of the Battle of Belly River Crossing in 1870. In 1881 the oral tradition about this Battle was relatively recent. This story was handed down to Morris eleven years after the event by a Cree man who had been a participant in the Battle and whose wife, unnamed in the document, experienced a dream about “gathering gum from the silver pine.” This story from the oral tradition assisted the Cree in discovering the loss of twenty-two of their

men in a prairie blizzard. Humphrey Faveur identified himself as the “head soldier” for “Big (Black) Bear” Chief of the “Cree Nation.”¹⁹ The story speaks to that “Nation’s” relationship with the “Blackfoot Nation,” in particular, with the Blood tribe. The historical event described is a Cree account of the Battle of the Oldman River or, as it is also known, the Battle of Belly River Crossing, which was fought between the Plains Cree and the Blackfoot in October of 1870.²⁰

Humphrey Faveur met Morris in mid-October, 1881 in the middle of an early prairie snowstorm. They spent thirteen days together between October 16th and the 29th. The following extract is Morris’s account of those thirteen days in October:

Oct. 16 Sun. Rested. Halfbreeds with wagons & carts from farm caught up to us among them being Ann Tait and Humphrey Favour [variously Faveur, Fevour]. Chages [Charges] paid by Hudson [Hudson’s] Bay Company 15 yrs. [years] ago were 17 to 20 and fresh buffalo meat and pay your own expenses. Christmas a present to each man of 1 lb. tea, 1 lb. sugar and a little [wild] rice along with a pint of rum. A buffalo robe for a lb. of tea. Some of Humphrey’s storys [stories] about stealing horses and his going to be hung but got off by his leaving it to a vote of the 200 men. His cooking the buffalo calf and the noise mark of arrow.

Oct. 17 Came eighteen miles to-day with others. Left Cypress Hills to-day at Wild Rush Lake. Warmer to-day but plenty of snow.

Oct. 18 [W.F.] Tye fell into Rush Lake. a large lake. shot 18 ducks with 5 shots. Heavy snow. Humphrey & stories — 22 Crees killed. [Emphasis added.]

Oct. 20 Same as Oct. 19 having pleasant weather and camping at spring — 12 miles to-day.

Oct. 21 — 16 above camped at spring warm day — 14 miles-to-day. George [surname not identified but was along with Scotty Hogg was one of the expedition’s outfitters] snow blind.

Oct. 22 — 24 above travelled 22 miles to-day to get-wood-changed played out horses twice.

Oct. 23 Sunday rested. Pleasant day. thaw-

ing. 36 above 0. over seeing Cree Indian and furs. Some of the boys bought furs.

Oct. 24 — 25 above came 18 miles to-day. Left Sand hill creek and lunched 8 miles at creek. camped at creek. Beautiful morning. Snow all gone.

Oct. 25 — within 4 miles of bend of river. Spence [Jack Spence, his wife, their guides] left to-day — October 25. Beautiful stars this morning.

October 22 and 24 and 25. Running Beside Railway line. Lunch at crossing of Moose Jaw creek. Locate [in margin] Railway passes here. Making pickets. Three diff[erent] lines cross trail while going to potatoe [potato] field. Where camped for night. fine day. line crossed at 1 1/4 & 3 miles from Moose Jaw Creek. 28 above 0.

Oct. 26 Left Potatoe [Potato] field and lunched at 3 pm at wells. Travelled eight miles to Small creek where we camped for the night. 22 miles today. Passed 1 mile above base of block. crossed both north, south lines, wood at Potatoe [Potato] field.

Oct. 27 Left small creek and crossed at 4 miles bokn's line where is plenty of wood & creek. Lunched on-Prairie-Small Lunch. Hard work crossing muddy creek. Pulling carts with ropes attached to shafts. Met half breeds with carts. Camped at Muddy Creek. 14 miles to-day.

Oct. 28 — Left muddy creek at 7.25 and travelled 12 in forenoon & 12 in afternoon. saw Sioux Indian & woman at lunch. Met half breeds on way to hunt Buffalo-25 miles to-day-Entered wooded Country[.] Crossed Railway 4 miles East of Muddy Creek at noon — good wood & water. Hot day as in July — Coats off. Indian from Qu'Appelle in camp.

Oct. 29 Left camp at morn[ing] at 7 am and travelled about 22 miles. arrived at Qu'Appelle after dark. very bad hill. one cart horse fell. Looked [at] all the carts. Beautiful scenery. Qu'Appelle a large lake. White fish in it. Travelling along RR [railway] line most of yesterday & this forenoon. Camped on west side of Qu'Appelle.²¹

These stories, as well as the artifacts — the “beaded things” and the “tomahawk” — Morris returned with on this trip, made a lasting impression on him and his family. This is noted in the Introduction to Morris's daughter's (Grace Morris Craig) book, *But This is Our War*.²² It was also confirmed when I interviewed Grace Morris Craig at her home in Rosedale in Toronto in 1984-1985.²³ The story told by Faveur, later written down as a “A Destitute Indian,” is as follows:

We had spent the Summer of the year of 1881 exploring the country along the foot hills of the Rocky Mountains including the region now known as the District of Alberta, one of the North-West Territories.²⁴ We had made our advent into the District by ascending the Missouri River from Bismarek in Dacotah [Dakota] to Fort Benton in Montana and from this point had travelled by means of carts and horses north into British Territory, and the District which I have spoken of as lying along the foot of the Rocky Mountains.

Towards the latter part of the month of September a storm of sleet and wind awakened in our breasts for the first time in some months that yearning for the East with its Winter comforts and fireside amusements. We bade adieu on September the 23rd to our Summer's Paradise the home of the Blackfeet [Blackfoot] Indian. We had travelled some days arranging our days travel to suit the water and the grass and had succeeded in climbing the West side of the Cypress hills and crossing the plateau, when from the valley below there sprang into.[sic] our view Fort Walsh, a point on our line of travel, and here we employed a guide [identified as Jack Spence as well as his 'country wife,' for she is described as “Mrs Spence” in the original 1881 diary] to help us on our way.

This introduction to the story itself, with its Victorian exaggerations (“winter comforts and fireside amusements”) and embellishments (“Summer's Paradise” in Blackfoot territory), was likely written by Ramsey Morris for his intended Toronto literary audience.²⁵ Morris, the senior, was far more matter of fact in his expression and writing style.



People of the First Nations near Fort Qu'Appelle, ca. 1870.

Archives of Ontario, S 12771.

The story continues:

We had been three days out [mid-October, 1881] when our journey was interrupted by that enemy of travel the North-West blizzard.

'Twas at this point while waiting for the storm to subside that Humphrey Faveur quarter breed and destitute indian [Indian],²⁶ under the care and protection of the Government of Canada, was first seen coming up our trail. [Emphasis added.] As he hove in sight a stalwart man, with a limp in his walk, with misfitting breeches and coat and an old slouch felt hat; holding the left hand of a young girl [who is identified in Morris's 1881 diary as Ann Tait] who had just entered her teens and was dressed in an old red skirt,²⁷ both of them with the dark smooth complexions betokening indian blood. Running in front of them was one of those North West indian curs, wolfish with bleached yellow hair, starved to make them valuable as hunters for their own sustenance. Observing the regularity of movement as between the

indian the child and the dog it was seen that the dog had a cord attached to his neck while the indian held the other end, and this peculiar mode of travel. [sic] on the lone prairie induced a closer examination of our fellow travellers, when as they came nearer it was seen that they were [snowblind] blind, blind Father, Blind daughter at the mercies of a dumb animal for miles upon a boundless prairie.

The daughter was cared for by a band of indians travelling in the same direction as ourselves and as Humphrey Faveur invited, entered the door of our camp, held his cold hands to the heat coming from our stove, and said "how nice and warm" in good English, it was impossible to fail to see this castaway brave of the Cree tribe more than history gives the indian credit for.

There was silence for some time and with his eyes seemingly looking into the fire said, "I am only an indian but then there are some good indians" and raising his breeches above his knee showing us that

he had nothing but a thin pair of mocasins to protect his feet from the cold, he pointed to a large scar on the side of his right knee. [Emphasis added.] "I was at one time head soldier for big black bear [Big Bear, Mistahimaskwá, ca.1825-1888]²⁸ Chief of the Cree Nation; and one day after returning from the hunt to my tepee in the Cypress Hills (you know we always hunt small game alone) where my woman [unidentified] was waiting for me preparing the skins and furs for our own use and for sale to the Traders and Hudson [Hudson's] Bay Company, I noticed that she did not look at me but held her head down and looked sad; I stopped before her and asked her what had happened since I had left the tepee some days before.

She replied, "Three nights ago I heard the small owl screech and could not find him, that night I dreamed that the Blackfeet had lain in ambush as our young men went to gather the gum from the silver pine on the other side of the hills and had killed them all." "The second night I tried to forget my dream of the night before but again the same dream with our young men being surrounded and killed by the Blackfeet not one escaping to tell their friends, and last night, I dreamed again the same dream and I am sad because I know it is true. I would not go to their help because I am a woman."

"As my wife finished her story I knew at once that what she said was true and we packed our furs and skins, harnessed our dog and loaded him, my wife taking her load while I started ahead anxious to know if our Village had been attacked by the Blackfeet, for if they had tried they could easily have killed every one there, as we had left behind us only old men, women and children. I collected together, some of our people whom I had induced to leave their hunting grounds as we passed them on our trail back to the Village. We always travel by paths known only to ourselves which kept us under cover and away from the prairie, for we did not know at what time we might meet the Blackfeet, should

they have found out that we were on our hunt and not prepared to fight them.

Each one of us knew what would be the outcome, for the Blackfeet were our stronger enemies. When we arrived at the Village our old men, women and children were undisturbed and knew nothing of the Blackfeet being in our country, but thought them safe on the head tributaries of the Saskatchewan. My woman had described to me the surroundings of her dream and it was easy for me to tell where all had taken place, as many times when I was a very young man I had gone with others to gather the gum in the blisters from the same silver pines to put upon our eyes in the Fall and Spring time when the snow would make us blind.

We sent our runners to bring in our warriors and in another day the Village was astir with excited young warriors anxious to get to the scene of my woman's dream, for it was found that when the young men of our Village were counted, twenty-two were found to be missing. That night all of the warriors who were back from the hunt were ready to start, and when darkness set in, by trails which none but ourselves knew of we hurried across the country to where we knew our young men had fallen into an ambush prepared for them by our enemies the Blackfeet. Before daybreak we stopped for we knew that we were near the pines where the young men were seen in my woman's dream, and our head chief ordered everyone to lie down and sleep except me, who was his head soldier. Until bright day we kept careful watch afraid to smoke our kinnakinick [kinnikinnick]²⁹ for fear that prowling Blackfeet might see us.

A party of five were sent to look out and find if the Blackfeet were in that part of the country. In about an hour they returned and said they had found the place where the young men had been securing gum, and not wishing to loose [lose] any time thought it best to return at once and let the chief know. We all started then and in a short time came to where the blisters on

the trees had been broken, and no signs of any fight. We examined the ground in all directions carefully, when an old warrior gave a grunt of approval and we circled towards him; he had found a gum bag partially filled; we continued for a short distance in the direction which the owner of the bag had taken and the leading men stopped as if excited by something unusual, and as we came up the sight that met our gaze made even the one who had seen horrors of all kinds, look, unable to tell how to act. Indignation and revenge were stamped on all our faces as in an open space on low ground, surrounded by a thick undergrowth of willows, were our young men but not one alive to let us know how they came to be caught in a trap like the buffalo in a hive.

Twenty-two of the best youths of our Cree tribe had been entrapped by some plan of the Blackfeet, and as they stood in this open space the Blackfeet had shot them down, for the bodies were full of arrow marks and nearly all of them death

wounds, the range was so short. Those who had not died from the arrow wounds were killed with the tomahawk, not one had a scalp left, and as our chief with his old and young men stood around and looked at the work of the Blackfeet not one word was spoken, until our Grand Old Chief began as follows: — “The enemy of the noble Cree Nation knows that they think not always of war and go on their peaceful hunt to provide for the old men, women and children; ‘tis true that the buffalo has taken his way East for a season and we have more than plenty, while our enemy the Blackfeet knows that the Cree will prosper, that his women will have plenty of

work while the Blackfeet will have a sad winter. Our people would allow the Blackfeet to cross our hunting grounds after the buffalo had left us, but their hatred of us would not let them come and owe anything to a Cree. Our young men must be avenged, and every scalp taken from them must be repaid fourfold to their kinsmen before revenge is complete.” As the chief finished a grunt of assent came from us all, and what one day before had been a peaceful nation was now on the warpath. Our young bucks were sent back to the village for more ponies and dried meat, while in the meantime a Council of War was held.

It was decided, after many of us had spoken our minds, to follow the trail of the Blackfeet. We knew that they would try and cover their trail but the Cree was a match for the Blood, for we knew that they that had made the raid was of this hated branch of the Blackfeet, as their arrow tips were different from those of the other Blackfeet. (Holding up his hands) This [to show the

“arrow tips”]. “Many of our oldest and best warriors were sent to examine the ground in all directions and find the course they had taken. We might have gone straight across the plains to the Belly River but we were wise and wanted to make sure that they had left our country and that we were not leaving them behind us, with no one to protect our women and children. One of our warriors soon gave a signal and in a short time they returned to tell us that they had found where their horses had been picketed, and where they had left the wooded lands for the plains.

When the night was over we started, there being three hundred of us, and two of our

“The Cree and the Blackfeet had not met for many years and we knew that they had been stronger than us in the past, and we were sure that if they could beat us now, not one Cree scalp would be left to return to our own Cypress hills.”

best went ahead keeping their eyes on the ground and following the course taken by the Blackfeet. From the pony tracks there could not have been more than fifty warriors in their band, but we did not depend on this too much for we concluded from the slaughter of our young men that there must have been three times that number. We slept the first night on the plains and the second night traced them to the Rock with the spring under it, which is now called Seven Persons Coulee. We were now well on our way to the Blood Reserve and next day travelled cautiously. The third night we remained at the St. Marys River, a short distance below the crossing, and it was then that we found out from our warriors, who were scouting ahead of us, that the Blackfeet had been expecting us and were camped at the far side of the river, above us. Before morning we had crossed the river farther down. When they found that we had crossed they hurried across the plains to the banks of the Belly River, just at the crossing below the reserve, and waited for us, sending their horses to the other side after much trouble, as the water was very swift. The Cree and the Blackfeet had not met for many years and we knew that they had been stronger than us in the past, and we were sure that if they could beat us now, not one Cree scalp would be left to return to our own Cypress hills. Our chief divided our warriors into three smaller groups, one was on horseback and two on foot. As head soldier I was placed in the group with the head chief, our band being on foot. Our head chief called all the warriors together and speaking to them said. "We are all that stands between the Blackfeet and our women and children; every one of us must fight like two men and not give nor expect any quarter from them. We may not see each other again at the Cypress hills but the Great Spirit will be with us all and will guard us against the poisoned arrows of our mortal foes. Let no warrior speak but obey their chiefs, and we need have no dread of the end of this fight. If any women are among us let them turn

their faces to the hills and go to the women and children."

Quietly each group took its place and as the mounted group rode towards the main band of the Blackfeet at the crossing each one on foot moved with it, one on its left and the other on its right.

We could now see that there were many more Blackfeet than Crees but it did not frighten us.

Our horses now ran towards the Blackfeet and as our mounted warriors shot arrows at them some of them jumped into the river and [swam] down stream climbing up the bank and ready to fight with us again. The mounted warriors by this means broke up their main body and when we saw them divided two foot groups rushed on them, as our arrows and theirs flew thick and the noise of wounded horses and warriors was great. We forced them to the stream and as we came to close quarters tomahawks were used. The Cree was having the best of the fight when I noticed that our head chief was not with us. Striking the Blackfoot with my tomahawk, who had my bow clenched with both hands, I hurried back to the outside of the fight and saw the head chief [chief] surrounded by four Blackfeet, who were forcing him towards the river. It did not take me long to be beside him, and soon two of their warriors were without scalps and two had jumped into the water.

We found that our warriors were being surrounded by the Blackfeet and speaking a few words to the head chief we hurried to the very bank of the stream where they were in hand to hand fight with their enemies, and shouting in loud voices for them to retire we soon found ourselves with more than half of them, and behind the Blackfeet.

Then with a shout we rushed upon them and carried them to the bank of the stream. We did not stop but with swinging tomahawks forced them into the water, and as many a head rose it was but to sink again, brained by the strong arm of a Cree.

The remainder of the Blackfeet finding that they were beaten and very few of them upon our side of the river, jumped into the stream with such strength as they had left to gain the other bank. About half of the Blackfeet were killed or drowned and we withdrew out of range of the arrows taking our dead and wounded with us, and preparing for our return. One out of three of our warriors were killed and one-half the remainder were wounded.³⁰

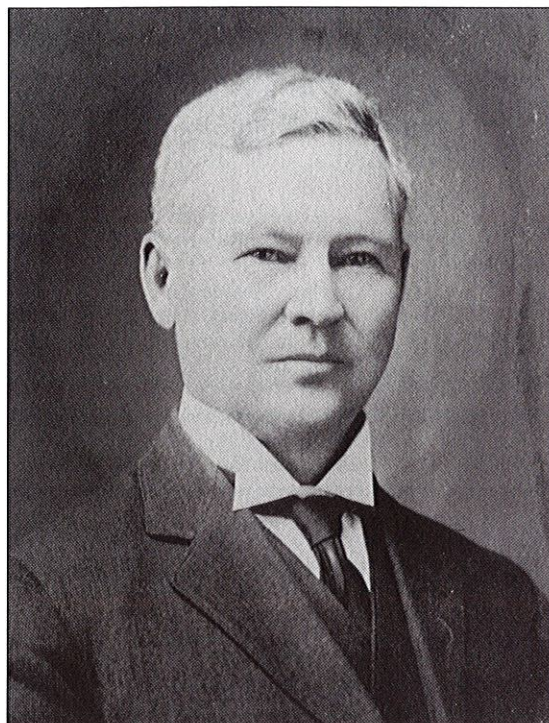
I had been shot by an arrow in the knee but had said nothing and towards the end of the third day of our return became raving mad and it was found that I had been hit with an arrow that was poisoned. For months my knee was in bandages and I did not expect to ever walk again, but as you see I can walk and talk a good deal too; then as if realizing that he had taken up our time, and that he had been too forward, he stood erect and with a sad tone in his voice said, *“but then I am only an indian.”* [Emphasis added.]

As he [Humphrey Faveur] lifted the flap of our tent and went out into the bitter cold, our hearts were touched at the sufferings of an [a] noble man, for next day warmer coverings were on his hands and feet.

We spent much of the next few weeks [October 16-29th] in his Company and as original wisdom and interesting anecdotes seemed to have been stored in his indian head for our benefit, we enjoyed the time, and as we bade adieu to Humphrey Faveur at Fort Qu’Appelle, it was with the knowledge that we had met a good indian. [Emphasis added.]³¹

“But then I am only an Indian” is Faveur’s commentary on the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the late nineteenth century.³²

Faveur’s commentary is still significant almost one hundred and twenty years after the story was told. This relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal People was (and still is) unequal, racially oriented, or racist. In addition, this image of the “Indian” as “good” or “bad” highlights the simplicity and naivety as well as the ignorance that many non-Aboriginal people still have about Aboriginal Peoples



Archives of Ontario, F 1060 A0 5257, Acc 16542.

James Lewis Morris in 1914 when he was the Mayor of Pembroke Ontario, over three decades after he wrote down this Cree version of the Battle of Belly River Crossing.

and their cultures. Such are the assumptions on which Canada’s Aboriginal policies are founded, especially the policy of ‘civilization,’ which has resulted in protection (a justification for reserves), centralization and assimilation. It is this language that was part and parcel of the horrific residential school system and its horrendous and complicated aftermath.³³

The logical conclusion of this government agenda was that the ‘good’ ‘Indians’ would be gradually assimilated or at least bought off. The ‘bad’ ones, those who resisted, would be eliminated from negotiations with government and ostracized from non-Aboriginal dealings. Funding would be cut off and they would in time see the error of their ways or someone else would take their place. In accomplishing these ends, the bureaucracy used the carrot of public funds to achieve their ends, and the stick of being cut off as the alternative. It was a primitive form of divide and conquer.³⁴

“But then I am only an Indian.” Humphrey Faveur’s Cree travel song is with us still today. It was handed down through four generations, first in oral tradition as a story or as a song and then in written form. Its timelessness still speaks the truth from the heart. This is truly a Cree song of peace, not war, a lasting peace between two sovereign Aboriginal Nations made in January of 1871 after the Confederation of Canada. Aboriginal history is sovereign and independent of the Euro-Canadian history of

Canada as a nation-state.³⁵ “Indigenous Voices” and “Indigenous Histories” survive and remain with us as part of Canada’s history as a place, rather than as a nation state. They can no longer be ignored and they have not been forgotten.

NOTES:

1. On this subject generally, see N. Scott Momaday, *The Names, A Memoir*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976.
2. Winona (Stevenson) Wheeler, “Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Histories Part I: The Othering of Indigenous History,” *Saskatchewan History*, 50(2), (Fall 1998): 25. In the same issue of the journal see also Georgina Taylor, “The Editor’s Comments,” 3; also Wheeler, “Indigenous Voices, Indigenous Histories — The Social Relations of Oral History,” 51(2), (Fall 1999): 29-35; See also Edward Ahenakew, “Indigenous Voices, ‘The Old Men of the Reserves,’” introduced by Georgina M. Taylor, *Saskatchewan History* 51(1), (Spring 1999): 29-31.
3. See my “Principally Rocks and Burnt Lands’ Crown Reserves and the Tragedy of the Sturgeon Lake First Nation,” in *Aboriginal Resource Use In Canada*, ed. Kerry Abel and Jean Friesen, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1991), 157-172.
4. See my *Circles of Time: Aboriginal Land Rights and Resistance in Ontario*, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 1-19.
5. Rudy Wiebe, “Mistahimaskwa [ca.1825-1888], Big Bear,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume XI, 1881-1890* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 597-601. I have been unable to discover who Humphrey Faveur was with any degree of certainty, although it has recently come to me that he may have been the great-grandfather, on the maternal side, of Louise Erdrich, the Cree/Anishinabe novelist from Turtle Mountain who was in her words born “in a grove in Little Falls, Minnesota (Wahpeton, North Dakota) in 1954 “on a day of high winds.” See Louise Erdrich, *Blue Jay’s Dance, A Birth Year*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995), 34-7; 138-40; 184-6. See also my “Of Bears and Birds: Storytelling, Time and History in the Autobiographical Writings of Louise Erdrich,” in *Approaches to Teaching the Works of Louise Erdrich*, Modern Language Association, forthcoming, 2001.
6. I would like to thank Cree Elder Stan Cuthand for this understanding of the story as a Cree travel song in 1992.
7. See my unpublished MSS “Dreaming and Drawing: Autobiographical Fragments of Air and Fire,” 1998. William Kennedy’s father was William Kennedy (1814-1890) whose country wife was Sarah Stevens (1809-c. 1859), an Algonquin woman likely the daughter of an Algonquin trader, Bird clan, from Allumette Island. He was the son of Alexander Kennedy (ca.1770-1832) and his country wife, Aggathas or Mary Bear (ca. 1780-1863), a Cree woman from Pine Tree Island, Cumberland House in present day northeastern Saskatchewan. See E. C. Shaw, “William Kennedy,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume XI, 1881-1890* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 470-1. See also Sylvia Van Kirk, “Alexander Kennedy Isbister (1822-1883),” 445-6. For a less reliable perspective, see Barry Cooper, *Alexander Kennedy Isbister, A Respectable Critic of the Honourable Company*, Carleton Library Series, (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989), 3-26. I did not know that my great-great grandfather was on this surveying expedition in 1881 until I started work on my family history in preparing the following paper in 2000: “The Spirit of the Canadas: The Kennedys, A Fur Trade Company Family through Seven Generations,” presented at the Eighth North American Fur Trade Conference, Kawehnoke/Cornwall Island, May 25, 2000. All that was left of the Kennedy Feed Mills business by the middle of the twentieth century was a barn and a wooden wagon used to carry the feed at 284 Duke Street in downtown Kitchener, Ontario where I grew up as a child. My brothers and I tried desperately, but in vain, to burn the wagon and the barn by lighting candles on the side of the wagon. My great-aunt Florence owned this property, passed down to her from her father, John Frederick Kennedy (1862-1946) and his father, William, which included the house, the wagon and the barn, and we rented it from her. I visited her a number of times in Toronto in the 1950s. Aunt Flo, very dark in complexion and mysterious, lived in downtown Toronto with a “country husband,” an American who was in the shirt-making business. Little did we know the rich history

behind these two artifacts. It is fascinating to see the spiritual power of place in Aboriginal history as is the case in this story where these places intersect within circles of time and across seven generations — the Cypress Hills, Pine Tree Island, Cumberland House, Allumette Island, the Grand River and Toronto — the place where the water meets the sky.

8. The School of Practical Science was originally located on College Street near University Avenue in downtown Toronto. The original building no longer stands and a newer medical building is now in the same location. Morris’s survey and engineering work was recognized by the University of Toronto with an honorary doctorate in engineering in 1927. He had no training in history, although it is clear that Morris was an amateur historian. A member of the Ontario Historical Society, he had a keen interest in its history, in Crown Lands and the settlement of the province by non-Aboriginal people in particular.
9. This work on Morris resulted in my article “The Professionalization of Historical Research in the Ontario Department of Crown Lands and its Successors,” *The Public Historian*, 8(4), (Fall 1986): 27-45.
10. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1984. See also Carl Bettke, “George Allan Kennedy (1858-1913),” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume XIV, 1911-1920*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 556-8. G.A. Kennedy is likely a nephew of William Kennedy (1814-1890) who was my great-great-great grandfather. G.A. Kennedy published Jerry Potts’s account in 1890 and it was subsequently published J. D. Higginbotham, *When the west was young: historical reminiscences of the early Canadian west*, (Toronto, 1933), 231-38. It was reprinted in Alexander Johnstone (compiler), “The Battle at Belly River, Stories of the Last Great Indian Battle” (Lethbridge: Lethbridge Branch, Historical Society of Alberta, 1966), 4-7, along with some other accounts of the Battle. The supposed “Cree” account of “The Sutherland Boys” was included, and it does not include the same or other details as provided by Humphrey Faveur in his story, see pages 13-4. Kennedy’s career path as a medical doctor on the prairies with the North-West Mounted Police is similar to that of John Frederick Kennedy (1801-59) and bespeak those of the Bear clan. In addition, his relations with the Cree are fascinating, as of course are his connections to the Battle of Belly River Crossing. On Potts see Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council with Walter Hildebrandt, Sarah Carter, and Dorothy First Rider, *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty 7*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), xi-xii, 16, 19-21, 27, 60-1, 74, 76, 80-1, 124, 126-7, 133-4, 270. On the Battle of Belly River Crossing from a Blackfoot perspective see in the same work, 60, 220.
11. John S. Milloy, *The Plains Cree, Trade, Diplomacy and War, 1790-1870*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988), 116-18, on the context of the Battle of Belly River Crossing. The Blood view of this Battle is different. See Hugh A. Dempsey, *Red Crow, Warrior Chief*, 72. Red Crow led the Blood tribe in this battle.
12. This paper was first presented as “Gathering Gum from the Silver Pine: A Cree Woman’s Dream and the Battle of Belly River Crossing (1869-70)” to the Rupert’s Land Research Centre Colloquium, Winnipeg, 8 February 1992.
13. Archives of Ontario, MU 4828, James Lewis Morris Papers.
14. On Morris as an historian see my “Professionalization of Historical Research,” 27-45. Morris was primarily interested, prior to joining the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, in the local history of the area in which he was raised, the Ottawa Valley (the homeland of the Algonquins). On June 6, 1914, he presented a historical paper on the history of the McNab settlement to the Ontario Historical Society. In 1921 he also wrote a short paper on the history of Champlain’s journey of 1613 to the Ottawa Valley. In that paper, he speculated on when and where Champlain went on that trip, based on the written record and on the then recent archaeological discoveries. Prior to 1928, Morris had no formal training or experience in archival research.
15. Archives of Ontario, MU 4828, James Lewis Morris Papers.
16. We need to know his Cree name and how he came to be where he was in 1881.
17. At each point in the narratives where the derogatory word “squaw” or “squaws” appears, I have substituted the words “woman” or “women” since that is the word, I believe, that Humphrey Faveur

- would have used instead. I have also substituted the word children for "papooses" and warriors for "braves" in the text.
18. Archives of Ontario, James Lewis Morris Papers, MU 4828, compare "A Destitute Indian" with Morris's Diary for 1881.
 19. Wiebe, "Mistahimaskwa [c.1825-1888], Big Bear", DCB, 597.
 20. Winona (Stevenson) Wheeler, "The Journals and Voices of a Church of England Native Catechist: Asenootow (Charles Pratt), 1851-1884," in *Reading Beyond Words, Contexts for Native History*, ed. Jennifer S. H. Brown & Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996), 304- 29.
 21. Archives of Ontario, James Lewis Morris Papers, MU 4828, Morris's Diary, 1881.
 22. Grace Morris Craig, *But This Is Our War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 4-5.
 23. These interviews were conducted informally without notes or a tape recorder, so I am relying on my memory here.
 24. Archives of Ontario, James Lewis Morris Papers, MU 4828. See also my "Professionalization of Historical Research," 27-45. The author, James Lewis Morris, born in Pembroke, Ontario and then only 18, just having graduated from the School of Practical Science at the University of Toronto, was an assistant to a Federal Government survey party in what is now southern Alberta. The party assembled at "Walker House," formerly a hotel in Toronto and on May 16, 1881, left for Sarnia, the United States and then present-day southern Alberta.
 25. In Dempsey's biography of Red Crow Red Crow he perceptively described the circumstances of the Plains Cree and the Blood tribe at this time as: "But just as the snows of winter put an end to the sounds of wind whispering through the prairie grass, so did the weather quiet the talk of battle. Warriors, whether Blood or Cree, were content to huddle in their cabins and lodges, accepting government rations of beef and flour and killing a few deer in the wooded valleys. They might still talk of raiding their enemies, but they would wait until spring when the grass was green and the captured horses could graze on their way home." Dempsey, *Red Crow, Warrior Chief*, 124-5.
 26. In this document here and elsewhere the word "Indian" is not capitalized.
 27. The red skirt may be a clue to the identity of Ann Tait and Humphrey Faveur since the colour red is that of the Bear clan.
 29. Wiebe, "Mistahimaskwa [c.1825-1888], Big Bear," DCB, 597-601.
 29. This was a mixture of Aboriginal herbs and tobacco. I wish to thank the Cree Elder Stan Cuthand for this explanation.
 30. The Blood view of this battle is different. Dempsey, *Red Crow, Warrior Chief*, 72.
 31. The original 1881 diary indicates that, if they parted company on 29 October, 1881 at Fort Qu'Appelle, then they may have spent two weeks together.
 32. For another Cree example, see Wheeler (Stevenson), "Charles Pratt," 304-29.
 33. John S. Milloy, *A National Crime, A History of the Residential School System in Canada*, (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999).
 34. This approach is still used today by the federal Department of Indian Affairs as well as by provincial bureaucrats. The only thing that varies is the amount of funding available from the public 'trough.' Going to the white man's court to stand up for your legal rights is tantamount to a declaration of war against the state. The federal government then immediately cuts off funding altogether, making this form of resistance, if not well nigh impossible, then 'illegal' in this 'justice system.' Yet, the language and the policies remain with us to this day. There has been very little change in 1801, 1901 or 2001. For example, in the Ontario provincial bureaucracy in the late 1970s and 1980s, this image was paramount. Those 'Indians' who collaborated willing with the government in its agenda were 'good'. Those who chose not to do so, and moreover resisted governments and their policies, were seen to be 'bad Indians'. There was (still is) no space for Aboriginal people as persons, as human beings, between this sharp dichotomy. For examples, see my *Circles of Time* and "Dreaming and Drawing." See also Vine Deloria, Jr., "Foreword," to *Native American Testimony, A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, 1492-1992*, ed. Peter Nabokov (New York: Penguin Books, 1992), xvii-xx.
 35. For a discussion of the ideas of the treaty Elders of Saskatchewan about their values and sovereignty see Harold Cardinal and Walter Hildebrandt, *Treaty Elders of Saskatchewan — Our Dream is That Our Peoples Will One Day Be Clearly Recognized as Nations* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000).

The Peoples of Saskatchewan



Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Georgina M. Taylor.

John and Violet McNaughton and Violet's brother Delamark Jackson on the right, ca. the 1940s. John and Delamark took up homesteads in the Hillview district near Harris Saskatchewan in 1905. The Jackson were from England and John and his family were Scots who had lived in New Zealand before coming to Saskatchewan.



Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 1091.

Kathleen Flanagan in the South Saskatchewan River near Riversdale in Saskatoon, ca. 1925.

.... to be continued
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Probing the Pioneer Questionnaires: British Settlement in Saskatchewan, 1887-1914

by Marjory Harper

The holdings of the Saskatchewan Archives Board in Saskatoon include a treasure-trove of recollections offering detailed and diverse documentation of settlement in Saskatchewan during the generation before and after the achievement of provincial status in 1905.¹ A series of ten pioneer questionnaires, sent out by the Board in the 1950s to settlers who came to the prairies between 1878 and 1914, addresses a comprehensive range of issues, including diet, health, schooling and religion, as well as farming and local government. Such a rich repository of raw material is invaluable not only to family and community historians, but also to those who seek to chart the course of prairie settlement at a formative period in the history of the West. The purpose of this paper is to use the pioneers' responses to highlight the salient features of such settlement in the quarter-century before the First World War, with particular reference to immigrants from the British Isles. Their origins, motives, expectations and experiences will be examined with a view to identifying their priorities and establishing both common and divergent patterns in the story of their settlement.

Between 1878 and 1914 British settlers came to Saskatchewan, as they did to all the prairie provinces, in response to an orchestrated recruitment campaign by the federal and provincial governments and the transcontinental railway companies. This campaign reached a crescendo at the turn of the century, following the appointment of Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior in 1897. Convinced of the crucial importance of the West to the future prosperity of Canada, Sifton persuaded the federal government to allocate \$4 million over the following decade to promote the immigration and settlement of experienced agriculturists from a variety of countries. As a result, although British immigrants remained dominant until the late nineteenth century, increasingly they did not come alone. By 1914 the proportion of the prairie

population that was of British origin had declined to 50 per cent, with Ukrainians, Austro-Hungarians, Poles and Russians accounting for 20 per cent, Germans, Dutch, French and French Canadians making up a further 20 per cent, and American immigration growing steadily. The British immigrants under review here, therefore, form a diminishing, though still significant, part of the mosaic of prairie settlement.

THE QUESTIONNAIRES: ORIGINS, LIMITATIONS, FORMAT AND STATISTICS

What was the provenance of the questionnaires that form the backbone of this study? They were the brainchild of former provincial archivist, Lewis H. Thomas, who between 1950 and 1954 distributed them to Homemakers' Clubs, Saskatchewan Farm Forums, church women's organisations, the Saskatchewan Association of Nursing Homes, 63 additional individual nursing homes, and all subscribers to the journal, *Saskatchewan History*. Public service announcements were also made on provincial radio stations and in newspapers, all such information being aimed at eliciting a response from surviving pioneers about their settlement experiences before 1914.² Completed questionnaires were to be retained permanently in the Saskatchewan Archives Office, and Thomas promised that an article, based on the information they contained, would appear in *Saskatchewan History*.³

Both the enquiry and the response were impressive. Ten questionnaires were prepared, with meticulous attention to detail. The first dealt with diet, the second and foundational survey, dealt with general issues, the third with schooling, the fourth with religion, the fifth with recreation and social life, the sixth with farming, the seventh with folklore, the eighth with health, the ninth with housing and the tenth with local government. Each questionnaire contained a minimum of forty questions, and some contained over seventy, often with sub-sections asking supplementary questions. For the purposes of this study, only the general questionnaire has been examined, since this asked questions relating to motivation and was also

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the only one which asked for the respondents' place of origin. Eight hundred and thirty five of these general questionnaires were returned, the biggest surge of replies referring to the years 1902-6, towards the end of a decade when the federal government injected four million dollars into its immigration budget in an attempt to stimulate recruitment and stem the haemorrhage to the United States.⁴ While a minority of respondents returned all ten questionnaires, most completed only a selection, or even just one, and examining a small sample of index cards reveals that the general questionnaire probably elicited a larger response than any of the others, perhaps because of the less specific nature of the queries. Some respondents, of course, completed the more focused questionnaires while ignoring the general one, so the figure of 835 does not reflect the full extent of the response to the archivist's enquiry.⁵ Another caveat to bear in mind when assessing the accuracy with which the survey reflected pioneer life is its bias towards success, not only on the general principle that people are more willing to recall their achievements than their failures, but because at least two questions specifically aimed to identify community leaders and entrepreneurs by enquiring about respondents' contributions to district life and public service.⁶ A number of respondents had served as school and hospital trustees, members of co-operative organisations or the local Board of Trade, mayors, and even members of the Saskatchewan legislature, so had a personal as well as a general interest in recording the early history of their communities. Moreover, the advanced age of some of the respondents, and the length of time that had elapsed since the events they were recalling, may have encouraged formulaic answers, particularly to leading questions about the role of government propaganda and advertisements in stimulating emigration.

A further reservation to consider when using the survey to identify the ethnic origins of settlers is a possible over-representation of those whose first language was English, since that was also the language of the survey. A breakdown of the questionnaires by place of birth shows that a larger number of respondents had originated in the British Isles than in any other location, 285 in all, comprising 201 from England, sixty-two from Scotland, seventeen from Ireland and five from Wales. A further 268 respondents had been born in Ontario, and 106 in the United States, primarily in the adjacent state of Minnesota, followed by Wisconsin, North Dakota, Iowa and Illinois.⁷ Other parts of Canada accounted for 104 respondents, although none had been born in British Columbia.⁸ The remaining respondents had originated in Scandinavia and Iceland (twenty-three),

Central, Eastern and Western Europe (forty-nine).⁹ While British and Canadian contributors had come to Saskatchewan in a steady stream throughout the period covered by the survey, the returns suggest that significant settlement from the United States began to take place only after 1898, probably owing to the combined effects of Clifford Sifton's recruitment campaign, the curtailment of viable opportunities for free land settlement on the American side of the border, the development of new strains of wheat for short, arid seasons and a rise in world wheat prices. Russian respondents too, some of them Doukhobors, dated their settlement in Saskatchewan primarily from the late 1890s, when they sought to escape land hunger, persecution and compulsory military service, while most of the Scandinavian respondents came in the first decade of the twentieth century, usually as stage migrants, having previously sojourned in Minnesota, North Dakota or Wisconsin.¹⁰

Respondents from the British Isles came from all corners of the land, but with a particular emphasis on urban-industrial England. Thirty respondents came from Lancashire, particularly Manchester, twenty-seven from London and twenty-one from Yorkshire. A further twenty-nine contributors came from the seven counties surrounding Greater London: Kent, Essex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Surrey and Middlesex. Nine came from Staffordshire and six from Warwickshire. In fact, all but three English counties were represented in the returns, and almost all parts of Scotland, although here too the emphasis was on the urban-industrial central belt around Glasgow and Edinburgh.¹¹ Just over half the Irish respondents had originated in the historic (as opposed to the political) province of Ulster, three came from County Cork in the south, and others from Sligo, Galway and Carlow, while the five Welsh respondents came from different locations in the north, centre and south of the principality.¹² In terms of gender breakdown, male respondents outnumbered females by about two to one among those of British origins, but there was a slightly more even balance among respondents from elsewhere.

REACHING A DECISION

One of the key areas explored by the survey was the decision-making process. Respondents were asked not only when and why they came to Western Canada, but also how they learned about the area, whether they intended to stay permanently, what their friends and relatives thought of their decision, and whether others had subsequently settled in Saskatchewan on their recommendation. Although motives for migration varied according to the respondent's age at time

of arrival, those who came as adults, or who recalled their parents' reasons for coming, generally mentioned the lure of better economic opportunities on the land. Only among some of the settlers from central and eastern Europe was persecution or political discontent also a factor. In 1882 Lilian Miles' grandparents had come to Canada from Rumania in a party of twenty-one, "anxious to leave the strict military life which predominated in Europe generally, and take up a new way of life in the land of promise, sponsored by the Baptist Church." Four years later they were joined by her parents, a few months before she herself was born.¹³ Two other respondents, both Russian-born, were Doukhobors who in 1899 fled compulsory military service under the Czar, while in 1906 twenty-three-year-old Sam Vickar emigrated from Lithuania, via Liverpool, in order to escape Czarist rule.¹⁴ And, reflecting the disintegration of the Austria-Hungarian Empire, Joseph Mohl cited not only economic depression and "a longing for elbow room" among the reasons for his migration from Hoeflein, Lower Austria, to Edenwold in 1908, but also the fact that he had "got sick and tired of the eternal strife between Old Austria's fourteen different nationalities which seemed to be encouraged by the government in order to evade progressive legislation in any field."¹⁵

Although economic betterment was the primary motive among emigrants from the British Isles, some also recalled a thirst for adventure, the restoration of

health, matrimony or missionary service, while for a few the choice of location seems to have been quite fortuitous. Wellwood Rattray, who in 1887 emigrated from Glasgow to Saltcoats with his parents at the age of twelve, recalled that "it was the toss of a coin whether we came to Canada or South Africa," while George Bairnson from Shetland, who had intended to go to Australia until about a month before he crossed the Atlantic in 1903, aged twenty-one, attributed his change of mind simply to undefined "fate." Five years later Arthur Carter (twenty) from London chose Canada in preference to Australia because he disliked too much heat, which "seemed to take the ambition out of me," and also cited a "young man's adventurous spirit" as a major catalyst in his decision.¹⁶ Among others who came "in the spirit of adventure and enterprise" were the parents of Edith Stilborne, who, having previously lived in India, Leeds and Leicester, came to Pheasant Forks, Assiniboia, under the auspices of the Primitive Methodist Colonization Company in 1883.¹⁷ Master plumber H. J. Perrin of Twickenham, Middlesex, was inspired to emigrate in 1894 by "adventure, fresh air and open space where you could walk on the grass with a shot gun," and four years later surgeon's son Harold Jones cited an interest in ranching and a fascination with the frontier as his reasons for emigrating from the Isle of Wight at the age of seventeen.¹⁸ A "roving disposition," as well as an interest in farming, led farmer Charles Mycroft



Mrs. Bertie Beckton driving a buggy at Cannington Manor. Mrs. A. Le Mesurier is beside her holding a baby.

Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 4722.

(twenty) to emigrate from Derbyshire in 1903, and in the same year Sheffield steel worker Albert White (twenty-eight) cited "a liking for adventure and a belief in better living prospects in a new country such as Canada" as the reasons for taking his young family to the West. A sense of adventure also led George Almond (nineteen) to join the Reverend Isaac Barr's English colony at Lloydminster in 1905, the same year in which farmer's son, John Gordon (twenty-eight), emigrated from Ballymena, County Antrim, in search of adventure and to continue his career as a schoolteacher. Adventurers from the south of England included painter William Cobb (eighteen) from Dorset, coachman Arthur Watley (twenty-five) from Hampshire, and antique dealer Howard Parkhouse (twenty-three) from Plymouth.¹⁹

In 1904 Harry Williams of Hampstead was impelled to Canada by a combination of adventure, ill health and the emigration of a brother a year earlier. The restoration of health was apparently the sole reason for the emigration of farmer Henry Hayward of Liverpool and Kate Billings of Brighton, who both went to Fort Qu'Appelle on doctors' advice, in 1883 and 1889 respectively, as well as the asthmatic family of George Lindsey from County Sligo, and William Walker of Oldham, whose temporary sojourn in 1904 turned into a permanent settlement. Barr colonist Henry Messum (twenty), formerly a Thames waterman and boat builder, was inspired by the prospect of better health in outdoor employment, as well as the desire to farm his own land; cabinet maker Benjamin Saloway of Shropshire and schoolmaster Duncan Jamieson of Angus both sought better health for their children in the West, while five other respondents recalled that a parent's health was the catalyst for the move to Western Canada.²⁰ At least ten female respondents had emigrated either to be married in Canada, as newlyweds, or to join their husbands who had preceded them to the West. They included Elizabeth Kitson (twenty-two), from London, who in August 1896 arrived in Regina at 9 a.m. and two hours later was married to a fellow-Londoner who had preceded her to Canada in 1890. Nellie Weller from Kent had even less time, forty minutes, between arriving in North Battleford in August 1910 and her marriage to fellow-Englishman John Buckingham. When newlywed Elizabeth Bews (twenty-three) from Edinburgh came west in 1901, it was in response to the call given to her husband, then a trainee minister in Glasgow, to serve on presbyterian mission fields in the summer while completing his college course in Winnipeg during the winter, and the couple continued to live a peripatetic life in different parts of the prairies for some years after he had been ordained.²¹ A similar commit-

ment to mission work inspired both Canon Guy Terry from County Durham and, to a lesser extent, Oxfordshire-born Charles Sargent, who came west in 1892 and 1911 respectively. When Terry, accompanied by his wife and small daughter, responded to the call of the Anglican Church for missionaries, he expected to stay for only five years, but the scarcity of fellow-workers subsequently persuaded him to remain indefinitely. Former architect Sargent had already spent six years as a hired hand in Ontario when he was asked to take on the position of student-minister in a "pioneer area" of Saskatchewan, but his intention of paying his way through college by claiming, proving and then selling a homestead was thwarted by crop failures and a collapse in land prices, and he abandoned his church work for a career in farming and real estate.²²

For the vast majority of pioneers, however, enhanced economic opportunity in farming was the unequivocal and recurring theme of their responses, irrespective of whether their backgrounds were rural or urban. Sydney Chipperfield, who was less than two years old when he came from Haddon Hall, Essex, to Prince Albert with his parents and sister in 1883, was the son of a farm bailiff on a large estate, who was convinced that there were "more opportunities for families" in Canada than in England.²³ Robert Wood and his brother, who were aged sixteen and seventeen respectively when they emigrated from Dundee to Prince Albert in 1892, were the sons of a commercial traveller, and had spent their childhood in Edinburgh and Glasgow, as well as Dundee.²⁴ According to Robert, "At that time (in the 1890s) a great many of the young people of the British Islands were thinking of emigrating. The old land was getting crowded and stories were coming through about the fine opportunities in the colonies, and particularly in Canada, where a quarter section of good land could be got free by performing certain duties."²⁵ Farmer's son James Cooper from Newcastle under Lyme in Staffordshire, who emigrated in 1903, recalled that, having been swayed by the pessimistic prognostications of farmers in England, "I suppose I formed the opinion that it would be a smart thing to look for something offering better prospects of improvement." George Bruce from Aberdeen remembered the difficulty of finding employment, particularly in white collar occupations, during the depression that followed the Boer War, and how, although a city boy with no experience of farming, he was easily persuaded by two visiting farmer delegates to seek land work in western Canada in April 1903. Six months later he returned to Aberdeen with the intention of completing his B.Sc. course at the city's university, but within a year lack of money

persuaded him to revisit Canada, along with his parents and two sisters, where he and his schoolteacher father took up adjacent homesteads in Assiniboia.²⁶ Welshman William Howse and Lucy Smith from Huddersfield, Yorkshire, who crossed the Atlantic in 1904 and 1905 respectively, aged twenty and three, both echoed George Bruce's statement about the significance of post-war depression as a catalyst in the decision to emigrate. Howse recalled that, having completed his apprenticeship as an electrician in 1901 and having worked in London, "following the end of the Boer War I became one of a large number of unemployed; in Woolwich where I worked 50,000 lost their jobs in one week. This caused me to leave and come to Canada and seek work."²⁷ More respondents were attracted by opportunities than expelled by depression, however, and the lure of the land, along with the perception of better prospects for the next generation, remained important incentives throughout the period covered by the survey. Londoners William Pinchin and Alan Reidpath, who emigrated in 1904 and 1910 respectively, were both persuaded to try their hand at homesteading after learning about Canada indirectly through their jobs; Pinchin had worked as an invoice clerk with a cheese-importing firm which dealt almost entirely in Canadian produce, and Reidpath worked in a London shipping office. Fellow-Londoner Alfred Sanders and his wife, who emigrated in 1906, echoed the belief of Samuel Chipperfield and many others, that "we thought there would be a better future for our children," while Annie Bradley, one of a minority of independent women emigrants, who came out alone from Birmingham in 1914 at the age of twenty-two, having previously worked as a seamstress, housekeeper and cook, cited three reasons for emigrating. "One reason was that the West had so much to offer, for any one that was ambitious. Secondly, I wanted to own my own land and home. Thirdly, I thought nothing could be compared with the wide open spaces, the sunset, and the storms."²⁸

The expectation of "making a fortune" or "getting rich" cited by some British respondents is characteristic of emigrants in every age, and is particularly reminiscent of the responses of a much earlier generation

of emigrants to a government investigation in the 1770s which had aimed to establish the extent of the British exodus, particularly from Scotland, with a view to its prohibition.²⁹ Some of the Saskatchewan emigrants, like their eighteenth-century predecessors, were encouraged in their optimistic expectations by family, friends and other contacts who had already crossed the Atlantic, or who were on a visit home, but the majority claimed to have been influenced primarily by more impersonal government and railroad propaganda issued by the federal immigration authorities and the Canadian Pacific Railway. While most respondents simply reported these catalysts without comment, some recalled that they had subsequently

regretted their gullibility. Alfred Mann emigrated from Surrey in 1882 on the strength of "glamorous untrue information distribution in England," the same year in which John Laidlaw arrived from Ross-shire in Scotland with his parents and four brothers. Laidlaw recalled that the CPR's "gigantic advertising campaign to lure settlers to the prairies" had painted a picture that was "far from truthful," and his parents, like many other emigrants, had been unable to achieve their ambition of retiring to Scotland on the profits of a

few years' residence in Canada.³⁰ Cosmas Fehrenbach, who emigrated from London in 1889, complained that the opportunities held out by railroads, government, steamship lines and colonisation companies were "greatly exaggerated," a phrase repeated by fellow-Londoner M. S. Dickson, who arrived in 1903. Dickson recalled that he had been attracted by:

seeing pictures of Saskatchewan which I found out afterwards to be greatly exaggerated. There was nothing but the sky and a sea of prairie, [and] a few Buffalo Bones, here and there. It was in Cheapside, London, where I saw these pictures, it could have been the CPR or Canadian Govt that sponsored them. I believe the CPR got so much a head from the Canadian Government for bringing people to Canada. The CPR bought quite a few old

Although economic betterment was the primary motive among emigrants from the British Isles, some also recalled a thirst for adventure, the restoration of health, matrimony or missionary service, while for a few the choice of location seems to have been quite fortuitous.

boats, they bought some from the Beaver Line & Elder Demster Line. The CPR was advertising for Emigrants to come to Canada so as they could make some dough. Hundreds (thousands) of people were dumped off at Winnipeg.³¹

Similarly negative sentiments were also voiced by George Prescott of Leamington, who emigrated in 1906, when he asserted that the claims made by Canadian government lecturers in England had been "rather far fetched." Thomas Kenny from Ireland was disappointed at the misleading information given to him at the World Fair in Dublin prior to his emigration in 1907, and Frank Gurney of Stoke Mandeville complained that the government literature, which painted Western Canada in "very glowing colours," was "greatly exaggerated, no mention [being] made of frost, hail and drought." But John Allan from Orkney, who arrived in 1906, was more veiled in his criticism of agents' overstatements: "I learned about the west through government information, which painted Canada as a veritable garden of Eden, and told us we didn't need any agricultural experience, we had only to scratch the rich virgin soil to ensure good results." And another 1906 emigrant, seventeen-year-old J. G. Wren, who had been attracted by exhibits of apples in the CPR and Canadian government offices in Trafalgar Square, blamed himself when he recalled ruefully that he "did not read the fine print which said apples did not grow in Prairie Provinces."³²

By no means all respondents claimed to have been misled by emissaries and advertisements. John Ewan from Fife arrived in 1894 on the strength of a conversation with Dundee-based government agent Peter Fleming; William Buchanan from County Cork, who emigrated in 1903, recalled the "great impression" made on him by a Canadian exhibition in Cork city; and fellow-Irishman John Gordon from Ballymena was so "delighted" with the lecture given by a visiting agent in Belfast in 1904 that he went west a year later.³³ Arthur Wheeler from Farnham in Surrey remembered the exact titles of the two illustrated government pamphlets that had lured him to Saskatchewan in 1906. Margaret McManus, Mary Archer and Martha Wellock, who emigrated in 1906 and 1907, from Lanark, Derbyshire and Yorkshire respectively, recalled the sustained press publicity which emphasised golden wheatfields, luxuriant prairie grass and high wages for farm labourers, while Ernest Line from Bedford, Albert Elderton from Hampshire, and Henry Copeland from London, who arrived in Saskatchewan in 1908, 1909 and 1910, had been influenced by pictorial representations of

Canada in railway stations, on London street billboards, and through the lantern slides that accompanied itinerant agents' lectures. Copeland, for instance, recalled without recriminations that:

When I went to school, on my way home every day I stopped to look at a big coloured poster of a wheat field in stook. On it was printed, 160 acres land free. I made up my mind that's what I want, & I got all the phamplets (sic) on it and read all about it. When I left school I was apprenticed to electrical engineering, but after 18 months I broke my contract. I really got heck when I went home & told them, the result was I left home, worked in a hotel & saved my money and sailed in March on the Allan liner "Corsoian" (sic).³⁴

A number of respondents had been influenced by a combination of official encouragement and personal contacts. As Robert Wood, who emigrated in 1892, recalled in some detail:

My father, in the course of business, knew a merchant in Perth, Scotland, who had a son in the Oak Lake district of Manitoba, Canada. This son was about to strike out for himself and take up a homestead somewhere in the Prince Albert district, then a part of the North West Territories. My brother and I decided to follow his lead and settle in this district also. Also at that time Clifford Sifton was doing his best to attract settlers to the West and had put on a strong advertising campaign showing how a farmer could, without fail (if he worked) become prosperous and independent in a short time. The quarter section of land, given free, was, of course, the big attraction but the Sifton propaganda, in which success was laid out with almost mathematical certainty, played quite a strong part too. How far these hopes were realized is the story of the West for the next twenty years. Needless to say nature (quite ignored by Sifton) had something to say about it in the form of drought, rust, frost and hail.³⁵

Another 1892 emigrant, William Marks, recollected that a neighbour from Cornwall who had emigrated earlier wrote to his father advising him to come out to the prairies, where there was "such good land," while

Mancunian John Potts, whose interest had been stirred by "general reading," was finally persuaded to emigrate when his sister married a man who was coming to western Canada. Harry Ford from Uttoxeter was persuaded by government information and a second cousin in Regina, Richard Lister from Yorkshire by pamphlets and an uncle's cousin, and Dolly Gush from Dorset by family friends in Manitoba, together with government advertisements for western homesteads.³⁶

Charlotte Darwent and her husband not only attended lectures and read pamphlets before they emigrated from Staffordshire in 1906, she was also swayed by the recommendation of her father, who had spent three years building elevators at Port Arthur and Fort William in the 1880s and, furthermore, having met a young returnee who was visiting his mother, "I ... invited him to our home, so we could learn of Canada." Several of Mary Archer's friends were among those who wrote enthusiastic letters to English newspapers. Lilian Butler's parents were persuaded to emigrate from Sheffield in 1911 on the strength of "brilliantly pictured brochures" and the fact that several families in the neighbourhood, having discussed prospects in Canada, decided to cross the Atlantic together, while John Allan from London was attracted out, also in 1911, by government and steamship company literature, lantern lectures organised by Thomas Cook's travel agency, and the farming experiences of his two brothers, who had preceded him to Canada in 1907 and 1909.³⁷

A handful of individuals had emigrated in response to two specific colonisation schemes, two to the short-lived Cannington Manor settlement, and twelve to the Barr Colony. The former was the brainchild of Captain Edward Pierce, a Somerset vintner and country squire, who, after falling on hard times, went to Canada in 1882 with his wife and nine children. Having won the ear of Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald, Pierce and his three eldest sons were allowed to file homestead and pre-emption claims on land near the Moose Mountains, where Pierce intended to found a genteel English colony, which he named Cannington Manor. Prospective settlers were vetted by Pierce, who endowed an Anglican church in the settlement, acted as justice of the peace and land commissioner, co-founded a trading company, and promoted his colony in both Eastern Canada and England.³⁸ By 1888, the year of Pierce's death, Cannington Manor had attracted almost 150 settlers, including Anglican clergyman's son Henry Brockman, from Ipswich, who arrived with his brother in 1885, at the age of seventeen, their sister following suit five years later.³⁹ Homesteader Brockman's memories

were of the honesty of the settlers, annual rifle shoots at Winnipeg, Brandon, Virden and Regina, and regular games of tennis and cricket in and around Cannington. By the time Arthur Hewlett arrived in 1894, also aged seventeen, the polish, discipline and economy of the colony had begun to fade, and when in 1900 Cannington Manor was bypassed by a branch line of the CPR, its days were clearly numbered. That demise was not reflected, however, in the recollections of public schoolboy Hewlett, son of the managing director of a coal and steel business in Lancashire. The circumstances of his emigration conformed, at least in part, to the stereotype of the much-maligned remittance man casting about for a suitable career. "When it was about time for me to leave school and think of what I should do in the world," he recalled, "my father said, 'How would you like to go to Western Canada and try farming.' I said alright, so came out." After boarding out for a year as a farm pupil with one Dr. Hardy, and spending two further years working for wages, Hewlett began farming on his own account in 1897, helped by a loan from his father and, despite "hardships and setbacks," developed a successful farm on which he was subsequently able to employ "numerous young fellows from England."⁴⁰

Just as Cannington Manor was coming to the end of its twenty-year existence, the concept of an all-British Anglican settlement was forming in the mind of the Reverend I. M. Barr. Established in 1903 on the Saskatchewan-Alberta border, it was renamed Lloydminster a year later, when the controversial and naïve Barr was replaced as leader by the colony's chaplain, George Lloyd. Almost 2,000 colonists were recruited, mainly from urban England, and brought across the Atlantic in the overcrowded SS *Lake Manitoba*. Transported across Canada in immigrant trains which had "no sleeping accommodation" and "lavatory arrangements [which] were simply a disgrace to civilization," they were then cooped up in a tent town at Saskatoon before making the final 200-mile trek to Battleford. Although Barr's venture had a broader social, occupational and numerical foundation than Cannington Manor and its settlers were more willing to mix with and learn from their neighbours than their fellow-countrymen in Pierce's colony, disillusionment soon set in among some, as they faced the harsh realities of disorganisation, isolation and prairie farming.⁴¹ But the twelve Barr colonists who completed the general questionnaire about their pioneer experiences were relatively positive in their recollections. All were drawn from England: three from Yorkshire, two from London, and one from Surrey, Shropshire, Nottingham, Ipswich, Cheshire,



Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 18933.

Some immigrant were young. (Left to right) Ernest Hellawell, Norman McNaughton, and Chester McNaughton in 1911 in the Lashburn district.

Lancashire and Devon. They represented a variety of occupations, including post office worker, Thames waterman and boat builder, factory worker and farmer. Seven were male and five female, and their ages on arrival ranged from nine to forty, with an average age of twenty-two. The oldest colonist represented, cabinet maker and joiner Benjamin Saloway from Bridgnorth in Shropshire, had spent two years in Boston, Massachusetts, in the 1890s, and was subsequently employed as a farm delegate by the Canadian immigration authorities, spending the winter of 1910-11 lecturing in his home area in England.⁴² Farm steward's son Thomas Taylor, from Whitley in Yorkshire, anticipated that the new settlement would be more egalitarian than English society, for he was "tired of the prospects of a working man or slave in England and the abuse of those above you to be ever, anything more than a slave and the small wages."⁴³ Taylor, like Londoner Henry Messum, had corresponded with the colony's co-founders, the Reverends Isaac Barr and George Easton, before reaching his decision, and all the respondents (or their parents) had read the voluminous newspaper and pamphlet propaganda that accompanied the foundation of the settlement. Winifred Taylor's parents were also influenced by a cousin who had joined the colony, while the example of Windsor Witt, George Almond and

William Kenyon subsequently drew a number of relatives, friends and neighbours out to Saskatchewan.⁴⁴

George Almond and William Kenyon were stage migrants, who had spent two years in Manitoba before moving on to the Barr colony in 1905. The significance of such sojourning is reflected in numerous other entries. Some itinerant emigrants, like Kate Williams, who left her home in Liverpool in 1897 and sojourned in the United States, Toronto, Winnipeg and Australia, before finally settling at Lloydminster in 1908, were inspired by a desire to "see the world."⁴⁵ Others, like John Evans, were responding to bleak prospects at home. After leaving his home in Rhayder, Wales, in 1889, Evans had moved to Worcester, where he found employment as a head shepherd for a year before moving to Ontario. After a short stopover with his Devon-born wife's relatives in Desboro, they moved to Owen Sound, where for two years he combined a job in the ironworks with winter work in the bush, moving west to Saskatoon in 1892. Like Thomas Taylor in the Barr colony, he yearned for a more classless, as well as a more prosperous, environment. He recalled that:

The farm home in Wales was broken up when my father died. The awful depression of the 1880s decided me to move. I had

attended the Brecon and Monmouth West of England agricultural exhibition and there obtained literature by Canadian immigration officers showing maps of the Can. Pac. Ry. just completed across the prairies. 160 acres were promised of the "best land in the world." Landlordism had become tyrannic. Rent, tithe and taxes took all the farm returns. The ecclesiastical commission seized for tithe without any deviation and assumed ownership of all church endowment. The Conservative Fishing Club had control of all streams. No one could even get a licence who did not belong to their club.⁴⁶

While a few respondents had been rolling stones before they left the British Isles,⁴⁷ most stage migration occurred once they had arrived in Canada, usually involving an initial settlement in Manitoba. Others, who had originally settled in Ontario, or occasionally Quebec, moved west after participating in harvest excursions or reading prairie propaganda, while some moved eastward from British Columbia and Alberta, or westward from the distant Maritime Provinces.⁴⁸ Among the minority of respondents who had sojourned in the United States, John Pichbeck from Yorkshire spent seventeen years in New York State before he came to Manitoba as a result of meeting a harvest excursionist. He moved to Saskatchewan a year later. Londoner George McConwell spent twenty years in Kansas before a Canadian government agent persuaded him to try prairie farming, and William Hosie from Alford in Aberdeenshire accompanied two neighbours to the "rough wild country" of Wyoming in 1912, working as a herdsman until his brothers persuaded him to move north to Saskatchewan in 1914.⁴⁹

Some respondents had sojourned in more distant countries before coming to Canada, not least South Africa, where service in the Boer War provided the springboard for both initial and ongoing emigration at the turn of the century. According to baker Richard Brackenbury, who in 1903 emigrated from Leicestershire with his brother, first to Manitoba and then to Cut Knife a year later, "people in England did not know much about Canada until the end of the Boer War. Then with men coming home to England and a Canadian detachment having been in the Transvaal and Hon Clifford Sifton Minister of the Interior in the Laurier Govt we in England read a lot of Canadian literature offering 160 acres no strings attached etc."⁵⁰ Although Brackenbury had not served

in South Africa, he was led to emigrate partly by the financial slump brought about by the war, a factor also mentioned by would-be farmer George Bruce from Aberdeen, electrician William Howse from Monmouth and Lucy Smith from Huddersfield, who came to Saskatchewan as a three-year-old, along with her parents and great-uncle. Howse in particular was provoked into emigrating when, shortly after completing his apprenticeship, he was laid off at the end of the Boer War.⁵¹ Andrew Veitch, Thomas Bates, Hugh Sutherland, Robert Mills, Robert Strouts and William Pulham all spent time in South Africa before settling in Saskatchewan between 1902 and 1908: Veitch, Bates and Pulham in military service, Strouts in the army and subsequently the police force, Sutherland as a miner and Mills as a railway company employee at Bloemfontein.⁵² Norfolk-born Pulham "could not settle any more in London" after his military service, and when a cousin in Toronto sent his mother a letter advocating emigration, he was not slow to respond, crossing the Atlantic in a party of five in October 1902, at the age of thirty-two. He remained a rolling stone for a further six years, working at a variety of jobs in Toronto, around Niagara Falls and as a fruit picker and farmer in nine of the United States, finally moving to Saskatchewan in 1908 to take up a homestead near Moose Jaw. Also in 1908, Robert Strouts from County Galway joined his two brothers on their Saskatchewan homesteads. After obtaining his discharge from the South African Constabulary, he had worked for four months in a diamond mine, but high unemployment and poor prospects in South Africa lured him to western Canada, which he had learned about from government and CPR literature, as well as family and acquaintances. Inverness-born miner Hugh Sutherland's short sojourn in South Africa in 1903-4 was flanked by two spells in British Columbia, before he settled in Saskatoon in 1905. A year later Robert Mills from Dumfries claimed to have been inspired by the "homestead bug," as well as "a natural desire to see other places" when he went west. Mills had spent four years as a booking and telegraph clerk with the Caledonian Railway in Scotland, followed by a year as an express clerk with the South African railways, and emigrated with an English colleague from Bloemfontein. "It may seem strange," he recalled in 1954,

but a young fellow and I working on the Central South African Railroad at Bloemfontein did not like conditions there so we decided to try Canada. We wrote Canada House England to get pamphlets and maps sent us. As we sat in our tent at

nights we studied the maps and settled on a place where there seemed to be a few creeks one of them the Beaver. That creek runs through my yard today although by the time I homesteaded I had forgotten all about our African decision.⁵³

Alexander Maxwell from Renfrewshire was another Scottish railway company employee who settled in Saskatchewan after sojourning elsewhere overseas. In 1900 locomotive driver Maxwell was sent out to India

by the government to fill the gap created by recruitment for the Boer War, but after almost seven years, he took his wife and three children away from “that malaria climate” to Moose Jaw, where his father, two sisters and two younger brothers had already settled.⁵⁴ Some time earlier John Potts’ version of stage migration involved a temporary return to his home in Cheshire. Farmer’s son Potts was a somewhat reluctant emigrant when, at the age of twenty, he accompanied his sister and brother-in-law to Indian Head in 1894. “As the eldest of a large family I felt that I should get out to make more room and I also had a notion that I should

like to see the wide open spaces,” he recalled, while simultaneously referring to family opposition to his emigration and the receipt of offers “that would have kept me in England had they come to me before I had made my decision.” After discovering that there were no suitable homesteads left in that vicinity, Potts worked for his brother-in-law for two years before returning to Cheshire with his new wife. Since she did not initially share his new-found enthusiasm to go back to Canada, he dabbled in farming, office work and coal mining for eight years until in 1904 they

returned to Saskatchewan, accompanied by one of his brothers. Although his sister and brother-in-law had returned to England some years earlier, he found work on their former farm, and eight months later John, along with his brothers Frank, Peter and Arthur, filed for homesteads, which they subsequently proved and retained into the 1950s.⁵⁵

Respondents were quizzed about their attitudes to sojourning and settlement.⁵⁶ While most had come to the West with the intention of putting down permanent roots, approximately a third of those who answered the question had been more ambivalent, perhaps until they took up a homestead, got married or grew to like the country. Richard Barnes from Dungannon, Ireland, had come out “on speculation” in 1881, William Buchanan from County Cork had thought about moving on to Australia, and Ernest Bill from Hampshire had originally intended to work his way round the world.⁵⁷ Like John Potts, Captain George Bolingbroke from Norfolk, a clergyman’s son, returned to England six years after accompanying a family friend, an

emigrant rancher, back to Canada in 1900. Bolingbroke re-emigrated in 1907, but to Saskatoon, rather than his initial location at Frenchman Creek.⁵⁸ Shetland crofter’s son Andrew Tait, who emigrated to Manitoba in 1905 and moved west to Saskatchewan a year later, made a two-month visit home in the winter of 1912, returning to Canada with two of his sisters and three other young local men, one of whom he employed on his homestead. In 1920, however, his father’s death, his family responsibilities as the eldest of a family of nine, and his own impending marriage to a Shetland girl caused him to sell the farm and



Margaret and William Lemon, settlers from Ireland, who homesteaded near Kirkella on Section 12-12-30-W1, south of Fleming Saskatchewan.

Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 20447.

return home permanently, but not without regrets, for "I liked Saskatchewan and would have continued to live there."⁵⁹ Others would have liked to return home, at least initially, but were deterred by poverty or pride. When Fred Baines' parents from Manchester arrived in Crescent City in 1883 they were penniless, "and by the time we could buy a ticket we had got used to it, and did not wish to leave our log shacks, and sod buildings." Thomas Bray's parents were in a similar position in the 1890s, remaining in Saskatchewan because they "didn't have anything to go away with," while Herbert Pearson from Dewsbury and George Hillier from Bristol, who both arrived in 1904, also had "no other option" but to "hang on" until their financial circumstances had improved. And Mary Archer and Martha Wellock both spoke of the shame they would have felt if they had returned home with their tails between their legs.⁶⁰ Others, including the Laidlaw family from Ross-shire, Barr colonist Henry Messum and Ellen Hudson from London, had been disappointed in their hopes of retiring to Britain or elsewhere after making a Canadian fortune.⁶¹ Edith Stilborne recalled a similar ambition:

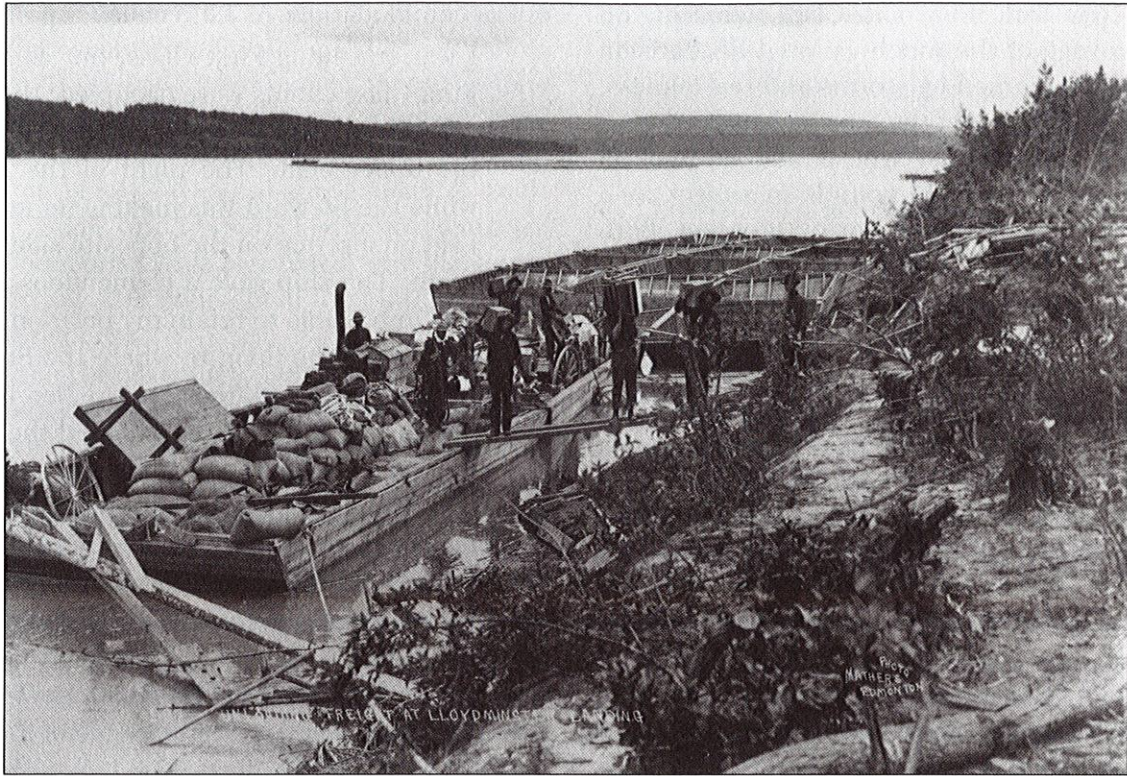
When my parents left England in 1883 they had no thought of staying permanently. Dad promised my mother's father that he would take her back in five years. The glowing accounts of the prospects of becoming wealthy in a few years were exhilarating. Dad told us afterwards that he expected to make a fortune in five years and go back home. But it did not turn out that way, and by the time he got on his feet and made money, Canada was home and no one wanted to go back except for a visit.⁶²

Edith Stilborne's father had promised to return to England in order to appease his parents-in-law, who thought the decision to emigrate was "absolutely crazy."⁶³ The questionnaires show there was no consensus among relatives and friends as to the wisdom of the decision to emigrate, although there was more opposition than approbation. About twenty-five emigrants, including Dolly Gush from Weymouth, had received mixed messages from friends and family: "Some thought we were coming to a country of wild Indians and frozen wastes! Others wished they were coming too," she recalled.⁶⁴ In other cases, reactions ranged from the unequivocal hostility of Edith Stilborne's grandfather and the reaction of Wilfred Cobb's father, who "said he would sooner see me in the cemetery than for me to go to Canada" to the

complete approbation of William Cummings' family, who "all thought it was an excellent idea."⁶⁵ Archibald Docherty remembered that when he and many other islanders left North Uist for the Saltcoats colony in 1889, "people came from all over the island, and with tears in their eyes tried to dissuade us," while Frederick Humphrey's friends were "horrified" when he left St. Albans in 1906.⁶⁶ Late Victorian stereotypes of frozen wastes, pugnacious Indians and wild animals convinced many parents and friends that the emigrant's life in Canada was likely to be nasty, brutish and short. When Robert Rutherford and his parents left Fort George in 1882, acquaintances predicted that "we'd be killed by Indians or bears — freeze or starve to death," and Annetta Folley's family circle in Cornwall "thought we were insane and daily expected to hear of our massacre." In 1901 Suffolk farmer George Manning's friends thought "few people had all their fingers, toes, ears or their nose ... [and] everyone had to carry a gun due to the Indians," while two years later Manchester butcher Herbert Harrison's friends were particularly concerned about the climate:

My wife and I left Old England in 1903 to come to Canada, our friends said we were crazy to leave a good home and well established business to go to the north pole a land that was nothing but ice and snow where babies cheeks froze to the pillows, and where wild animals abounded.⁶⁷

Disquiet was less likely to be expressed by those who expected to follow in the pioneers' footsteps. When George Bruce emigrated from Aberdeen in 1904, his parents raised "no objections," but followed suit a year later, along with his sisters, while the reaction of Lancastrian John Cowell's relatives in 1906 was "Go, and soon we will come."⁶⁸ The significance of chain migration is frequently reflected both in the respondents' own decision-making and in references to individuals and groups who subsequently settled in Saskatchewan on their recommendation.⁶⁹ Many of the "pioneers" were actually secondary emigrants who had been preceded to Saskatchewan by brothers, cousins, neighbours, friends and workmates. Examples include Ellen Evans and her sister, who emigrated from Lancashire to join their brothers in 1884, six-year-old Agnes Blackley from Kilmarnock, who arrived with her parents in 1887 to join her paternal grandfather and two uncles; and Frederick Bigg from Berkshire, who in 1893, "in preference to being a bank clerk," followed the transatlantic track taken by his brother eight years earlier.⁷⁰ Naval surgeon's daughter Charlotte Adam arrived with her par-



Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B 3850.

Barr Colonists unloading freight from barges at Lloydminster Landing on the North Saskatchewan River.

ents and youngest brother in 1894, initially to visit two older brothers who had been ranching in the Touchwood Hills for five years, but “as we all liked the West my father bought a home there;” Ethel Law from Essex emigrated in 1906 to keep house for her brother, who had arrived two years earlier; and Hilda Wood from Bedfordshire came in 1910 after her husband’s cousin had supplied practical assistance as well as verbal encouragement, obtaining land for him in the Highclere district.⁷¹

Chain migration initiated by the respondents could come about in other ways than through obvious family links. Frederick Wood’s cousin, Alfred Burrows, was responsible not only for family emigration but also for the settlement of “many people” from Newbury, Berkshire, in and around Highclere. William Gange, Arthur Hewlett and James Tulloch all employed several young settlers on their farms at Red Deer Hill, Cannington Manor and Arborfield respectively. Gange’s father was a Baptist minister in Bristol, and he was asked by a number of parents to write letters of introduction which their emigrant sons could present to William, in the hope of securing lodging, employment or at least assistance in finding work, while Shetlander Tulloch advanced fares or sent tickets to facilitate the emigration of several other young men from his home islands.⁷² John Ewan from Fife not only brought his immediate family to Saskatchewan six years after his own emigration in

1894, but also sent a letter to the widely read *People’s Journal* in Dundee, giving a public commendation of the prairies which generated “a lot of correspondence” in return.⁷³ Family chains could be extensive and multi-generational, a phenomenon reflected in the case of William Brokenshire from Cornwall, who, having arrived in Saskatchewan in 1902 with a family from his home village, was subsequently joined by his parents, two brothers and six sisters, while Helen Veitch’s grandparents were both seventy-two when they crossed the Atlantic to join their son and his family in 1907. Such chains could also be persistent, for Mark Smith from Wiltshire was followed to Canada first by his two nephews in 1907, by his second wife’s parents and their seven children in 1919, by his brother-in-law, wife and two children in 1921, and finally by a nephew in 1916.⁷⁴

FIRST IMPRESSIONS

Exploration of the decision-making process was followed by questions about the journey, arrival and initial settlement. The predominant memories were of seasickness and (at least for steerage passengers) overcrowding on the ocean passage, tedium and discomfort on the westward-bound trains, and the immense distances travelled. Liverpool was the leading port of embarkation, followed by Glasgow, and disembarkation generally took place at Halifax, Saint John, Quebec or Montreal, although a few immigrants

travelled via New York. Elizabeth Clark's crossing on the maiden voyage of the much-vaunted SS *Parisian* in April 1883 was marked by storms and seasickness, and the "extreme misery of the crowded steerage passengers," while John Potts, who sailed on the SS *Sarnia* in 1894, lost several pounds in weight as a result of seasickness during a stormy crossing. Both Potts and Martha Wellock, who crossed the Atlantic in 1907 on the SS *Manitoba*, recalled a man having been washed overboard, with Wellock's fifteen-day passage also including a suicide, the death of a young mother, and a collision with an iceberg.⁷⁵ Food shortages led Robert Duguid and some fellow passengers to start a "little riot" on their Allan Line steamer from Glasgow to Quebec in 1902, while Aberdonian George Bruce and Orcadian John Allan described the passengers on their respective ships in 1904 and 1906 being packed like "sardines" and "herrings in a barrel." George Bruce was also one of the few respondents who mentioned the cost of the journey — in his case, ten pounds from Glasgow to New York and on by rail to Montreal, Winnipeg and Elgin, Manitoba.⁷⁶ The steerage passengers whom first-class ticket-holder Kenneth Luttmann-Johnson encountered on the SS *Lake Erie* in 1905 had paid nine pounds for a crossing in a shallow-bottomed boat which Luttmann-Johnson alleged was "never intended to face heavy weather in the Atlantic." A mid-Atlantic storm made the trip extremely unpleasant even for those in more salubri-

ous accommodation. As he recalled:

I was travelling First Class, but as all the First Class cabins were occupied, I slept in a made up bed in the smoking room, on the upper deck. The night of the storm, while the Steward was making up my bed, I sat on a settee on the opposite side of the room. The ship gave a tremendous roll, it was impossible to retain my position, and I slid across the floor, to where the Steward had pitched head first into the bed he was making up. Then the ship rolled the other way, and I went sliding back, but managed to grab hold of the leg of a fixed smoker's table and get up. A fellow passenger came up and decided to lie down on the settee where I was ensconced. In the middle of the night he was flung off the settee like a sack of coal on to the floor. He left the smoking room soon after. Some of the First Class passengers in deck cabins had a bad time as the seas penetrated.⁷⁷

Not all shipboard memories were negative, however. Shetlander Andrew Tait and Albert Elderton from Hampshire both recounted conversations with Scotsmen who were returning to Canada after a visit to the Old Country. Tait's encounter in 1906, aboard the SS *Pretorian* from Glasgow, was with an elderly



Tents of the Barr Colonists when they stopped in Saskatoon in 1903.

Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B 9403.

Scot who "limped badly" as a legacy of frostbitten toes, while the several Scots among Elderton's fellow passengers in 1909 were returning to their "various jobs" in Canada after winter holidays at home. They were, he recalled, very friendly, and "gave us young men a lot of good advice about Canada." Both Elderton and Hilda Wood (1910) had fond memories of shipboard concerts, while Mrs Wood, who had come out to be married, also highlighted the Sunday morning church service.⁷⁸

Recollections of the train journey to the West were more emphatically negative, the major complaints being about the hard-slatted seats in the colonist carriages, as well as the inadequacy of the cooking and sleeping facilities, lost or mistreated luggage.⁷⁹ As well as suffering a diet of bread and cheese brought from Halifax all the way to Winnipeg, Peter Fraser from Kilsyth (1891) had to sleep sitting up, since "all the let down bunks were taken by older and more aggressive men;" J. G. Wren from London (1907) spent a considerable part of the lengthy trip west in sidings, since the train, which had no beds or stoves, was "shunted aside to let everything else pass us;" and George Shepherd from Canterbury (1908) recalled that, as he approached Winnipeg, the heating was turned up in an effort to expedite the transfer of reluctant passengers from the train to the immigration depot.⁸⁰ Some travellers even had frightening experiences, notably bride-to-be Madeleine Boden from Devon and harvest excursionist William Bailey from Durham, who had spent a year in the Maritimes before moving west. Bailey's introduction to the West in 1908 was marred by a party of around twenty drunken Maritime lumbermen who had vandalised the train, threatened the railway officials, "fired a pistol, criminally assaulted a woman passenger" and looted a store at a railway halt before being arrested at Fort William.⁸¹ Madeleine Boden's experience a year earlier was even more traumatic, as she was involved in a railway accident on her way west, a week before her wedding in March 1907.

The winter of 1906-7 was said to be the worst on record in the Canadian West for 50 years. The train on which I travelled from Montreal was derailed at or near Chappleau, Ont. Five coaches rolled down a steep embankment. I was in one of these coaches but was unhurt. The caboose which also went over the embankment was on fire. We waited 7 hours for a relief train & during that time were without heat or food. There was a high wind and a fine

blizzard-like snowfall. It was very cold. I was wearing leather boots without rubbers or overshoes. My feet were nearly frozen. A man kindly removed my shoes & rubbed my feet to restore circulation. I believe there was a great number of casualties but we were not allowed to know. I only know one man had both feet amputated. The snow was very deep. I was without a coat or hat. Later I saw a woman wearing my coat (a light gray), the front was blood-stained. My hat turned up at the Y.W.C.A. in Winnipeg where some of us were conducted the next day by the Travellers' Aid Society.⁸²

While two respondents had memories of Winnipeg's streets as a "sea of mud that had no bottom,"⁸³ others recalled the onward journey by train or wagon to their final destination. Early pioneers, such as John Laidlaw (1882) and Edith Stilborne (1883) made their initial settlement under canvas, after completing their journeys by ox team and prairie schooner, while William Harkness walked approximately forty miles from Whitewood to Fletewoode at the end of his journey from Dumfriesshire in 1892. Robert Wood, who also arrived in 1892, along with his brother, was rapidly disillusioned by the bleakness of the Moose Jaw area which had been recommended by an acquaintance and fellow passenger on the transatlantic crossing, Moose Jaw's Methodist minister. They stayed only one night there before returning to Regina and heading for their original destination of Prince Albert. "One look by us at the country was enough. Not a tree, nor even a shrub to be seen anywhere. Nothing but prairie and not even nothing," he recalled sixty-two years later. Barr colonist Winifred Taylor remembered hundreds of wagons being stuck in flooded sloughs between Saskatoon and Lloydminster, as well as the tent city at Saskatoon, where Yorkshireman Albert White, employed by the government agent to erect tents and marquees for the new arrivals, recalled how Isaac Barr had to be put under police protection after an uprising by disgruntled colonists.⁸⁴ Stereotypes of the West derived from guidebooks, juvenile fiction and penny dreadfuls had to be set aside as settlers discovered both that golden wheatfields did not materialise without effort and that the prairies were not peopled by befeathered warlike savages and heroic cowboys. Only individuals like John McCloy and Sydney Chipperfield, whose memories reached back to the 1880s, had experienced conflict in the form of the Riel Rebellion in 1885, McCloy

in particular recalling that on the night the rebels were expected to attack Prince Albert, he had been inside the Fort loading shells, along with another boy and a clergyman. John Howard too remembered that, in the spring of 1885, while his father was away from home, his mother had been visited by an Indian, "dressed in buckskin and ... armed with a rifle," but had defused a potentially dangerous confrontation by giving him a hearty meal.⁸⁵ Six years later, however, in the Saltcoats area, Peter Fraser from Kilsyth was disappointed when the first Indian to whom he was introduced asked him, in the Highland Scottish accent that all the local Indians had picked up from the area's Hebridean settlers, whether he came from Glasgow, "which remark sort of spoiled my idea of a real Indian."⁸⁶

NOTABLE EXPERIENCES

The rest of the questionnaire dealt with aspects of family life, employment and community development, such as details of marriages, changes of residence, communication with the Old Country, the location of trading centres, methods of transportation, shopping technique, including the advent of mail order catalogues and the frequency of visits to town, the appearance of the first cars, telephones and combine harvesters in prairie communities, and demographic shifts, particularly out-migration during the 1930s. Respondents were also asked to describe particularly memorable experiences of pioneer days, a question which sometimes overlapped with first impressions, and elicited a variety of fascinating insights into encounters with unfamiliar people, animals and insects, as well as epic struggles with the elements. Annetta Folley from Cornwall and her sister were "stolen by Indians and rescued by the neighbours" shortly after arriving with their parents in the Broadview area in 1886, a year of continuing tension in the aftermath of the Riel Rebellion. When fellow Cornish emigrant William Marks' first crop failed in 1892, near Wapella, he recalled "hailstones so big that they killed the chickens of about three months old," and in 1894 newly-arrived William Gange from Bristol learned the hard way that it was not a good idea to grab a skunk by the tail, remembering that "I buried all my clothes and wished I could bury myself."⁸⁷ More than a decade later, Devonshire emigrant Madeleine Boden aptly summed up the incidents "common to prairie pioneers" that were elaborated in specific detail by several other respondents: "sod roofs that would not stand up to heavy June rains, hailstones as big as hens eggs, cyclones in summer & blizzards in winter, prairie fires with disastrous results, runaway horses; feeding a gang of threshers in

a tiny log shack; the excitement of exhibiting at the Fall fair etc."⁸⁸

Many had particularly vivid, and sometimes equivocal, memories of prairie fires. Although on one occasion Aberdonian Andrew Veitch's family had lost their barn, granary, hay and an entire season's crop after threshing, he remembered not only the fear of being burned in his bed, but also "the beauty of watching fields of jumping flame in the various formations on hill tops, valleys and bluffs against a pitch black night." For Charlotte Darwent from Staffordshire, however, the memory was more traumatic, for she was alone with her two young sons, the nearest neighbour two miles away, when fire "like the waves of the sea" threatened the family's shack in 1907.⁸⁹ And other settlers, such as Norman Macdonald from Benbecula and Thomas Perry from Leeds, lost their homes and possessions when their sod houses were burnt to the ground in 1883 and 1905 respectively.⁹⁰ Of course intense cold could be as dangerous as intense heat. John Howard's father was fortunate to survive a fall through the ice into a river near Whitewood in November 1883, he and his three companions being saved only by their oxen pulling them on to dry land. While Robert Wood and his brother had been given up for dead when, searching for missing cattle in winter 1899, Jim Wood became lost 45 miles from home in a blizzard and temperatures that plunged to 64 degrees below zero.⁹¹

Happy memories revolved around the eagerly-anticipated arrival of mail, the hospitality associated with threshing and other communal farming activities, and the widespread neighbourliness and honesty of the settlers, which meant that fully laden wagons could safely be left unattended at the roadside for days on end until they could be hauled collaboratively.⁹² Several respondents had fond recollections of regular visits from North West Mounted Police on patrol,⁹³ and very few accounts made any mention of crime or disorderly conduct. One striking exception, however, was recalled by David Maginnes from Portsmouth:

In Township 32.22.W3 there were quite a number of Batchelor (sic) homesteaders and they used to visit round with each other. There was one man Sam Rider an old Canal boatman and a pretty good fellow at that. He had about the warmest sod shack I was ever in. It was small. He had a bed behind the door, and the door opened right back to it. At the foot of the passage from the door was his stove and at the foot of the bed his table. He cut his firewood up



Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A 5580.

A group of Barr Colonists northeast of Marshall in the North-West Territories in 1905. Mr. and Mrs. Burke are on the right, but the others are unidentified.

into lengths of about 4 inches. He said it lasted longer that way. Some of the shacks were very badly built. Sods were not good in that country. One man down there we think must have been badly frozen and went crazy. One day this man called on Sam Rider and he arrived there just as Sam was on his knees making up the fire to cook his dinner. This man had a piece of iron about 2 inches wide and 18 inches long and he attacked Sam with this iron and smashed Sam over the eye and broke the bone right in and destroyed the eye. We all think that Sam would have been killed if some of the other batchelors hadn't arrived in time and tackled this man and finally tied him up. He was very violent and it took four men to master him. They finally mastered him and got him tied down on the bed. Then they did all they could for Sam. It took two men to look after the crazy man at a time. So they had to take turns night and day on guard.

Then they had to get some one to go to Battleford over 90 miles away to report to the Police. So about Feb 1st the Police came out to take charge of things. Sam was taken to Battleford and put in the Hospital. The attacker in the meantime had refused to eat and was very violent, he finally died, and was buried there. One of the other men who was helping look after the crazy man got the whole thing on his nerves and after sticking it out for quite some time, he went home to his shack one morning after being relieved and shot himself.⁹⁴

CONCLUSION

At the end of the nineteenth century, Canadian politicians were preoccupied with peopling the prairie West, in order to promote national prosperity through wheat production, railway development and industrial enterprise. The pioneer questionnaires provide an insight into the practical results of their policies, offering a rich and varied diet of information to students of migration and settlement, genealogists, folklorists, community historians and sociologists. Precursors of

the oral history projects that have proliferated since the invention of the portable tape recorder, they clearly merit more systematic study and wider use.

This paper has concentrated on the initial stages of the pioneering experience, particularly the decision-making process, the transition to western Canada and memorable incidents recalled by the pioneers in old age. Although questions are sometimes left unanswered and responses are occasionally formulaic, the large volume of returns allows clear patterns as well as individual snapshots to emerge. Indeed, the very repetitiveness of some of the statements reflects the pioneers' preoccupation with opportunities on the land, the discomforts of both the ocean crossing and more especially the transcontinental train journey, and the climatic hazards of prairie farming. The enduring significance of chain migration is clearly demonstrated, along with the huge influence of government and railroad propaganda and agents' fieldwork, and new light is shed on settlements like Cannington Manor, the Barr Colony, Saltcoats and Wapella, whose histories have already been explored from other perspectives. The questionnaires are characterised more by uniformity than diversity of experience, with no detectable disparities between respondents from different parts of the British Isles, in terms of either recruitment, expectations or settlement. Not surprisingly, given their willingness to record their experiences for posterity, most respondents had emigrated with optimistic expectations, and, despite hardships, had not been disappointed by more than half a century of life in Saskatchewan. Their experiences, many of which are recorded in great detail in lengthy anecdotes, can be studied in conjunction with pioneers' diaries and correspondence to clarify and extend our understanding of many aspects of migration, settlement and daily life at a significant juncture in the history of the prairies.

NOTES:

1. Research for this paper was made possible by the generous grant of a Faculty Research Award from the Canadian High Commission, which allowed me to spend a week at the Saskatchewan Archives Board in Saskatoon in April 1999.
2. I am grateful to Brook Silversides, formerly Collections Archivist, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon, for information about the way in which the questionnaires were disseminated. The Saskatchewan Farm Forums were discussion groups associated with the Department of Extension at the University of Saskatchewan.
3. A number of articles, based on the pioneer questionnaires, were written by Saskatchewan Archives staff and others, and published in *Saskatchewan History*. They are as follows: Edith Rowles, "Bannock, Beans and Bacon: An Investigation of Pioneer Diet," *Saskatchewan History*, 5(1) (Winter 1952): 1-15 [no. 1, Diet]; Evelyn Eager, "Our Pioneers Say," *Saskatchewan History*, 6(1) (Winter 1953): 1-12 [no. 2, General Experiences]; Dorothy Kamen-Kaye, "The Composite Pioneer," *Saskatchewan History*, 8(1) (Winter 1955): 6-10 [no. 7, Folklore]; Allan R. Turner, "Pioneer Farming Experiences," *Saskatchewan History*, 8(2) (Spring 1955): 41-55 [no. 6, Farming Experiences]; Kathleen M. Taggart, "The First Shelter of Early

Pioneers," *Saskatchewan History*, 9(3) (Autumn 1958): 81-93 [no. 9, Housing]; Catherine Tulloch, "Pioneer Reading," *Saskatchewan History*, 12(3) (Autumn 1959): 97-99 [no. 5, Recreation and Social Life]; Christine Macdonald, "Pioneer Church Life in Saskatchewan," *Saskatchewan History*, 13(1) (Winter 1960): 1-18 [no. 4, Churches]; E. C. Morgan, "Pioneer Recreation and Social Life," *Saskatchewan History*, 18(2) (Spring 1965): 41-54 [no. 5, Recreation and Social Life]. I am grateful to D'Arcy Hande, Director of the Saskatoon Office, Saskatchewan Archives Board, for assistance in identifying these articles.

4. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies — A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 248-50; Gordon Skilling, *Canadian Representation Abroad: From Agency to Embassy* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1945), 16.
5. The questionnaires are catalogued primarily by location. Individuals' names appear under the location(s) referred to in their responses, with reference numbers and dates appended to the names. The same individual can, therefore, appear under a number of place headings, dates and references, the latter indicating which of the ten questionnaires were completed and returned. A sample of 208 index cards revealed that the vast majority of respondents answered the second questionnaire (326 who returned this questionnaire as against 166 who did not).
6. Question 36 stated: "If you or some member of your family have held public office, or have been active in any organizations, mention it here, giving dates wherever possible." Question 37 stated: "If you or any of your family or friends were 'first' to have or do something in the district, mention it here, giving dates wherever possible. (Such as owning the first automobile, combine, organizing the first lodge etc.)."
7. The full breakdown of birthplaces in the United States was: Minnesota (30), Wisconsin (13), North Dakota (12), Iowa (12), Illinois (12), Ohio (5), Kansas (4), Nebraska (3), South Dakota (3), Dakota (unspecified) (2), Texas (2) and California, Massachusetts, New York, Washington DC, Washington State, Missouri, Arkansas and Indiana (one each).
8. 35 respondents had been born in the North-West Territories (Saskatchewan and Alberta from 1905 onward), 23 in Manitoba, 25 in Quebec and 21 in the Maritime Provinces.
9. The European respondents were broken down as follows: Norway (15), Russia (13), France (5), Germany (5), Sweden (4), Hungary (4), Switzerland (3), Austria (3), Ukraine (3), Holland (3), Belgium (3), Rumania (2), Iceland (2), Denmark (2), and Luxembourg, Galicia, Yugoslavia, Saxony and Lithuania (one each).
10. The Doukhobors, 7,400 in all, eventually established three colonies in what became Saskatchewan, and although in the early 1900s almost two thirds of the settlers broke away and moved to British Columbia in an attempt to preserve their communal way of life unhindered, the remaining prairie Doukhobors still formed a distinct and recognisable community in the inter-war years. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 269-70.
11. Cambridge, Rutland, Hereford and Westmorland were not represented among the English counties, Sutherland, Argyll, Perthshire, Peebles and Selkirk among the Scottish counties. The full breakdown of English places of origin was: Lancashire (30), London (27), Yorkshire (21) Kent and Staffordshire (9 each), Essex, Warwickshire (including Birmingham), Suffolk and Cornwall (6 each), Northumberland, Surrey and Hampshire (5 each), England (unspecified locations), Gloucestershire (including Bristol), Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Devon (4 each), Durham, Dorset, Somerset, Norfolk, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Middlesex and Shropshire (3 each), Cumberland, Wiltshire, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Sussex, Berkshire, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Wight (2 each) and Cheshire, Worcestershire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdon and Oxford (1 each). The full breakdown of Scottish places of origin was: Edinburgh (8), Aberdeenshire, including Aberdeen city (6), Ayrshire (5), Glasgow and Dundee (4 each), Orkney and Shetland (3), the Western Isles (3), Scotland, unspecified locations (3), Fife, West Lothian, Dumfriesshire, Roxburgh, Angus, Stirling and Dunbartonshire (2 each), and the counties of Banff, Kincardine, Moray, Nairn, Inverness, Ross, Caithness, Renfrew, Clackmannan, East Lothian, Midlothian and Lanark (1 each).
12. The historic province of Ulster incorporates nine counties, not the six

- which at partition in 1920 came to constitute the province of Northern Ireland. The full breakdown of Irish places of origin was: Northern Ireland, unspecified or unidentified locations (2), County Tyrone (2), Belfast, County Down (2), County Derry (1), County Antrim (1), County Donegal (1), County Cork (3), County Galway (1), County Sligo (1), County Carlow (1), King's County (1), unidentified (1). The Welsh respondents came from Haverfordwest, Port Talbot and Monmouth in the south, Rhayader in mid-Wales, and Denbigh in the north.
13. Saskatchewan Archives Questionnaires, No. 2, Pioneer Experiences: A General Questionnaire (hereafter SAQ), x2/2 1886, Mrs Richard (Lilian) Miles.
 14. SAQ x2/2 1889, Mike William Bloodoff; x2/2 1899, Koozma Tarasoff; x2/2 1906, Sam Vickar.
 15. SAQ x2/2 1908, Joseph G. Mohl.
 16. SAQ x2/2 1887, Wellwood Scott Rattray; x2/2 1904, George Bairnson; x2/2 1908, Arthur George Carter. Rattray gave his place of birth as Illinois, perhaps suggesting that his parents had emigrated on a previous occasion but had returned to Scotland.
 17. SAQ x2/2 1883, Mrs James (Edith) Stilborne, Pheasant Forks. 1
 18. SAQ x2/2 1894, H. J. Perrin; x2/2 1898, Harold Saunders Jones.
 19. SAQ x2/2 1903, Charles Mycroft; x2/2 1903 Albert White; x2/2 1905 George Almond; x2/2 1905 John Patrick Gordon; x2/2 1905 Wilfred Cobb; x2/2 1907 Arthur John Watley; x2/2 1911 Howard Claude Parkhouse.
 20. SAQ x2/2 1904, Harry Williams; x2/2 1883, Alfred Morris Hayward; x2/2 1889, Mrs Kate Stewart; x2/2 1885, Mrs Elizabeth Shaw; x2/2 1904, William Walker; x2/2 1903, Henry Clifford Messum; x2/2 1903, Benjamin Saloway; x2/2 1904, James Ireland Jamieson; x2/2 1904, Mrs Richard (Elizabeth) Stephenson; x2/2 1905, Mrs Dolly Gush; x2/2 1906, Stanley Clapson; x2/2 1908, Margaret Sutherland Brewster; x2/2 1910, Dorothy A. Hall.
 21. SAQ x2/2 1896, Mrs Elizabeth Homersham; x2/2 1910, Nellie Buckingham; x2/2 1906, Mrs Elizabeth Bews.
 22. SAQ x2/2 1892, Mrs Robert Edward Wilson; x2/2 1911, Charles Evans Sargent.
 23. SAQ x2/2 1883, Sydney Chipperfield.
 24. SAQ x2/2 1892, Robert Golder Wood.
 25. *Ibid.*, question 9.
 26. SAQ x2/2 1903, James Cooper; x2/2 1904, George Bruce. Cooper was 19 and Bruce 17 when they first went to Canada.
 27. SAQ x2/2 1904 William Howse; x2/2 1905, Mrs Lucy Smith.
 28. SAQ x2/2 1904, William Samuel Pinchin; x2/2 1910, Alan Charles Reidpath; x2/2 1906, Alfred Sanders; x2/2 1914, Mrs Annie Abbot.
 29. See Public Record Office, T47, vols 9-12, Register of Emigrants, and Bernard Bailyn with Barbara DeWolfe, *Voyagers to the West. Emigration from Britain to America on the Eve of the Revolution* (London: Tauris, 1986). Respondents who claimed to have emigrated in search of fortune included Henrietta Bellward from Norfolk and William Fyson from Suffolk (both 1903), James Traquair from Dumbarton (1904), Ellen Hudson from Norfolk (1905) and John Allan from Dover (1911).
 30. SAQ x2/2, 1882, Alfred Noah Mann; x2/2 1882, John Laidlaw.
 31. SAQ x2/2, 1889, Cosmas Fehrenbach; x2/2 1903, M. S. Dickson.
 32. SAQ x2/2, 1906, George Prescott; x2/2 1907, Thomas Kenny; x2/2 1910, Frank Gurney; x2/2 1906, John Macdonald Allan; x2/2 1906, J. G. Wren. Wren's father was the Manager of the Telegraph Cable Offices in China, where Wren had been born, before being schooled in England.
 33. SAQ x2/2 1894, John Bethune Ewan; x2/2 1903, William James Buchanan; x2/2 1904, John Patrick Gordon.
 34. SAQ x2/2 1906, Arthur James Wheeler; x2/2 1906, Margaret Thomson McManus; x2/2 1907, Mary Archer; x2/2/1907, Martha Wellock; x2/2 1908, Ernest P. Line; x2/2/ 1909, Albert Edward Elderton; x2/2 1910, Henry Frederick Copeland. The two publications cited by Wheeler were *Canada in the Twentieth Century* (issued under the direction of the Hon. Sydney Fisher, Minister of Agriculture, Ottawa) and *Atlas of Western Canada* (issued from the Office of the Commissioner of Emigration for Canada, W. T. R. Preston, Charing Cross, London).
 35. SAQ x2/2 1892, Robert Golder Wood. See also above.
 36. SAQ x2/2 1892, William Thomas Marks; x2/2 1894, John Potts; x2/2 1903, Harry Ford; x2/2 1903, Richard W. Lister (from Norton, Yorkshire); x2/2 1905, Dolly Gush (from Weymouth, Dorset).
 37. SAQ x2/2 1906, Charlotte M. Darwent; x2/2 1907, Mary Archer; x2/2 1911, Lillian Butler; x2/2 1911, John Charles Allan.
 38. For a description of Cannington Manor, see Patrick A. Dunae, *Gentlemen Emigrants: From the British Public Schools to the Canadian Frontier* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981), pp. 151-62.
 39. SAQ x2/2 1885, Henry Boucher Brockman; x2/2 1894.
 40. SAQ x2/2 1894, Arthur Hewlett. Hewlett's choice of Cannington Manor may have been dictated partly by the fact that a female cousin had recently married a Cannington settler. The farm pupilage system, much favoured by Edward Pierce as a money-making recruitment device, came in for considerable criticism in contemporary British periodicals. It was claimed that gullible parents were charged exorbitant fees for a spurious apprenticeship, since pupils were either regarded virtually as slave labour and assigned the most menial chores while being debarred from the real work of the farm, or were treated as paying guests and given no meaningful training at all.
 41. Dunae, *Gentlemen Emigrants*, 151-62. Robert C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976), pp. 58-60.
 42. SAQ x2/2 1903, Benjamin Saloway. See also Saskatchewan Archives Board, A21, Saloway Papers, and above, p. 0. The other Barr colonists were Henry Messum from Surrey, Thomas Parr from Shropshire, but at the time of his emigration living in London, Winifred Taylor and Mrs Harry Nelson, who emigrated from Nottingham and Cheshire respectively with their parents, Charles Hunt from Ipswich, Thomas Taylor, William Kenyon and Catherine Jones from Yorkshire, George Almond from Lancashire, Irish-born Edith Beaton, who emigrated from London, and Madeleine Boden from Devon.
 43. SAQ x2/2 1904, Thomas Taylor, He was 27 when he emigrated.
 44. SAQ x2/2 1903, Winifred Taylor; x2/2 1903, Windsor Charles Witt; x2/2 1905, George Almond; x2/2 1905, William Kenyon. Witt was followed to Saskatchewan by three cousins and a schoolmate, Almond by seven family members, and Kenyon by a brother and several acquaintances from his home church in Sheffield.
 45. SAQ x2/2 1908, Mrs. Kate Wilkins.
 46. SAQ x2/2 1892, John Evans.
 47. For instance, John Allan from Orkney had also lived in Shetland, Edinburgh and Newcastle before emigrating in 1906; David Maginnes from Portsmouth, who likewise emigrated in 1906, had lived in Wolverhampton, Brighton, Chichester, Reading, Southampton and London; and Charles Sargent from Oxford had lived in the Channel Islands, London and Stratford on Avon before arriving in Saskatchewan in 1911 following a five-year sojourn in Ontario.
 48. See, for instance, SAQ x2/2 1907, James Grant; x2/2 1908, William Ernest Bailey. Grant, from Morayshire, spent four years in New Brunswick, Ontario and Manitoba before coming to Saskatchewan, while Bailey, from County Durham, spent a year in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.
 49. SAQ x2/2 1906, John Pichbeck; x2/2 1910, George McConwell; x2/2 1914, William Alexander Hosie.
 50. SAQ x2/2 1904, Richard Brackenbury.
 51. SAQ x2/2 1904, George Bruce; x2/2 1904, William Howse; x2/2 1905, Lucy Smith. According to Howse, 50,000 people lost their jobs in a single week in Woolwich, the London borough where he worked.
 52. SAQ x2/2 1903, Andrew M. Veitch, junior (his father, also Andrew Veitch, was the Boer War veteran, who came to Saskatchewan to farm when Andrew junior was two years old); x2/2 1904, Thomas Bates; x2/2 1905, Hugh Sutherland; x2/2 1906, Robert Mills; x2/2 1908, Robert Frank Strouts; x2/2 1908, William James Pulham.
 53. When he completed the questionnaire, Mills was still living at Struan, where he had initially taken up a homestead in 1906. His brother had also taken up a homestead in the same vicinity in April 1906.

54. SAQ x2/2 1907, Alexander McTaggart Maxwell.
55. SAQ x2/2 1894, John Potts.
56. Question 33: When you came to Saskatchewan for the first time was it with the idea of staying permanently? Or did you make up your mind after trying it out? When did you make this decision?
57. SAQ x2/2 1881, Richard Thompson Barnes; x2/2 1903, William James Buchanan; x2/2 1908, Ernest James Bill.
58. SAQ x2/2 1900, Captain George F. Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke's brother James followed him to Canada in 1903, and two acquaintances, brothers from Norwich, came out to Indian Head to farm on George's recommendation.
59. SAQ x2/2 1906, Andrew Tait.
60. SAQ x2/2 1883, Fred S. Baines; x2/2 1889, Thomas Harold Bray; x2/2 1904, Herbert Pearson; x2/2 1904, George Walter Hillier.
61. SAQ x2/2 1882, John Laidlaw; x2/2 1093, Henry Clifford Messum; x2/2 1905, Ellen Louisa Hudson.
62. SAQ x2/2 1883, Mrs James (Edith) Stilborne.
63. Ibid. This was despite the fact that the family had already spent time in Calcutta.
64. SAQ x2/2 1905, Mrs Dolly Gush (nee Burrows).
65. SAQ x2/2 1905, Wilfred Cobb (from Wareham, Dorset); x2/2 1908, William Cummings (from Belfast).
66. SAQ x2/2 1889, Archibald Angus Docherty; x2/2 1906, Frederick William Humphrey.
67. SAQ x2/2 1882 Robert James Rutherford; x2/2 1886, Mrs J (Annetta) Folley (née Bawden); x2/2 1901, George Henry Manning; x2/2 1903, Herbert Marsden Harrison. See also x2/2 1908, Arthur George Kelly ("They thought Canada to be a land of snow, ice and Indians and that I was making a mistake"); x2/2 1884, John Howard ("they expected there was nothing here but Indians and bison"); x2/2 1885, Mrs E. Howard Omstead ("overrun with Indians"); x2/2 1892, Edgar Alfred Bowering ("they thought I'd freeze to death"); x2/2 1906, Alice Lilian Taylor ("we received many warnings about Indians, cold winters"); x2/2 1910, Lawrence V. Kelly ("I well remember one dear old lady friend of my mothers who told us to be sure to lock our doors every night as the indians would be sure to get us if we weren't careful"); x2/2 1910, Nellie Buckingham ("They were not too very pleased, as they thought I would be eaten up by wild animals and would be out of civilisation altogether").
68. SAQ x2/2 1904, George Bruce; x2/2 1906, John Cowell.
69. Question 21 asked "Did anyone else come to Saskatchewan because of your recommending it as a place to settle?"
70. SAQ x2/2 1884, Ellen Maria Bannister; x2/2 1887, Mrs Waldon (Agnes) Fisher; x2/2 1893, Frederick Johnstone Bigg. Posts held by Bigg included teaching, farming and service in the North-West Mounted Police.
71. SAQ x2/2 1894, Mrs William (Charlotte M. C.) Brice. Another brother, Stephen, also came out to ranch in 1899, after leaving the Navy. SAQ x2/2 1906, Mrs Alfred (Ethel Jane) Law; x2/2 1910, Mrs F. Wood.
72. SAQ x2/2 1894, William Henry Sherring Gange; x2/2 1894, Arthur Hewlett; x2/2 1897, James Davison Tulloch.
73. SAQ x2/2 1894, John Bethune Ewan. See also above, p. 0.
74. SAQ x2/2 1902, William Henry Brokenshire; x2/2 1905, Helen Nicol Veitch (from Fife); x2/2 1907, Mark Smith.
75. SAQ x2/2 1883, Mrs W. Harford (Elizabeth Davis); x2/2 1894, John Potts; x2/2 1907, Martha Wellock. For an aristocratic cabin passenger's criticism of the SS Parisian in 1890, see The Countess of Aberdeen, *Through Canada with a Kodak* (Edinburgh: W.H. White, 1893; new edition, introduced by Marjory Harper, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994) pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.
76. SAQ x2/2 1902, Robert Duguid; x2/2 1904, George Bruce; x2/2 1906, John Macdonald Allan.
77. SAQ x2/2 1905, Kenneth Luttman-Johnson. The son of a retired army major and gentleman farmer from Sussex, Luttman-Johnson had made two trips to Canada in 1905, the first, alone, as a CPR agent, aboard the SS Lake Erie. Having assessed the country, he had then returned to England to make arrangements for his permanent emigration, and had come back to Canada with his wife aboard a Donaldson cargo boat from Glasgow.
78. SAQ x2/2 1910, Mrs F. (Hilda) Wood.
79. Such recollections included: Elizabeth Clark (1883) "no sleeping or eating arrangements;" Edith Stilborne (1883) "The very comfortless Colonist cars we travelled in and slept on the hard seats using our own bedding;" Arthur Hewlett (1894) "the terrible journey in the old colonist cars;" John Gordon (1905) "slat-seated colonist cars were very tiresome and uncomfortable;" and Martha Wellock (1907) "the trip of four days from St John N.B. to Esteven Sask with no sleepers, no diners or lunch cars, two sick children, just a small stove at one end of the car." Similar complaints were made by Robert Mills from Dumfries (1906), Jessie Ross from Aberdeen (1906), Alice Murray from Northumberland (1907), Alexander Maxwell, who had made a wearisome journey from India via Ceylon, London and Glasgow in 1907, and Mrs Arthur Jones from Northamptonshire (1910).
80. SAQ x2/2 1891, Peter Fraser; x2/2 1907, J. G. Wren; x2/2 1908, George Shepherd.
81. SAQ x2/2 1908, William Ernest Bailey.
82. SAQ x2/2 1907, Mrs Madeleine A. Boden.
83. SAQ x2/2 1884, John Potts. See also *ibid.*, 1894, John Potts.
84. SAQ x2/2 1882, John Laidlaw; x2/2 1883, Mrs James (Edith) Stilborne; x2/2 1892, William Harkness; x2/2 1892, Robert Golder Wood; x2/2 1903, Winfred Taylor; x2/2 1903, Albert White. In the official photograph of the Barr colonists' encampment, the Taylor family's canvas home was identifiable as the only buff-coloured tent, marked by the Union Jack that flew outside it.
85. SAQ x2/2 1883, Sydney Chipperfield; x2/2 1884, John McCloy; x2/2 1884, John Howard. Mrs Howard had also entertained and distracted the Indian by dressing up her younger son in the colourful uniform of the Artist Rifles. SAQ x2/2 1891, Peter Fraser.
86. SAQ x2/2 1891, Peter Fraser. See also Arthur Carter (1908) and Hilda Wood (1910). Carter recalled that he was "Not much impressed with Indians after fiction stories I had read in England" and, although Wood had seen "a few picturesque Indians," she was disappointed that there were no cowboys. Saltcoats was one of two largely unsuccessful Scottish Highland colonies established under the sponsorship of the British government in 1888 and 1889. See Wayne Norton, *Help Us to a Better Land — Crofter Colonies in the Prairie West* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994).
87. SAQ x2/2 1886, Mrs J. (Annetta) Folley; x2/2 1892, William Thomas Marks; x2/2 1894, William Henry Sherring Gange.
88. SAQ x2/2 1907, Mrs Madeleine A. Boden.
89. SAQ x2/2 1903, Andrew M. Veitch; SAQ x2/2 1906, Charlotte M. Darwent. Stricken by smallpox a month after arriving in Carman in 1906, Charlotte Darwent spent seven weeks in quarantine, and subsequently moved back to Winnipeg with her husband and children before making a new start near Humboldt.
90. SAQ x2/2 1883, Norman Macdonald; x2/2 1905, Thomas Edward Perry.
91. SAQ x2/2 1884, John Howard; x2/2 1892, Robert Golder Wood. After surviving their icy soaking, Thomas Howard and his companions, none of whom was equipped with mittens or adequate underclothing, had to walk eight miles to the nearest settlement, knowing that to stop would mean rapidly freezing to death.
92. See, for instance, SAQ x2/2 1906, David Herbert Maginnes (from Portsmouth); x2/2 1909, Robert Cranson Fraser (from Dundee); x2/2 1910, Nellie Buckingham (from Kent). Arthur Wheeler from Surrey (1906) recalled "the friendliness and willingness of all to cooperate when waggons broke down or stuck in mud holes."
93. See, for instance, SAQ x2/2 1894, Mrs William (Charlotte M. C.) Brice ("we always enjoyed it and they would often stay the night at our home"); x2/2 1903, Herbert Marsden Harrison ("the Mounted Police Patrol watched over we new settlers and we were always glad to have them pay us a visit and join us at a meal"); x2/2 1907, Alice Margaret Murray.
94. SAQ x2/2 1906, David Herbert Maginnes.

Rogues, Heroes, Adventurers, and Trailblazers

Gladys Arnold: Second World War Correspondent And Free French Advocate

by Ruth Millar



In a field dominated by men, Gladys Arnold of Regina was the only accredited Canadian reporter in France in 1939 in the days before the German Occupation. The Parisians were lulled by the optimism of the French press that the Maginot Line would protect them. As the Nazi blitzkreig advanced toward Paris, she was part of the terrified exodus of many thousands from the city, and then escaped in a heart-stopping evacuation from France to England in a small cargo ship. Many of her Parisian friends subsequently died or disappeared. A pivotal interview in England with General Charles de Gaulle inspired her to help set up the Free French information service in Ottawa on her return to Canada in August 1940. Through writing and speeches she promoted Free French ideals to counter the vicious Nazi propaganda. The cause even took her to the White House where she met the Roosevelts. Later she was to meet Churchill. In 1971 France named her a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, a supreme honour rarely given to foreigners, especially women.

Now in her nineties, Gladys Maria Marguerite Arnold possesses a serene dignity and self-assurance, the grace acquired after an active life spanning almost a century, most of it as a journalist. Most people would consider her wartime exploits to be on a heroic scale, but she herself is modest about her experiences.

She was born October 2nd, 1905 in Macoun, Saskatchewan. Her father was a trouble-shooter for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the family moved frequently. After attending many different schools in the three prairie provinces, she graduated from Weyburn Collegiate and Normal School. Thereafter

she taught in rural schools, and for a short time at the Success Business College in Winnipeg.

Her desire to write led in April 1930 to a job at the Regina *Leader Post*, where she became editorial assistant to editor D.B. MacRae. In 1932 she was dispatched to Quebec and was charmed by the French-Canadians. That plunge into another culture probably sparked her desire to go to France, along with a simple yearning for adventure. She claims she went in search of political enlightenment.

Living through the drought and unemployment of the Depression in Saskatchewan those of us in our twenties passionately debated the pros and cons of socialism, communism, fascism and democracy, searching for answers to why more than a million Canadians could not find a job.¹

With savings of \$500 and funding she had wheedled from the Wheat Board, she sailed in a grain cargo ship from Fort Churchill, and after a sojourn in London, she arrived in Paris on December the 28th, completely unilingual. She attended French classes at the Sorbonne, living among the French and not in an English-speaking enclave; this cultural immersion quickly helped her master the language.

On a brief visit to London in 1936, she met media mogul Clifford Sifton, who told her the Canadian Press had no correspondent in Paris. When the Canadian Press (CP) representative in Europe vacated his job, Arnold applied for it and got it. CP offered her the princely sum of \$15 a week to be their official correspondent.

During her first stay in Paris, she turned down an offer of marriage from a wealthy young man eight years her junior. "He was rich ... but I had the common sense of a Saskatchewan girl and gracefully declined."² He later joined the French air force.

For four years prior to Canada entering the war in 1939, Arnold had been sending articles with a Canadian angle to the CP offices in Toronto and the

Ruth Millar, who has a Master's degree in Library Science, is the head of the Local History Room at the Saskatoon Public Library. For several years she has been collecting photos and biographical information about particularly fascinating people from Saskatchewan. Many of them are little known.



Photographer unknown. From the personal collection of Gladys Arnold

Gladys Arnold as a young woman, ca. 1936 or 1941.

Sifton papers in the Canadian West, from France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy and from the Spanish border during the Civil War. When she visited Germany prior to World War II, she saw warning signs. In 1937, her luggage was searched and her notebook stolen. In 1938, she “saw armaments factories going day and night. None of the articles I sent from Germany got out of the country.”³

There she noticed a wall map showing the extent of German influence and indicating their long-range plan. By 1950, the plan was to include all of western Europe; by 1960, it was to be all of North America, she later told a reporter back in Canada. “I stole the map, wrapped it in plain paper, and mailed it to a friend in Canada. The Germans must have assumed it was a calendar or something unimportant because it reached Canada and was published.”⁴

Knowing war was imminent and feeling homesick, she returned briefly to Canada early in August to visit Saskatchewan, and her parents in Victoria. The day Canada entered the war on September the 10th 1939, she was about to return to Paris. Her boss at CP warned her not to go back. Not wanting to miss the excitement, she did anyway.

When she sailed again in October 1939, this time from New York, she was carrying a diplomatic pouch entrusted to her by a French diplomat in Canada, who had no courier. “The arrival of a foreigner carrying a French diplomatic pouch caused something of a sen-

sation at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs”⁵ in Paris, she wrote. Once she had established her credentials, she was ushered into lofty journalistic circles where she met leading foreign correspondents in the city.

Her membership in a foreign correspondents’ union in France opened the door to press conferences but not to briefings at the War Office. It was not because she was female, she asserted, but because she was Canadian. One’s status as a journalist emanated from one’s country of origin, British and Americans being preferred. To her indignation, Canada was low on the totem pole, despite being at war, even though the Americans were still sitting it out. Nor did the Canadian troops’ heroic acts of self-sacrifice make waves. When the first contingent of Canadians arrived, they made headlines only because Aboriginals in native dress were an exotic element among them.

She was admonished to stick to human interest stories, as “the boys in the London Bureau [would] look after political and military stuff.”⁶ In a serendipitous way, this directive allowed her to focus on the social impact of war, precisely what the families of Canadian soldiers wanted to know. “Canadian Press ... gave me the real story to write. Had I been chasing military and political stories I would never have had time to talk to, and live with, the people....”⁷ While back in Canada, she had poked through clippings files at several major Canadian newspapers for content on France. Except for the *Toronto Star*, she found little, only a few sensational stories of crime and romance from Associated Press. She wondered: was all news from France to be filtered through the American sensibility?

In France, first she wanted to know how this army of millions was being fed. She was shown arrangements to store, pack and distribute foodstuffs to the men at the front.

Then she accompanied Eve Curie, journalist and daughter of the famous Marie Curie, on expeditions to see French women at work. France had its own “Rosie the Riveter” phenomenon. Hundreds of thousands of women had stepped into the jobs of the five million men mobilized, “on farms and in factories, businesses, offices, restaurants, and all the service industries.”⁸ The arrival of refugees from northern France after Germany invaded northern France motivated her to set to work helping

the Red Cross handle the trainloads of refugees pouring into Paris.... The trains stopped at the edge of Paris, where Boy Scouts and Girl Guides took off the dead. The living were sorted alphabetically and

taken to distribution centers.... [T]he displaced families made their way to towns in southern France where they would be taken in by local citizens.⁹

"During the German invasion, 10 million people, one quarter of the population, were on the road," she told a reporter decades later.¹⁰ On the trains, she saw 20 to 30 people in compartments intended for eight. Children were lying on the luggage racks. Mattresses were piled on top of cars to stop machine gun bullets.¹¹ One woman arrived in Paris leading two children by the hand, but she refused to give them up for food and care. Later it was learned why. The woman had left home with seven children, but five were gunned down en route.

FLIGHT FROM PARIS

As a foreigner, Arnold risked being interned when the Germans arrived, so she decided to take other people's advice and flee. She left Paris at midnight and the Germans arrived at six a.m. She was caught up in the surging crowds that blocked the roads out of Paris as the Germans approached. She and two friends tracked down a vehicle and a miserly quantity of gasoline and fled Paris on June 14, 1940. They threaded their way through "an endless river of people on foot, in carts, wagons and cars, animals and bicycles so tightly packed across the roads and sidewalks that no one could move more than a step or two at a time."¹² The Nazis had sent soldiers ahead on motorcycles to urge civilians to flee; this tactic strangled road transportation so that Allied military units could not pass.

Taking back roads whenever possible, the three women made their way to Bordeaux, which was under aerial bombardment the night they arrived. On their way across France, they learned the French government had signed an armistice with the Germans. The trio made their way to the Atlantic coast, a chaotic scene as people abandoned their automobiles and grabbed a few treasured possessions to take along. The refugees, who were loaded on a small craft that took them from one ship to another in the harbour, were turned down for lack of space. The British Spitfires above tried to ward off the Messerschmidts that were dropping mines into the bay.

Finally a small Dutch cargo ship was persuaded to take more than 300 refugees on board. She was lugging along a typewriter, a valise and a briefcase. The suitcase containing her only change of clothes was accidentally dropped into the sea. The typewriter and her papers were more precious cargo. Somehow she scrambled up a rope ladder, balancing the briefcase and typewriter. Typewriters in those days were enor-

mous and unwieldy. "You don't think about being scared, you do what you have to do. You just climb the ladder."¹³ Her remark is a metaphor for her entire war experience.

While injured soldiers were stowed away in the hold, Arnold and her friends slept on deck under a tarp. A German plane appeared suddenly and fired at them, leaving a string of bullet holes on the deck, but no one was injured. Later a German submarine trailing them apparently did not consider the little ship to be worth the price of a torpedo. There were few toilets, and the passengers had to wash with sea water. Most of the refugees were the families of European diplomats and business men. The captain asked her to write down the names of all passengers. She jotted down their stories in a minuscule notebook.

Arnold's escape to England was successful. In London, though she was almost comatose with fatigue, CP officials immediately put her to work, reporting on their escape. While she was at the CP bureau, an air raid siren wailed, and she was herded along with other journalists to the basement to sit it out, her first experience of aerial bombardment in England. At that time in the early 1940s London was a babel of languages, a *mélange* of European nationalities.

Among the people she interviewed while in London were Beatrice Lily (Lady Peel), who was associated with the United Association of Britain and France in Aid of Refugees, and Canadian poet Robert Service. His petty complaints about the discomforts he had undergone while evacuating from France on a tramp steamer and the loss of his homes in Brittany, Nice and Paris disgusted her, after the harrowing trauma and suffering she had witnessed in France.

An interview in London with General Charles de Gaulle was a pivotal event in Arnold's life. It was Canada's first wartime interview with the general.¹⁴ She wanted to know why France had been so unprepared, why Paris had capitulated so quickly. He explained to her the revolutionary new mechanized form of warfare. The Germans had launched their blitzkrieg with armoured divisions and tanks, and "smashed around the Maginot Line, cutting through Holland, Belgium and northern France with steel fingers. These columns, led by swiftly moving motorcycle squads, had deliberately and certainly for the first time in history on such a massive scale, used civilian populations as a weapon."¹⁵ He remarked bitterly that the Germans had capitalized on military insights gleaned from books he himself had written. His comments confirmed her earlier impressions as she had threaded her way through the throngs clogging the



Photographer unknown. University of Regina archives.

Gladys Arnold on a balcony, in 1938 in Paris.

roads out of Paris.

Before Arnold left London, De Gaulle made a request that was to shape the next period of her life. He asked her to look up his former secretary Elisabeth de Miribel, the daughter of a French general who had mobilized France in the Great War. De Miribel had gone to French Canada on a mission to explain what the Free French Movement (FFM) stood for. De Gaulle had been told that Vichy propaganda was being disseminated in Quebec as well as France. They were describing the Free French in such pejorative terms as criminals, deserters, traitors and British-financed mercenaries.

In mid-August CP officials in London ordered Arnold to accompany, and write about, one of the first shiploads of children being sent to Canada for safety, while their parents stayed to devote themselves to the war effort.

Arnold was devastated to be ordered home, but she dutifully boarded the ship. On her return to Canada, she continued to work for CP, writing about what she had seen and learned, to counteract propaganda emanating from the puppet Vichy regime. Meanwhile, she also worked as a volunteer for the FFM. She eventually located Elisabeth de Miribel, as de Gaulle had urged, and joined her in her work of promoting the FFM among French nationals in Montreal.

Years later, in a 1976 interview, Arnold talked about French Resistance activity during the Occupation, helping Allied pilots who landed in occu-

ried territory. Nearly 70,000 members died in Paris alone, she said. She also described one valiant group who published underground literature in a school basement. While noisy presses were operating, school children masked the sound by playing spirited musical renditions in a rhythm band.

To Arnold's amazement, the French expatriate community in Montreal was split on the issue because many were influenced by Vichy propaganda. A negative spin on the movement had convinced many, who saw the Vichy regime as legitimate. Soon a Vichy agent named Fua approached the dedicated young Elisabeth de Miribel. Claiming to represent the FFM, he bullied her and threatened to create a scandal in Montreal to force her deportation. When they met again, she was accompanied by Gladys, a friend named Cecile Bouchard, and her date Mr. Gagnon. They listened politely to Fua as he ranted. With great misgivings, after the others departed Gladys talked all night to the sinister little man. In the morning the friend's "date", who was actually a Mountie, arrived and arrested the agent.

In 1941 Arnold went on a speaking tour under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs¹⁶ to inform Canadians about the true nature of the FFM. One article reported, "[a]mong several reasons for joining the Free French [Arnold] lists the fact that the German-controlled radio in France has made a definitive drive to sabotage Canada. The international short-wave in Boston has done much to counteract this propaganda."¹⁷

Communication with those inside France was tenuous. Arnold and her friends exchanged cryptic messages, with code words for key international players. She alluded to her "boyfriend Charlie" meaning de Gaulle. Only a few of those written messages got through. During the war, radio messages of hope were beamed to those living under the Occupation by the "Voice of America" and the British Broadcasting Corporation. From Canada, the CBC's Beatrice Belcourt worked through WRUL, a strong Boston short-wave station, arranging to broadcast five-minute messages by Canadians for transmission to France. The first WRUL broadcast by Belcourt told of Canadian efforts to help the French:

At this moment there are 80,000 Canadian soldiers, sailors and airmen in England and another 220,000 disseminated elsewhere.... Our target for 1942 is 575,000 troops by March.... Soon we expect to have 400 ships and have already established one hundred air training establishments across Canada. We have sent more than \$500,000,000 to Great Britain to help with armaments....¹⁸

Arnold left Canadian Press in 1941 to help Elisabeth de Miribel set up the Free French Information Service, of which they became co-directors. However, CP continued to call on Arnold for information and photographs, and she resumed working for them after the war.

After the debacle at Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941, Arnold and her colleagues were convinced the Americans would break with the Vichy regime, and were crushed when they did not. At one point, Elisabeth de Miribel was arrested in New York and briefly interned, even though American colleagues had insisted the FFM was immensely popular in the United States.

THE LIBERATION OF FRANCE

On June 6th 1945 the Allies landed in France and entered Paris on August 25th. At the end of October, Gladys Arnold was asked to return to France by Georges Bidault, a former Resistance leader and now Minister of Foreign Affairs in the provisional government. She was to report on the conditions and needs of the French people, and the after-effects of the Occupation. In December she and a friend crossed the Atlantic in a banana boat. On the way, the last two ships in their convoy were torpedoed, but Arnold and her friend arrived safely. They lugged along with them a duffel bag stuffed with supplies. Miraculously, they

managed to get it to France with its precious contents intact.

Once again in France, she was shocked by the toll the war had taken. Shortages were horrific. Heat and electricity were in short supply. The people were wan and malnourished, their clothes in tatters. Bridges and entire villages en route to Paris had been bombed into oblivion. However, she encountered no resentment; the people knew the devastation had been the price of liberation.

In Paris she was reunited with friends, but it was a bittersweet reunion, "for I had to learn of all those who were missing, those who were still prisoners-of-war or in German concentration camps, those who had been shot or had died prematurely from privation."¹⁹

After the Liberation, she traveled to Alsace-Lorraine and visited the Struthof Concentration Camp. In a room attached to the crematorium, she saw rows of meat hooks in the ceiling. "Those who tried to escape or who may have earned the enmity of the guard were usually the victims here. They were impaled alive on these hooks and left unconscious and then cremated," she was told.²⁰ She could not stand to see any more. Later she learned her friend Frank Pickersgill, a Canadian secret agent, had died this way.

Arnold embarked for home on a troop ship with hundreds of war brides. Listening to them, she knew their husbands had misrepresented the life the women would encounter in Canada, and wondered how the brides would cope with a "deflated reality."²¹

One wonders what Arnold was like back in those adrenaline-charged wartime days. Clearly, she was adventurous, quite fearless, and aggressive — enough to get the first Canadian interview with de Gaulle, for instance. Her photographs show that she dressed well, but when survival was paramount, she was able to go 11 days without a change of clothing. Although she mentions her love for her friends, she noted in one diary entry that places, not people, were most important to her. She was generous. In 1948 when her rent was only \$20 a month, she spent \$52.60 on Victory Bonds to help the war effort, and \$10 went to Save the Children.²² Later in life, she established two scholarships at the University of Regina, one for journalists and the other for students of French.²³ Her journals speak of her love of nature, and she appears also to have been devout. She wrote down lyrical, impassioned passages, probably quotations, in her journal that read like prayers.

How did Arnold spend the next 30 years? After the war, the Free French Information Service was



Photographer unknown. University of Regina Archives.

Gladys Arnold in later years wearing her characteristic braids.

attached to the French Embassy in Ottawa, and she served as its part-time director until her retirement in 1971 after nearly 30 years of service.²⁴ But she also did what any foreign correspondent would do, she continued to travel and write while also working for the Canadian Press. In the 1960s she went to England, Italy, Ireland, France, Capri and Spain. In the 1970s she visited Greece, London, China, and Yugoslavia. In the 1980s, by now an elderly woman, she traveled to Greece, Yugoslavia again, Sweden, Denmark, and of course France.²⁵

Arnold also recalled travelling to India, Australia, the South Pacific and Arabia. In Arabia she was treated with respect. The secret, she said, was to listen to what they said and to try to understand their point of view.²⁶ Undated postcards also suggest she traveled to Turkey and Egypt.²⁷

At home, in 1948/49 she attended Carleton College in Ottawa and undertook studies in the humanities. Her collection of business and professional cards show that she belonged to many organizations including the Canadian Women's Press Club (CWPC), the Canadian Authors' Association, the Canadian Federation of University Women, Le Cercle de Femmes Journalistes, the National Gallery Association of Canada, and the Ottawa Little Theatre. She was president of the Ottawa branch of the CWPC in 1948. As a journalist she was admitted to many important political events, such as a visit of Sir

Winston Churchill and a North Atlantic Treaty Organization ministerial meeting in 1963.

In 1971 France bestowed upon Gladys their supreme honour when she was named a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, an honour given to few foreigners, and even fewer women.²⁸ In June 1987 she returned to France for a reunion with the Free French volunteers. The following year she received a Canada Council Explorations Grant of \$3,000 to write her memoirs. In addition to journals and datebooks she had managed to preserve from the wartime era, she had four battered suitcases containing 200 letters smuggled out of France during the war.²⁹ In 1987 at the age of 81, she published her wartime adventures in an autobiography, *One Woman's War: a Canadian Reporter with the Free French*.

In May 1988 Gladys Arnold was honoured by the University of Regina with an honorary doctorate of laws.³⁰ She was also a featured guest on CBC's Front Page Challenge. She is now living in a seniors' home in Regina.

Arnold's story is currently being produced by Lori Kuffner of Cooper Rock Pictures and will air on History Television in the fall. The segment on Arnold, which is titled "Eyewitness to War," will be in a series called "Women of Courage."

NOTES

1. Gladys Arnold, *One Woman's War: a Canadian Reporter with the Free French* (James Lorimer & Company, 1987), 3.
2. Arnold, *One Woman's War*, 26.
3. Karen Boyd, "Canadian Journalist Recalls German Occupation," *The Arizona Republic*, 2 December 1976.
4. Boyd, "Canadian Journalist Recalls German Occupation."
5. Arnold, *One Woman's War*, 15.
6. Arnold, *One Woman's War*, 16.
7. Arnold, *One Woman's War*, 17.
8. Arnold, *One Woman's War*, 18.
9. Boyd, "Canadian Journalist Recalls German Occupation."
10. Boyd "Canadian Journalist Recalls German Occupation."
11. Richard Needham, "They Were Too Young to Know Their Names," *Calgary Herald*, 17 January 1941.
12. Arnold, *One Woman's War*, 48.
13. Gladys Arnold, interview, 29 March 2001.
14. "Harrowing War Trip Made her Sad, Angry," *Ottawa Journal*, 30 September 1976.
15. Arnold, *One Woman's War*, 80.
16. "Food Scarce in all France," *Edmonton Journal* [nd].
17. Carolyn Cox and Rica Farquaharson, "Women in Free France," [no date, no source]
18. Arnold, *One Woman's War*, 119.
19. Arnold, *One Woman's War*, 170.
20. Arnold, *One Woman's War*, 216.
21. After some philosophical comments on the invisible impasse created by war between those who had experienced it directly and those who had not, Gladys Arnold ends her book at this point. An examination of her papers shows that she was well aware of her historical role, saving every tidbit of information from the wartime era that might be

useful in her writing. Her journals and address books were usually miniature, small enough to carry in a handbag. Her minuscule scribbings, neat but almost indecipherable to anyone but herself, indicate her careful journalistic habits. Even in moments of direst emergency, fleeing Paris, she jotted down important details, knowing she would report about them later. On June 4, 1940 she wrote, "1000 dead in bombardment. 3:30 tea with Suzanne...." [Journal, 1939-40: 4 June 1940, Gladys Arnold Papers]. At other times she was careful to note even the food she ate, the clothes she wore, what she packed in her suitcases.

22. Journal, 21 July 1948, Gladys Arnold Papers.
23. Interview with Gladys Arnold and Barry Robins (nephew), 29 March 2001.
24. Biographical sketch, *Finding Aid*, Gladys Arnold Papers.
25. Travel journals: Box 3, files 17 and 19; box 34, file 716, Gladys Arnold Papers.
26. Interview with Gladys Arnold, 29 March 2001.
27. University of Regina Archives, Gladys Arnold Papers, 98-54.
28. Alixe Carter, "France Honours Gladys Arnold," *Ottawa Journal*, 12 March 1971.
29. Marjorie Gillies, "Writing Behind the Front Lines," *Ottawa Citizen*, 11 May 1987.
30. "1,000 Graduate from U of R," *Regina Leader-Post*, 21 May 1988.

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The Peoples of Saskatchewan



A group of "Scotch Bachelors" in Saskatchewan.

... to be continued on page 59



Book Reviews



With Scarcely a Ripple: Anglo-Canadian Migration into the United States and Western Canada, 1880-1920

By Randy William Widdis. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998. Pp. 418. \$90.00 (hardcover) \$27.95 (softcover).

With the publication of this book, Randy William Widdis (then Associate Professor of Geography at the University of Regina) added a significant contribution to the fairly limited historical literature on Anglo-Canadians as an ethnic group. It is problematic, though, exactly how this group is to be defined. While already referring to an Anglo-Canadian identity, without qualification, in the "Preface," the author does not attempt to define the group. However, in the first chapter he does try to address the problem of identity, recognizing that the whole question of ethnicity and ethnic identification is extremely problematic. Like Akenson, Widdis seems to suggest that Anglo-Canadians, while constituting a single ethnic group, are really "a multiplicity of ethnic and religious subgroups: English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish Protestant, Irish Catholic" (11). The reader must, therefore, assume that the author is actually referring not just to Canadians of English origin (Anglo-Canadians in the strictest sense) but, in fact, generally to British-Canadians, though not even more generally to all anglophone Canadians. Again, he writes, "whether Anglo-Canadians at the turn of the twentieth century looked upon themselves as resolutely Canadian or predominantly British is difficult to discern" (11:3). Yet Widdis must surely be aware that there have been many Canadians of British Isles or Irish origin but not English origin who have been hostile to Britain in a political sense, or at least more nationalistic in their political sentiments toward Scotland, Ireland, or Wales. Later in this same chapter the author refers to "Anglo-Celtic ethnicity" in Canada.

Adding to the confusion, we are informed that "Canadians in 1900 represented the third largest ethnic group in the United States after the Irish and the Germans" (xx). (But are Canadians an ethnic group? Weren't any Canadians of Irish or German origin in the United States claimed in these more specific cate-

gories?) Apparently the author is particularly interested in the persistence of a specific Anglo-Canadian identity in the United States; yet he comments on the "invisible nature of this particular immigrant group" (xxii), while later referring to "Canadian ethnic groups at home and abroad" (6), and how this might pertain to the fact that so many Canadians returned from the United States to Canada" (7) (of course, a great many more did not return). The first chapter concludes with an interesting, though incomplete, discussion of Anglo-Canadian compared with American identity and influence.

Yet despite these fundamental conceptual flaws, there is much scholarship of value in this lengthy and detailed volume. Viewing this book as an "exploratory voyage in a largely unfamiliar sea," Widdis has combined his graduate dissertation research essentially on Anglo-Canadian emigration to urban centres in northern New York state (chapter 5), and especially use of genealogies of pioneer families in the Bay of Quinte region of Ontario (chapters 3 and 4), with later SSHRC-sponsored research on Canadian resettlement in eastern North Dakota (chapter 6), as well as return and interprovincial migration of Anglo-Canadians in Saskatchewan (chapter 7).

Using what he calls (rather pretentiously) a "prosopographical" approach, Widdis attempts to demonstrate the relationship between ethnic persistence, international and internal migration and return migration, socio-economic and social psychological adjustments. As the book, the voyage, progresses, the author examines the political-economic and socio-cultural contexts of Anglo-Canadian migration, a search of the historic-geographical and psychological characteristics of nineteenth century Canadian identity, the dimensions and regional variation of emigration, the theories and conceptual debates underlying the study of mobility and rural transformation in a regional perspective, and finally the broader destinations chosen by Anglo-Canadian migrants (7).

In keeping with the author's propensity for regional analysis, the first chapter includes an interesting discussion of the influence of Boston as a magnet for migrants throughout "Greater New England" (including the Maritimes). It is surprising, though, not to find any discussion of Victoria as a focal-point of Anglo-

Canadian identity and migration in the discussion of the "Pacific Borderlands Region." The second chapter, a theoretical elaboration on national and regional perspectives of migration, constitutes a detailed historical demographic analysis supported by maps, tables, and charts.

As I have already pointed out, much of this book consists of case studies. The chapters reflecting Widdis's earlier research on eastern Ontario and northern New York state (chapters 3-5) are extremely detailed. His later work on the West, while also quite thorough, perhaps leaves some room for improvement. In the chapter on Canadian migration to eastern North Dakota (chapter 6), particular attention is paid to Anglo-Ontarian migration; there is some mention of other types of Canadian migrations, however not of planned settlements such as a major Icelandic colony (perhaps beyond the purview of this book). Chapter 7 on both return migration and interprovincial migration to Saskatchewan, could have classified the three main sources of "Anglo" population in Saskatchewan: Anglo-Ontarian (some via Manitoba), direct immigration from England (and perhaps Britain, depending on definition), and Anglo-American settlement especially along the Soo Line. Particularly the latter could include return migrants; however, it is not always clear in the author's writing which American immigrants were descended from Canadians, nor which were "Anglo." Of course, this Anglo-American influx was part of a vast migration of thousands of Scandinavians and Germans and others (including French) from the United States, which Widdis calls "chain and cluster migration." This chapter on Saskatchewan does include a fairly extensive discussion of Canadian (government and residents) usually preferential attitudes toward Anglos and Anglo-Americans. Widdis observes that "like their Anglo-Canadian counterparts in the United States, Anglo-Americans in Western Canada were generally inconspicuous, even in areas of relatively high concentration" (307); "of all the migrants in the United States, Anglo-Canadians were and continue to be the most invisible" (339). The point which could have been made here is that Anglos tended to concentrate just as much as other ethnic groups, to form their own settlements in Saskatchewan; yet they tended to define Canada in their own terms, then impose their definition on others.

In spite of its historical frame, 1880-1920, this book is surprisingly contemporary. The Preface commences with an intelligent discussion of present-day compared with historical significance of boundaries and borders. This discussion is further elaborated in a

section of the first chapter titled "Borders and Metaphors: Canadian-American Relations," and finally in the concluding chapter, where Widdis again discusses borders in a postmodern era of global culture, returning to the question of "Where is here?"

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The Frontier World of Edgar Dewdney

By Brian Titley. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 1999. Pp. ix, 171. Illustrations. \$70.00 (hardcover) \$25.95 (softcover).

Ironically, Edgar Dewdney's role in Canadian history is best remembered in the part of the country for which he had the least affection. Although the English immigrant loved the British Columbia he adopted as home, and while he found the political excitement of Ottawa, where he was a member of parliament (1882-9, 1888-92) and cabinet minister (1888-92) engaging, he did not enjoy his lengthy sojourn in Regina. His wife Jane spoke for both of them at the end of Edgar's tenure as territorial lieutenant-governor in 1888 when she registered her delight at leaving what she dismissed as "this dreary waste of snow" - with 'nothing' in every direction" (99).

Yet, the prairies is indisputably the region of Canada on which Dewdney's impact was greatest. Serving there as Indian Commissioner and lieutenant-governor until 1888, and then influencing its development profoundly as Minister of the Interior until 1892, Dewdney had a hand in every major event during the critical period of First Nations' adjustment after the treaty-making era. His influence on the evolution of civil policy towards First Nations from 1879 on was especially important to the residents of reserves. In particular, the ill-starred agricultural 'development' policies pursued in the 1880s and the upheaval of the Northwest Rebellion of 1885 were areas in which Dewdney's influence was substantial.

According to University of Lethbridge historian Brian Titley, Dewdney played a constructive and moderating role in these events in spite of a lack of sympathy for First Nations' culture and identity, not to mention his partisanship in shaping policy to advance the interests of the Conservative party. Titley, who is also the author of a landmark volume on Indian

Affairs policy from the 1880s to the 1930s and several important articles on residential schooling on the prairies, makes a convincing case for this somewhat surprising proposition by contrasting Dewdney's views and policy proposals with the much harsher attitudes and suggestions of his assistant, Hayter Reed, and of Indian Affairs deputy minister Lawrence Vankoughnet. By outlining Dewdney's, Reed's, and Vankoughnet's positions on a series of policies towards First Nations, Titley makes this case persuasively. However, this depiction of relative moderation omits any reference to Dewdney's infamous comment in 1884 that what was required to deter First Nations insurrection was the application of "sheer compulsion," or to the fact that it was Dewdney who issued the emergency measure restricting First Nations to their reserves in the spring of 1885, paving the way for the extra-legal pass system that emerged immediately after the rebellion.

Titley compiles his portrait, which is more a public biography of Dewdney than a fully rounded biographical study, from a combination of well selected primary and secondary documents. He combed the papers of all the major figures who were involved in the events he analyses, and combined what they yielded with a careful and intelligent reading of secondary sources where appropriate. No doubt his previous work on the history of First Nations policy equipped him well to do this work. About the only significant secondary source that is omitted from Titley's bibliography, and its omission is surprising, is *Loyal Till Death: Indians and the North-West Rebellion*, the important revisionist study on the Northwest Rebellion published by Blair Stonechild and Bill Waiser in 1997. Otherwise the scholarship on which this study is built is impeccable.

Although for readers of *Saskatchewan History* Edgar Dewdney's influence on the prairie region, and especially on First Nations policy in the region, is the most important contribution of this volume, that is not its focus. Titley is interested principally in Dewdney as a frontier entrepreneur, the species that flocked to the remote regions of the country in search of economic opportunities and wealth throughout Canadian history. *The Frontier World of Edgar Dewdney* shows convincingly how the immigrant surveyor used his contacts with politicians and leading business figures in British Columbia, Ottawa, and the prairies to pursue personal wealth throughout his Canadian career. In addition to securing lucrative contracts for surveying and road-building in British Columbia, Dewdney also exploited insider knowledge and political contacts to speculate in lands in places

such as Vancouver and Regina. He also was assiduous in pressing political leaders for appointment to lucrative public positions. For example, his salary as lieutenant-governor of the Territories in 1883 was \$7200 per year, (86) and his remuneration in "semi-retirement" as lieutenant-governor of British Columbia in the 1890s was \$9000 (122). To appreciate the munificence of these public salaries, it is important to realize that a school teacher on the frontier might be paid as little as three or four hundred dollars per year at the time. Titley correctly notes that, while Dewdney's habit of mixing public resources and private advantage at every opportunity might strike a modern reader as reprehensible, among Canadian public figures of the late nineteenth century such tactics were considered normal.

In spite of the rewards that position and influence brought him, Dewdney never attained the level of wealth that he coveted. As late as 1915 he was beset with "financial worries," (136) although the estate he left the next year, including some property he had acquired "under suspicious circumstances" more than thirty years earlier in Regina, totalled \$80,000 (137-8). It was for the time certainly a comfortable competency, but not the fortune that business buccaneers were already assembling in early-twentieth-century Canada.

The Frontier World of Edgar Dewdney is a welcome, valuable contribution to the historical literature on the late nineteenth century, especially on the prairies. It will be useful for students of government-First Nations relations and business history, although readers of *Saskatchewan History*, no doubt, are already familiar from more recent events in Saskatchewan with the phenomenon of the 'entrepreneur' who obtains private profit from the public purse.

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The Counselling Speeches of Jim Kâ-Nîpitêhtêw

Edited by Freda Ahenakew and H.C. Wolfart, with commentary and notes by Wolfart. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1998. Pp. 228. \$21.95 (softcover).

The Student's Dictionary: of Literary Plains Cree (based on contemporary texts)

By Freda Ahenakew and H. C. Wolfart. Winnipeg: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics, 1998. Pp. xiii, 425. \$25 (softcover).



he writing of *The Counselling Speeches of Jim Kâ-Nîpitêhtêw* is a concerted effort of several people and the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Center. Linguist, Freda Ahenakew acted as the primary audience.

It was agreed beforehand that the speeches would one day be published and placed in the hands of anyone who had interest in learning about Cree cultural values. Kâ-Nîpitêhtêw endorsed Ahenakew's efforts and now his speeches are written and, thus, will be handed down to succeeding generations.

Jim Kâ-Nîpitêhtêw was troubled with the knowledge that the Cree Peoples were losing their cultural heritage largely because of language loss. Written primarily for the First Nations, this book is Canadian literature that has existed as part of oral tradition of generations past, long before Saskatchewan was a name on a map. This book was produced to address the need for written material. A former university Cree language instructor, Freda Ahenakew set out to reverse the trend of language loss and has produced several books with this goal in mind. Co-editing with H.C. Wolfart is a culmination of years of study under Dr. Wolfart, a Distinguished Professor of Linguistics at the University of Manitoba.

This publication is one of a series of books translated from recorded speeches by fluent Cree speakers from the prairies. Four others are *Wâsahikanîwîyîniw-âcimônina / Stories of the House People*; *Kôhkomînawak otâcimowîniwâwa / Our Grandmothers Lives, as Told in Their Own Words*; *Kînhîyâwîwîniwâw nêhiyâwêwin / The Cree Language is Our Identity: The La Ronge Lectures of Sarah Whitecap*; and *kwayask ê-kî-pê-kiskînowâpahtihîcîk / Their Example Showed Me the Way: A Cree Woman's Life Shaped by Two Cultures*.

Ahenakew has also published seven children's stories in Cree. As well, she and two of her daughters have compiled various prose by First Nations authors into a couple of readers for junior high or high school pupils. She also has written a book about Cree medical terms and a text as part of the requirements for the Master's Degree. The latter was so successful it has been in print seventeen times since its first publication in 1987. Similar to the Jim Kâ-Nîpitêhtêw book, her thesis was written to accompany her first volume called the *Stories of the House People*. This book is unique and it is highly valued.

Freda Ahenakew has brought a unique approach to teaching Cree. Her style is akin to the whole language approach, which is based on the assumption that children learn best by writing stories and then studying grammar from their own writings. The dia-

logue is then broken down into its morphemic components and studied. The emphasis is to use spoken Cree and then breaking it down into grammatical structure, as opposed to studying bits and pieces first and then writing sentences, followed by stories.

The Counselling Speeches of Jim Kâ-Nîpitêhtêw serves a two-fold purpose. First the reader is exposed to the language as it is freely spoken in an elaborate variation of the Cree literary style. Second, an avid learner can examine the literary form using the "Commentary and Notes" written by H. C. Wolfart. The book is organized into four sections. The first section consists of eight speeches by Jim Kâ-Nîpitêhtêw. They are written in the Plains Cree Syllabics using the Standard Orthography. None of the words has been altered in any way by paraphrasing. The second part of the book is Cree written in the Standard Roman Orthography (SRO). The SRO consists of eleven letters taken from the English Roman Alphabet. Any reader can sound out the words written in SRO and coincide with the sound made by Cree speakers. Anyone interested in learning the Cree spoken by this esteemed Cree orator will find the English translation of the speeches on facing pages. The third section, a commentary and notes by H. C. Wolfart, contains a wealth of information from a linguist point of view. However the grammatical explanations are difficult since the vocabulary is not written in layman's terms and this may create difficulty for some readers. The last section is the Cree-English Glossary which, understandably, takes up over a third of the volume. The words are alphabetically arranged and are taken from the SRO. One may use the glossary simply to find out the meaning of any of the words used in the speeches.

The teamwork of Freda Ahenakew and Jim Kâ-Nîpitêhtêw has proved to be advantageous to both parties. Ahenakew needed the spoken prose of a fluent Cree speaker and Kâ-Nîpitêhtêw needed someone to undertake the task of recording the knowledge that he possessed. This knowledge that might have been lost because often the older generation is passing on without an opportunity to convey their messages to a growing number of people who are non-fluent in Cree. In effect, Ahenakew has tapped a resource of information that only people like her could tap. With her expertise in the grammatical structure of the language and knowledge of Cree culture, she is the ideal person to tap the elders' exemplary texts and discourses as she interviews Elders and records their stories and their speeches.

Another recent book by Freda Ahenakew and H. C. Wolfart is *The Student's Dictionary of Literary*

Plains Cree. As a Cree language student and a language instructor, I have found this book to be invaluable. Most Cree students and instructors have had to resort to developing their own writing system in the past, but now that this book is in print we can look up Cree words and know how they should be spelled. At least this is true for the Plains Cree dialect. The task of writing stories and sentences is made easier as a result of this book. This book is one of a kind. Alberta and Manitoba have their own Cree dictionaries but the orthography is not quite the same as the one produced here by Ahenakew and Wolfart. The problem is that the Cree language has not been standardized as yet. So *The Student's Dictionary of Literary Plains Cree* will likely serve the Saskatchewan Cree best.

Until recently written material such as these two books was not available. Fortunately it is now beginning to be published. They will be highly valued by the Cree for the messages in Jim Kâ-Nîpitêhtêw's speeches and as teaching tools for the avid Cree language student.

Leona Monroe

Saskatchewan Indian Federated College

Ahtahkakoop: The Epic Account of a Plains Cree Head Chief, His People, and Their Struggle for Survival, 1816-1896

By Deanna Christensen. Shell Lake, SK: Ahtahkakoop Publishing, 2000. Pp. 844. Illustrations. \$49.95 (hardcover).



Ahtahkakoop, or Star Blanket, was considered to be one of the leading Cree chiefs of central Saskatchewan during the difficult years of transition from a nomadic to a sedentary way of life. This book, a momentous undertaking as indicated by its 844 pages, succeeds in discussing the life of this chief as well as presenting a detailed examination of Saskatchewan's Plains Indians during much of the nineteenth century.

Ahtahkakoop was not so much a Plains Cree as a leader of one of the transition bands that spent the summer on the plains hunting buffalo and the winters in the forest where they subsisted on fish and game animals. The author provides an excellent introductory picture of the way of life of these Crees during the first decades of Ahtahkakoop's life. She also uses this opportunity to detail Cree culture, religious beliefs, government, and annual movements during a period when their lives centred on hunting and visiting the

trading post at Fort Carlton.

Ahtahkakoop was born into the Fort People band and was one of five brothers, the others being Ahenakew, Napeskis, Saskamoose, and Crow Blanket. Their hunting area extended from their wintering grounds in the Sandy Lake area, south to Battle River, and west to the Eagle Hills. As the buffalo herds were reduced, they travelled farther and farther south to the South Saskatchewan, but always retreated to the woodlands in winter.

Ahtahkakoop became chief of his band in the 1850s and, from that time onwards, he maintained a close relationship with Mistawasis, or Big Child, so that the two chiefs travelled together and shared the same beliefs in the future of their people. During the nomadic years, their relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company was very close, with a number of their relatives working for the fur trading firm. As a result, Ahtahkakoop met several important travellers who wrote about him, including the Earl of Southesk, Charles Messiter, Lord Milton, W.B. Cheadle, and the Marquis of Lorne.

But perhaps the most important non-Indian to come into Ahtahkakoop's life was John Hines, an Anglican missionary who began to work among the Crees in 1874. The two men immediately knew that they shared the same goals of peace, education, and ultimately of religion. Hines told the chief that the bishop had instructed him to teach agriculture to the adults and English to the children "and so prepare them for the change that was bound to come over their country before the end of the present generation" (p. 173). Under the missionary's guidance, the band began to build log houses at Sandy Lake and to cultivate the soil long before the signing of Treaty Six. As a result, when the buffalo herds were destroyed and the Canadian government was slow in coming to their aid, Ahtahkakoop's band was well prepared to live on their small farms and fish in the nearby lakes.

The author deals with the negotiation of Treaty Six at Fort Carlton in 1876 in great detail, but the bottom line was that Ahtahkakoop and Mistawasis fully agreed with the steps the government was taking. And such was the respect accorded these two chiefs that when the time came for the Crees at Fort Pitt to consider the terms, head chief Sweet Grass stated, "Mistawaw-iss and Ah-tuk-a-kup, I consider, are far wiser than I am; therefore if they have accepted this treaty ... then I am prepared to accept for my people" (p. 293).

A year later, in 1877, two significant events took place: Ahtahkakoop was baptized into the Anglican church, and the band went on its last buffalo hunt. For the rest of his life, the chief devoted his attention

to earning a living off the land and following the precepts of Christianity. In 1881 he told the bishop, "I heard the truth of the Gospel through Mr. Hines. For a time I was unsettled, but now I believe in the Saviour, and never have any desire to return to my old ways" (p. 414).

During the unsettled period of the early 1880s when the government cut rations and starvation became rampant, Ahtahkakoop remained faithful to his treaty promises. When emissaries from Louis Riel came to his village, he refused to hear them and sent them away. In 1885, when the uprising broke out, Métis messengers urged the band to join the fight and implied that they might be forced to join the rebels. In response, Ahtahkakoop gathered his people together and took them to Sturgeon Lake, away from the area of conflict, to avoid having to take sides. Later, when he spoke to the bishop, he said "that they thank the Queen for sending soldiers to put down this rebellion" (p. 516).

From that time until Ahtahkakoop's death in 1896, his band was one of the most progressive in the

West, even though times were often difficult. Like other bands, they were faced with government inefficiency and often did better when left alone. During this time, the band heartily embraced education, with one nephew becoming a teacher and others attending college.

The author was fortunate in writing this book because of the wealth of material available in archives, books, and memories of band members. Early travellers mentioned Ahtahkakoop at length, the Reverend Hines kept extensive papers, and Canon Edward Ahenakew, Ahtahkakoop's nephew, prepared a long manuscript about the band. Ms. Christensen has chosen to use extensive quotations from these and other sources, so that the book, as she says, provides a sense of "being there" (p. xvii). She has done an excellent job in bringing together the diverse information to produce a book on behalf of the Ahtahkakoop First Nation that is very readable, authoritative, and comprehensive.

Hugh A. Dempsey
Calgary

The Peoples of Saskatchewan



Scots women pioneers from Saskatchewan at an Oldtimers Picnic at Archie McCormick's place, possibly in the Fleming district in 1907. (Left to right) back row: Mrs. Albert Macdonald, Mrs. William Elmore, Mrs. G. Scott, Mrs. Dave McCormick, Mrs. Rankin (a friend of Mrs. McIndoe from Hamiota), Mrs. John Black, Mrs. T. Lipsey, Mrs. J. Honey, Mrs. Bill Dixon. Centre row: Mrs. A. Montgomery, Mrs. Robert McCormick, Mrs. Jane Dickson, Mrs. William McIndoe, Mrs. Dave Finlay. Front row: Mrs. W.W. MacDonald, Mrs. William Lipsey, Mrs. James Lipsey, Mrs. George Mills, Mrs. Archie McCormick.

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