

Hilda's Diary: Reflections  
on Family, Impairment  
and "Disability" in  
Saskatchewan in the  
1930s and 1940s

Devotion to Duty: A Biographical  
Sketch of Major Alfred Frank Mantle

The Bronfman Family  
and the Yorkton Courts

From Protestant and Roman  
Catholic Missions to Public Schools:  
Educating Métis and Settler  
Children in the West to be  
Citizens of Modern Canada

*Saskatchewan*  
HISTORY

Volume 62 · Number 1 · Spring 2010



# The Saskatchewan Archives Board

The Saskatchewan Archives Board was established by provincial statute in 1945 under the Archives Act (RSS 1978, Ch. A-26). The board is responsible for appraising, acquiring, preserving and making accessible documentary records in all media on all aspects of the history of Saskatchewan as well as facilitating the management of the records of government institutions. Two offices, affiliated with the University of Saskatchewan and the University of Regina, are maintained to provide public access to a rich collection of archival materials for research and reference.

In addition, the Saskatchewan Archives Board has produced several authoritative works on the province's history and a number of reference booklets and directories to assist historical research about the province. The Archives' journal, *Saskatchewan History*, has won national and international awards.



*Lewis H. Thomas, Provincial Archivist and Secretary to the Archives Board, 1948-1957*

## Membership of the Board

**Mr. Trevor Powell**  
Former Provincial Archivist  
(Chair)

**Mr. Rick Mantey**  
Cabinet Secretary &  
Clerk of the Executive Council  
(Vice-Chair)

**Mr. Ron Dedman**  
Deputy Minister,  
Government Services

**Ms. Laura Hanowski**  
Certified Saskatchewan  
genealogy researcher  
and instructor

**Dr. Catherine Littlejohn**  
Free-lance historian,  
researcher, writer and  
consultant

University of Saskatchewan  
Representative (Vacant)

**Ms. Maureen Miller**  
Masters of Library and  
Information Sciences (MLIS)

University of Regina  
Representative (Vacant)

**Ms. Linda McIntyre**  
Provincial Archivist and  
Secretary of the Board

# Saskatchewan HISTORY

Volume 62 • Number 1 • Spring 2010

**Editor:** Myrna Williams  
**General Manager:** Lenora Toth

**Production Coordinator:** Nadine Charabin  
**Administrative Assistant:** Ilene Youchezin

The Saskatchewan Archives Board  
University of Saskatchewan, 3 Campus Drive,  
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 5A4  
publishes Saskatchewan History twice a year.

Canadian subscription rates are \$15.75 (CDN) per year, GST included. Subscriptions outside Canada are \$17.50 (CDN) per year. Subscribe online using the Government of Saskatchewan's Publication Centre, via <http://www.saskarchives.com/web/history-subscriptions.html>

The editor of Saskatchewan History welcomes the submissions of articles relating to the history of the province. Manuscripts can be submitted via regular mail or email and must be double spaced and letter quality print. The endnotes, prepared according to The Chicago Manual of Style, should also be double spaced. Electronic submissions should be in Word format. Qualified readers will review manuscripts. The Saskatchewan Archives Board assumes no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

Copyright 2010, the Saskatchewan Archives Board.  
ISSN 0036-4908  
PUBLICATIONS MAIL AGREEMENT NO. 1252690

## RETURN UNDELIVERABLE CANADIAN ADDRESSES TO

Saskatchewan Archives Board  
3 Campus Drive, University of Saskatchewan  
Saskatoon, SK S7N 5A4  
[info.saskatoon@archives.gov.sk.ca](mailto:info.saskatoon@archives.gov.sk.ca)

**COVER PHOTO:** The Butcher Family, before emigrating from England to Saskatchewan. Photo courtesy of Mike Meakes.

**DESIGN & LAYOUT:** Pro Print

**PRINTED BY:** Kromar Printing Ltd.

## What's New at the Archives?

- Provincial Archivist Brings New Vision..... 2
- Additions to the William Melville Martin Fonds..... 4

## Notes from the Editor

- History Connects Us..... 6
- Call for Papers - Special Roughriders Issue..... 7

## People and Places

- Hilda's Diary: Reflections on Family, Impairment and "Disability" in Saskatchewan in the 1930s and 1940s  
By *Cathy Bray*..... 8
- Devotion to Duty: A Biographical Sketch of Major Alfred Frank Mantle  
By *John Hickie* ..... 14

## Articles

- The Bronfman Family and the Yorkton Courts  
By *Kathy Morrell* ..... 16
- From Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions to Public Schools: Educating Métis and Settler Children in the West to be Citizens of Modern Canada, 1866-1939  
By *Jonathan Anuik* ..... 22

## Book Reviews

- On Our Bookshelf  
By *Jennifer Jozic, Jillian Staniec, Richard Hall* ..... 36

- Reel Stories from the Archives ..... 40



## Provincial Archivist Brings New Vision



*Provincial Archivist Linda McIntyre accepts a bound book of Letters of Congratulation originally sent to Premier W.M. Martin, from donor Shirley Good, Martin's grand-daughter, March 2010. Saskatchewan Archives Board Photo*

After serving the Saskatchewan Archives for more than 20 years, Linda McIntyre was appointed as Provincial Archivist last fall. Now with six months under her belt in her new job, she sat down to answer some questions about her career as an archivist, and where she would like to take the institution in the future.

*What made you choose a career in history and archival studies?*

I originally chose the field of Canadian Studies because I prefer an interdisciplinary approach to exploring issues and research. Analysis rarely requires a single focus from a single discipline: rather it is about discovering where your perspective comes from, and what makes that unique.

Research is also about sharing ideas – what concepts are advanced by an English major versus a history major? I completed a degree in Canadian Studies and then a Master of Arts in History, focused on a historical approach to the development of nursing professionalism during the 1930-1950 period.

It was when I attended guest lectures by an intriguing and inspiring traveling archivist at university that I decided to undertake archival studies. He didn't work for any particular

organization; he was an early outreach archivist determined to save as many archival documents as possible from the elements of time. It was simply amazing to hear his stories of custodial history and the treasures he had uncovered over the course of his career. He inspired me to pursue work in the archival field.



*Linda McIntyre giving a presentation during a special donor appreciation event. Saskatchewan Archives Board Photo*

*You were appointed as Provincial Archivist in mid-November 2009. Describe the learning curve so far.*

The learning curve has primarily been in the area of external relations; knowing government processes; how to do requests for funding, how to prepare to present before Treasury Board, these types of requirements. Of course, there have been challenges to meet as I become familiar with the role. Another major aspect of this position is to get 'out there' to meet the public and government and become known. I have been attending events, putting names to faces, meeting colleagues on a national level and developing working relationships.

The other part of the learning curve is more recent, with the March 2010 announcement of the new Provincial Capital Commission, which is now our Ministry. On the program level I have a wonderful resource in Lenora Toth, Director, Archival Programs and Information Management. I have worked in most of the program areas in my twenty-two years with the Saskatchewan

Archives with the exception of Digital Archives and Preservation; therefore, I have a sense of the major functions of each unit.

*Why do you believe outreach is so important?*

I think that our outreach activities have evolved over the last three years or so. We have assumed more of a provincial role in outreach initiatives. We have held SAB specific events but have also sought broader participation with other archives in activities. Part of this evolution has been through Archives Week, which has grown provincially over the past five years. As well, outreach is no longer a single focus within our Reference Unit – it has grown to institutional proportions. As a result, we have recently transferred outreach functions to our Outreach Steering Committee and have made special initiatives an institutional responsibility.

To some extent, priorities hinge on where the Board wants us to go. One of the first things I was asked to do in my new role was to participate in the Foundation Working Group. The initiative surrounding the development of a Foundation is all about awareness. You cannot campaign for funds or campaign for support if people do not know who you are.

I don't view awareness strictly in the traditional sense of outreach, where you go out and talk to people, or give tours; rather I see it as a more general application. Every archival unit should become aware of what they are currently doing in terms of outreach whether in Information Management it is through training, getting out into government and creating awareness of processes and services or in Appraisal and Acquisition it is reaching out to donors and relaying the message 'if you have archival records to preserve, we are here.' Every unit needs to identify their own outreach - most are doing the activities already. My goal is to develop that internal awareness as well as an external awareness of how we can deliver to public, government and corporate partners knowledge of why it is important to have a provincial archives and the kinds of services that we offer.

*What is the biggest issue the SAB faces?*

The biggest issue is our infrastructure: accommodation. It is not just about getting a building in Regina. That is huge; we need a single building here; whether it is a new building, or an existing structure that is renovated to meet our needs. We need a place where we can say 'this is the Saskatchewan Archives' – a place that people can visit, that as they drive by, they know to be "the Archives". We cannot remain hidden in five or six buildings with no one really knowing what happens within our walls.

In Saskatoon we need a place as well. I think our office there suffers even more from anonymity than we do in Regina. You can locate us on a map, but you cannot get to our site easily, even more so with recent construction. In each city we need a structure that is going to make people aware of the Saskatchewan Archives.

*How is the organization going to address that challenge?*

Our most recent Capital Planning analysis has been submitted to Executive Management and has been distributed to the Board. Our next role is to have an in-depth discussion with the Board, which is planned for the next Board meeting. This will result in a business plan with various scenarios to take to Treasury Board. With our new Commission structure we have the ability to present directly to Treasury Board. We have an avenue open to advance government awareness of our needs in a very direct manner. Our goal is to have something ready for the next budget call. As well, one of the key components of the Foundation Working Group is to look at ways that a Foundation can raise funds for infrastructure.

There are things happening, that over the long term may lead to new facilities. We need to really be sure what options best meet our needs and how we go about achieving our goals. Treasury Board looks for a well-presented plan. We want to take forward a proposal that truly reflects and meets our service and delivery needs.

*Describe your long-term vision for the SAB*

In the shorter term, I would love to see sufficient funding for each archival program to meet its core functions within our mandate – whether appraisal and acquisition, information management, access,



records processing, reference, preservation or digital records management. Right now we have situations in almost all of our units where responsibilities are doubled up. While dual responsibilities work to some extent at the Chief Archivist level, we need staff resources within the units. What I would like for each unit, apart from the most ideal funding, is to experience adequate resources at the ground level so that staff is not chasing after backlogs in every area.

Over the longer term I want to continue to promote awareness. My long-term vision is to have people know who we are, where we are, and what it is that we do. I want to develop excitement and informed knowledge about archives. If we can create awareness, whether within government, among students, academics or the general public, we will discover greater opportunities to meet our future.

## Additions to the William Melville Martin Fonds



Premier William Melville Martin, ca. 1917-1921. Saskatchewan Archives Board Photo R-B747-2

With an impressive career that included serving as Member of Parliament, Premier of Saskatchewan, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, William Melville Martin holds a prominent place in Saskatchewan history, so we are excited to announce the addition of more valuable Martin papers to our collection.

Born in Norwich, Ontario in 1876 and educated at the University of Toronto and Osgoode Hall,

Martin moved to Regina in 1903 to practice law. Elected to the House of Commons for Regina in 1908 and re-elected in 1911, he resigned from Parliament in 1916 to lead the Saskatchewan provincial Liberals.

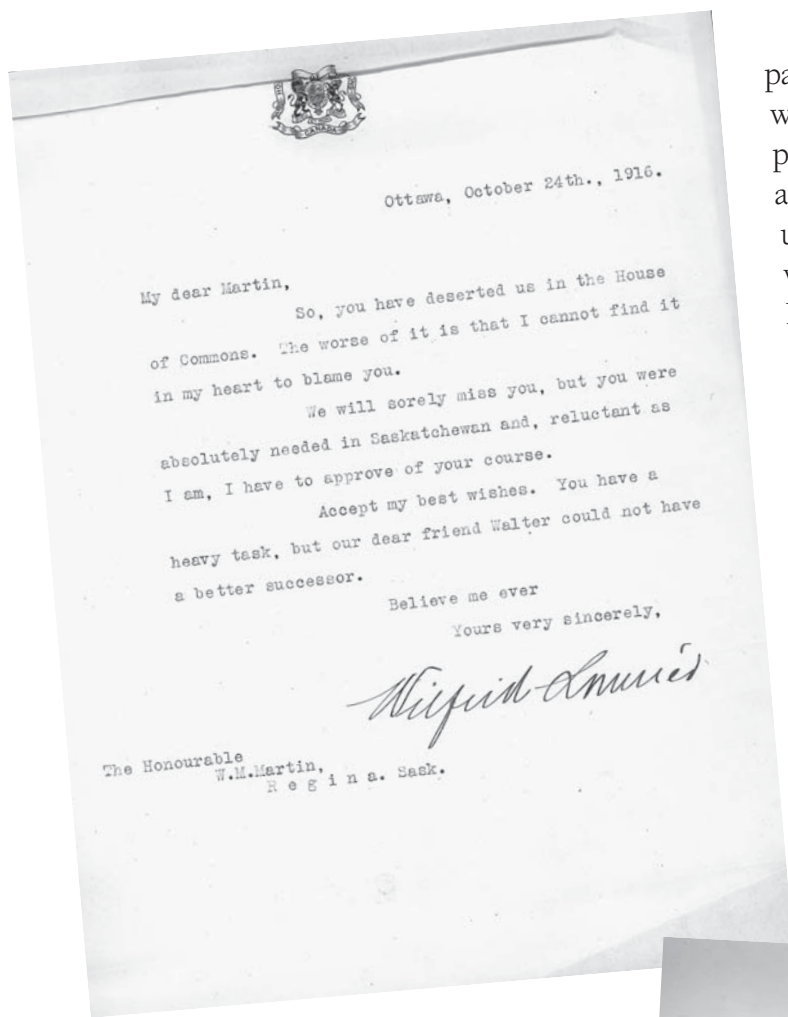
Martin was elected to the Legislature in a by-election in 1916, and voted in as Premier of Saskatchewan in the general elections of 1917 and 1921. Retiring from politics in 1922, he was appointed a Judge of the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal. He became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Saskatchewan in 1941 and held that post with distinction until his retirement 1961. Premier Martin died in Regina on 22 June 1970.

The Saskatchewan Archives Board acquired a significant collection of Martin's records in 1947 and again in 1957. The recently acquired accrual was donated by Martin's granddaughter, Shirley Good, who was conscious of their historical importance.

The newly donated material includes a wide variety of personal papers, correspondence, photographs and five 'congratulatory scrapbooks' of special interest, divided into the following subjects:

- Appointment as Liberal Premier of Saskatchewan in 1916
- Victory in the 1917 Saskatchewan Provincial Election
- Victory in the 1921 Saskatchewan Provincial Election
- Appointment as a Judge of the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal to The Supreme Court of Saskatchewan 1922
- Appointment as Chief Justice of Saskatchewan 1941



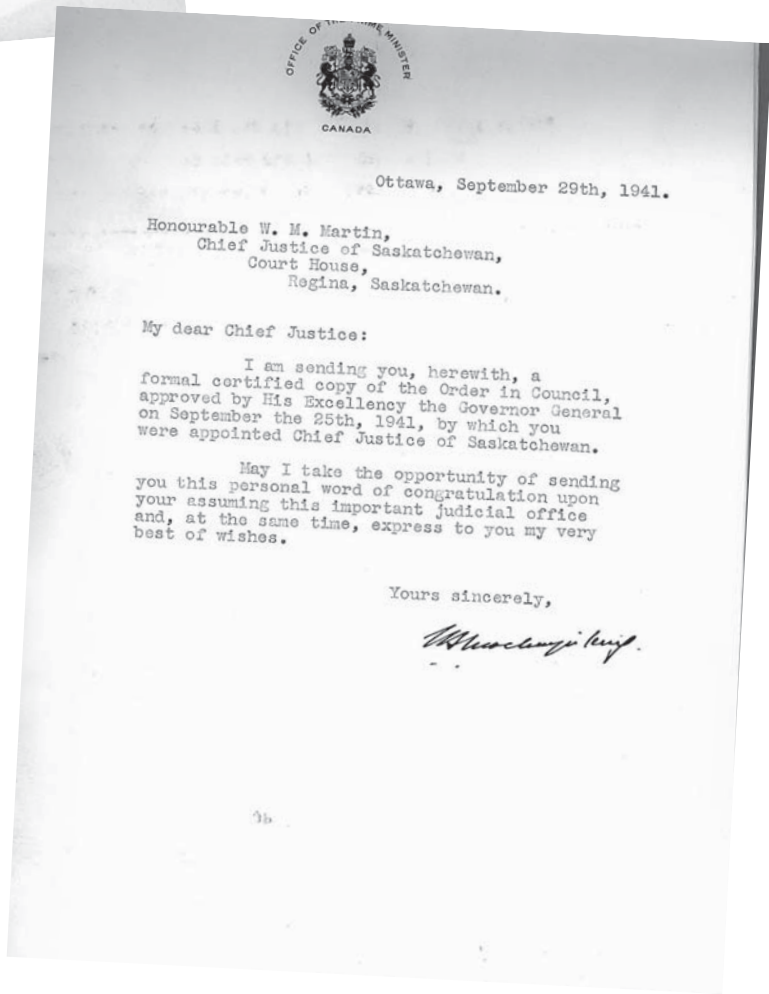


In addition to condolence letters on the 1922 passing of his mother and 1946 passing of his first wife Violette Thomson Martin, there are records pertaining to Martin's family life, including an undated photo of him as a child, the 1957 unveiling of a memorial window dedicated to wife Violette at the First Presbyterian Church in Regina, and his speech - presented at the 1960 dedication of Martin Collegiate High School in Regina - marked in Martin's own hand.

Researchers will find a rich diversity of family and professional records that illustrate the high regard people across Canada held for Saskatchewan's political and judicial leader. The newly obtained papers are a significant addition to the William Melville Martin fonds in Saskatchewan Archives Board's permanent collection.

Trevor R. Soltys  
Appraisal and Acquisition Archivist

Made of high-quality leather, each with a gold-embossed title specific to the scrapbook's contents, these scrapbooks illustrate the vast network of people throughout the nation with whom Premier Martin dealt on both a personal and professional basis over the years. Consisting of handwritten and typed congratulatory messages from past school mates, provincial and federal leaders spanning over half a century, and 'common folk' from across the country, the scrapbooks speak to his personal charisma and illustrate the respect, trust and appreciation that Martin commanded from the professional and private sectors in regards to his political leadership skills. Moreover, the creation, care and preservation of the scrapbooks themselves over the years suggest that Martin and his family were aware of his importance in the history, development and progress of Saskatchewan.



Why do we read and study and analyze historical events? Why sift through old papers, attempting to piece together biographies, or explain wars? Research roads often lead nowhere; work can be painstakingly frustrating. In an era where science and innovation are revered, how can looking back on the past be relevant to our lives, here and now?

Because humans connect through stories. We tell stories to share culture, to educate, and to entertain. All are historically valid: the far-reaching stories of great battles won, or great nations wrought, and the individual stories found in personal narrative forms like diaries. Studying history helps us understand people and societies; we learn how we came to be what and where we are today.

In this issue of Saskatchewan History, we connect you with diverse stories that operate on both small and big-picture ideas – stories borne from close study and analysis of documents, undertaken by authors who, struck with just a kernel of an idea, follow up with stringent research to expand the kernel into full-fledged, carefully crafted articles. They should be proud.

Most Canadians recognize the Bronfman family as wealthy eastern Canadian entrepreneurs and philanthropists; Samuel Bronfman bought the Seagram brand in 1928, and built an empire that continues today. In 1952, he and his wife established the Samuel and Saidye Bronfman Foundation, today one of Canada's largest private granting foundations. But a little further back in history, Samuel and his brothers, Abe and Harry, were in the hotel business on the prairies – where they noticed that alcohol sales were the core of their business profits.

Author Kathy Morrell connects you with a fascinating look at their innovative entrepreneurial spirit in the face of Prohibition. I trust you will enjoy her fresh, readable writing style as she weaves a fascinating story from the early lives of the Bronfman brothers.

Contributor John Hickie has felt a connection to Major Alfred Frank Mantle, who introduced the notion of co-operative farm credit to Saskatchewan,

for decades -- ever since he administered an agricultural scholarship established in Mantle's honour. Through his research, he found Mantle's grandson in British Columbia, and connected him with the never-before-heard story of his long-dead grandfather's courage and legacy. How exciting and thought-provoking it must be to receive such a letter out of the blue!

This issue also reconnects Saskatchewan Archives Board with Jonathan Anuik, a young scholar enjoying a banner year: fresh from obtaining his PhD in 2009, publishing this (and other) articles, and celebrating the publication of a forthcoming book. Staff in the Saskatoon branch of the Archives remember Jon well from the many months he spent researching the collection. His research into Métis education in the province showcases the connections between various church organizations and state, as each sought to put its own indelible marks on Métis youth through indoctrination into their values.

One of the most heart-warming connections made was between author Cathy Bray and Mike Meakes, a gentleman in Baltimore who supplied our beautiful cover image. Cathy found the photograph of her ancestors on a website, but it was not of high enough resolution for good-quality reproduction. Linking to the website's contact page, I tossed a note into cyberspace – not necessarily expecting a response. Literally within minutes, I was elated to hear from the website owner, who not only went to great effort to provide us with a new scan, but also expressed curiosity to know who was writing about Hilda Butcher. An exciting connection was made – Mike Meakes and Cathy Bray are now reunited cousins with shared Saskatchewan roots.

My work on this edition of *Saskatchewan History* also reconnected me to an institution and former colleagues. Years ago, I worked at the Saskatchewan Archives Board and was so struck by its collection that I invited a friend to help me compile a book: *Piecing the Quilt: Sources for Women's History in the Saskatchewan Archives Board* was published in 1996. My co-author, the late Dr. Barbara Powell, and I spent many days together pouring over the collection; we



felt that each document was quite literally a page from someone's life.

Special thanks to the Archives staff who contributed to this edition, writing book reviews, proof reading, and helping me to source photographs and pull the issue together; also to the peer reviewers who shared their time, skills and expertise to guide the articles you see before you. I enjoyed connecting with each of you.

Provincial Archivist Linda McIntyre has a vision to connect more Saskatchewan people to the Saskatchewan Archives Board via outreach programs. To that end, we want to hear from *Saskatchewan History* readers. Did you connect with the stories in this issue? Will you pass the magazine along for someone else to enjoy? What would you like to read here?

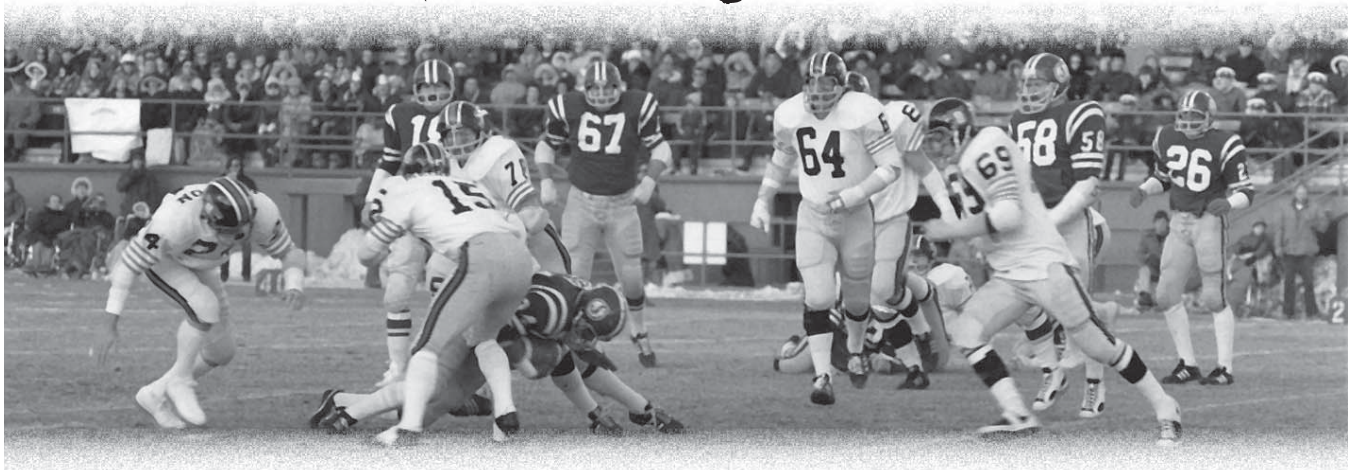
You can be more than a reader - you can also be a contributor! For our upcoming fall edition, we are focused on a popular institution currently celebrating its centenary - the Saskatchewan Roughriders! We invite scholarly papers that will be peer-reviewed; shorter, light-reading features highlighting people, places and events related to the club; and book reviews about this club that is known as Canada's Team. Visit <http://www.saskarchives.com/web/history.html> for information on how to submit an article. You may also contact our production coordinator, Nadine Charabin, at 306.933.8321 or by email at [info.saskatoon@archives.gov.sk.ca](mailto:info.saskatoon@archives.gov.sk.ca).

I hope you enjoy the stories we have connected you with in this edition of *Saskatchewan History*.

Myrna Williams

## CALL FOR PAPERS

### Special Roughrider Issue of Saskatchewan History



Saskatchewan Archives Board is planning to publish a special issue of its journal, *Saskatchewan History*, in the fall of 2010 to celebrate the 100th Anniversary of the Saskatchewan Roughriders (1910-2010).

You are invited to submit an article about any aspect of the history of the Roughriders, their fans, and their role in the

community, for possible inclusion in this special issue. Submissions may be scholarly papers which will be peer-reviewed; shorter, light-reading features highlighting people, places and events related to the team; or book reviews of Rider-related literature.

For details regarding how to submit an article, please visit Saskatchewan History's website

at [www.saskhistory.com](http://www.saskhistory.com), "Submitting Articles." The deadline for submission of articles is September 15, 2010.

If you have any questions about this special issue or this call for papers, please contact Nadine Charabin, Production Co-ordinator, at 306-933-8321 or [info.saskatoon@archives.gov.sk.ca](mailto:info.saskatoon@archives.gov.sk.ca).

## Hilda's Diary: Reflections on Family, Impairment and "Disability" in Saskatchewan in the 1930s and 1940s



Hilda Butcher in Punnichy. Photo courtesy of the author.

Cathy Bray, Ph D, who grew up in Saskatoon and has degrees from the University of Saskatchewan, works at Athabasca University and Kwantlen Polytechnic University. She teaches women's studies and sociology and researches in the areas of family studies, disability and citizenship. Now living and working in Vancouver, she is excited that her first article about 'Aunty Hilda' is for Saskatchewan History, and invites contact at [cathyb@athabascau.ca](mailto:cathyb@athabascau.ca).

Great Aunt Hilda Butcher (June 5, 1881-December 6, 1965) emigrated from England with her family in 1904, first settling in Touchwood Hills district and then moving to a new home in Punnichy in 1908. The family was part of a large influx of settlers to Saskatchewan at the turn of the century, a population surge that led eventually to the creation of the province of Saskatchewan.<sup>1</sup> While her parents considered themselves of the upper class, and her brothers came ahead to work the land, it is Hilda whose remarkable life is most-recorded in detail, thanks to the diary she kept from 1937 to 1942. While Hilda spent her life managing a condition commonly known as dwarfism, her

own words indicate she lived a full and meaningful life, accepted and appreciated by her family and community, and striving to improve her community through her activities.

It is important to note that Hilda's family were considered of the upper class in England, status that undoubtedly helped her cope with her condition. The Butchers were white, Anglo Saxon, Protestant and members of the upper class in England. While Hilda's father, Henry Laitham Butcher, had been a contractor in and near London in the late 1890s, he listed his occupation as "gentleman" in the Saskatchewan census of 1916. His wife, Emily (nee Scutt), in later years required her grandchildren to make formal appointments in order to visit her - a requirement that may have arisen from Mrs. Butcher's class position in England.<sup>2</sup> The Laithams sent sons Claude and Frank to Canada ahead of the family; they arrived in 1903<sup>3</sup> and claimed a homestead, located at N.W. 16 28 15 W2,<sup>4</sup> naming it "Westmoor" after the English birthplace of their father. In 1908 Henry supervised the building of a family home in Punnichy, into which they moved



after the railroad arrived, when Hilda was 28 years old. Indeed, the Butcher family's experience in the new land may well have been similar to that of another English immigrant who settled in Battleford, Saskatchewan in 1907, who said "I worked on that house because we needed a roof over our heads before winter. Mother had never done anything more strenuous than drive a pony cart or do embroidery or pick flowers and here she was, up on the roof."<sup>5</sup>

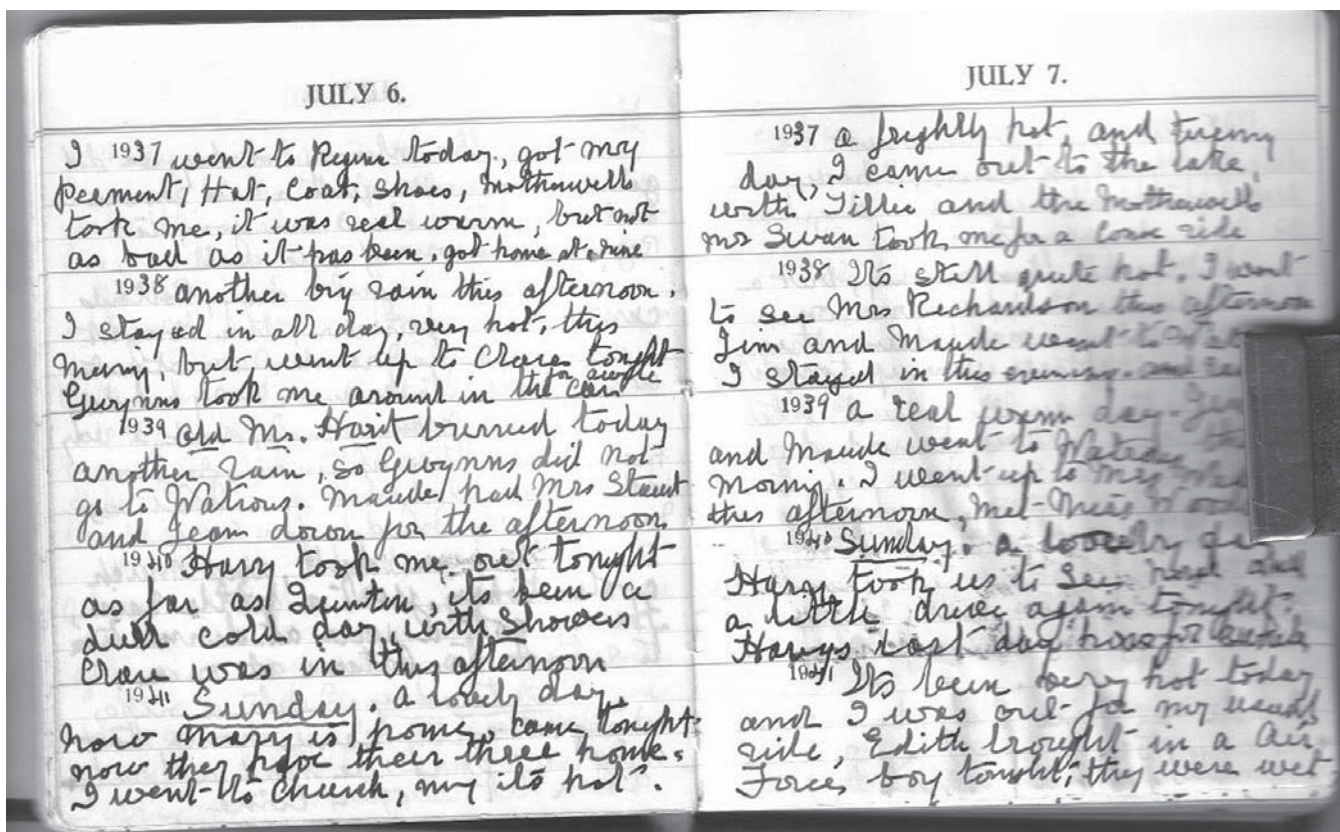
From a family photo taken prior to their emigration, one can see that even the clothing indicates that the Butchers were reasonably well off. But what can we learn from Hilda's diary?

The diary begins on January 1, 1937, when Hilda was 56, and ends in December 1941, when she was 61. The physical diary itself is not remarkable: it is a typical five-year version, compact, with daily entries limited to about four lines. Hilda's handwriting is relatively legible with large loops. Written with what seems to be a fountain pen, most entries refer to the weather, and many to Hilda's state of health. She expressed herself with strong descriptive vocabulary using words such as "glorious," "exceptional" and "beautiful," and phrases like "the temperature was... desperately low" or "feel real

tough and my throat is so sore" or "another miserable day." Such words and phrases, and the consistency with which Hilda recorded her life, suggest that she appreciated language and self-expression.

Despite her impairment, Hilda was considered by her family and other contemporaries to be "a cripple with a fine mind."<sup>8</sup> Though unmarried, she was not single in the contemporary sense of the term; she was part of a large extended family including Tillie Luraas, a paid housekeeper whom Hilda referred to almost daily, and her sisters, brothers, nieces and nephews who lived in or near Punnichy. Though historians indicate that, "marriage was at once a civic duty and an individual imperative,"<sup>9</sup> Hilda's diary makes clear that unmarried people<sup>10</sup> were welcome within, and important to family life.

Hilda visited with members of her family four or five times a week, often when her sister Maude was ill. For instance on March 23, 1937, Hilda writes, "I went up to Maude's tonight Mary [Maude's daughter] is better but Maude is in for another of her turns" and on April 2 that "Maude looks better." On October 21, 1937, Hilda went to see Maude because "she had a fall yesterday." Maude reciprocated by staying with Hilda when Tillie, Hilda's housekeeper, was on



A sample page of Hilda's diary entries.



holidays. Such diary passages demonstrate the close emotional ties amongst the family members.

Central to the family, Hilda was also a friend to many people in the community. On most days, she visited others, connecting with about four people per day on average, at her home or theirs. Moreover, these were not duty visits; rather she enjoyed herself a great deal, writing on September 8, 1937, “we went to Mrs. Chews about 4 o’clock, had tea, and spent the evening. I enjoyed it so much - they are both so nice.” In another passage on September 20, 1939, Hilda comments, “It’s been just a beautiful day. I went to see Mrs. Southey this afternoon, then Mrs. Frayling came for supper and the evening.” In November 1940, she writes, “It’s been a busy day. I had Mrs. Byrd here to see me, also the Doctor, Syd and Frank were here for supper... same crowd.”

In addition to enjoying friends in her community, Hilda was an active participant in St. David’s Anglican Church:

*A familiar figure in past years at St. David’s Church was Miss Hilda Butcher. Though small in physical stature she was monumental in faith and devotion. She always sat in the same place, the front left hand pew, and even today [1983] the kneeling cushions she made still hang there for use.<sup>11</sup>*

In January 1937, Hilda wrote that she was “in as president again” of St. David’s Women’s Auxiliary (WA). It is clear that she considered her involvement in the WA as *work*, commenting in entries such as: “I went up to Mrs. Whiskins [and] The WA [executive] decided what to buy to start work for our bazaar next fall” or “I judged the fancywork for Lakewood Vale.” She also recognized that her own sewing and embroidery were work, writing in April 1938 that “I got quite a lot of my WA embroidery done” and later that year that “I feel lots better today and did quite a bit of sewing.” In May 1939 Hilda records “[I] was down at Mrs. Bands for an executive WA meeting also a sewing committee meeting.” Hilda sewed two



*The Butcher family, taken prior to immigration to Canada. Hilda is seated behind the children, to her father’s right. Photo courtesy of Mike Meakes.*



or more dresses each year and completed a good deal of embroidery and mending.

This recognition of the importance of unpaid work is significant to contemporary feminist interpretation, which sometimes presumes that not only is unpaid work undervalued by those around them, but also by women themselves. In an article entitled, “The Limits of Liberalism: The Liberal Reconnaissance and the History of Family in Canada,” R.W. Sandwell refers to:

*Abundant research documenting women’s widespread ‘failure’ to achieve economic independence, or political identity, or liberal definitions of individual autonomy then begs the question of whether women were, indeed, even trying to reach beyond these activities to achieve the personal and political goals of liberal individualism.<sup>12</sup>*

Sandwell questions if these women were even trying to reach such individualist goals. However, Hilda’s diary suggests that she was happy to contribute in a voluntary, unpaid and collective way to her family and her community. A close reading brings to light “a wide variety of a-liberal practices”<sup>13</sup> that reflect collectivism, selflessness and conservative approaches to maintaining community. For example, on April 15, 1937, Hilda records a “lovely” evening filled with group activities: “Went over to the school for prayers, then WA, then music after in the staff sitting room.”

Hilda also participated in community activities at the Gordon’s Indian Reserve residential school, which was administered by the Anglican Church at the time. In October 1937, she “went to the confirmation at Gordon’s” and in 1939 attended the school’s sports day. Church attendance was frequent for many members of the community; Hilda and her family attended both the Anglican and United churches in Punnichy and surrounding villages, though Hilda was a member of the Anglican Church and her sisters, Clare and Maude, were members of Punnichy United Church. Hilda also played bridge, sang in the church choir, played the church organ, went for drives in the country, and spent a month with family at the cottage at Watrous Lake each summer.

However, the diary also shows that throughout the five-year period, about one-quarter of Hilda’s time was spent in bed, ill with spells, neuralgia, rheumatism, or just plain “feeling punk.” Hilda had achondroplasia, a congenital disease of the bones and cartilage that causes short stature and other structural defects—known in the past as *dwarfism*. During the 1930s, research published in medical journals and books associated dwarfism with cretinism,<sup>14</sup> mental retardation,<sup>15</sup> monsters, and prodigies.<sup>16</sup> Thus, when family members referred to her as “a cripple with a fine mind”<sup>17</sup> they were countering an everyday assumption that dwarfs were affected by mental retardation.

In his introduction to *Social Histories of Disability and Deformity*, David Turner asks: “How is disability to be defined? What is the relationship between disability, deformity and defect?”<sup>18</sup> He points out that the relationship between deformity and disability is complex and subject to change over time. In Hilda’s case, deformity was clear—she deviated from normal appearance because of her short stature and other differences. However, according to her own diary, she was also impaired or unable to carry out some functions deemed normal because of the illnesses associated with achondroplasia. Advancements in medical science mean we now know that significant impairments result from achondroplasia. Complications include cervical cord compression, spinal stenosis, restrictive and obstructive lung disease, otitis media, and tibial bowing, and neurological symptoms.<sup>19</sup> among others.<sup>20</sup>

Hilda wrote about various neurological symptoms, which regularly sent her to bed. For instance on November 2, 1937, she wrote, “I have neuralgia and am staying quiet. I do wish it would go. It’s pretty painful.” On March 31, 1938, she commented, “I have had neuralgia all day—feel real tough. Do hope it will go off,” but the next day wrote, “Well I couldn’t stand it any longer. I was crazy with neuralgia. Stayed in bed all day.” This spell lasted until April 7th when she still felt “too punk” to go to church. The next day (April 8th), she used a remedy: “I still have neuralgia and still feel punk so have started hydrochloric acid again.” Such a remedy may have been used to ease Hilda’s stomach upset.



For some period of time, Hilda used a wheelchair. Mary Gwynn, in *Between the Touchwoods*, mentioned that Hilda “never walked until she was 40.”<sup>21</sup>

Hilda’s nephew, Dr. Gordon Bray, also related a family story: in 1921, apparently she was in a house that caught fire and, in order to flee, she walked—for the first time ever. The photo of Hilda in a wheelchair lends credence to this story, but as with much family history, we can never be sure of the accuracy of accounts. However, as many family historians have done before, I have chosen to represent these oral accounts “to prevent valuable historical information from being lost forever”<sup>23</sup> and with a critical approach that reflects on “traditionary evidence.”<sup>24</sup>

Hilda was deformed and “impaired,” but was she “disabled?” In an article entitled, “Choices and Rights: Eugenics, Genetics and Disability Equity,” Tom Shakespeare distinguishes between “impairment,” which has biological roots, and “disability,” which results from people’s attitudes and the social structures that grow from attitudes.<sup>25</sup> Betty Adelson, in her *Lives of Dwarfs*, comments that “in a few societies, dwarfs were treated with respect and honor; in others violence and abasement were rampant. Sometimes both treatments coexisted.”<sup>26</sup> In an article about achondroplasia, W. Horton, J. Hall, and J. Hecht comment on the “social stigma associated with disproportionate short stature.”<sup>27</sup> In Hilda’s era - these early days in the province -- people with perceived disabilities were often isolated from the mainstream of life.<sup>28</sup> However we know this was not Hilda’s experience.

What is most important in determining whether a person is impaired or disabled (or not) is listening to that person’s own opinion. Hilda’s diary indicates that, while

she often felt sick and impaired, she did not see herself as disabled. Not once in the diary does she comment on limitations imposed by others because of her differences. Employing Michelle Putnam’s model of Political Disability Identity,<sup>29</sup> it seems that Hilda interpreted herself from within the domain of “self worth” and believed that persons experiencing impairment are of the same worth as others. She lived out her belief that people, impaired or not, can be productive contributors to society. This attitude may well have arisen from her class background since, as noted above, Hilda’s father considered himself a “gentleman” and her mother adhered to traditions characteristic of upper class Englishwomen. Hilda herself may have developed her feeling of self worth, not in response to impairment, but as a result of her class and race background as a white, upper-middle class woman.

With respect to the other domains in Putnam’s model, it is difficult to determine whether Hilda believed that persons with perceived disabilities were undervalued or discriminated against in Saskatchewan. Hilda did not write of any beliefs that would suggest she took pride in her impairment or that she made common cause with others who were impaired, except insofar as she worked for all others through her church work.<sup>30</sup> She apparently did not fight for alternative policies through political action; no political groups for



Figure 2: Hilda Butcher relaxes in front of her home in Punnichy; the woman with her is likely her housekeeper, Tillie Luraas. Photo courtesy of the author.





Figure 3. Hilda Butcher in her wheelchair. Photo courtesy of the author.

people with disabilities existed in Saskatchewan in the 1930s and 1940s. However, as G. Thomas Couser points out in “Recovering Bodies: Illness, Disability, and Life Writing,”<sup>31</sup> autobiographers, including diarists like Hilda, must have some sense that their story is valuable. We cannot know why Hilda diarized, but the existence of the diary indicates that she valued and enjoyed her life, including her illness, enough to write about it every day for five years, and possibly longer.<sup>32</sup>

In summary, despite dealing with achondroplasia, Hilda’s life as she describes it was full of connection with family and community. While she recognized her impairments, she did not comment on disabling attitudes or processes among those around her. Indeed, her diary demonstrates that she was a productive and fulfilled member of Saskatchewan society in the 1930s and 1940s.

## Endnotes

- 1 Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History* (Calgary, Alberta: Fifth House, 2005).
- 2 John Butcher, *Butcher Family History* (unpublished manuscript, 1989).
- 3 *Ibid.*
- 4 Authors, “Page Title,” Saskatchewan Homestead Index, <http://www.saskhomesteads.com>.
- 5 Cynthia R. Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 45.
- 6 [http://meakes.org/GEN/wp01/wp01\\_240.htm#a](http://meakes.org/GEN/wp01/wp01_240.htm#a)
- 7 My grandmother, Ethel Bray (nee Butcher), is standing on the far right.

- 8 Butcher, John. *Butcher Family History*. Unpublished manuscript, 1989.
- 9 Cynthia R. Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 17.
- 10 Hilda’s brother Harry Butcher, who was a member of parliament, was also unmarried. Last Mountain Electoral District, “Election Results” (1917-1930), Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Last\\_Mountain\\_electoral\\_district](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Last_Mountain_electoral_district).
- 11 Punnichy and Districts History Book Committee, “Between the Touchwoods: A History of Punnichy and Districts,” *Our Roots: Canada’s Local Histories Online* (1983), 100, <http://www.ourroots.ca/e/toc.aspx?id=8611>.
- 12 R.W. Sandwell, “The Limits of Liberalism: The Liberal Reconnaissance and the History of the Family in Canada,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 84 (2003): 447.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 448.
- 14 Lawson Wilkins, “Rates of Growth, Osseous Development and Mental Development in Cretins and in Dwarfs,” *American Journal of Diseases of Children* 54 (1937): 193-194.
- 15 I.P. Bronstein, A.W. Brown and R. Foster, “The Mental Development of a Group of Dwarfish Children,” *Proceedings of the American Association on Mental Deficiency* 44 (1939): 143-153.
- 16 D’Arcy Power and C.J.S. Thompson, *The Mystery and Lore of Monsters with Accounts of Some Giants, Dwarfs and Prodigies* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1931).
- 17 John Butcher. *Butcher Family History* (unpublished manuscript, 1989), 2.
- 18 David M. Turner, “Approaching Anomalous Bodies” (Introduction), in *Social Histories of Disability and Deformity*, ed. David M. Turner and Kevin Stagg (New York: Routledge, 2006), 2.
- 19 L.D. Lutter and L.O. Langer, “Neurological Symptoms in Achondroplastic Dwarfs: Surgical Treatment,” *Journal of Bone & Joint Surgery (American)* 59 (1977): 87-92.
- 20 W. Horton, J. Hall, and J. Hecht, “Achondroplasia,” *The Lancet* 370/9582 (2007), 162-172; A.G. Hunter et al., “Medical Complications of Achondroplasia: A Multicentre Patient Review,” *Journal of Medical Genetics* 35 (1998): 705-712.
- 21 Punnichy and District History Book Committee, “Hilda Butcher,” in *Between the Touchwoods: A History of Punnichy and Districts* (Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary, 1983), 348, <http://www.ourroots.ca/e/page.aspx?id=3620213>.
- 22 From the author’s photo collections.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 39

## Devotion to Duty: A Biographical Sketch of Major Alfred Frank Mantle



Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Frank Mantle, seated at his desk, ca. 1910-1915. Saskatchewan Archives Board Photo S-B152

John Hickie may be retired from the Department of Agriculture after 27 years of work, but he still farms near Waldron, SK. The son of homesteaders, Mr. Hickie's interest in Major Mantle was sparked many years ago through his work administering the Mantle Scholarship on behalf of Saskatchewan Agriculture. His admiration of Major Mantle continues; he hopes his article will spur further recognition for Mantle's inspiring work and devotion to duty.

Major Alfred Frank Mantle, Deputy Minister of the Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture from 1910 to 1915, was a distinguished, remarkable and gifted person. Volunteering for service in World War I, he was tragically killed in action at the young age of 34. In a tribute to Mantle, the Honourable George Langley stated, "We have lost a man whose future was full of promise and who, had he been spared, would probably have attained the very highest position open to a citizen." Indeed it had been said that he might some day become Premier of the province.

Born in London, England in February, 1882, Mantle was educated at Watford Orphanage. In

1898, he immigrated to Winnipeg and farmed in the Belmont district.

### A Stellar Agricultural Career

In addition to farming, Mantle served as an agricultural correspondent for the *Belmont Star* and other newspapers; in fact from 1908 - 09, he was agricultural editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*.

Mantle came to Saskatchewan in 1909 when he was appointed Secretary of Statistics in the provincial Department of Agriculture. Quickly demonstrating strong leadership talents, Mantle was named Deputy Minister of the Department in September 1910, replacing W.J. Rutherford, who became the first Dean of Agriculture at the University of Saskatchewan. During his time as Deputy Minister, Mantle's administrative responsibilities and workload increased considerably when the Department expanded from six branches in 1909 to ten in 1913, adding Vital Statistics, the Bacteriology Lab, a Wildlife and Games Unit and the Co-operatives Branch.



As Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Mantle held key positions of various boards and commissions including: Secretary of the Agricultural Credit Commission (1913), Secretary of the Grain Markets Commission (1914), Director of the Winter and Summer Fairs Boards; and Chairman of the Stallion Licencing Board. He was also in close touch with farming communities throughout Saskatchewan, becoming widely known and respected.

W.R. Motherwell, Minister of Agriculture during the formative years of the province's development, held great admiration for Mantle. He praised Mantle for his leadership and administrative abilities, and for an approach in agriculture that balanced practical and theoretical aspects. He also credited Mantle with significantly contributing to the Department's organization and functioning. In a tribute given later, Motherwell stated, "Mantle always stood out as a man among men and had the exceptional gift of winning one's confidence on sight."

### Mantle's Military Service

Mantle joined the 68th Infantry Battalion in August, 1915. Though holding the rank of a major, he soon requested a temporary reversion to the rank of a captain and a transfer to the 28th Battalion in order to be dispatched overseas. His request was granted.

Tragically, Major Mantle was killed by a sniper's bullet on September 26, 1916, while crossing open ground to inspect a platoon near Courcelette, France. He was survived by his widow and three young

children, ages two to ten, who later relocated to Vancouver.

The report of Major Mantle's death greatly distressed many of his former colleagues and staff in the Saskatchewan government. Motherwell said, "when the sad news ran through the various government departments, all were shocked and grieved...saying that such indispensable men as Frank Mantle in a new land like Saskatchewan should not be permitted to enlist." Out of respect for Mantle, and to afford an opportunity to regain composure, department offices were closed for the balance of the day.



Major Frank Mantle in uniform, ca. 1915-1916. Saskatchewan Archives Board Photo S-A3681

### Tributes of Great Respect

Effusive expressions of appreciation of Mantle's work and character were printed in the October 4, 1916 issue of the *Regina Leader*. The tributes came from some of Saskatchewan's most prominent people: Hon. C.A. Calder, Minister of Railways; Hon. W.R. Motherwell, Minister of Agriculture; Hon. George Langley, Minister of Municipal Affairs; F.H. Auld, Acting Deputy Minister of Agriculture; and C.A. Dunning, General Manager of the Co-operative Elevator Company (and later, Premier of Saskatchewan).

Their sentiments were testament to the high regard and esteem for Mantle's exceptional qualities as a leader, administrator, writer, speaker, and soldier - in addition for his "purity of character and personal worth" and "his unswerving devotion to duty."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 39

## The Bronfman Family and the Yorkton Courts



Samuel Bronfman, ca. 1936. Photo courtesy of the City of Waterloo Heritage Collection.

*Kathy Morrell is a freelance writer interested primarily in the history of Western Canada. She has written and produced Nellie McClung: A One "Person" Play. Her work has been published in Prairies North, Saskatchewan Folklore and Saskatchewan History. An excerpt from Haunts of Yorkton appeared in Jo-Anne Christensen's book, Ghost Stories of Saskatchewan. The three scripts of Haunts of Yorkton presented the history of the city through drama and story telling.*

The time was Prohibition, the place Saskatchewan. On July 1, 1915, a provincial statute banned the serving of alcohol in hotel bars. On December 31, 1916, the law closed down government-operated liquor stores as well. The Province was dry - at least in theory. In practise, entrepreneurs, notably

the Bronfman family, found and took advantage of loopholes in new prohibition legislation to market a much-desired product.

The Bronfman family income was derived from their many hotels. Most of that income came from bar profits. In 1905, Abe and Harry Bronfman had purchased the Balmoral Hotel in Yorkton as well as hotels along the C.P.R. line at Sheho, Saltcoats, Leslie and Wynyard.<sup>1</sup> Jean (nee Bronfman) and her husband Paul Matoff operated the hotel in Sheho. Sam ran the Bell Hotel in Winnipeg and his brother-in-law, Barney Aaron, the Wolseley Hotel in the same city. With the closure of the drinking establishments in Saskatchewan, Harry moved to Winnipeg to manage the Alberta Hotel. Finally



with the closure of bars in Manitoba on June 1, 1916, the family's hotel revenue was cut even more drastically.<sup>2</sup>

The first solution to the Bronfman financial shortfall was the package trade. The sale of liquor within the province was illegal. However, its export to other provinces was not. And so began the mail-order business. Customers would order their alcohol from a business outside the province. The case of whisky - the package - would arrive on their doorstep. All completely legal. In general, the Bronfmans imported whisky from Scotland and Quebec for the inter-provincial trade. Then the Dominion government closed that loophole banning the manufacture and importation of alcohol completely until one year after the end of the First World War.

The Bronfman lawyers then found a second loophole. Provincial statutes allowed for the sale

of alcohol for medicinal purposes. The Bronfmans acquired a wholesale drug licence from the Province of Saskatchewan and the family set up the Canada Pure Drug Company. Harry moved the operation into the warehouse next to the family's Balmoral Hotel in Yorkton.

With the end of World War One, the Bronfmans found a way to revive the package trade as well. The federal government was caught in a conundrum. Even though many of the other provinces wished to see a continuation of prohibition legislation at the federal level, Quebec refused, and the Senate supported that province's stance. The government decided on a compromise; the ban would continue in those provinces where a provincial referendum in support of Prohibition passed. The federal ban on alcohol would end in December, 1919. The Saskatchewan referendum would not be held until October of 1920. In that ten-month period,



The Balmoral Hotel, Yorkton, with sign showing H. Bronfman as proprietor, ca. 1911. Saskatchewan Archives Board Photo R-A19394



the Bronfman mail order business revived. The importation of alcohol and its export to another province were once again legal. The Bronfmans took advantage of the gap in the legislation and imported cases and cases of booze - 360,000 bottles in all.<sup>3</sup>

In 1920, the American government passed its own prohibition act banning the sale and manufacture of alcohol in the United States. In the same year, Sam Bronfman made the contacts south of the border that would open the huge American market to the whisky trade. Never afraid of risk and ever in search of further profit, Sam and Harry entered into the blending of whisky in the little warehouse located next door to the Balmoral Hotel in Yorkton. And it was this new enterprise, The Yorkton Distributing Company, that resulted in the civil case between the Brewers' and Bottlers' Supply Company<sup>4</sup> of Winnipeg and Sam and Harry Bronfman. The transcript from that legal proceeding revealed much about the Bronfman business genius that was to produce the family fortune.

Sam and Harry Bronfman established The Yorkton Distributing Company on January 20, 1920. When asked during Examination for Discovery (a hearing held prior to trial) to name the partners in the firm, Harry replied, "practically the whole of the Bronfman family are interests in it."<sup>5</sup> Harry, younger than Abe but five years older than Sam, provided the capital that allowed the family to fill its warehouses for the package trade. He had established a sound reputation with the Bank of North America in Yorkton, later to be taken over by the Bank of Montreal.<sup>6</sup> Harry had started and successfully operated a number of businesses in the city: two hotels, rental office space, a billiard hall, a garage, and a theatre. In addition, he had purchased 200 lots within the city limits.<sup>7</sup> He paid his loans at the bank on time. He was known in the community as a prosperous businessman. As a result, he was able to

borrow the money necessary to fill the warehouses at Yorkton, Kenora, Vancouver and Montreal.<sup>8</sup>

The conflict between the Bronfman family and the Brewers' and Bottlers' Supply Company played itself out in two parts: the problems associated with the purchase and installation of the blending and bottling plant, and the resulting lawsuit.



*The Bronfman case would have been tried in the new Yorkton Court House, built in 1920 on Darlington Street. Saskatchewan Archives Board Photo S-B4076*

### **Purchase and Installation of the Plant**

During Examination for Discovery, Thomas Moore, manager and secretary-treasurer of the Brewers' and Bottlers' Supply Company described the negotiations that led to the purchase of the used bottling plant the firm had for sale. The Company had acquired the equipment from the George Benz Company of Saint Paul, Minnesota. The firm was unloading the machinery no longer usable in the United States since the introduction of Prohibition.

In the first step in the Bronfman purchase, Moore met Philip Bronfman (some testimony referred to this person as Brotman). Philip realized that this was exactly the type of equipment the family was seeking to establish their own blending facility. He contacted Sam, travelling in Eastern Canada in search of a bottling plant, with the information that he had found the necessary equipment closer to home.<sup>9</sup>

During the next step, Moore met with Sam who indicated the family would have "considerable bottling" to do - 500 cases a day - to furnish the



branches they were about to establish. The branches were, of course, their warehouses in Vancouver, Montreal, Kenora, and Yorkton, as well as the “boozoriums”<sup>10</sup> they were to build in Gainsborough, Bienfait, and Carnduff, towns close to the American border. The Bronfmans thought it cheaper to have one bottling plant for their product rather than have each warehouse bottle its own supply of alcohol from the keg. As a result of the negotiations, Moore was to reserve the bottling plant for three or four weeks until the family had come to a decision.

In the third step, Allan Bronfman completed negotiations with the Brewers’ and Bottlers’ Supply Company over the telephone.<sup>11</sup> Moore was to travel to Yorkton, set up the plant and instruct a Bronfman employee on its operation.<sup>12</sup>

On April 4th, 1920 (Easter Sunday)<sup>13</sup> Sam and Allan Bronfman, and William Reid, manager of the Yorkton Distributing Company, met with Moore at his home to complete the deal. The equipment arrived in Yorkton a number of days later and Moore and a carpenter travelled from Winnipeg on April 16th to set up the plant. Speed was a priority. Prohibition came to an end across the country in December of 1919. Saskatchewan would hold another referendum in October of 1920. In the intervening ten months, the Bronfmans wished to blend and distribute as much alcohol as possible while the moratorium on Prohibition was still in place.

When Moore and his carpenter arrived at the Yorkton warehouse on April 16th, 1920, neither of the Bronfman brothers was present. Sam was lining up customers in Eastern Canada and establishing contacts for the lucrative American market. Harry was in Estevan – likely supervising the warehouses in Bienfait, Carnduff and Gainsborough.

Mr. Reid had been left in charge. The equipment was hauled from the railway freight sheds across the street even though the warehouse was unfinished. At one end, laundry equipment was stored on the one piece of cement flooring in the building. The remaining floor was hard-packed dirt; concrete had not as yet been poured because the earth was still frozen.

As a result of the unfinished state of the building, Moore determined they could erect only two tanks and requested the assistance of a local carpenter. The crew worked through the first day

setting up the two tanks. They cut one of the five tanks in half thereby creating two 1000-gallon vats. On April 17th, Reid arrived late and according to Moore, he “was badly intoxicated.”<sup>14</sup> In addition, Reid said, “he did not understand anything about (the plant) and did not know what they were doing.”<sup>15</sup> Neither Sam nor Harry Bronfman appeared during the two-day installation period. In his testimony Moore claimed he told Reid he would return to complete the process when the floor was finished.

Moore returned to Winnipeg, called Allan Bronfman and suggested that the Yorkton Distributing Company hire an experienced man to install and run the operation. In cross-examination, he insisted that the plant worked properly “for anyone who knew how to operate it.”<sup>16</sup>

In May, Mr. Daley, a sales representative with the Brewers’ and Bottlers’ Supply Company, called on the Yorkton firm only to meet an irate Harry Bronfman who “said the machinery is no good and Moore need not think that he can send out a bunch of junk like that to me.”<sup>17</sup> Harry explained that his brother, Sam, felt taken in by the Winnipeg firm.<sup>18</sup> Moore then made enquiries of other Winnipeg merchants who had had dealings with the Bronfmans and learned – so he claimed – that he was likely to have trouble.<sup>19</sup>

Bronfman returned the bill for the bottling plan on May 26th, 1920, and Moore sent off an immediate reply accepting Harry Bronfman’s implied threat of a lawsuit.

Despite the conflict, Moore continued to try and solve the problem by finding an experienced worker to run the plant. This individual, John W. Scott from the George Benz distilling firm in Saint Paul, wrote a letter to Harry Bronfman offering his services. However, his offer in the letter appeared ambiguous. In the main body of his letter, he indicated he would come. However, in a postscript, he said he might not be able to come because travel costs to Yorkton would be too high. The Bronfmans took this as a withdrawal of offer. Moore claimed it an indication Scott wanted travel expenses if he were to come.

The Bronfmans thought themselves capable of operating the plant themselves. Under cross-examination at trial, Sam Bronfman indicated that the family’s long-time experience in the hotel industry gave them the needed expertise to run a blending operation, although he admitted never



having worked in one. It was difficult for some in the court to appreciate how experience in the hotel business would carry over to the blending of whisky. However, Sam was always confident he could undertake a new venture if it was to lead to profit.

### **The Lawsuit**

On June 8th, the Winnipeg law firm of Machray, Sharpe and Company attempted to resolve the problem by sending a letter offering to send a man to install the equipment.

When this last missive met with no resolution, the Brewers' and Bottlers' Supply Company launched a lawsuit against Sam Bronfman and Harry Bronfman for the unpaid debt of \$3370.00 with interest of 5% and costs. The Company hired C. H. Locke and G. T. Killam, Yorkton lawyers, to represent them in the action. The Yorkton firm of McPhee, O'Regan and Lawton represented the Bronfmans, with O'Regan acting as counsel.

Examination for Discovery was held January 20th, 1921 in the Yorkton Courthouse with the trial set for the spring sitting of Court of King's Bench. However, Harry, unable to reach his brother, Sam, applied for a postponement of the trial phase until fall. The affidavit in support of his request reveals much about the family's expanding business operation. Sam had left on a business trip two months earlier, "business being incidental to the carrying on of business of the Yorkton Distributing Company." He had left Montreal and was to arrive in Saint John, New Brunswick; however, he "had not had occasion yet to visit St. John [sic] since leaving Montreal." Harry had sent numerous wires to places where he thought he might be and received no reply. In other words, salesman Sam was looking for customers. It is interesting to note as well that Sam's end destination was Saint John, a port from which the Bronfmans were to export their product to ports along the Eastern Seaboard of the United States.<sup>20</sup>

Harry made it clear as well that Sam's presence at the trial was imperative. He had carried on most of the negotiations, knew about the installation, and the condition of the equipment and its suitability for a modern, high through-put blending operation. It is clear from the tone of the affidavit that Sam

had become the driving force behind the thriving Bronfman enterprises.

### **Evidence and Argument**

In both the Examination for Discovery phase and the trial itself, W. B. O'Regan, counsel for Sam and Harry Bronfman, argued that the plant was not suitable for the task intended. In addition, the lawyer argued that the Brewers' and Bottlers' Supply Company failed to install the equipment and instruct an employee of the Yorkton Distributing Company in its operation.

One piece of equipment, the Airmold Labeller, would apply two labels to the body of the bottle and one label around the neck. However, Sam had explained during negotiations with the company that he wanted to apply a strip over the top of the cork and down both sides of the neck as well. Moore denied knowing of the requirement. The Bronfmans - he claimed - were to send the labels so they could ensure the labeller would meet their requirements. In addition, Moore continued, they kept the labeller even though they said it was not suitable for their needs.<sup>21</sup>

When Moore and his employee arrived from Winnipeg, they found that the motor on the pump "was not the proper vertical motor for Yorkton." Moore took it off and sent up a new pump on his return to Winnipeg. Reid, Harry's bookkeeper, claimed they called on their mechanic who worked at City Garage (a Harry Bronfman enterprise) to repair the pump.<sup>22</sup> He changed the sprocket, the belt and built a stand required to make the pump operational<sup>23</sup>.

In his testimony, Sam Bronfman claimed that the filter did not work - that dust and impurities were left in the alcohol. William Reid explained that after looking through the Karl Kiefer catalogue, they found the missing parts to the filter, ordered same, and that the filter worked satisfactorily afterwards. In reply, the plaintiffs questioned the credibility of the defendants. This evidence regarding the missing parts was not revealed during Examination for Discovery. Instead, Sam Bronfman and Reid came up with this problem only at trial. C. H. Locke claimed that this newfound evidence was questionable because it was not part of the Bronfmans' original claim. As a result, the lawyer for the Brewers' and Bottlers' Supply Company said in written argument



that "...the evidence of the Defendant S. Bronfman and the witness Reed, whenever it may clash with the Plaintiff's evidence, be held unworthy of belief."<sup>24</sup>

The bottling apparatus, claimed the Bronfmans, was ineffective and inefficient. The filler would leak product over the sides of the bottle and the sixth and last bottle would fill only half-full. The Plaintiff explained that the problem lay with the inexperience of Harry Bronfman in operating the equipment. "No doubt anyone with experience could have solved any difficulty in regard to it by a few simple adjustments. Moore was available to do anything of this kind and was prepared to go if requested, but no such request was ever made."<sup>25</sup>

The most serious problem was the fact that in the blending process the alcohol (rye in this case) turned a dark bluish colour. The Bronfmans claimed that the vats made of California redwood were responsible. George Benz ran a series of tests and found no discolouration from contact of alcohol with redwood.<sup>26</sup> At trial, Bentz testified that "only through certain acids burning up the structure of the wood: that might give a black or bluish colour but pure alcohol could never give a black or bluish colour." Sulphuric acid, he testified, a common ingredient used to 'age' the brew, "will destroy the structure of the wood and make it black."<sup>27</sup>

In their counterclaim, Sam and Harry submitted the following:

Total Damages: (Amount to be subtracted from the bill owed because the equipment was defective.)

10 Tanks	\$1000.00
1 Filler	\$ 650.00
1 Filter	\$ 111.65
1 Labeller	\$ 750.00
1 Other Filter	\$375.00
	<u>\$2876.65</u>

Balance owed by the Bronfmans to the Brewers' and Bottlers' Supply Company: \$493.35.<sup>28</sup>

However, the Bronfmans, also, claimed damages for labour they paid for installing tanks, the platforms to hold the tanks, and other installation work, costs to be assumed under the agreement they had reached with the Winnipeg Company. In addition, they asked for compensation for dealing with the 800 gallons of discoloured alcohol. Harry had stored the blue-black alcohol in barrels and

added it to new stock at a ratio of five or ten gallons per 100 gallons of product. This involved extra labour costs. In addition, the product, now of an inferior nature, would be sold for less.

Total Damages:

Work on tanks and equipment	\$720.00
Deterioration in liquor	\$400.00
Labour re-handling	\$ 80.00
	<u>\$1200.00</u>

This sum would extinguish the sum of \$493.35 owed to the Brewers' and Bottlers' Supply Company. In addition, the defendants asked for costs.

In his judgement issued December 29th, 1921, Justice Donald Maclean found that Sam and Harry Bronfman were liable for payment for all the equipment except the filler. He allowed the defendants the full price of this piece of equipment and, since it was not in use, he ordered it returned to the plaintiff in Yorkton.

Sam and Harry Bronfman were ordered to pay \$2720.00 (the remaining owed the Brewers' and Bottlers' Supply Company) and costs of the action.<sup>29</sup>

The trial revealed much about the early Bronfman operations. The ingredients in the brew made in the Yorkton plant cost \$5.25 a gallon, while the family sold that same gallon in bottled form for \$25.00. The Yorkton business produced an average of 5000 gallons a week earning a monthly profit of \$500,000 and an annual profit of \$4,692,000.<sup>30</sup>

Testimony revealed that Sam was constantly on the road, acquiring - we might suspect - customers on both sides of the border for the whisky trade. Harry's trip to Estevan during April of 1920 confirmed his role in the operation of the "boozoriums" located just north of the Canadian-American border. But, most importantly, testimony revealed that the Bronfman family was unafraid of hard work, long hours, confrontation and risk. They saw the danger in transporting alcohol into the United States and hence, set up warehouses in Canada to avoid the violence associated with Prohibition south of the border.

When C.H. Locke asked Sam if he wanted the plant set up in January, 1921, Sam's answer was, "I don't know, you had better ask the Government how long we can run."<sup>31</sup>

CONTINUED ON PAGE 40

## From Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions to Public Schools: Educating Métis and Settler Children in the West to be Citizens of Modern Canada, 1866-1939<sup>1</sup>



St. Antoine School at Batoche, NWT, 1900. Saskatchewan Archives Board Photo R-B1771.

*Jonathan Anuik, an Assistant Professor in History & Interdisciplinary Studies at Lakehead University, recently defended his Ph.D. dissertation about the importance of Métis lifelong learning to Métis families. He has worked as lead researcher for the Aboriginal Learning Knowledge Centre, and his articles have appeared in Prairie Forum, the Journal of Contemporary Educational Issues, and First Nations Perspectives. He has two articles forthcoming in the Canadian Journal of Native Education, in addition to a forthcoming book, First in Canada: An Illustrated Year of Aboriginal Histories, to be published by the Canadian Plains Research Center.*

George H. Gunn, biographer of Peter Garrioch, travelled through Rupert's Land and the northern United States in the early nineteenth century, and remarked, "facilities for the public education of the youth of the various communities

that...make up the Red River Settlement...with the exception of the mission school at St. John's...were chiefly noteworthy by reason of their absence."<sup>2</sup> Since this absence of state-supported schooling continued throughout the nineteenth century, the bulk of the education Métis received was in their homes, was related to their occupational pursuits, and was rooted in the teachings of their Elders.<sup>3</sup> Starting in 1866, the Christian churches stepped in to fill a perceived void in the formal learning available to Métis and settlers, actions that the Northwest Territories Government, later the Government of Saskatchewan, recognized when it established the facilities and curriculum for schooling. However, the Northwest Territories Government and later the Government of Saskatchewan concentrated their efforts on the schooling of children of newcomer



settlers. Therefore, the clergy's willingness to provide lessons in English literacy, numeracy, and citizenship determined educational opportunities for the Métis in the first seventy years of schoolhouses in Saskatchewan.

The Métis emerged as a distinct people in west central North America in the early nineteenth century. Initially, the Métis were the mixed-ancestry progeny of liaisons between fur traders and First Nations women but early in the nineteenth century, distinct Métis settlements evolved: along the Great Lakes in what is now Ontario, Red River in what is now Manitoba; Batoche, in what is now north central Saskatchewan; and as far west as the Mackenzie River. For the purposes of this article, the Métis Nation includes the historical Red River Settlement, northern Manitoba, and all of contemporary Saskatchewan;<sup>4</sup> settlers are those individuals from European nations who arrived in Canada during the Great Immigration Boom from 1896-1914.

Scholars of Aboriginal education and Natives and newcomers in missions identified tensions amongst Natives and newcomers owing to the social beliefs and spiritual practices of missionaries.<sup>5</sup> John Webster Grant considered the Aboriginal response to Christian missions and missionaries' educational, health, and social welfare work over the entire history of contact between Natives and newcomers in Canada, and exposed the shared Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries' goals. Both denominations believed the Aboriginals represented a lower culture that needed to be replaced by a superior Christian one. The adoption of European manners, dress, and educational systems completed this transition to the superior culture. Grant went on to show the ruptures between the Protestants and Roman Catholics in their work with Aboriginals. Finally, Grant demonstrated the centrality of formal education in the later years of the missionary enterprise or in the decades leading up to the joining of Rupert's Land with Canada.<sup>6</sup>

Methodist clergyman Egerton Ryerson may be credited with establishing the foundations of the modern education system, schoolhouses and school boards in Upper Canada in the 1830s, the goals of which were to impart a common set of skills to 'white' children and youth.<sup>8</sup> The missionaries and lay followers of Protestant and Roman Catholic

denominations internalized the philosophy of Ryerson and his contemporaries, taking it to the Red River Settlement and contributing to the message of civilization in the final years of Hudson's Bay Company (HBC)-controlled Rupert's Land. The way to civilization was conversion to Christianity; instruction in rudimentary English, math, science, and fine arts; and adoption of a sedentary profession, preferably agriculture as opposed to hunting, fishing, and trapping. Although missionaries understood that pupils—especially the majority Métis population of the Red River Settlement—needed to act as a bridge to their families within and outside of the Settlement by modeling Christian behaviour and sedentary lifestyles, the ultimate goal was to educate the pupils into civilized adults with individual property and aspirations removed from the vision of a Métis homeland in North America.<sup>9</sup>

Missionary ideology lacked state support in the West prior to 1870; the HBC, the governing body of Rupert's Land, had no policy governing the education of children and youth. However, once HBC sold Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada in 1870, and it became the Northwest Territories, the Dominion could exert missionary ideologies through, for First Nations, agreements with the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, and in the form of church-state operated Indian Residential Schools.<sup>10</sup>

Marie Battiste and Trish Monture have demonstrated the trauma wrought by attempts to diminish the stature of indigenous knowledge and heritage. The pedagogy and curriculum did not align with the teaching and learning styles of Aboriginal families, the system lacked accountability, and instructors taught their students that their worldviews and epistemologies were sub-standard, a practice Battiste termed "cognitive imperialism."<sup>11</sup> Monture called formal learning delivered under the guise of colonization the missionary approach. She offered the following as a definition of missionary-styled education: "education professionals assume that all students gravitate to the same value base as they do...there is one history and that one history is the truth."<sup>12</sup> Schools enabled clergy and lay teachers to cloak religious teachings in secular logic nourishing a missionary ideology that assumed all students gravitated to



“the truth.”<sup>13</sup> Over time these alleged truthful practices, now identified as Eurocentric value bases, were conveyed without fail by teachers to Aboriginal learners on the “inevitability of imitating Eurocentric modes of thought and dress” signalling for Chickasaw legal scholar Sak’ej Henderson one more step towards “the end of Aboriginality and the beginning of civilization.”<sup>14</sup> Monture believed, “we [must] completely reject the missionary philosophy, in all its forms as appropriate for the education of Aboriginal people...The historical structures (that is the missionary approach) and definitions of education which can only create and perpetuate otherness must be completely eradicated.”<sup>15</sup> Battiste demonstrated that missionary teachers and their secular successors believed that children and youth needed such tools as English or French literacy, numeracy, and citizenship to succeed in modern society; thus teachers in mission schools believed literacy instruction was a “benign liberator of the mind... [and] the modernizing agent of society and an economic commodity necessary for national development”<sup>16</sup> at a time when the newly formed Dominion of Canada was sparsely populated and under perpetual threat from Métis free traders who had ignored the HBC monopoly and did not necessarily share the Conservative government of Sir John A. Macdonald’s aspirations for the formation of a Dominion of Canada.

The history of the aspirations of sacred and secular stakeholders in schools for Métis has been marginally covered by scholars. While recognized for a groundbreaking history of the mission enterprise for Aboriginal converts, Grant conceded in his seminal study, *Moon of Wintertime*, that he had not been able to provide any sort of comprehensive history of the Métis and the Christian missions. Consequently, the schools and missions for Métis were incidental to his story.<sup>17</sup> Raymond Huel has suggested that to Roman Catholic clergy, Métis were a bridge between European and First Nations societies and thus clergy believed that if the Métis could be converted to Roman Catholicism and its rituals and schooled in

*“Métis remembered being called ‘les sauvages’ by nuns who acted as schoolteachers in the schools they attended.”*

French society and in agriculture, they could model their talents and newly acquired skills to their First Nations relatives.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand Marcel Giraud believed the Métis’ ambivalent reaction to the educational and moral reform overtures of the Roman Catholic clergy doomed them to the fringes of the growing settler society and thus families were not politically, economically, socially, and intellectually capable enough to compete alongside newcomer settlers.<sup>19</sup> Keith Widder conducted a case study of Evangelical Protestants in the Mackinaw Mission in the heart of the Great Lakes fur trade to suggest that these missionaries, instead of luring Métis from Roman Catholic churches, actually cemented their ties to the Church. However, none of the aforementioned historians have investigated the Métis in missions in the West following its entry into Confederation as the Northwest Territories.

In terms of Indian Residential Schools the books of J.R. Miller and John Milloy have inspired Métis in Canada to question the number that attended residential schools; they wanted to know how

their experiences in these institutions paralleled and diverged from those of First Nations survivors that attended and shared their stories with the Canadian public.<sup>20</sup> Reflecting on the revelation in the 1990s of the abuses committed by teachers and staff at the church-state-run residential schools led the Manitoba Métis to suggest, “Church takes more responsibility for people’s lives than they have the right to. Churches have turned people against religion. Church is not the only place where God is. Church is not flexible enough to recognize ‘individual’ beliefs. The church imposes their beliefs and does not allow a personal perspective on their relationships with God and their own personal beliefs.”<sup>21</sup>

Thus missionaries’ practices in education could be aggressive although not necessarily punitive, but when combined with the mistake of believing Métis parents were incapable of planning for their children’s education, reduced the authority of Métis to decide on schooling and denominational affiliation in the post-HBC West. Paige Raibmon,





Emmanuel College, Prince Albert, c. 1890. Photo #1676, courtesy of Rae Benson, Anglican Diocese of Saskatchewan.

in the context of turn-of-the-twentieth-century Sitka, Alaska, identified an ‘either-or’ dichotomy resonating in the minds of ‘white’ residents on the local school board that denied admission to six mixed ‘white’-Tlingit children. Settlers defended their refusal on the grounds of the family’s failure to lead a civilized life, which in Sitka meant eschewing the potlatch and renouncing all ties to Tlingit relatives. Thus the ‘civilized lifestyle’ was a yardstick to determine access to modern schooling, judged by the growing number of settlers who took it upon themselves to label individuals as ‘civilized’ and ‘savage.’<sup>22</sup>The following article is as much a history of the mission schools to the Métis as it proves—through investigation of policies and practices—that missionaries strove to prepare the children of their Métis flock for social and economic change taking hold in the West after 1870. The records kept by missionaries and from the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Presbyterian Church Archives of Canada, United Church of Canada Archives, Anglican Diocese of Saskatchewan, “Métis Schools” file in the Saskatchewan Archives Board, and the Dominion of Canada Department of the Interior, have served

as the means to understand the relationship of missionaries with the Northwest Territories Government, and their awareness of the Métis as a distinct Aboriginal group in the newly formed Dominion of Canada, whose leaders were interested in education for their children. I approached the archival data using the following identifiers for the Métis: ‘*les sauvages*’ and half-breed. Métis remembered being called ‘*les sauvages*’ by nuns who acted as schoolteachers in the schools they attended.<sup>23</sup> Presbyterians identified ‘mixed-ancestry’ individuals in their schoolhouses in the West as ‘half-breed.’ Oral interviews with fifty-five Métis born between 1916 and 1966 were conducted as part of the research for my dissertation entitled, “Métis Families and Schools: The Decline and Reclamation of Métis Identities in Saskatchewan.” In addition to helping me understand the terminology used to identify Métis in archival records, these testimonies demonstrate their awareness that the missionaries and their provincial government supporters in Saskatchewan had attempted to draw them into the orbit of English literacy, numeracy, and citizenship. Thirty-five (sixty-four percent) of my participants

were born between 1916 and 1945: the years prior to the development of provincial government policies to support Métis learning in Saskatchewan.<sup>24</sup> The majority of those individuals born before 1945 had at least a grade eight level of education, with only three (nine percent) not identifying their level of education, and eight (twenty-three percent) with less than a grade eight education. Missionaries who arrived in western Canada brought a relatively unified message. The way to a civilized life involved a three-part process: conversion to Christianity, academic and practical instruction in English or French delivered by ordained and lay clergy and nuns, and the abandonment of occupations such as fur traders, trappers, and hunters.<sup>25</sup> Consensus on the philosophy for conversion quickly gave way to competition between the mission stations as Protestants and Catholics diverged on how best to convert Métis and feared their parishioners would cross denominational lines. Missionaries shared Garrioch's concern with the absence of schoolhouses for children; those familiar with schooling provided at the Red River Settlement knew that many schools instructed students in the rudiments of English and French literacy, arithmetic, and Christian worship, and they worked to improve the character and behaviour of Métis children and youth, as well as their families. At The Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, in contemporary Winnipeg, Manitoba, James McMillan observed on June 19<sup>th</sup>, 1834, "Our new school is doing wonders in the improvement of our Half Breeds. Mr. McCallum is very attentatives [sic] to his charges—and the girls are coming on rapidly under Mrs. Lowman. Some of them can play several tunes on the Piano, and... are wonderfully...for the better...I think well of the school."<sup>26</sup> Although the schools at the Red River Settlement did not have the authority to compel students to attend, and schools were plagued by issues concerning attendance, irrelevant curriculum, and infrastructure, the desire for a system of



Lucy Margaret Baker, c. 1860s -1870s.  
Saskatchewan Archives Board Photo  
S-B13522

mission-based schooling was well-established by the 1860s and by then a cohort of missionaries was ready to bring schooling for the Métis to Rupert's Land.<sup>27</sup> And Protestants commented on what their missionaries and educational scholars perceived were the needs of Métis as well as the children of settlers in terms of formal instruction.

The first documented attempt at formal education for Métis children and youth was in 1866, which pre-dated the development of the Department of Education in the Northwest Territories. There was a 'half-breed' school at Prince Albert that operated from 1866 until 1885 and was administered and financed through the labours of Presbyterian missionaries.

Lucy Baker, a Presbyterian teacher and lay missionary, arrived from Ontario in 1878 to teach in the primary school, staying until 1891, serving as a schoolmistress and after the Northwest Resistance in 1885, as a high school teacher in this north central Saskatchewan town.<sup>28</sup> Her biographer reported that Baker's first classroom held a substantial number of Métis and First Nations students, along with a few 'white' students.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to schoolrooms and textbooks, Presbyterians had to provide residences for their students to board, especially for students who planned to stay on for high school.<sup>30</sup> This situation was noted at the Prince Albert mission station. Boarding facilities also promised a remedy to sectarian strife. Presbyterians believed that families would enrol their children in their 'half-breed' school instead of Roman Catholic Convents.

*The Assembly in its deliverance of 1884 established a High School here of which Miss Baker's school was to be a department, but in some way or other Miss Baker and her school have dropped out altogether[,] and she has gone for much needed rest...to Portland[,] Oregon where she is or was recently residing with the Rev. Donald Ross. We are very anxious to get here [sic] back again[:] (1) to*



*preside over a boarding establishment for girls from a distance and (2) to teach certain branches in the school. Both of these objects are of great importance to our success. We cannot get girls from a distance, Indians, half-breed or white[,] unless we have some place to board them[,] and she is admirably suited to take care of them. We want her also to teach some branches in the school which a lady can manage much better than M. Campbell or I. Without a lady teacher in the school we are unable to compete with the Convent here which take[s] some of our best Protestant girls.*<sup>31</sup>

Presbyterians relied heavily on the tireless efforts of teachers such as Baker. In their opinion, a publicly funded educational system with schools staffed by Protestant teachers promised a reprieve from the heavy financial burden incurred through church delivery of formal schooling to children and youth in the Northwest Territories.

Anglicans started schools at the same time as their Presbyterian colleagues. In the nineteenth century, Anglicans extended their missions into the Northwest Territories. Histories published by clergy noted,

“the school system was adopted as a missionary project...[and] all schools were operated on the same plan of giving the children a working knowledge of western civilization and above all a personal knowledge of Christ.”<sup>32</sup>

Additionally Anglicans intended to train Cree in the north central region of the Northwest Territories to lead missions, thus creating faith-based communities throughout the West.<sup>33</sup> Like their Presbyterian counterparts, Anglican schools provided their students with basic knowledge of western society. Anglican missionaries hoped that their proselytizing and teachings would inspire Métis parishioners to train as ministers and lead the missions in their home communities. Therefore, their personnel intended to train the next

*“There is poise and dignity, a sense of self-respect and nobleness amongst the Native people that have attended our schools or who have been under the influence of our missions for two or three generations, that is not found with the others.”*

generations of Métis children and youth in mission work so that they could return to their people and lead the churches in their communities. Prince Albert’s Emmanuel College, established in 1879 through the efforts of the Anglican Bishop John McLean who had arrived in 1875, was intended to train future generations of Aboriginal Anglican missionaries. Initially it delivered academic training to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students, but the late 1880s brought more settlers into the Northwest Territories and an increase in the number of publicly funded schools governed by local taxpayers and available for non-Aboriginal students. These changes resulted in the exodus of the white students from Emmanuel College as well as a decline in attendance at the mission station schools;<sup>34</sup> however the institution continued to deliver schooling to First Nations and Métis children and youth.<sup>35</sup>

Presbyterian teachers like Baker grounded the majority of school teachings in Bible study and scripture reading. Their guidance on denominational schooling came from eastern Canadian Christian education scholars and their periodicals and newspapers,<sup>36</sup> who believed that religion should affect all aspects of education provided to children in the Northwest Territories. Reverend

William H. Hincks wrote, “National strength can only come from a religious foundation...Civilization depends on religion...Even the wild Indian in the woods cannot live without some measure of religion.”<sup>37</sup> Such writing proposed, “the school-house and the church are the only sure fortifications of...a [Christian] nation...Education and religion must keep up with them [population growth], or they will break down the strongholds of our public safety, and submerge the national morals and order.”<sup>38</sup> Teachers representing Christian denominations used any other reading materials that were available.<sup>39</sup>

On reflection, Anglican clergyman W.E.J. Paul reported in the 1950s that newcomers “have only to meet Indian or Métis people to know whether they have been to one of our schools. There is poise



and dignity, a sense of self-respect and nobleness amongst the Native people that have attended our schools or who have been under the influence of our missions for two or three generations, that is not found with the others. As Native people they are equally proud to be a part of us.<sup>40</sup> However, like the first Presbyterian mission schools, the Anglican schools started to close in the 1880s as newcomer settlers arrived, gradually replaced by public schools.<sup>41</sup>

Métis families and communities were peripheral to discussions of effective school pedagogy and curriculum, despite attempts by select clergy to 'elevate' the families through conversion to Christianity and instruction in English literacy, numeracy, and citizenship. Reports on denominational strife involving Métis and mixed-ancestry populations that began shortly before the Dominion government brought Rupert's Land into Confederation revealed clergy and lay supporters considered Métis families incapable of providing academic and religious education of children.

At the Presbyterian Prince Albert station, sectarian strife between the Protestants and Roman Catholics arose with Métis families at the centre of concerns over spiritual hegemony. In 1867, one correspondent wrote of "an Indian woman who was a widow and who is now the wife of a French half-breed wishing us to take two of her children to keep them from coming under the influence of the popish priest."<sup>42</sup> In another letter from the 1860s, Reverend James Nisbet, the first Presbyterian missionary to Aboriginals in north central Saskatchewan and founder of the Presbyterians' Prince Albert mission station, discussed his concern for youngsters under his care:

*A few days ago I had a letter from the guardians of the Pruden children requiring me to send them to Red River to their Mother by the first opportunity & so they must go by the carts now expected & will likely leave here next Monday. The children themselves would rather remain where they are, although*

*they would like very well to come here again & per-haps [sic] I may offer to board and educate them for a while longer for the work that they may do out of school hours provided they should return. They all say that they will not go to the R.C. [Roman Catholic] church [sic] or school & that they will not part with their bibles if they can help it. I know that their mother is much under the influence of the bishops & priests[,] but they know that their father wished them to be protestants [sic], & they wish to do as their father desired.<sup>43</sup>*

*"Mr. McKay naturally desires to give them a good English education, and to keep them away as much as possible from Indian influences until they are able to resist them."*

Tensions between Presbyterian and Roman Catholic missionaries involved the Métis. Protestant mission attempts indicated that a small number of Métis families appeared receptive to the overtures of Presbyterian clergy and missionaries, and parents followed the principles taught and shared

by the Protestant missionaries. However, nineteenth-century parents in western Canada sometimes disagreed with each other over the enrolment of their children in mission schools. In 1877, Reverend Alex Stewart of the Presbyterian Prince Albert mission station noted a conflict over the appropriate spiritual foundation of a family's children.

*Re: attempt to entice John McKay to P.A. station: From a conversation with Mr. McKay, yesterday morning, I learn that the chief barrier in the way of his accepting the Committee's offer, is his family. His children are all young. Cree is almost their mother tongue; and, like all children brought up in similar circumstances, they are more or less disposed to follow Indian habits. You can easily see the danger to which they would be exposed, if entirely cut off from civilization, and obliged to associate with Indians. Mr. McKay naturally desires to give them a good English education, and to keep them away as much as possible from Indian influences until they are able to resist them.<sup>44</sup>*



Therefore, missionaries attempted to intervene in order to encourage families to remain faithful to Christian rituals and schools.

In 1884, state education authorities recognized the educational leaders in the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches instead of Métis and newcomer families and thus sought their contributions to the development of schools for Métis as well as newcomer settlers in the territories. Inevitably, linguistic and denominational controversies arose from the involvement of the denominations in the delivery of schooling and the conception of pedagogy and curriculum for learners, and the state would contribute to this controversy by enabling educational policy in its subsequent School Ordinances to allow taxpayer residents of the territories and later the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta to organize school districts governed by school boards. Bill Waiser noted that “in school districts, the religious minority had the right to establish and support their own separate school”<sup>45</sup> and, therefore, a school board composed of members of the religious minority. Therefore, the Christian churches were now stakeholders in the delivery of state-supported education throughout the period under consideration in this article, and religious background was a criterion for teacher candidates who applied for jobs in local school districts. Since the school board was taxpayer-funded, the residents had the right to hold the teacher accountable to their needs. Therefore, the teacher oftentimes had to be of the same religious background as they were.

When the Northwest Territorial Board of Education formed in 1884 Métis families would remain on the periphery as clergy would represent them in attempts to plan a school system for the territories that ensured children and youth would be ready to adjust from work connected to fur trading, trapping, and hunting that had guaranteed the Métis a subsistence life but were now, according to the Northwest Territories council and the clergy, becoming relics of a pre-modern era to agriculture or wage labour.<sup>46</sup> Administrators in this newly formed department recognized

the Protestant and Roman Catholic presence in the mission field; the department brought Protestant and Roman Catholic interests together as they attempted to set up a publicly funded educational system that would train children and youth in English, mathematics, and science so that they would be literate citizens and part of the modern body politic.<sup>47</sup> The newly constituted board had Protestants and Roman Catholic educational authorities on it. The *Regina Leader* reported on January 13, 1891 that “three Roman Catholics and five Protestants constitute the Board, and very harmoniously do the members work together, striving in all things, to act intelligently and justly in the interests of the people, and the cause of true education.”<sup>48</sup>

Observers credited the Territorial board for the “progress made in the organizing of school districts and the erection of buildings...[with] the [satisfactory] advancement of pupils in their studies... [and the] arrangements...for the establishment of a High school branch or department in connection with some of the Public schools”<sup>49</sup> but at the same time warned that the challenges were formidable. An unidentified critic stated in 1890 that, “to be a cowboy seems to be the goal of ambition of most of the boys.”<sup>50</sup> The aforementioned media reports gave the impression that stakeholders reached a consensus on the educational needs of territorial



First Nations and Métis children at Green Lake School operated by Roman Catholic nuns, photographed in the 1930s. Saskatchewan Archives Board Photo R-A8551-1

residents but needed the capacity to carry out their plans to teach all school-age children and youth. Protestant commentators devised remedies for career pursuits dubbed unacceptable by journalists. The Protestant press said in 1891 that children,

*Belong to the state, and it is the duty of the state to supply the best means possible for training the young..Higher education does not mean a special education for any section of the country, or any class. The education which includes languages, drawing, and music applies to the training of the individual in broad principles and is not a class education.... to teach the young the principles [of] hygiene, chemistry, and physiology [sic] is to give a harmonious education which will fit the individual to perform his duties as a member of the state.<sup>51</sup>*

No documented objection amongst Christian educational leaders existed to the overarching tenet of the schools, which was patriotism to the state.<sup>52</sup>

It appeared that the Protestants influenced pedagogy and curriculum when changes to the educational bureaucracy occurred shortly after the Board of Education formed. In 1892, the

territorial government discontinued the practice of religious control over state-supported schools in favour of a Council of Public Instruction, and in 1901 a Department of Education. These moves on the part of the secular educational leaders were in concert with “a popular movement in the west toward secular education spearheaded by the largely Protestant population.”<sup>53</sup> However, the controversial provisions of the 1905 autonomy bills for the soon-to-be provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta protected the rights of religious minorities to separate schools for their children.<sup>54</sup>

School boards formed by the end of the nineteenth century but relied on the efforts of the Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy selected by their respective church superiors to assist with the pedagogy, curriculum planning, and teaching. However, in many districts, educational opportunities for Métis children and youth were limited. In order to establish a school, a group of local taxpayers had to form a school board and since Métis were often not taxpayers, they were not able to do the same.<sup>55</sup> Consequently missionaries, some of whom were trained as teachers, continued to teach in many districts where Métis families lived. Since 1894, missionary authorities had reported low



*The Ellesboro Trail in the Katapwa Valley near Lebreton, Saskatchewan enabled many Métis families to travel to church and between agrarian workplaces (such as Goodwin House, pictured in the far left corner) and into towns like Indian Head and Fort Qu'Appelle in the early-to-mid twentieth century. Photograph taken by the author in 2006.*



educational attainments for Métis families in Saskatchewan; their responses flowed from the belief that Métis parents were not capable of effective planning for their children's education because, according to Father A. Lacombe of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and Vicar General of Roman Catholic Bishops, of "their natural improvidence" compounded by their inclination to waste "what they received" from the Dominion government.<sup>56</sup> From 1894 until 1906, Christian authorities believed that impoverished and improvident Métis parents would succumb to the denominational strife in the Northwest Territories. Christian concern for Métis education conspired with governmental intervention in attempts to ensure that Métis youngsters received an education. By the twentieth century, provincial administrators felt that Métis parents did not wish to have their children educated in public schools and used the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to intervene on their behalf and force children to attend school.

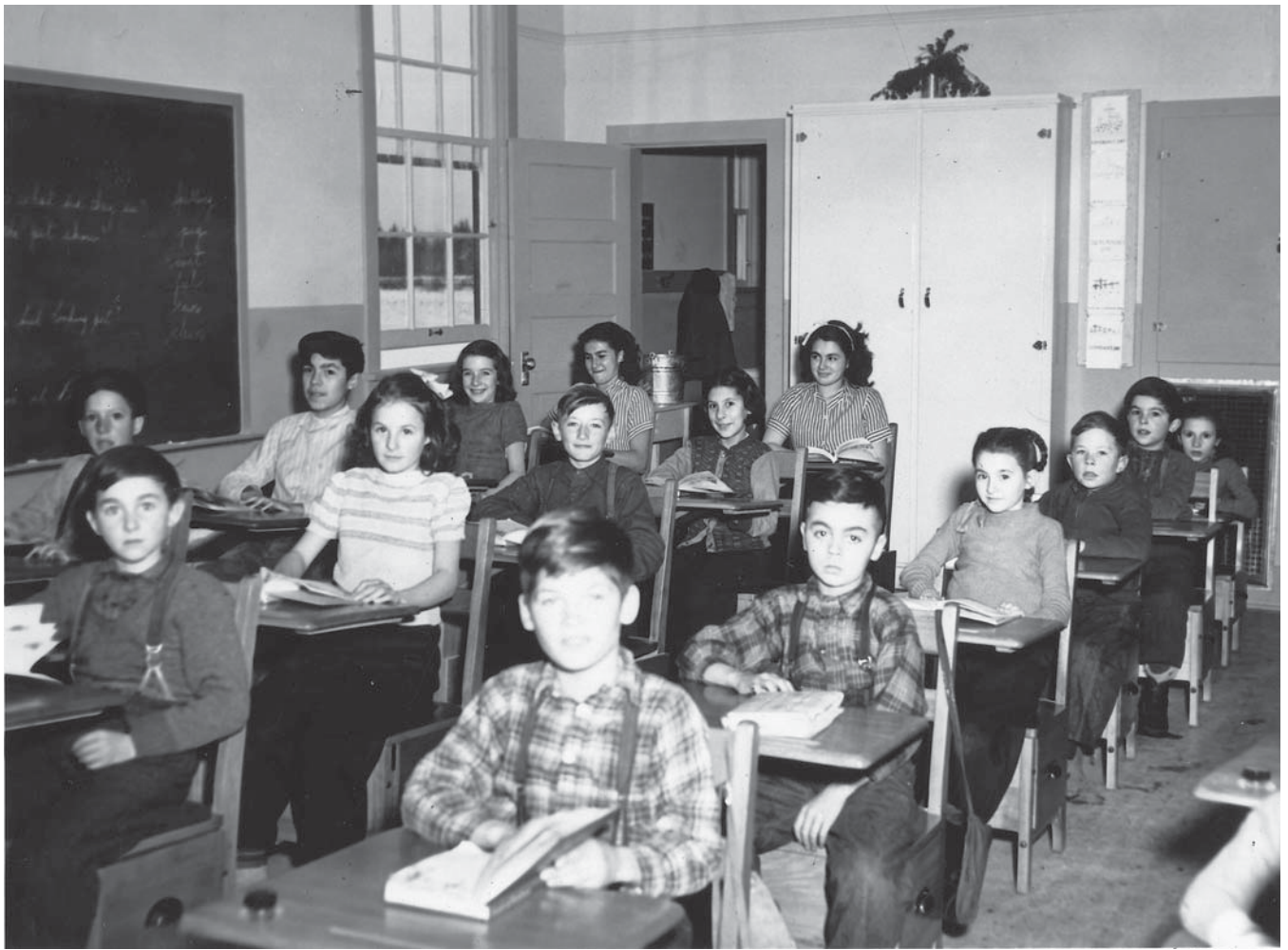
RCMP officers blamed family heads for what they perceived was their ignorance of formal schooling for their children. For example, in the Qu'Appelle Valley, many Métis families of Roman Catholic denominational background struggled to earn a living as farm labourers; some resided on farm land owned by bachelor millionaire farmer Ernest Skinner, and others lived on the road allowances. Fred Fayant was the family head of one of these families. For Fred, work as a farm labourer required him and his children to move frequently. These moves reduced his children's chances to attend school.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, his and other Métis children and youth had to work to contribute to the family's coffers, resided too far from a school, or battled childhood illnesses that delayed their start to school.<sup>58</sup> The RCMP was aware of the Fayant family because his children did not attend school. RCMP Officer M.F.A. Lindsay reported that Fayant "does not own any property, nor is he steadily employed, and there is nothing to hinder him and his family from moving to some point within range of a school in order that

the children might attend and receive proper education."<sup>59</sup>

Amidst provincial government concerns about Métis youngsters' school attendance was an early-twentieth-century philosophical debate, amongst Protestant educational specialists and administrators in Saskatchewan, on the secularization of the schools—or public funding for schools without any component of religious instruction—that were opening in the West under the guidance of clergy and local residents. The discussions that concerned secularization began with the 1918 publication of a book by Yorkton school superintendent and future Saskatchewan Premier Dr. J.T.M. Anderson.<sup>60</sup> The Protestant press provided the outlet for debates amongst specialists in Christian education on the increased role of the state and its taxpayers in the provision of formal schooling to all learners. The Protestant press contained critiques of the movement toward public education or schooling not directly controlled by church authorities and pedagogy and curriculum devised through collaboration with Roman Catholic teachers and scholars. Ontario Methodist clergyman Reverend Alexander Sutherland believed,

*An education which excludes the religious element tends toward infidelity and atheism... We must remember that education is carried on by a twofold process—the knowledge communicated and the impressions produced. The one largely determines what the student shall know; the other determines what he shall become. Now what are the impressions that will inevitably be left upon the mind of a youth by an education that is purely secular? As a rule, the impressions will be that religion is a very secondary matter; that it is out of place in the spheres of philosophy and science, and is antagonistic to the advanced thought of [the] age.<sup>61</sup>*

In the last years of the nineteenth century and in the first years of the twentieth century, Protestant commentators debated their roles and responsibilities in teaching and learning. Newspapers served as a medium for discussion, as did public talks. Some commentators echoed Sutherland's critiques of secular education. Dr. Oliver of St. Andrew's College,



*Duck Lake Métis class at work. Saskatchewan Archives Board Photo R-A10902*

the Saskatoon institution for the training of United Church ministers,<sup>62</sup> argued that it was unacceptable for “1300 school sections in Saskatchewan [to] have no religious ordanances [sic].”<sup>63</sup> For Oliver, secular teachers in public schools taught students to be indifferent to religious teaching.<sup>64</sup> It appeared that some Protestants were reluctant to accept public influence in schooling. However, as the twentieth century progressed, many Protestant intellectuals refined their arguments concerning secularism in education.

It appeared as though school superintendent Anderson’s vision of pedagogy and curriculum laden with discourses of patriotism and influenced by Christianity dovetailed with the desires of Protestant academics and observers. Anderson believed that if images that depicted British history were on the walls of the classrooms, along with portraits of state figures such as members of the Royal Family and current and past Premiers, then

they would, over time, provoke admiration and respect for the Canadian state and the Government of Saskatchewan.<sup>65</sup> Anderson practiced and wrote in an era of continental European immigration. He expected all immigrant children to embrace the English language and saw public schools as not only the means to attaining proficiency in English literacy, numeracy, and citizenship but as the institutions that would inspire loyalty to Canada, Protestantism, and the Commonwealth leading children away from the use of continental European languages and non-Protestant faiths. However, factions within Protestantism emerged that opposed secular influences in schooling.

Amongst Protestants, a moderate faction believed that religion was, indeed, an integral component of one’s life but not necessarily the responsibility of the school system. Christian educational scholar Donald Solandt synthesized the responses to the question of how to measure an educated man. Drawing from a



number of works, he said “that education means the ‘stimulation and enrichment of the soul,’ a training of the mind ‘to see the greatness and beauty of the world.’ An educated man is a world citizen. To be such he should know the general history of the world, know the history of human ideas, know one science, and know one language, preferably his own... [However,] ‘an educated man lives a great religious life.’”<sup>66</sup> United Church reporter Nelson Chappell approved of public schooling in the province that he felt provided “physical, intellectual, social, and spiritual activities.”<sup>67</sup> According to Chappell, schools enabled children, through “actual experience...to enjoy and appreciate health and healthful living... [or] general well-being.”<sup>68</sup> Teachers spoke of “the blessings and privileges of home life, school life, community life, and church life.”<sup>69</sup> Most Protestant clergy and parishioners had definite expectations of public schooling, to teach English literacy, numeracy, and citizenship in an environment of Christian faith and ritual. They believed that Christianity had to permeate the entirety of the schooling delivered; many Protestant educational authorities monitored and reported on policy discussions happening amongst government officials.

The United Church applauded the Department of Education’s delivery of new courses and curriculum relevant to the mission field. In 1939, the *United Church Observer* commended the “greater emphasis... [given] to Agriculture and Agricultural Economics in public and high school grades respectively, since most pupils will enter this life when they leave school.”<sup>70</sup> Protestant clergy, since the days of the Red River Settlement, likened the pursuit of farming to a civilized society.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, it was no surprise that Protestants would applaud provincial government education initiatives that aligned with their past pedagogies. These United Church clergy and the aforementioned moderate faction believed that the Government of Saskatchewan, through its educational policies, supported the desire of the churches for an agrarian society in Saskatchewan.

In 1870, the Northwest Territories were barren of schools for children and youth. Until the Northwest Territories Government could remedy this deficiency, the Presbyterian and Anglican churches attempted to fill the educational void, and Roman Catholic Churches saw existing churches

and ministries with Métis families as foundations for formal learning in schools. In their work with Métis, the churches strove to assist them with the changing socio-cultural and economic order. In the late nineteenth century, their success was limited as students were not compelled to attend school, and the shortage of resources and high levels of mobility hampered attempts to provide schooling.

When the Territorial Board of Education (later the Department of Education) formed, it sought assistance with school planning from educational leaders recognized by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches. Gradually, teachers trained in secular institutions or normal schools assumed responsibility for the delivery of education. However, Métis students received few years of schooling. Family poverty obligated many students to work, and this same poverty required families to move often in order to support themselves. Furthermore, sickness kept children away from schools as did the distance to schoolhouses.<sup>72</sup>

Protestants and Catholics conceived of the mission field in Rupert’s Land, later the Northwest Territories, as the site for the civilization of the next generations of Métis children and youth. Conversion was the first step in the process. Protestants and Catholics expected children and youth to follow conversion with instruction in the dogma and rituals of the church complemented by a program in basic academics.

Christian missionaries believed in the selection of an occupation that would ensure children and youth would grow up to become adults that remained at or near their mission stations. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, agriculture was the most preferred choice for Métis converts. Protestants commended the work of the public system of education that evolved in the twentieth century. The United Church applauded initiatives in agricultural instruction undertaken by the Government of Saskatchewan and in the Sunday schools; they provided lessons in ethical conduct as reinforcement.

Métis parents did not always object to Christian missionaries’ educational hopes for their children, especially those children born of Protestant, Anglo-Saxon fathers with ancestral connections to the HBC.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, Métis children and youth



whose families worshipped in Roman Catholic Churches fused traditions of the church with Métis knowledge of place to produce a syncretic belief system.<sup>74</sup> Although critical of the clergy's diminishment of their shared Métis, Cree, and Dene pasts through Christian instruction and the quality of the education received in mission schools, these same individuals received at least a grade eight education as a result of attending these schools for children and youth.<sup>75</sup>

In sum, missions to the Métis began with the identification of an oversight—by the appointed council of the newly formed council of the Northwest Territories—that there were no facilities to support the education of First Nations, Métis, and newcomer children and youth. Until the Dominion government and the Territorial Council recognized this shortcoming it was up to the Christian churches to fill in this void. Starting at the Red River Settlement in 1820 and continuing throughout the years of the Settlement before its entrance into Confederation as the Province of Manitoba in 1870, the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches fulfilled such a spiritual and educational void, the touchstone to attempts to provide Christian, academic, and vocational instruction for the Métis in the West. The goal was to ensure Métis children and youth were proficient in English literacy, numeracy, and citizenship and thus able to embrace the economic changes and mass arrival of newcomers in modern Canada. The Territorial government shared such a goal and thus initially relied heavily on the support of the educational authorities in the Christian churches and, after the formation of a Council of Public Instruction, had incorporated several of the policies, practices, and curricula that were being used by the churches. Unfortunately, sacred and secular educational planners ignored the Métis and any Métis perspectives on education and learning because, according to Monture, educators believed that all gravitated to the same value base and wanted what Gunn articulated in 1834: for Protestant and Roman Catholic missions to train modern Métis children and youth to be farmers and wage labourers proficient in English literacy, numeracy, and citizenship in a modernizing Canada.

## Endnotes

- 1 The findings shared in this article are from my Ph.D. Dissertation—“Métis Families and Schools: The Decline and Reclamation of Métis Identities in Saskatchewan, 1885-1980”—defended successfully in March, 2009. I would like to thank J.R. Miller, Keith Carlson, Margaret Kennedy, Valerie Korinek, Bill Waiser, and Jean Barman for their insightful remarks on earlier drafts of the dissertation and this article. I also thank the Native-Newcomer Relations Doctoral Scholarship program and the Messer Fund for Research in Canadian History for financial support to carry out the research on which this article is based. I gratefully acknowledge James Ostime for his editorial assistance with this article. Most importantly, I am grateful to Albert Fayant, Peter Bishop, and George Klyne for their willingness to share their families' history in the Qu'Appelle Valley with me.
- 2 PAM, George H. Gunn, “Peter Garrioch, His Life and Times,” MG9A78-3, Box 6.
- 3 Diane Payment, *The Free People—Otipimisiwak: Batoche, Saskatchewan, 1870-1930*, Studies in Archaeology, Architecture, and History, National Parks and Sites, Parks Service, Environment Canada (Ottawa: Environment Canada, 1990) 11, 61-62, 73, 108, 242. Geography also affected the education available to the Métis. Payment spatially defined the educational levels of the Métis in the years after 1885. She found that the Métis that resided at Duck Lake, St. Louis, and later St. Ann's Convent, in what would become Saskatchewan, and at St. Albert and Lac Ste. Anne, in what became Alberta, received instruction from what she called “the religious teaching communities” there. Having this education paid off for the Métis who, according to Payment, found jobs as farm instructors, teachers, and Indian Agents on local reserves. Those Métis born at Red River who later migrated west after the fall of the Red River Settlement in 1870 to the Dominion government took their schooling at St. Boniface, St. Norbert, or St. Francis Xavier and had more opportunities for formal learning than their descendants who were born in Saskatchewan in the 1870s and 1880s.
- 4 See “MNC: Who are the Métis” at <http://www.Métisnation.ca/who/index.html> for a brief overview of the history of the Métis Nation. The historical Red River Settlement is now Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- 5 In terms of education see J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).
- 6 John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and Indians in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: UTP, 1984) 75, 90-91.
- 7 White has single quotation marks around it to denote albeit inaccurately the diversity of immigrants and descendants of immigrants arriving from Britain and continental Europe in the nineteenth century and settling throughout British North America.
- 8 On the origins of the educational state in British North America and later the Dominion of Canada see Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London: The Athlone Press, 1987) and *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education, and State Formation in Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).
- 9 See Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown, eds., *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America*, Manitoba Studies in Native History I (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985); Raymond Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indians and Métis* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996); Jonathan Anuiik, “Forming Civilization at Red River: 19th-century Missionary Education of Métis and First Nations Children,” in Gregory P. Marchildon, ed., *The Early Northwest, History of the Prairie West Series: Volume 1* (Regina: University of Regina; Canadian Plains Research Center, 2008) 249-269.
- 10 See Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1988); Miller; John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999); Anuiik “Métis Families and Schools.”
- 11 Marie Battiste, “Maintaining Aboriginal Identity, Language, and Culture in Modern Society,” *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, ed. Marie Battiste (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000) 192-193, 200-204.
- 12 Patricia Monture-Angus, *Thunder in My Soul: A Mohawk Woman Speaks* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1995) 94, 114-15, 117.
- 13 Monture-Angus 94, 114-15, 117.
- 14 J.S.Y. (Sákéj) Henderson, “Ayukpachi: Empowering Aboriginal Thought,” in Marie Battiste, ed., *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000) 256.
- 15 Monture-Angus 94, 114-15, 117.
- 16 Marie Battiste, “Mikmaq Literacy and Cognitive Assimilation,” In Jean Barman et al., eds., *Indian Education in Canada: Volume 1: The Legacy*, Nakoda Institute Occasional Paper (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986) 23.
- 17 Grant vii.



- 18 Huel 104.
- 19 Marcel Giraud, *The Métis in the Canadian West*, Vol. II, George Woodcock, trans. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986).
- 20 Aboriginal Healing Foundation, "Métis History and Experience and Residential Schools in Canada," the Aboriginal Healing Foundation Research Series (Ottawa: Author, 2006).
- 21 Manitoba Métis Tricia Logan, "Lost Generations: The Silent Métis of the Residential School System: Revised Interim Report," in the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, "Métis History and Experience and Residential Schools in Canada," the Aboriginal Healing Foundation Research Series (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2006) 89.
- 22 Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-nineteenth-century Northwest Coast* (London: Duke University Press, 2005) 181, 187.
- 23 Peter Bishop, personal interview, 19 October 2005.
- 24 Jonathan Anuiik, "In from the Margins: Government of Saskatchewan Policies to Support Métis Learning, 1969-1979," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* (forthcoming).
- 25 Anuiik "Forming Civilization" 249.
- 26 PAM, Gunn, George H. Fonds (1865-1945): Notebooks re Peter Garrioch's journal, Red River Settlement, the West, Indian Legends, Box 1, MG9 78-1.
- 27 Anuiik "Forming Civilization" 261.
- 28 PCAC/WMS Fonds, W.M.S. (W.D.) Publications: Elizabeth A. Byers, "Lucy Margaret Baker: A Biographical Sketch..., 1920," 1988-2004-60-2, 11-12.
- 29 PCAC, James Nisbet to Mr. Robert Wilson, Presbyterian Mission, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, Sept. 17, 1867, James Nesbit, Mark Y. Stark, and Neil Smith Fonds, James Nesbit 1973-5037-1-1.
- 30 Anuiik "Forming Civilization" 252.
- 31 UCCA/VUA, Dr. Jardin to Wm McMurchy, Prince Albert Saskn, 4th April 1887, Records Pertaining to Missionaries to the Aboriginal People in Western Canada Fonds, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Home Mission Committee, Correspondence, Manitoba, 79.199C, 122-series, 14/1/1.
- 32 ADS, Indian Missions & Indian Work - Reports [W.E.J. Paul] - 1928-1955 Vol. 3/3 12, The Trail of the Cross. [Ca 1950], 5.
- 33 ADS, *Indian Missions. Diocese of Saskatchewan. Missions, Schools, Etc. 1900* (Toronto: The Oxford Press, 1900).
- 34 ADS, The Trail of the Cross, 6.
- 35 ADS, Indian Missions - Province of Rupert's Land - Reports 1890-1902 12, Committee on Indian Missions (1902), The Indian Missions of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, Canada: Fourth Triennial Report 1899, 1900, 1901 to the Provincial Synod, 1902, 7-8.
- 36 Christian periodicals that provided insights on education with a Protestant spiritual foundation are: *The Adult Class*, *The Canadian Methodist Magazine Devoted to Religion, Literature, and Social Progress*, *the Christian Journal of the Primitive Methodist Church in Canada*, *the Christian Guardian*, *The Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America*, *the Methodist Magazine and Review*, and *the United Church Observer*.
- 37 UCCA/VUA, Rev. Wm. H. Hincks, LL.B., "Present Day Lessons for Practical People," *The Adult Class* II.1 (1910): 31.
- 38 UCCA/VUA, Rev. A. Stevens, LL.D., "The Priesthood of the People," *The Christian Journal* XIII.33 (Friday, February 21, 1875).
- 39 Priscilla Lee Reid, "Lucy Baker: The First Woman Missionary to Canada's North West," *Called to Witness: Profiles of Canadian Presbyterians: A Supplement to Enduring Witness*, Vol. I, Ed. W. Stanford Reid (Presbyterian Publications, 1975) 73.
- 40 ADS, Indian Missions & Indian Work - Reports [W.E.J. Paul], 6.
- 41 ADS, The Trail of the Cross, 6.
- 42 PCAC, James Nisbet, Mark Y. Stark, and Neil Smith Fonds, James Nesbit 1973-5037-1-1.
- 43 UCCA/VUA, Canadian Presbyterian Church Committee on Foreign Missions Fonds, Rev. James Nisbet, Letters from Prince Albert, 1861-1874 86.249C 3240 1 reel (pos.).
- 44 UCCA/VUA, Rev. Alex Stewart to Rev. Prof. McLaren, Prince Albert, March 23rd 1877, Records Pertaining to Missionaries to the Aboriginal People in Western Canada Fonds, Presbyterian Church in Canada, Home Mission Committee. Correspondence, Manitoba, 79.199C 122-series 14/1/1.
- 45 Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 2005) note 59, p. 522.
- 46 Anuiik "Métis Families and Schools" 81.
- 47 Waiser 9.
- 48 UCCA/VUA, Maclean, John, Fonds, Scrapbook Educational Column, *Regina Leader* 1890-91, "North-West Education, No. 2," *Regina Leader*, 3270/42/471.
- 49 "North-West Education, No. 2," *Regina Leader*.
- 50 UCCA/VUA, Maclean, John, Fonds, Scrapbook Educational Column, *Regina Leader* 1890-91, 3270/42/471.
- 51 UCCA/VUA, "Educational Column," *Regina Leader* (May 12, 1891), Maclean, John, Fonds, Scrapbook Educational Column, *Regina Leader* 1890-91, 3270/42/471
- 52 UCCA/VUA, Maclean, John, Fonds, Scrapbook Educational Column, "Educational Column," *Regina Leader* (January 13, 1891).
- 53 Waiser 10.
- 54 Waiser 10.
- 55 Sherry Farrell-Racette, "Métis Education," *The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan: A Living Legacy*, retrieved 28 April 2008 from [http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/Métis\\_education.html](http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/Métis_education.html).
- 56 LAC, RG 15, Reel T-12437, Father A. Lacombe, O.M.I., Vicar General of the Bishops, "A Philanthropic Plan to Redeem the Half-Breeds of Manitoba and the North West Territories: An Application to the Department of Indian Affairs," 1894-1906, 1.
- 57 Albert Fayant, personal communication, 5 October 2006.
- 58 George Klyne, personal interview, 17 May 2006.
- 59 M.F.A. Lindsay, S/Insp. Commanding Regina Sub-Division of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police filed a report about a Fred Fayant, in violation of the School Attendance Act in the Indian Head Detachment, May 18th, 1944 (in SAB's "Métis Schools" file). I know members of the extended family, and the Fayants were a farm labourer family that relied on service to local farmers for sustenance.
- 60 See Patrick Kyba, "Anderson, James Thomas Milton (1878-1946)," *The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan: A Living Legacy*, 2006, retrieved 16 April 2010 from [http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/anderson\\_james\\_thomas\\_milton\\_1878-1946.html](http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/anderson_james_thomas_milton_1878-1946.html).
- 61 Rev. A. Sutherland, "The Religious Element in Education," *Methodist Magazine and Review* XLIV.1 (1896): 31.
- 62 The United Church formed in 1925 as a result of a merger of the Congregationalist, Methodist, and most of the Presbyterian churches.
- 63 UCCA/VUA, Personal Papers, McDougall, John Fonds, Unveiling of portrait of J. McDougall, Carlton St. U.C., Tor., 22 Sept. 1927. Programme, addresses, flyer, 1927, 86.291C 3282/9.
- 64 UCCA/VUA, Personal Papers, McDougall, John Fonds, Unveiling of portrait of J. McDougall, Carlton St. U.C., Tor., 22 Sept. 1927. Programme, addresses, flyer, 1927, 86.291C 3282/9.
- 65 J.T.M. Anderson, *The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1918) 93, 147.
- 66 UCCA/VUA, Board of Home Mission Fonds, General Files, "A Synopsis of the Marks of an Educated Man (Dr. A.E. Wiggam's book)" by Donald M. Solandt, M.A., Associate Book Steward, United Church of Canada (1931), 83.050C, 509/15/105.
- 67 Nelson Chappell, "A New Curriculum: Saskatchewan Proposes Changes in Rural Education," *The United Church Observer* 1.5 (1939): 15.
- 68 Chappell 15.
- 69 Chappell 15.
- 70 Chappell 15.
- 71 Anuiik "Forming Civilization" 249.
- 72 See Anuiik "Métis Families and Schools" chapter four.
- 73 See D. Bruce Sealey and Antoine S. Lussier, *The Métis: Canada's Forgotten People* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Métis Federation Press, 1975); Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980); Irene Spry, "The Métis and Mixed-bloods of Rupert's Land before 1870," in Peterson and Brown 95-118; Sylvia Van Kirk, "What If Mama is an Indian?: The Cultural Ambivalence of the Alexander Ross Family," in Peterson and Brown 207-218; Paget Code, "Les autres Métis: The English Métis of the Prince Albert Settlement, 1862-1886," M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2007.
- 74 See Tord Larsen, "Negotiating Identity: The Mi'kmaq of Nova Scotia," *The Politics of Indianness: Studies in Native Ethnopolitics in Canada*, ed. Adrian Tanner (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1983) 47; Brenda Macdougall, "Socio-cultural Development and Identity Formation of Métis Communities in Northwestern Saskatchewan, 1776-1907," Ph.D. Dissertation, U of Saskatchewan, 2005, 241-242, 248; Anuiik "Métis Families and Schools" chapter six.
- 75 See Anuiik "Métis Families and Schools" chapters six and seven.

From time to time, we receive newly released books from the publishers for review. Special thanks to the SAB employees who read and reviewed the following books for this issue of Saskatchewan History.

**Life in Early Dawson County, Montana**  
*An Uncommon Journey: The History of Old Dawson County, Montana Territory.*

**Hyatt, H.N.**

**Sweetgrass Books; 2009. 512 pp.**

H. Norman Hyatt, a first-time writer based in Washington state, has researched and assembled a patchwork of anecdotes and factual excerpts that centre around the life story of one of his ancestors, Stephen Norton Van Blaricom. While the author's introduction stresses his non-academic approach, Hyatt has created a substantial resource for Dawson County, Montana. Based on Van Blaricom's memoirs and written in a first person narrative, Hyatt takes his readers on a whirlwind tour through the geography and social climate of the American "territories" during the 1880s.

Touted as an engaging new history of Dawson County, Hyatt covers a great deal more ground than that, devoting the first section of the volume to detailing the early life of Van Blaricom when his parents moved the family through several states, lingering for several years in Minnesota in an ill-fated attempt to pioneer a farm in the forest. Hyatt clearly holds a great deal of sympathy and reverence for his ancestor, the eldest of nine children who began to work the cattle ranches at the tender age of thirteen. Van Blaricom, for his part, is blunt and unromantic in his commentary on the events as they progress, for example noting that primeval Minnesota oak was routinely burned off to clear land for subsistence farming, and ascertaining that his mother's interest in his father was due less to his father's positive attributes and more to a lack of choice in suitors in the immediate years after the Civil War.

Finding his way to the Montana territories, Van Blaricom decries the arrival of white men on the plains as an absolute tragedy, beginning with the destruction of the buffalo herds and the "corralling" of local tribes onto reserves. It is clear that Hyatt agrees with his assessment. As Van Blaricom matures and marries a local telegraph clerk, Hyatt also incorporates the personal details of many local characters: hunters, ranchers, railway men, entrepreneurs, and the early police force.

The approach of the book, focusing on family experience and written in first person perspective, is both its strength and its weakness. Hyatt offers vignettes of early Dawson County as Van Blaricom saw it, but by imbibing his ancestor's biases, he fails to provide adequate context for the events and the individuals involved. This is largely compensated for through detailed notation and supplementary information interspersed throughout the narrative in text boxes. The result is a glimpse of the past, rather than a comprehensive study.

Saskatchewan history buffs are unlikely to find much to hold their attention in *An Uncommon Journey*, as the experience of post-Civil War soldiers settling in the northern plains was significantly different than the homestead experience through most of this province. This book is more likely to appeal to those with a general interest in local histories, cross-border comparisons, or American frontier memoirs. These readers are likely to enjoy the anecdotes and excerpts, both in the narrative and in the notation.

Jennifer Jozic

Archivist, Saskatchewan Archives Board

**Provocative Social History of Prairie Cities**  
*Immigrants in Prairie Cities: Ethnic Diversity in Twentieth-Century Canada.*

**Royden Loewen and Gerald Friesen.**

**UTP: 2009. 257 pp.**

Loewen and Friesen, experts in prairie social history, have offered their readers a fresh, convincing case for the prairie cities being unique sites for the



negotiation of ethnicity. The authors draw together stories from a wide range of individuals and groups, applying various theoretical approaches while tackling potentially difficult and divisive issues. They have composed a well-organized, compelling and fully integrated narrative, weaving together both traditional and cross-disciplinary resources.

At its core, this is a study of ethnicity and racism. Canadian second-tier cities, they propose, with their near-constant stream of immigrants, relatively small populations, and placement in the continental interior better illustrate “a different version of the country’s experiment in cultural mixing” than do equivalent studies of the metropolis.

The book is divided into three sections, each tied to a wave of immigration: the 1900s-1930s, 1940s-1960s, and 1970s-1990s. The first wave was dominated by farmer-settlers in rural areas, with a smaller proportion of labourers working in various industries in the city. The opening chapters discuss the overlapping roles of family, gender, religion, and ethnic associations in creating ethnic identities within this context, and the evolving efforts to either maintain those identities, or subsume them in favour of conformity.

The postwar era featured two main groups flowing into the cities: the postwar refugees from Europe, and the second- and third-generation of rural residents moving off the farm. Both groups sought new opportunities, and these two groups were often in conflict over their different understanding of their ostensibly shared ethnicity.

The final section of the book concentrates on the recent past, a period that is generally poorly discussed in prairie history but is given a full half of the total narrative here. This has permitted the authors to provide a very significant contribution to the current literature on prairie immigration. The migrants during this period are primarily from the Global South or the Aboriginal communities. Paying particular attention to Winnipeg, the authors offer a rather frank discussion about changing societal understandings of race, the existence of racism despite a popular denial of its existence, and the role of governments, schools, and organizations in combating racism.

The scope of this book, geographically and chronologically, is expansive. Through careful

writing, however, the authors are able to give a sense of the development of cities and ethnicity as experienced by many immigrants and immigrant groups without overwhelming the reader. They have kept the total discussion compact, keeping the topic and the length manageable by focusing on only a few centres - mainly Winnipeg (the first significant city), with some discussion of Calgary and Edmonton, and occasional nods to Saskatoon and Regina. Because of this, although a wide variety of ethnic groups are highlighted through both individual stories and representative examples, the experiences of Aboriginal “immigrants” in urban areas are noticeably sparse.

Brevity is also served through their approach to research. This manuscript is not a study of primary sources, but rather is a synthesis of previously published material, including historical and sociological theory, memoirs, theses and dissertations, articles, and fiction. The detailed research notes allow the reader to access a wide variety of sources for further research.

Loewen and Friesen have offered a unique and provocative social history of the major prairie cities. By concentrating on the urban instead of the rural, and spanning the entire twentieth century while tracing the developing relationship between immigrants and the city, they have created a framework that has enabled a nuanced analysis of Canadian multiculturalism that is focused on the meaning of ethnicity in modern Canada.

Jillian Staniec

Archivist, Saskatchewan Archives Board

**Challenges of Large-Scale Ranching**  
*Somebody Else’s Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883 – 1907.*

**Warren Elofson.**

**Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009. 285 pp.**

*Somebody Else’s Money: The Walrond Ranch Story, 1883 – 1907* is a detailed look into the brief history of the Walrond Ranch, a horse and cattle operation that was one of the four largest ranches in southern Alberta at the turn of the twentieth century. While devoted to telling the story of this one ranch, the book also tackles a couple of broader

issues: the failure of corporate farming to take hold in Alberta and the rest of western Canada, and the environmental factors working against large-scale, hands-off ranching.

Author Warren Elofson is both an historian at the University of Calgary and a rancher, so he has both personal expertise and a strong research background in ranching. Elofson suggests the smaller family farm has endured largely because it keeps going in an industry that is not always economically viable. By working to preserve a lifestyle, as opposed to solely seeking profits, the family farm survived, while the corporate farm did not.

The second overall theme of the book is a study of the environmental factors that worked against large-scale, hands-off ranching. The 'business plan' of the Walrond Ranch depended on running a large volume of cattle on a huge piece of land with minimum labour. This approach resulted in overgrazing in the summers, and massive animal loss in the winter due to blizzards and freezing temperatures. Smaller farms and ranches worked around these problems by stringing fences, putting up feed for the winter, and watching their herds closely. Elofson's thesis, which he lays out in the Introduction and then proves throughout his book, is that "most of the great ranches failed because they had neither the ability nor the inclination to employ the strategies of the family farm."

British investor Sir John Walrond lent his name and invested his money into the ranch, but ranch manager Dr. Duncan McEachran, a Montreal-based veterinary surgeon, drove the ranch to great heights. At its peak size, the Walrond ran over 10,000 cattle

and hundreds of horses on almost 300,000 acres of land in southern Alberta. However McEachran's business decisions, coupled with the realities of agriculture in Canada's west, led to the ranch's bankruptcy in 1907.

The papers of the Walrond Ranch, held at the Glenbow Archives in Calgary, were used by Elofson to write an interesting book. In addition to examining the environmental and economic factors that led to the Walrond's downfall, the book works as a narrative history of the ranch. While the cowboy lifestyle is something typically associated with the American West, Elofson shows it was alive and well in Canada (a topic he covered in greater detail in his 2001 book *Cowboys, Gentleman, and Cattle Thieves: Ranching on the Western Frontier*).

At times I found the detail too much, often skimming or skipping completely the pages devoted to the ranch's financial performance, and I wondered if some of this information would have been more palatable in table or graphic form. However, this is a minor detail in a very good book.

While set almost exclusively in Alberta, *Somebody Else's Money* is nevertheless interesting to those interested in Saskatchewan history because its two major themes - the drawbacks of corporate agriculture and the environmental obstacles to its success - are also relevant in this province. Even readers without an agricultural background will get something out of this book. *Somebody Else's Money* sheds light on what life and business were like in Western Canada around the turn of the twentieth century and is worth a read.

Richard Hall  
Archivist, Saskatchewan Archives Board



- 23 Katharina Hering, "That Food of the Memory which Gives the Clue to Profitable Research: Oral History as a Source for Local, Regional, and Family History in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century," *The Oral History Review* 34 (2007), 33.
- 24 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- 25 Tom Shakespeare, "Choices and Rights: Eugenics, Genetics and Disability Equality," *Disability and Society* 13 (1998), 665-681.
- 26 Betty Adelson, *The Lives of Dwarfs: Their Journey from Public Curiosity toward Social Liberation* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 3.
- 27 W. Horton, J. Hall, and J. Hecht, "Achondroplasia," *The Lancet* 370/9582 (2007), 167; see also A.G.A. Hunter et al., "Medical Complications of Achondroplasia: A Multicentre Patient Review," *Journal of Medical Genetics* 35 (1998): 705-712.
- 28 Tara Truemmer, "Citizenship, and Public Policy," Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan, [http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/disability\\_citizenship\\_](http://esask.uregina.ca/entry/disability_citizenship_)

- and\_public\_policy.html. However, with the election of the CCF government in 1944 a Trade Union Act was passed which raised compensation for (mostly male) workers, who had been disabled on the job. See Peel's Prairie Provinces, *Peel 6618: Co-operative Commonwealth Federation: Saskatchewan Section: A Short, Short, but Important Story about Labor: Regina: CCF, Sask. Section, 1944?*, University of Alberta Libraries, <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/bibliography/6618/2.html>.
- 29 Michelle Putnam, "Conceptualizing Disability Developing a Framework for Political Disability Identity," *Journal of Disability Policy Studies* 16 (2005), 195.
- 30 She, for instance, often visited Gordon's Indian residential school near Punnichy for sports days and graduation ceremonies. The residential school was at that time administered by the Anglican Church.
- 31 G. Thomas Couser, *Recovering Bodies: Illness, Disability and Life Writing* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).
- 32 I have found no other diaries among the family belongings.

At a memorial service for Mantle, held October 8, 1913 at Presbyterian Church in Regina, the minister conducting the service commended Mantle's devotion to duty, noting that "in service Mantle found the highest reward."

### Vimy Ridge Commemoration

Major Alfred Frank Mantle is commemorated on the majestic and inspiring Vimy Ridge Memorial for the more than 11,000 Canadian soldiers who died in northern France during World War I with no known grave. His younger son, Edward Frank Mantle, served in World War II with the Royal Canadian Artillery, and was killed in action in France in 1944 at the age of 30. He is buried in the Ben-Sur-Mer Canadian war cemetery near Reviers, Calvados, France.

The names of both father and son are inscribed on the Saskatchewan War Memorial at the Legislative Grounds in Regina, and also listed in the Book of Remembrances for all of Canada's fallen soldiers at the Peace Tower in Ottawa. Also, through the Saskatchewan Geo-Memorial program, Mantle Lakes in northern Saskatchewan (north of Île-à-la-Crosse) were named in their remembrance.

### Mantle Memorial Scholarship

For a number of years after Mantle's death, close friends and colleagues contemplated a suitable memorial for him. Eventually, the Mantle Memorial Scholarship was established at the University

of Saskatchewan to encourage the education of farm youth. It provided financial assistance to 80 students between 1928 to 1983, who enrolled in either the College or School of Agriculture. Many of these students became well known in their own agricultural careers or as leaders and successful farmers in their communities. In 1983, the fund was closed out and a small laser plaque was designed and placed to commemorate Mantle in a boardroom of Saskatchewan Agriculture in Regina's Walter Scott Building.

### Mantle's Legacy

Major Mantle's legacy deserves to be enshrined in Saskatchewan's history. He epitomized greatness of the highest order. As a gifted individual with exceptional qualities, he was a man of integrity and character who provided loyal, dedicated, devoted, and selfless service to improve the lives of his fellow citizens. Ultimately, in response to the call of duty, Mantle made the supreme sacrifice for his country. His legacy should be long remembered, serving as an inspiration for succeeding generations.

### Sources

- 1 Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online (Mantle, Alfred, Frank).
- 2 Veterans Affairs Canada (Commonwealth War Graves Commission).
- 3 Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina.
- 4 *Regina Leader*, October 4, 1916. "Major Mantle, Regina Officer, Dies at Front."
- 5 Statutes of Saskatchewan (1926), An Act to Incorporate the Mantle Memorial Scholarship Fund Trustees.
- 6 Barry, Bill with Chisholm, Douglas and Parsons, Mary. *Age Shall Not Weary Them: Saskatchewan Remembers its War Dead*. Printed 2005.
- 7 Pitsula, James. *For All We Have and Are (Regina and Area: World War I)*. Printed 2008.
- 8 Legislative Library, Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture Annual Reports, 1909 - 1915.

And this was after all the crux of the matter. The Bronfmans ran their blending and supply business to the changing tide of provincial and federal legislation. The market was lucrative; it fell to the Bronfmans to find the loopholes in the law to take advantage of that market. And so they did.

## Endnotes

- 1 Lefebvre Prince, Terri, *The Whiskey Man*, (City of Yorkton) 2003, p. 18, 19.
- 2 Newman, Peter C.; *Bronfman Dynasty, The Rothschilds of the New World*, (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart) 1978, p. 77.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 81.
- 4 The name of this company is variously spelled in different historical documents, as noted in these endnotes; for clarity and consistency, it is referred to in this way throughout the text of this article.
- 5 *Bottlers and Brewers Supply Company Limited v. Harry Bronfman and Samuel Bronfman*, Transcript of the Examination for Discovery of Harry Bronfman, January 20, 1921, (Yorkton: Court of King's Bench) p.2.
- 6 Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
- 7 Lefebvre Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- 8 Newman, *op. cit.* p. 80.
- 9 *Bottlers and Brewers Supply Company Limited v. Harry Bronfman and Samuel Bronfman*, Transcript of the Examination for Discovery of Thomas J. Moore, January 20, 1921, *op. cit.* p. 3.
- 10 Boozorium was a slang term for the liquor warehouses the Bronfmans established in Bienfait, Carnduff and Gainsborough.
- 11 *Ibid.* p. 5.
- 12 *Ibid.* p. 8.
- 13 The date was April 6th according to Moore's testimony.
- 14 *Brewers and Bottlers Supply Company Limited v. Harry Bronfman and Samuel Bronfman*, Trial Transcript, November 12, 1921 (Yorkton: Court of King's Bench) p. 200.
- 15 *Brewers and Bottlers Supply Company Limited v. Harry Bronfman and Samuel Bronfman*, Transcript of the Examination for Discovery of Thomas J. Moore, January 20, 1921, *op. cit.* p. 13.
- 16 *Brewers and Bottlers Supply Company Limited v. Harry Bronfman and Samuel Bronfman*, Trial Transcript, November 21, 1921, (Yorkton: Court of King's Bench) p. 13.
- 17 *Ibid.* p. 24.
- 18 *Ibid.* p. 48.
- 19 *Ibid.* p. 25.
- 20 *Brewers and Bottlers Supply Company Limited v. Samuel Bronfman and Harry Bronfman*, Affidavit of Harry Bronfman, (Yorkton: Court of King's Bench) May 10, 1921, pp 1-3.
- 21 *Brewers and Bottlers Supply Company Limited v. Harry Bronfman and Samuel Bronfman*, Written closing arguments for the plaintiff, November 21, 1921, (Yorkton: Court of King's Bench) p. 14.
- 22 *Brewers and Bottlers Supply Company Limited v. Harry Bronfman and Samuel Bronfman*, Trial Transcript, November 21, 1921, (Yorkton: Court of King's Bench) p. 16.
- 23 *Ibid.* p. 56
- 24 *Ibid.* p. 9.
- 25 *Brewers and Bottlers Supply Company Limited v. Harry Bronfman and Samuel Bronfman*, Written closing arguments for the plaintiff, November 21, 1921, (Yorkton: Court of King's Bench) p. 16.
- 26 *Ibid.* p. 20.
- 27 *Brewers and Bottlers Supply Company Limited v. Harry Bronfman and Samuel Bronfman*, Trial Transcript, November 21, 1921, (Yorkton: Court of King's Bench) p. 21.
- 28 *Brewers and Bottlers Supply Company Limited v. Harry Bronfman and Samuel Bronfman*, Written closing arguments for the plaintiff, November 21, 1921, (Yorkton: Court of King's Bench) p. 16.
- 29 *Brewers and Bottlers Supply Company Limited v. Harry Bronfman and Samuel Bronfman*, Written judgment, December 29, 1921, (Yorkton: Court of King's Bench) p. 6.
- 30 Newman, *op. cit.* p. 86.
- 31 *Brewers and Bottlers Supply Company Limited v. Harry Bronfman and Samuel Bronfman*, Transcript of the Examination for Discovery of Samuel Bronfman, January 20, 1921, p. 10.

ACCESS  
COMMUNICATIONS  
& SASKATCHEWAN  
ARCHIVES BOARD  
PRESENT

**REEL  
STORIES**

FROM THE  
ARCHIVES

If you subscribe to cable television service from Access Communications, check your local listings for Reel Stories from the Archives. This multi-part series, co-produced by Access Communications and Saskatchewan Archives Board, features historic films from the Archives' holdings.



One  
Province,  
Countless  
Stories

SASKATCHEWAN  
ARCHIVES  
BOARD:

*Where Every Record  
Tells A Story*

3303 Hillsdale Street, Regina  
306-787-4068

Rm. 91, Murray Building,  
University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon  
306-933-5832

[www.saskarchives.com](http://www.saskarchives.com)



# Saskatchewan HISTORY

ISSN 0036-4908



9 770036 490007