

Saskatchewan HISTORY

Peter McKenzie:
*Pioneer photographer
on the prairie*

*How Dief's papers
came to rest here*

*Using technology for
cemetery management*

Lulu Turner's
unusual journal



The Saskatchewan Archives Board



In this 1957 photo, Peter Pielak, a clerk at the Legislative Library, is microfilming a school history booklet prepared by Wolseley School and submitted to Saskatchewan Archives. SAB photo R-A13029-2.

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Editor:
Myrna Williams

General Manager:
Lenora Toth

**Production
Coordinator:**
Nadine Charabin

**Administrative
Assistant:**
Lise Thring

Copy Editor:
Bonnie Dahl

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Archives Week 2015

Archives Week in Regina culminated with a highly successful public celebration at Bushwakker Brew Pub. The full-capacity crowd was entertained by readings about the Weyburn Mental Hospital from the 1920s to 1960s, which had been selected from records in the Saskatchewan Archives' Permanent Collection.

And in Saskatoon, more than 2800 people attended the Heritage Festival at the Western Development Museum, which was focused on the history of youth in Saskatoon. Saskatoon also held its annual celebrity reading event at The Bassment, with selections covering diverse topics ranging from war

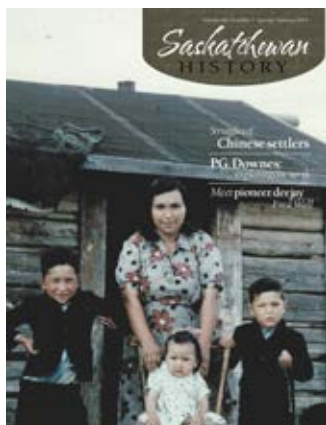
experiences, to the end of prohibition, to film censorship – and more!

Left: A full-capacity crowd enjoyed selected readings from local celebrities at Bushwakker Brew Pub in Regina. Photo courtesy of Bill Armstrong. Right: Boom Town Street at the Western Development Museum during the Heritage Festival of Saskatoon. Photographer: Nadine Charabin.



Martin Michel

Remember the family we featured on the cover of our Spring/Summer 2014 issue? Eugenie Michel and her children were photographed by Everett Baker in Pelican Narrows in 1947. Contributor Les Oystryk, who co-authored the article “A paper chase: The Prentice G. Downes fonds” in that edition, sent along an updated photo of the little boy posed on the far right of the cover. Now 70 years old, Martin Michel was surprised to see his much younger self, along with his mother, brother Joe, and little sister Jane Doris, showcased on our cover. As Les snapped an updated photo of Martin in Flin Flon last summer, Martin explained he is the only surviving family member from that photo. How would you react if you saw an old photo of yourself gracing the cover of a magazine?



Martin Michel, 2014. Photographer: Les Oystryk.



Saskatchewan HISTORY
M A G A Z I N E

Subscriptions: 1 year for \$15.75 ~ Back issues also available.
To subscribe, visit www.saskarchives.com/sask-history-magazine



Helping government clients

SAB staff frequently helps government clients build better projects. Hoping to inspire ideas for new projects, we have created a special publication that highlights diverse government projects that have been undertaken recently. Because of our staff's professional expertise, we help clients identify and gain access to original documents from both public and private sources, including textual records, photographs, maps, drawings, audio, video and film – and more. If your organization is considering a project that would benefit from archival resources, you're welcome to call and ask for a booklet.

While many projects are developed to celebrate historical milestones, others have proven critical for government organizations to address public safety and service needs. For example, our booklet describes how SAB introduced the Ministry of the Economy to a variety of historical records, helping them compile locations of abandoned coal mines in the province for public safety purposes.



Saskatchewan Archives' 70th Anniversary: Thinking of donating records?

Everyone who donates historical records to SAB in 2015 will receive a special certificate. Created to mark SAB's 70th anniversary, the certificate is a replica of a coloured lithograph certificate distributed by the Archives in the 1950s to donors, pioneer questionnaire respondents and school children as part of Saskatchewan's Golden Jubilee celebrations. The original certificate was designed by Saskatchewan artist A.W. Davey of the Bureau of Publications. If you or your organization is interested in donating records, or if you have specific questions about a potential donation, please visit our website at <http://www.saskarchives.com/donating-records>. Watch for more about the Saskatchewan Archives' 70th Anniversary in the Fall/Winter 2015 edition of *Saskatchewan History*.



Learning packages for youth

Saskatchewan Archives Board is thrilled to announce the launch of four new "Archives in the Classroom" learning packages, now available on the "For Young Historians" webpage of our website at <http://www.saskarchives.com/collection/history-youth/archives-classroom/learning-packages>. Designed for History and Social Studies students in Grade 12, the packages include exercises that encourage students to apply 'historical thinking' concepts while learning about Saskatchewan's history.



Saskatchewan Archives gratefully acknowledges the financial support for development of these learning packages from the Saskatchewan Council for Archives and Archivists and the Saskatchewan Lotteries Trust Fund for Sport, Culture and Recreation through SaskCulture Inc.

Themes of the learning packages include:

- The CCF in Saskatchewan: A Study in Continuity & Change
- Estevan Riot 1931: Weighing the Causes
- Saskatchewan Doctors' Strike 1962: Political Cartoons - Interpreting Evidence
- Letters & Diaries of the Great War: Considering Historical Perspectives

A teacher and students in a classroom in Cresswell School, circa 1948. SAB photo R-A10942-2.

A spring collage

Across Saskatchewan, all kinds of springtime activities are unfolding: farmers are out seeding and families are digging and weeding to get backyards ready for barbecues and wading pools. Through my window drift the cheers from a nearby softball game, occasionally drowned out by a neighbour's rototiller. While we're not all spending the day in the same way, we are all here: part of the life in Saskatchewan today that tomorrow will be a collage of history.

This issue presents a bright and colourful spring collage of stories, bringing together perspectives of diverse authors on subjects great and small.

Craig Greenham provides a glimpse into the later years of the only prime minister to call Saskatchewan home. This scholarly, yet accessible, article reads like a racy workplace conversation in which we meet a statesman who is not only eager to ensure he's left his mark on Canada, but who is also keen to ensure that his legacy papers are preserved for future historians to write about.

Of course, there's no shortage of history about any prime minister – a lofty position in our country – but we also learn history through every day people and their stories. We think you will chuckle to learn what George Colpitts discovered in the back of a 1922 Indian Agency daily journal while researching at Library and Archives Canada.

Many people enjoy walking through graveyards to read the epitaphs of those who passed. But the land beneath and around the headstones has stories to tell too. Kara Wolfe, Mike Markowski and Troy Zimmer combine historical research with modern technology to tell untold stories about the cemetery and shrine at St. Laurent de Grandin. We are excited to publish their article about a unique way of learning about the past.

We can't have a collage without the work of artists, so we have included articles about two artists who worked in different eras and media, and whose artistic commercial works were used to promote the province. Brock Silversides uses the example of Peter McKenzie to tell the story of early 20th century photographers making a living through art in Saskatchewan; indeed, McKenzie's images themselves provide a stunning historical look at the Saskatoon - Hanley area. Meanwhile, Verna Gallén has penned a biographical sketch of Alf Davey, a commercial artist who worked for the provincial government from the Forties into the Sixties. Mr. Davey's work graced all kinds of publications in this province – including the cover of this magazine.

We hope you enjoy the big picture that results from the rainbow-hued stories we've curated in this edition.

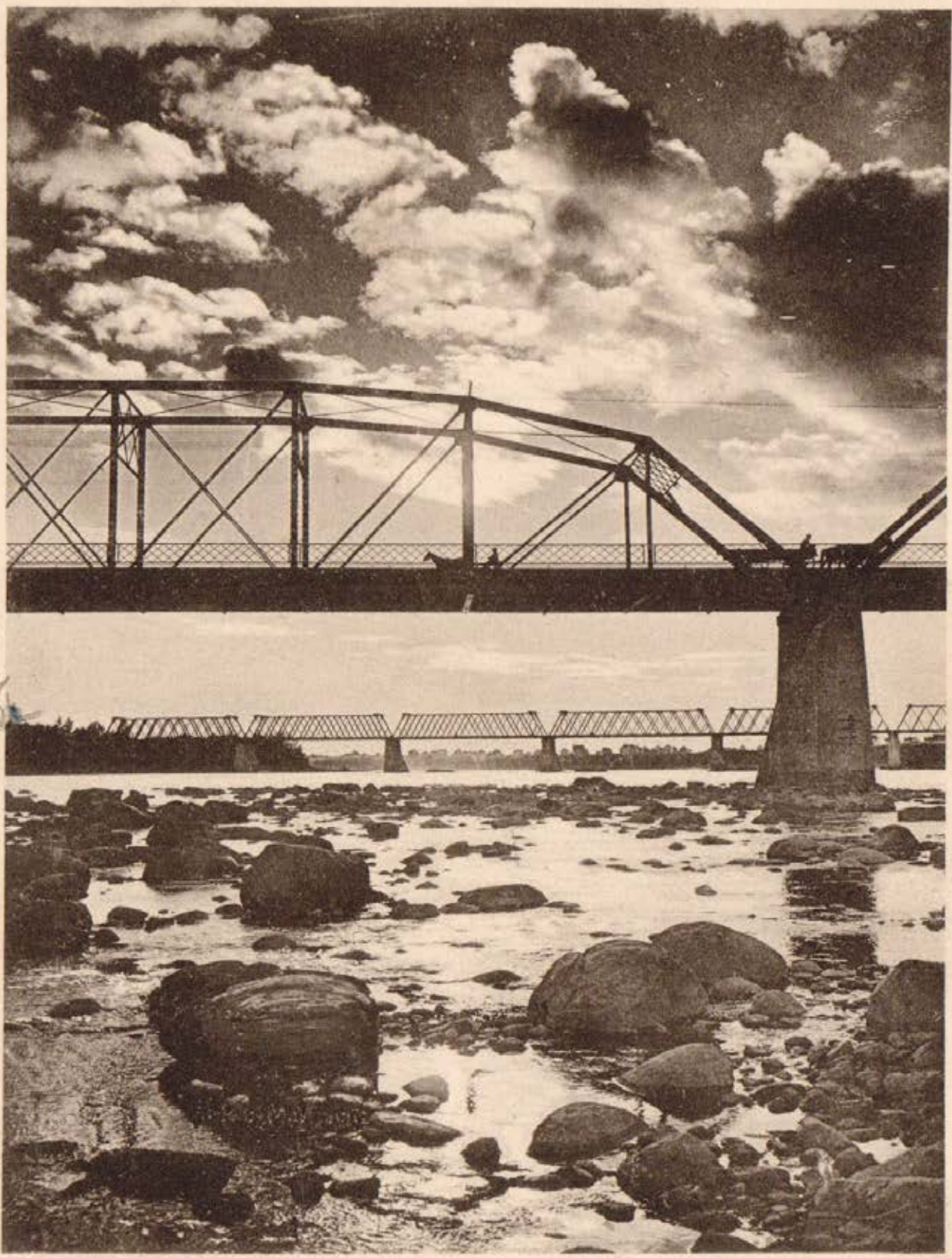
And remember: whatever you're up to today, whether lofty tasks or whimsical play, you're creating a little history of your own!

Myrna Williams

Editor, Saskatchewan History



Drawing of pond with elevators behind by A.W. Davey. Courtesy of Keith Davey.



Down South Saskatchewan

Sunset, Saskatoon, Canada

Can this beat the Gorge!

"There is plenty of picturesque scenery at Saskatoon." Looking up a path on the banks of the South Saskatchewan River, 1910. Courtesy B. Silversides Collection, photogravure.

“Old Sol’s Glory Path” – A Life of Photographer Peter McKenzie

Brock Silversides

The history of western Canadian small town photography is replete with the stories of isolated and obscure practitioners scratching out a meagre existence. As the subject matter was similar almost everywhere – especially on the prairies – much of their work is seemingly repetitive and unoriginal. Most had to concentrate on commercial work, documenting businesses, products, agricultural activity, and prominent people to keep their businesses going. But commercial work generally did not leave much room for artistic interpretation and could stifle inspiration. Every once in a while, though, a photographer stands out for a noticeably different approach.



“Hanley, Sask. May 1 1907 - Off to the Homestead.” Recently outfitted settlers on Railway Street, 1907. Courtesy Saskatoon Public Library – Local History Room LH-1482.

One of the more interesting and artistic early twentieth century photographers was Peter McKenzie. Although he left behind a body of work worthy of study, there is only a slim and fragmentary paper trail to reconstruct his life and career. Of Scottish ancestry, he was the son of Alexander and Selena McKenzie. Born in 1881, he grew up on his family’s farm near Dunnville, Haldimand County, at the mouth of the Grand River in southwestern Ontario. Little is known of his childhood or early training. Dunnville directories show only two professional photographers active during his formative years, and he may have apprenticed under either George W. Robinson (1896) or F.A. Borel (1900-1902). Judging by his character, though, he was more likely self-taught in photography, in painting, in blacksmithing, and in all the other skills he picked up throughout his life.

Lured by the concept of cheap land and adventure, McKenzie travelled west to Saskatchewan (then part of the Northwest Territories) in the spring of 1903, applying for a homestead on SW quarter of Section 12, Township 35, Range 10, West of the Third Meridian, near the town of Hanley. He built a small house and stable, dug a well, and earned extra cash by occasionally working as a carpenter on the construction of regional railway bridges.¹

Hanley was a small town situated 35 miles south of Saskatoon on the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) line between Regina and Prince Albert. It only came into existence in 1901 but, starting in 1903, it acquired an importance far out of proportion to its size when it became a stop-off and supply point for an influx of homesteaders. These settlers arrived under the auspices of the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company, which had signed an agreement with the federal government in 1902 to settle the Hanley plains, a stretch of land between Lake Manitou to the east, Outlook to the west, Dundurn to the north and Lumsden to the south.² It was claimed that the district was amazingly fertile, and the new farmers — many from the United States — came in huge numbers. The land company established its headquarters in the new town and, naturally, needed accurate and frequently updated photographs of the farming operations to attract even more settlers. In addition, many homesteaders were also starting to eye the Goose Lake district due west on the opposite side of the South Saskatchewan River. Hanley was the closest railway stop to the Rudy Ferry, which itself became a strategic and important crossing for several years.

In the next five years, Hanley experienced a small boom period: its population went from 200 in 1905 to over 650 by 1908. It was incorporated as a village in 1905, then as a town

the following year. The CPR built a new depot, coal was discovered nearby, and the town organized a board of trade. According to one town history, “homestead trains came in frequently — sometimes two or three a day — leaving behind settlers and their carloads of effects.”³

With such potential patronage at his front door, it is not surprising that in 1905 McKenzie took up his camera, both to document the bustling activity and to make additional money, since his farming activities had not progressed past a subsistence level. It was initially a seasonal business: he would usually spend the fall and winter on his farm (opening his studio for a couple of weeks in November to take advantage of the Christmas rush), and come into town to operate the studio in the spring and summer. His first establishment was a tent. An early advertisement appeared in the *Hanley Herald* in May 1906:

*McKenzie's Photo Tent: will stay a short time longer in hopes that it will quit raining. On Saturday afternoon, May 19th, samples of Hanley work will be on exhibition in front of the tent so that you can see just what we can do Even if it is dark and rainy we can take photos just the same. You may get wet but you are sure to get photographed in proper style.*⁴

He was obviously competent, since the editor reported shortly after that, “our photographer, despite the bad weather,

has turned out some fine work. Hanley people are proud of their appearance and keep him pretty busy.”⁵ McKenzie became a popular figure around town. Referred to as the “local photographer” or just the “local artist,” his intermittent bouts of public photography were usually considered newsworthy. For instance, in October 1905, the *Hanley Herald* reported, “twelve loads of wheat arrived at the Crown Elevator on Tuesday last, and our local photographer took a snap shot [sic] as they were awaiting their turn.”⁶ In another public shooting, the newspaper related:

*A special train of 40 cars, all loaded with Cockshutt plows, arrived to-day direct from Brantford. The cars were all decorated from end to end with wide streamers, advertising the manufacturers and informing the public of the contents and destination of the train. Immediately on arrival the long string of cars were photographed by a local artist.*⁷

Much of his work from this period consists of shots of homesteaders with stocked-up wagons heading out of town for their farms (a popular souvenir to send back home), new farmers breaking their land, or Hanley streetscapes, the most notable of which were taken from the top of the local grain elevator as ‘bird’s-eye’ views.

By October 1906, McKenzie felt sufficiently established to start renting more permanent premises, which he

did in the Bell Building. He was no longer at the mercy of the elements and could have stayed open on a full-time basis. Yet he seems to have enjoyed farming, wanted to complete his homestead residency obligations, and did not particularly want to be a town-dweller. By the following year McKenzie was finding it difficult to deal with all the business coming his way. An article in the *Hanley Herald* affectionately reported on what was to become a recurring pattern in McKenzie’s life — when appreciative clients wanted too much of him, he would retreat and go off alone:

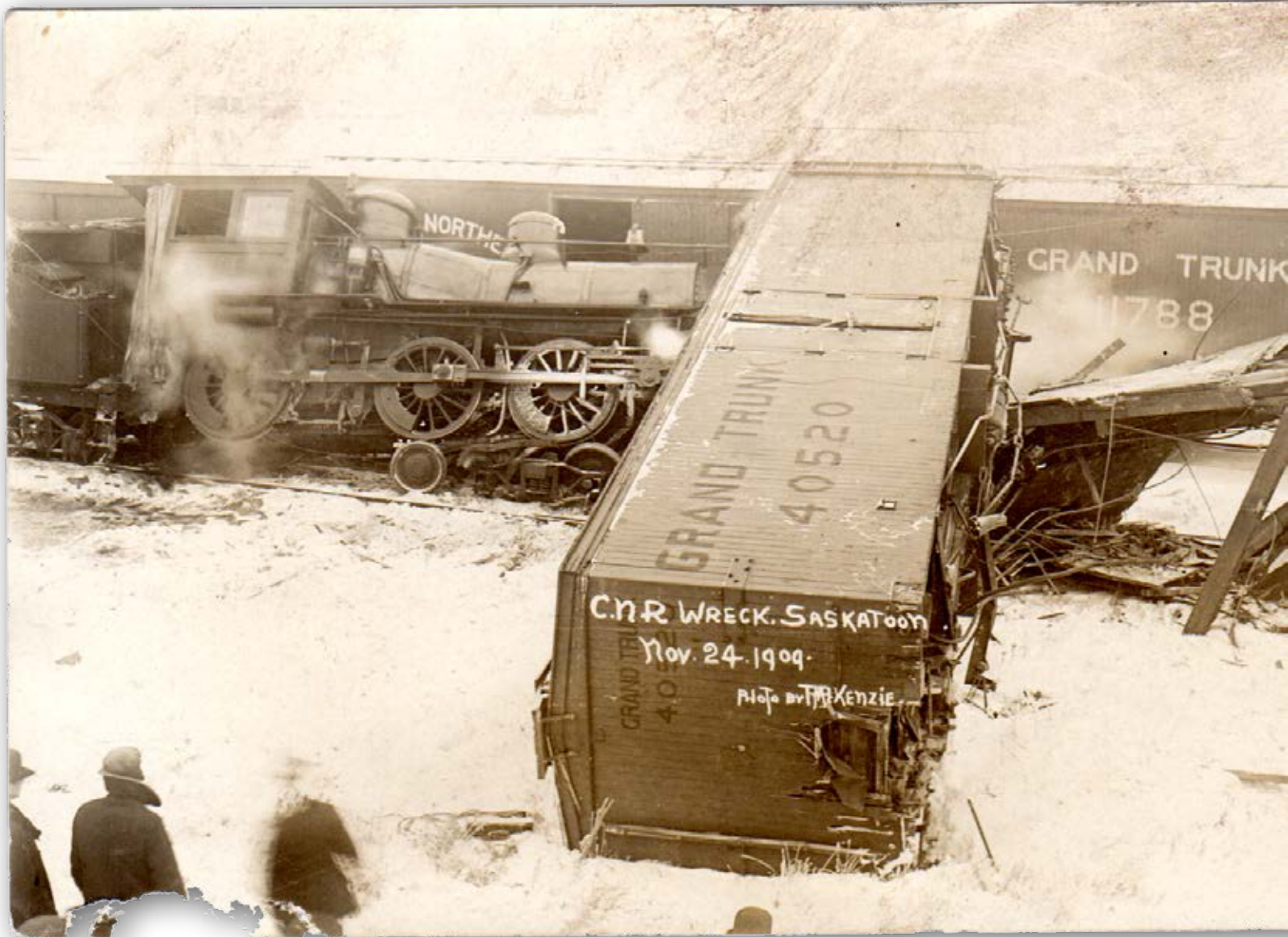
*A great excitement is hard on the nerves. The turmoil and bustle of Hanley has been too much for the nerves of the Hanley Photographer, who has been gone to his country residence to spend a quiet time poisoning gophers. On his return, Aug. 12 the studio will be open and remain open until Aug. 20. Remember, satisfaction is guaranteed or money refunded.*⁸

McKenzie contributed his first image to the *Saskatoon Phoenix* newspaper in the fall of 1907. The *Phoenix Harvest Number* for that year devoted a page to Hanley, illustrated by McKenzie’s panorama of the town. The writer also boasted that Hanley had its own photographer — a sign that it had reached a level of some sophistication.

By 1908, the activity in and around Hanley started to slow considerably.



Left: “Settlers on the Trail, Near Hanley.” Taken in 1907. Courtesy B. Silversides Collection.
Right: “A Reminder of the Early Days.” Metis couple driving a Red River cart on Second Avenue, Saskatoon, 1908. Courtesy B. Silversides Collection.



The immediate area had been thoroughly settled and, with the construction of the CPR branch line to Outlook, the Grand Trunk Pacific line passing through Saskatoon to the north, and the beginning of a Canadian Northern line heading southwest from Saskatoon to the Goose Lake district, Hanley lost its importance as a jumping-off point. Encouraged by the brighter prospects of the larger centre to the north, McKenzie decided to relocate to Saskatoon.

Even though he had left it behind, his Hanley work found a wide distribution through a promotional pamphlet issued by the Hanley Board of Trade in 1910. Entitled simply, *Why Hanley?*, it contained 47 pages of historical anecdotes, optimistic claims as to the fertility of the region, settler testimonials, and 17 photographic halftone illustrations. Most of these were McKenzie's; many can even be identified by his signature or logo. There were shots of the town, of the schools, of the grain elevators, as well as of the outlying farms. In particular there are shots of people standing in tall wheat ("Up to the neck in wheat, an annual scene on the Hanley Plains"), and of the local produce and harvest activities ("Johnson Bros.

Threshing near Hanley - Yield 34 bushels to acre" and "These men threshed 37 bushels of wheat to the acre near Hanley: now they are out for a week's sport"), and of attractive, well-designed, fully established farmsteads ("The farm buildings of I. Bohrsen after 4 years work. Another who has made good").⁹ All in all, the pamphlet was an enjoyable and convincing work.

Upon arriving in Saskatoon, McKenzie secured immediate employment in the studio of Saskatoon's first (and one of its finest) photographers, Ralph Dill. This lasted less than half a year: by June, he had moved into his own studio at 258 Second Avenue South, only two doors away from Dill. The city directory shows him residing at Mary Meech's boarding house at the corner of 23rd Street and 5th Avenue. In July, he finally received the patent to his homestead.

Oddly, McKenzie operated his business under two names simultaneously: McKenzie's Studio as well as City Studio. The reasons for this are not entirely clear. Generally speaking, those images issued under his own name were the more artistic views, or those that told a story. Those produced





"OFF TO THE ELEVATOR"

DUNDURN, SASK SEPT 10 1908
PHOTO BY MCKENZIE

under the name City Studio seem to consist of mundane, everyday subject matter like the construction of local buildings and views of the ferry – stock shots likely to earn money. Many of these were copyrighted as either real photo or photomechanical (halftone, gravure, lithograph) postcards. The postcard was an exceptionally popular format for western Canadian images from the 1910s to the Depression era. They were cheap to produce in large numbers and provided a surprisingly good source of income. They did not require a maker to maintain studio premises; they could be and were sold at drug stores, stationers, railway depots, street corners, and especially at fairs, exhibitions and other public events. They were simultaneously used for correspondence by new settlers and passing tourists and as economical, collectible souvenirs. Many were visually unremarkable but, taken through the eyes of someone like McKenzie, could be a little piece of art.

ARCHIVES



Aug. 22. 1908.

SASKATOON IS ABSORBING WARMAN! - THIS BUILDING WEIGHING 45 TONS WAS MOVED FROM WARMAN TO SASKATOON A DISTANCE OF 20 MILES BY THE SASKATOON FORWARDING AND STORAGE CO. - TWO TRACTION ENGINES AND EIGHT WAGONS BEING USED TO ACCOMPLISH THIS DIFFICULT TASK. PHOTO BY MCKENZIE

Opposite Page: "C.N.R. Wreck, Saskatoon. Nov. 24. 1909." Derailed locomotive and boxcar in Canadian Northern Railway yards, 1909. Courtesy B. Silversides Collection.

Top: "Off to the Elevator, Dundurn, Sask Sept. 10 1908." Courtesy Saskatoon Public Library- Local History Room LH-5192.

Bottom: "Saskatoon is Absorbing Warman!" House movers [Saskatoon Forwarding & Storage Co.] relocating a residence from Warman, 1908. SAB photo R-A2273.

The year 1908 was an eventful one for McKenzie. The Saskatchewan River overflowed its banks in June, making for unexpected prairie aquatic scenes, while the CPR opened its new bridge and station on Idylwyld Drive (then Avenue A), also in June. Saskatoon's Liberal Member of the Legislative Assembly, Archie McNab, was re-elected to much acclaim in August, which caused partying in the streets (a street party in Saskatoon was always worthy of capturing on film), and there was a tremendous influx of settlers as well.

McKenzie's camera captured more than simple, everyday recordings, as seen in his photograph "A Summons From the Saskatchewan," dated June 10, 1908. Instead of showing large areas of flooded fields, he chose a simple image of two men up to their knees in water, trudging away from their little wooden frame shack while carrying all their belongings. Although the image is quite humorous (one man wears a derby hat and carries a camp stove), it is also depressing, illustrating how nature can wipe out months or even years of work at a single stroke.

That same week, he recorded in a time lapse sequence the wreck of the paddle wheeler *City of Medicine Hat* when that ship drifted into one of the piers of the Traffic Bridge on June 7, 1908, and slowly turned over on its back. At least 10 different shots were taken, some of which were later made into gravure postcards printed in Saxony. He labeled the sequence, "The Greatest Marine Disaster in the History of Saskatoon." Whether it was titled melodramatically or tongue-in-cheek, McKenzie knew (of course) that it was the only marine disaster in Saskatoon's history. As well, McKenzie completed his own conception of the wreck in oils, photographed it, applied for a copyright, and marketed it — also as a postcard. His painted version is somewhat more awe-inspiring than the actual event, with smoke billowing in

great clouds out of the stack and the paddle churning the water white.

McKenzie had a subtle sense of humour and liked to incorporate it in his captions. One postcard of a heavy team of oxen (not noted for their speed) drawing a cart down Second Avenue was titled "Who Said That Bulls Weren't Roadsters? These Cattle Made a 140 Mile Trip to Saskatoon in Four Days." Another of a single ox pulling a well-dressed lady with a whip is titled "The Goose Lake Special Pulling Into Hanley." Another showing a horse and an ox yoked together to a wagon in the town of Netherhill was titled "An Odd Pair." Yet another depicts a farm building being moved from the village of Warman into Saskatoon in August 1908, entitled "Saskatoon Is Absorbing Warman!"

McKenzie's business was established and successful by 1909, and his photo-journalistic instincts were well met that year. He covered the Saskatoon Fair in August, with its new grandstand in its new City Park location (including horse and harness races and a hot air balloon launch). He captured views of Saskatoon's Labour Day Parade in September, traveled to Regina in October to photograph the laying of the cornerstone of the new Legislative Building by Governor General Earl Grey, and recorded the earth-shaking Canadian Northern Railroad train wreck in Saskatoon in November. He also documented the summer maneuvers of the 22nd Saskatchewan Light Horse regiment near Saskatoon. Not content with simple group portraits (and being a very persuasive talker), McKenzie concocted a series of three images of a mock firing squad "shooting the spy" and marketed them as postcards. He was also the subject of a profile in the *Saskatoon Capital*. Amongst other qualities, it said:

Mr. McKenzie is the youngest photographer in the city. He has found business on the whole, very satisfactory and the

outlook highly encouraging ... He first homesteaded and found relaxation from the arduous [sic.] tilling of the soil by conducting a studio at Hanley for three years before coming to Saskatoon. All kinds of photographic work are done, and a specialty of portrait and enlargement work. Mr. McKenzie is an artist of ability and merits a good patronage.¹⁰

McKenzie's visual sensitivity was clearly shown in his documentation of the First Nations around or coming through the Saskatoon area. There are extant a number of shots of First Nations people, both in and out of the studio, that give a sympathetic yet dignified feeling to these "remnants of the aborigines [sic]" as he liked to call them. One of his finest portraits is a profile of the aged Chakicum, who he labeled as "A Relic of the Riel Rebellion." The worn straw hat, weathered face, and pipe exhibit a wealth of character.

McKenzie was attuned to the beauties of landscape and nature. He clearly falls into the category of the romantic photographer, who, as photohistorian Ian Jeffrey described, "linger on the banks of any number of silent pools and tranquil rivers."¹¹ In McKenzie's case, he had a brief love affair with Wascana Lake during the week he was in Regina to photograph the cornerstone laying. His postcards depicted the lake at dusk (titled "Evening Light. Wascana Lake, Regina") and a cloud-heavy sunset ("The Capitol — Looking Across Wascana Lake, Regina").

As well, he had an ongoing fascination with the South Saskatchewan River and Saskatoon's (then) four bridges. In his first two years there, McKenzie produced a number of stunning images of the structures: at sunset, in the twilight, by moonlight, and in many other unusual seasonal conditions. Some included trains puffing smoke; others had silhouetted horses or



"The Wreck of the City of Medicine Hat – The Greatest Marine Disaster in the History of Saskatoon." Taken from the east bank of the South Saskatchewan River, 1908. Courtesy B. Silversides Collection.

pedestrians. A series of 10 were copyrighted in 1910 and were given evocative titles such as "A Peep at Saskatoon, by Moonlight," "The Lordly Saskatchewan by Night," "Crossing the Moon's Glory Path," "Canoeists Enjoying the Beauties of the Summer Night, Saskatoon," and "Old Sol's Glory Path."¹² That he could get so many fine photographs of the same subjects is a tribute to his eye. They were particularly popular, too: the *Saturday Press* published several of his images ("Sunset" and "Moonlight on the River") in their December 10, 1910 issue with accompanying poems, and at least one coloured evening scene was included in the booster pamphlet *Saskatoon*, published by the Saskatoon Board of Trade in January 1912.

His commercial urban views — street scenes, shots of buildings and businesses — and ordinary portraits are also of good quality and are well-executed, but one can sense that these were created mostly as a source of

income and that his heart was not really in them.

Even though Saskatoon was an urban centre by this time, its atmosphere and economy was still predominantly rural. Thus, McKenzie continued to shoot agricultural subject matter, especially the visually compelling ploughing and swathing that, by its nature, created patterns of men, machines, and crops. An interesting example of this can be seen in his now famous postcard, "Two Ways of Tearing Up the Prairie." It is a skillful montage contrasting an ox-drawn plough with a steam tractor pulling a discer. Framing both images are actual heads of wheat, tastefully arranged. It was published in the *Saskatoon Capital's* 1909 anniversary issue, accompanying the major story "Saskatoon — A City of Today," and sold in large numbers as a souvenir. A number of his agricultural scenes were also printed as gravures: "A June Day in Sunny Saskatchewan," "The Western Canadian Pioneer" and "The Favorite

Team — Harvesting in Western Canada."

McKenzie discontinued his Saskatoon studio by February 1910, selling his premises to newcomer William B. Finley. No doubt against his better judgment, he returned almost full-time to farming, working alongside his younger brother, Arthur, who had taken out a homestead that year on the west half of Section 16, Township 33, Range 25, West of the Third Meridian, near Kindersley. Arthur proved to be too sickly to fulfill the homestead duties and abandoned his application in favour of Peter in December 1910. McKenzie refiled and, according to government paperwork, he lived on this farm from March to July 1911, November 1911 to August 1912, May to September 1913, October to December 1, 1913, and December 29, 1913 to January 1914. In between these periods, he reported that he lived in either Saskatoon or Rosetown "laboring." He received his land patent on March 30,

1914, at which time his mailing address was Kerrobert.¹³

McKenzie thus missed out on Saskatoon's "boom" period of 1912-1913, a time of rapid building activity when people of all occupations accumulated money at an astounding rate. A number of new and aggressive photographers moved in, quickly took his place and made a good living. It appears he became somewhat of an itinerant after this, photographing throughout the western provinces. He was likely in Humboldt in 1915. The *Humboldt Journal* printed the following item referring to a "D. McKenzie" on September 16 of that year:

Mr. D. McKenzie, recently of Saskatoon, has opened up a new studio here, having taken the Stokes' building on Main Street, one door south of the Journal. He has fitted up the studio in first class style and will finish photographs of all descriptions in the latest designs.¹⁴

This operation was still going the following year when the editor of local paper asked readers to "take a look at the photograph of the Humboldt Company, on view in MacKenzie's [sic] studio window, and see if you would like to be one of them."¹⁵

Sometime between 1912 and 1917 he also made a journey (or several) to Edmonton where he documented that city's bridges, streetcars, incline railway, and paddle wheelers on the North Saskatchewan River. Then he continued on to Jasper, Banff, and British Columbia photographing and painting the mountain scenery. Unfortunately, little of this work appears to be extant, except one documented oil painting of Castle Mountain in Banff National Park, and a number of the Edmonton urban scenes as gravure postcards.

Saskatoon continued to be his business home base, however, and he is listed in *Bradstreet's Commercial Ratings Book* for both January 1914 and July 1915 as

being resident in Saskatoon with a first rate credit and value of between \$1,000 to \$2,000. Unfortunately, he is listed in no other directory, no contemporary advertisements can be found, and his premises are unknown.

By 1918, McKenzie realized he was not meant to be a dry land farmer. He sold his land and moved back to Ontario where he established a new studio in Kingston at 180 Wellington Street above the Royal Bank. There, he ran a successful portrait business with much of his patronage coming from the faculty and students of both Queen's University and the Royal Military College. He was remembered well by many of the city's photographers. Gananoque's Lorne Prosser, who apprenticed under him in 1920-21, recalled that he was "quite a clever guy with a wonderful talent." As well, "Mac was one of the best retouchers in Canada That's one of the reasons why I studied with him.... He could etch or paint out any defect in a negative or photograph."¹⁶ G.E. Marrison, Kingston's foremost photographer, recalled McKenzie as being "a pretty good photographer and an odd kind of genius." Marrison was occasionally taken aback by McKenzie's imagination though, since he once asked Marrison to go up on the roof and "photograph a certain kind of spirit."¹⁷

McKenzie married Helen Scrimgeour Barclay in Kingston on September 28, 1926. He was 43 (and a self-proclaimed "artist"); she was 29. Their residence was given as Lansdowne, a small village several miles north of Ivy Lea in what is now Leeds and the Thousand Islands township.¹⁸

In 1932, McKenzie briefly worked at the Shultz Studio at 313-1/2 Yonge Street in Toronto and is listed in the city directory as residing above it. While the large city experience honed his photographic technique, it was far too aggressive for his gentle nature. Eschewing the busy urban scene, he shortly after moved east to the historic

and scenic village of Gananoque on the St. Lawrence River and, according to his friend Col. E.H. Warwick,

continued with portrait photography by visiting people in their homes and taking their photos there. He covered Gananoque, Kingston, Lansdowne, Athens, Brockville and surrounding country. This was also successful but his book-keeping was not very good so in a lot of cases he was not paid.¹⁹

He then sold his studio, and for two years managed a service station for Warwick.

Throughout his entire career, McKenzie had painted as a hobby. In the late 1920s, it started to take over as his main activity. Some of his artwork was sold to tourists, but sales were too infrequent to support him. During the 1930s, he was hired to paint murals on the walls of various Kingston restaurants and a number of framed paintings on rough masonite ended up in cafes in Napanee. In 1950, he was commissioned to execute a series of six paintings for Harold McCarney, manager of Gananoque's Provincial Hotel; these works included his well-known (at least locally) "Boldt Castle" and "Half Moon Bay." Over the next few years, instead of six, McKenzie



completed a total of 31 paintings for his patron, including three for McCarney's other motel, the Thunderbird, and representing every province in Canada. He was proud of his efforts for, according to McCarney, once they were "in place, he used to spend a lot of his time at the Hotel showing them to people."²⁰

With time and practice, his paintings became more refined and more realistic. A friend described that they

*were done in very fine detail as he treated them as a photographer would see them through the lens of a camera. Some people said they were too real to be considered as a good painting. At least you can tell a McKenzie painting without looking for a signature.*²¹

At least 40 of his Gananoque-era paintings are known to have survived — mostly with the McCarney family. However, two of these paintings — one of the Rocky Mountains and one panorama of the Thousand Islands — are in the holdings of the Arthur Child Heritage Museum in Gananoque.

McKenzie started to sell sets of photomechanical prints of his paintings

during the 1950s. He even wrote self-promoting "liner notes" for their envelopes:

A word from Peter McKenzie, the Artist. The pictures in this envelope are faithful copies of the originals by Peter McKenzie. Works of art in themselves, they are made by "Artists of the Press" in Holland who were indifferent to me until they saw the original paintings. Then they cabled: "Our compliments. You are a great artist."

*Truly these small pictures are oil paintings, the color the same as an artist would use, but applied by the press instead of a brush, and just as permanent. By ordering in quantity the low price is possible for each picture, but you may give more if you wish to help in the establishment of a home near Gananoque, for artists who are now working in larger cities in a state of semi-starvation, being exploited by heartless art dealers.*²²

In the early 1950s, McKenzie started to take in small groups of students for training in both photography

and painting. He was given the use of a small building on the land of his friends, the Warwick family, which allowed him to take portraits again. He once again entered the public spotlight in July 1953 when he wrote (with both prose and poetry) and illustrated a small pamphlet entitled *The 1000 Isles News*. This burst of activity was cut short when he became ill in 1956. As he had no means of support, he was admitted to the House of Providence in Kingston. His thinking became confused at this point; he was convinced the nurses were trying to poison him.²³ He was then transferred to the Brockville Psychiatric Hospital in 1958 where he appears to have fully recovered. Sadly, he had no place to go after this, and so was given his own room in the hospital until he died. He spent most of his last years working on paintings for the doctors and nurses.

In December 1959, Queen Elizabeth accepted one of his oils of the Thousand Islands as presented by the Gananoque Chamber of Commerce. A letter of thanks was sent from Buckingham Palace to McCarney, then president of the Chamber:

I am commanded by the Queen to thank you for your letter in

"Horse-Shoe Lake, Jasper Park." Approximately 25 km south of the town of Jasper, this scenic lake was known for attracting cliff jumpers from the turn of the last century, 1915. Courtesy B. Silversides Collection, mini-panorama.





which you offer to her majesty an oil painting by Peter McKenzie of "Lost Channel among the Thousand Islands." This picture has arrived and has been given to the Queen who desires me to express her sincere thanks to you and the people of Gananoque for this most acceptable gift which will long remind her Majesty of her cruise up the St. Lawrence River last summer.²⁴

It was a highlight moment for McKenzie. He died April 4, 1965, at the age of 83 years and was buried in Brockville.

Known as "Mac" to some and "Uncle Peter" to others, McKenzie was a fascinating character. That he was somewhat eccentric has been acknowledged by all who knew him, but, as one friend put it, "being an artist, who could tell what was normal or not?"²⁵ He lived in a boathouse on the Gananoque River like a hermit, even in the winter. In the summer, he would pick an isolated lake and build a wigwam to live in. A local Gananoque waitress remembered him as "a nice old guy who always ordered raw hamburg and sauerkraut."²⁶

He was a man of many talents. He is described in his obituary as a skilled sign painter, and a friend remembered that he was "handy with a skill saw, made his own paint brushes, eyeglass frames and a guitar."²⁷ Another recalled he made his own snowshoes and moccasins. Perhaps the best description of him comes from an autobiographical note written in July 1953:

Two years ago I was an unknown artist. To-day I am known as the old master painter of the 1,000 Islands. Years ago I had a good singing voice and played the old negro banjo. I find my voice is better than ever it was in the old days and my fingers able to tickle the strings with all the old-

time skill. I am a portrait and landscape camera artist, a sign painter, a woodworker, a blacksmith, a stone-mason, a poet, a writer, a comedian, a psychologist, a philosopher, mesmerist and have certain telepathic powers.²⁸

In one way or another, all these things were true. Regardless of how many of these self-described accomplishments he did well, it is obvious that he pursued his own course, both in his life and his art. He was, without doubt, an excellent and original photographer with a unique vision. But more importantly, he was a creative individual and someone so genuine that he inspired respect.

McKenzie's lifetime of image-making did not result in personal fame or fortune. However, it did result in a large number of notable photographs and paintings. His unique artistic and sensitive approach shaped both his portraiture and scenic subject matter. Looking at his images a century after they were created, it would appear that he photographed and painted more for his own enjoyment than for others. However, since his works were included in newspapers and promotional tourist pamphlets, and issued as postcards, many others enjoyed his art as well. That he died a pauper does not indicate failure; rather, it shows that he was more artist than businessman. His personal eccentricity, sense of humour, and continuing need for solitude gives the impression that he lived in a world of his own. But in that world, he came closer than any other photographer of his time to portraying first Saskatchewan and then Eastern Ontario as his Arcadia — idyllic, romantic and pastoral.

Endnotes begin on page 46.



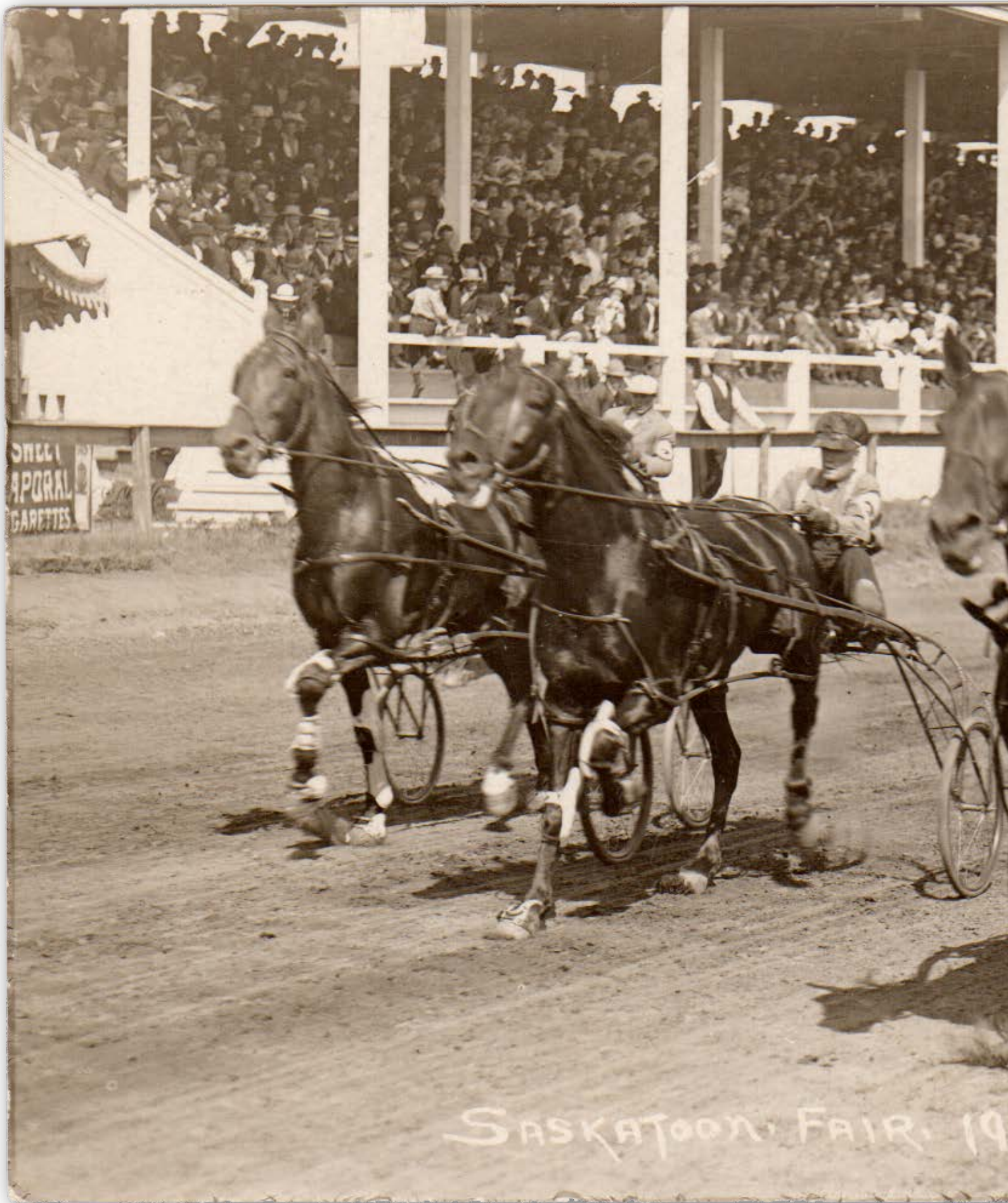
Brock Silversides, originally from Saskatchewan, is now a Toronto-based archivist, librarian and appraiser. He has worked for the National Library of Canada, the Provincial Archives of Alberta, the Saskatchewan Archives Board, the Medicine Hat Museum & Art Gallery, and since 2003, served as Director of Media Commons, University of Toronto. Brock has organized or curated over 25 exhibitions and contributed research, essays, or design advice to several others. His research and writing has resulted in some four dozen journal articles and 13 published books and exhibition catalogues. He has been both an independent appraiser and a member of the National Archival Appraisal Board since 1992.

Opposite page: "The Corner-Stone Laying — Awaiting the Return of the Governor-General From the Capitol." Taken at the Legislative Building, Regina, 1909. Courtesy B. Silversides Collection.

Top left: "Chakicum — A Relic of the Reil [sic.] Rebellion." First Nations elder, Saskatoon, 1908. Courtesy Saskatoon Public Library – Local History Room LH-1859.

Top right: Construction crew on the Canadian Pacific Railway bridge, by 33rd Street, Saskatoon, taken 1908. The bridge was completed and the first train crossed the South Saskatchewan River in June 1908. Courtesy B. Silversides Collection.

Bottom: "Laying the Cornerstone, Regina — Route to Grounds Showing Triumphal Arch and Capitol in Distance." Looking south along Albert Street to Wascana Lake and Legislative Building, 1909. SAB photo R-A2273.



"Saskatoon Fair, 1909." Track-level action shot of harness racing from infield. Courtesy B. Silversides Collection.



Research note: Lulu Turner's "personal journal" at Onion Lake, December 1922

George Colpitts



Lulu Turner is seated at the front, far left, of this family photo, taken at the Agency circa 1925. SAB photo R-A33825

Little did Onion Lake Indian Agent John Lang Turner know that his government documents were being used for very personal purposes in December, 1922.

Turner, who had come to Canada as a Barr colonist in 1903, had served in the Onion Lake Indian Agency in west-central Saskatchewan since around 1905, where he became the accountant and bookkeeper under the chief agent.¹ The agency oversaw numerous reserves nearby, organized a farming operation, and facilitated the comings and goings of other government officials, contractors and medical doctors on visits with Treaty Indians.

By 1921, Turner's daughter, Lulu, who was 16 years of age and the second oldest in a family of seven daughters, was employed at the agency at \$600 per annum.² In addition to her office administrative duties, Lulu was to keep the agency's official "Daily Journal." In sparse entries such as on January 12, 1922, she noted that she was "preparing mail matter and writing out vouchers, etc." or the next day, "Posting ledgers of December and working at quarterly returns." On many days, Lulu wrote simply, "General Office Work."³

By early December, Lulu frequently found herself alone in the Onion Lake Office. Her father had been promoted to Agency Indian Agent in September, requiring him to visit reserves more often and to check in at the nearby Anglican and Roman Catholic schools. Thus, he was likely absent when Lulu turned to the last pages of the agency journal, the unused "Cash Account" section hidden beyond its blotter pages. There, on December 4, she began writing her own "Private Diary."

Her diary provides a brief glimpse into Onion Lake's social (and private!) life in 1922, although the diary was kept for less than a week. Lulu's entries, running from December 4 to December 9, and only briefly resuming with a single entry made in March 1923, reveal the passions and acrimony of her family life, the young girl's affections for a local Hudson's Bay Company store clerk, C. Hurt, the community skating rink as the town's central social point that winter, and the courtship rituals and anxieties of a young girl coming of age in the early 1920s.

Beyond its revelations of social customs, the diary also shows that Lulu was conscious of time. She timed to the minute her visits with townspeople, the duration of skates with her love interest, the exact number of minutes in the evening spent in conversation with C. Hurt at her family home (unbeknownst to her father), and the time spent for tea and card playing in the evening with friends. Though brief, the entries also suggest the strong seasonality guiding Onion Lake society, highlighting the social rounds, conviviality and family preparations in the pre-Christmas season.

Most strikingly, however, Lulu seems to have known that her father, despite being the government Indian agent, would never read the agency's daily journals. What safer place, then, to hide one's personal feelings and make the most frank confessions than deep in government paperwork? Indeed, Lulu Turner's personal diary remained buried in Canada's great vault of federal government records, Library and Archives Canada, until 2010, when I was reading the agency's diaries and quite accidentally opened up the sections in the back beyond the very smudgy blotter papers. It is likely that these 1922 diary entries had not been read since Lulu wrote them so many years before.

1922 Private Diary

Dec. 4 Monday⁴ - Went to the Hudsons Bay Store about 11.15 for a wash board for mother.⁵ Came back and set the dinner table. After dinner I made out several orders for Xmas presents. About 2.30 Mary & John McCusker came.⁶ Stayed in the house for quite awhile. Mary made afternoon tea. Then John and I went up with the mail. Heard all John's love affairs on the way up. After we posted our mail went up to Mrs. Seymour's⁷ for about half an hour. Came home and helped get supper. After supper Mary & John left and I got in my skates and went to the skating rink. Feeling awfully blue today. I came down and I was ashamed of myself for feeling so blue. I had asked C. Hurt down to skate and made eyes at him when I knew it was wrong.

Dec. 5 Tuesday⁸ - Worked in the office until about 11.15 when I went to see Mrs. Ellis,⁹ or rather to borrow her wedding cake tins for Mother is going to make her Christmas Cakes. Mrs. Ellis is not feeling at all well. Very bad cold. Was very sorry I went over. Went to the Bay after dinner for dates for the cakes. C. Hurt said he was coming skating. Made Xmas cakes. We girls, or rather Nellie & Mary went down to the rink to light a fire. I had my skates on and was leaving the house when C. Hurt called at the house for me. Miss T., Miss Beauland & Mr. B. were at the rink. The Mission ladies did not stay long. Mr. B. lent C. Hurt his skates. We skated until about 9.10 P.M. C.H. came up to the house and stayed until about 10.10 (talked steady all the time) I made a cup of tea and then departed for the night.

Dec. 6th Wednesday¹⁰ - We were real mad at each other this morning. When he found C. Hurt had come in and I had stayed till after ten. We've got over it now. Really didn't do anything of much importance this morning. In the afternoon went up for the mail at 3.00 P.M. At mail time John came up and only stayed a few minutes. Just time for me to put her [sic] horse away and get it again. Just went down to the rink for a few seconds. Then went down to see Fay. She was not feeling too bright. I mean didn't cheer me any. She made coffee then I came home and departed for the night.

Dec. 7th Thursday¹¹ - Well I did not do much today diary. We were more than peeved at each other this a.m. but things are now settled and no more quarrelling. Afternoon took the mail up called in at "Mai's" for their mail. Stayed talking some little time of things not of much importance. Went to the Bay and then home again. After supper we went skating. I swept most all of the rink off. It had been snowing all day (more or less). Russell helped finished [sic] it. Very few there. Mr. S. came down on way to ("Guy's") 9.30 Went home and departed for the night.

Friday Dec. 8th¹² - Very little doing today. Went to Mrs. Ellis's for Dad and said good bye to Miss Walker. She is leaving today for Saskatoon to attend her Mother and Father's Golden Wedding. Mrs. Ellis is not at all well (had quite a talk in the afternoon with him). Went to the H.B.C. for Mother. Called into Fay's on my way back and borrowed her skates. After supper went skating. Guy, Clarry and Frank there. Guy came home with us to play cards and I departed for the night.

Saturday Dec 9th - Got into trouble first thing this a.m. for not waking Nellie right away. All came out in the wash. Went over to the Mission in the afternoon. Talked quite a little time with Mrs. S. then went for a walk with Miss Beauland then home once more got the dickens but I should worry. Went for the mail arrived home 6.30.

Wednesday March 28th 1923 - I have sadly neglected you poor old diary but it's not because I have been very happy but am happier now than I have been for months. Dad went to Lloyd[minster] today. Talked with Frank in morning, also in afternoon.

Endnotes on page 46.

George Colpitts is an associate professor of History at the University of Calgary, specializing in environmental history. He has published extensively on the fur trade and territorial history in western Canada, and rather fortuitously stumbled onto Lulu's personal diary while researching the aftermath of the 1919 influenza epidemic on northern Indian reserves.

Our Lady of Lourdes Cemetery: An Archaeological Approach to Cemetery Management

Mike A. Markowski, Kara Wolfe, and Troy Zimmer

In 2013, The St. Laurent Shrine Committee (the Committee) acquired the services of Canada North Environmental Services (CanNorth) to complete a detailed recording program of all marked and unmarked graves located in Our Lady of Lourdes Cemetery (the Cemetery) at St. Laurent de Grandin (St. Laurent). The Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey and geophysical analysis was completed by J.D. Mollard and Associates (2010) Limited.



Left: Our Lady of Lourdes Shrine at St. Laurent de Grandin. Middle: Métis pilgrims kneel outside Our Lady of Lourdes Shrine. Right: Métis pilgrimage to Our Lady of Lourdes Shrine. All photos taken by Everett Baker, 1944. Courtesy Saskatchewan History & Folklore Society, Inc.

St. Laurent has played a significant role in the history of the Métis, the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Saskatchewan, and the early settlement history of Saskatchewan. However, despite its significance, St. Laurent has essentially been left out of recorded history primarily as a result of the role nearby Batoche played in the 1885 North West Resistance. To this day, St. Laurent continues to play a significant role with descendants of the Métis families, surrounding communities, and the Roman Catholic Church, as demonstrated by continued pilgrimages held annually on July 15 and July 16, August 15 and September 8, in addition to Sunday Services held throughout July and August.

Given the scope of the Our Lady of Lourdes Cemetery recording project (the Project) this article is focused on the St. Laurent Cemetery. Comparable to the recorded history of St. Laurent, very little has been documented about the Cemetery despite its significance to the area and its continued use. As a result of its continued and renewed popularity, the Committee felt the need to address a growing concern regarding cemetery management. The Committee was aware that a number of unmarked graves are located throughout the Cemetery and that there was little to no correlation between the existing grave markers and the documented graves at St. Laurent. Since the Cemetery is still active, selecting new grave plots was becoming problematic; therefore, it was necessary to determine which areas to avoid and which to recommend for future internments.

Given the provincial and national heritage significance of the Cemetery at St. Laurent, its proper management is crucial to the preservation, history, and story of the Métis people. To

identify areas for future use within the Cemetery, a detailed research project, including a geophysical research component to identify unmarked graves, was necessary. Céline Perrillat, the director of Duck Lake Museum, stressed the importance of identifying unmarked graves to ensure that the final resting places of individuals are respected and not disturbed.¹ Although unmarked graves cannot necessarily be assigned to specific individuals through geophysical research, possible grave locations can be identified, commemorated, and avoided.

This article shares the results of the Project. In order to provide context to the Cemetery, a general discussion of the project area is included, followed by a brief history of the St. Laurent area. The Cemetery is discussed in detail, including the results from the archival and historical research component. The Cemetery recording program and Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey is also addressed. Documentary research and the fieldwork results are synthesized in the interpretation and summary sections.

Site location and local environment

In 1982, St. Laurent was officially designated as a Municipal Heritage Property, and in 2009 was added to the Canadian Register of Historic Places. St. Laurent is located approximately 10 kilometres (km) northeast of Duck Lake, on the west bank of the South Saskatchewan River, and about 14 km downstream from Batoche, which is located on the east side of the South Saskatchewan River (Figure 1).

Historically, the area surrounding St. Laurent Shrine was commonly referred to as St. Laurent (also St. Laurent Settlement, St. Laurent Colony, St. Laurent de Grandin, St.

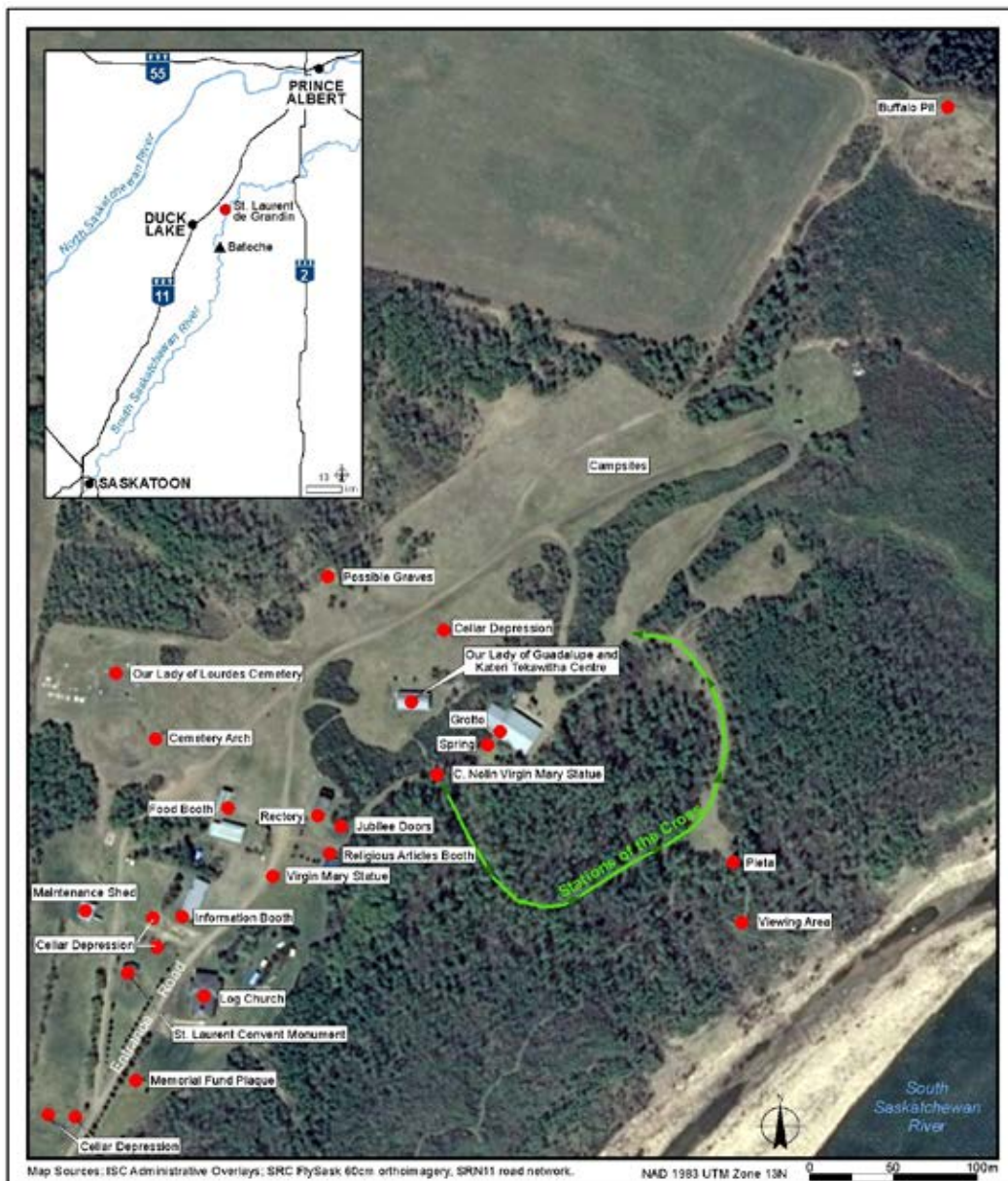


Figure 1: Map of St. Laurent de Grandin. Courtesy of the authors.

Laurent-Grandin). Early settlers to the St. Laurent area were scattered over an area greater than 40 km in length that included communities at Fish Creek, Petite Ville, Batoche, and St. Laurent.² The Carlton Trail, a well-known trail actively used throughout the latter half of the 19th century from Fort Garry (now Winnipeg, Manitoba) and the Red River Settlement to Fort Carlton (approximately 30 km west of St. Laurent), crossed the South Saskatchewan River near Batoche.³

A brief history of St. Laurent de Grandin

The history of the Métis people of western Canada has been well-documented through academic research, published books and interpretive centres, and continues to be a popular research topic among historians. In particular, the events associated with the 1885 North West Resistance have resulted in numerous publications and the creation of a National Historic Site at Batoche (Figure 1). As is the case in many places, the everyday histories of settlements like St. Laurent are often overshadowed by more sensational historical events like those at Batoche. Everyday places like cemeteries help us examine the everyday histories of people and places that are often left out of history books.

The Métis trace their origins back to the fur trade around the Great Lakes and in the Red River region of western Canada. They were an essential part of the fur trade, working as traders, explorers,

guides, interpreters, freighters, and hunters for fur trading companies.⁴ Beginning in the early 1860s, the Métis began to live in seasonal settlements. These eventually gave way to permanent Métis settlements, particularly around the Red River area of Manitoba, where a more settled, agricultural lifestyle was favoured by the Hudson's Bay Company and by local missionaries.⁵

Although an agricultural lifestyle was encouraged, the bison hunt continued to play an important role in Métis society. As bison herds became scarce around Red River, the Métis hunters were forced to travel further west to hunt, eventually leading to formalized hunts in spring and fall.⁶ The first organized bison hunts to the Upper Saskatchewan Region occurred as early as the 1840s. These expeditions led to the use of small, temporary 'over winter' or *hivernant* villages on the plains and the parklands that allowed the hunters to be closer to the bison herds.⁷ A band of 200 hunters led by Gabriel Dumont is reported to have been wintering in the vicinity of Fort Carlton by 1863.⁸

The dwindling bison herds and growing dissatisfaction with the political situation at the Red River settlement resulted in an increase in the number of Métis families moving

west and establishing winter camps on the plains.⁹ A large contingent of Métis families set out from Red River in the autumn of 1870 and established a winter camp, known as La Petite Ville, on the west bank of the South Saskatchewan River approximately 26 km south of St. Laurent.¹⁰ On December 31, 1871, the elders (including Isidore Dumont, Louison Letendre, and Jean Dumont) of the winter camps along the South Saskatchewan River met and began to lay the groundwork for a new permanent settlement in the region, eventually deciding on St. Laurent.¹¹

That same year, Father Alexis André was sent to establish a mission along the South Saskatchewan River. He would dedicate the newly established settlement to Saint Laurent, in honour of his brother.¹² By 1873, a number of Métis families residing at Petite Ville and along the South Saskatchewan River had moved to the mission site at St. Laurent. It is reported that five or six log buildings were erected at St. Laurent in the spring of 1874, including a small shed-like church that could hold approximately 60 people.¹³

A school was established in 1875 to provide a Christian education.¹⁴ The school struggled until the arrival of Miss Onésime Dorval in 1881. Miss Dorval was the first certified teacher in Saskatchewan and would later teach at Batoche. A convent and boarding school were established by Bishop Grandin in 1883. At its height, the school had 50 pupils, 20 of whom were boarders.¹⁵ Several buildings were constructed during this period; however, the only original building remaining at St. Laurent is the rectory. The mission reached its peak during the early 1880s. It was the educational and spiritual centre for the Métis in the region, and was considered a model of prosperity and piety.¹⁶

Following the events associated with the 1885 Resistance, the St. Laurent mission began to decline. Five men

who died at the Battle of Duck Lake (the first battle of the Resistance) are buried in the St. Laurent Cemetery (discussed further below). Following the defeat by General Middleton's troops, the Métis in the St. Laurent area fell on hard times and they could no longer spare money to donate to the mission as they had before. As a result, the Vicariate Apostolic of Saskatchewan was established at Prince Albert, and St. Michael's School was established in nearby Duck Lake, making St. Laurent redundant.¹⁷ With the recall of Father Vachon to Prince Albert in 1894, the mission was essentially abandoned.

Our Lady of Lourdes Shrine

The continued importance and survival of St. Laurent can be linked to the shrine to the Virgin Mary (the Shrine). The establishment of the Shrine has been credited to Brother Jean Pierre Marie Piquet, who was appointed to the mission in 1879.¹⁸ The landscape around St. Laurent, particularly the area around the spring, reminded him of the pilgrimage at Lourdes, France.¹⁹ Brother Piquet, along with Father Fourmond, who was in charge of the mission at this time, began to go to this spot to pray and placed a small picture of Mary in a carved out tree.²⁰ In 1882, Miss Dorval replaced this picture with a small statue. Additionally, a flower bed was placed in front of the tree, and Brother Piquet began to build a grotto.²¹

Further attention was brought to the Shrine following the healing of one Mrs. Nolin in December 1884. After a decade of illness and exhausting all medical options, her husband, Charles Nolin, obtained water from the spring at Our Lady of Lourdes in France. Brother Piquet advised them to conduct a novena (nine days of prayers) at the Shrine. Mrs. Nolin was cured of her illness and Brother Piquet advised Mr. Nolin to donate a statue of the Virgin Mary upon the healing of his wife. The statue was placed in the completed grotto on November 1, 1885.²²

Brother Guillet, stationed at nearby Fish Creek in 1901, worked at the grotto in his spare time. He brought pilgrims to the Shrine but wanted a larger, more formalized pilgrimage and spent the next few years working towards a public pilgrimage.²³ Informal pilgrimages, by individuals and groups, have been recorded at St. Laurent since the early 1880s. The first formal pilgrimage took place on August 15, 1905, and was attended by 500 people.²⁴ The pilgrimage continued to grow with approximately 2,000 people attending in 1909 and 8,000 people attending in 1922.²⁵ As a result of the success of the pilgrimages, a log church was built at St. Laurent in 1938.²⁶ In 1939, Father Latour, the principal of St. Michael's school in Duck Lake, took charge of St. Laurent and was responsible for the construction of a new Grotto in 1951.²⁷

With the departure of the Oblate Fathers in the 1960s, the Shrine and St. Laurent fell into a general state of disrepair and neglect.²⁸ Despite the poor conditions at St. Laurent, pilgrimages continued but attendance declined, along with the revenues needed to maintain the property. In 1973, Father Gilles Doucette (parish priest in Duck Lake) took on the role of Shrine director and began to rejuvenate the Shrine.²⁹ Father Doucette was responsible for the Stations of the Cross, and for building an information booth, food booths, a candle booth, and the Guadalupe Centre. Father Doucette's final legacy was the restoration of the log church,³⁰ which had burned down in 1990 and was rebuilt in 1994-1995, along with a camping area for visitors to St. Laurent. The enthusiasm of Father Doucette, who passed away in 2006 and is buried at the St. Laurent Cemetery, has been carried on by volunteers who continue to maintain St. Laurent.³¹

Our Lady of Lourdes Cemetery

Our Lady of Lourdes Cemetery is one of the oldest active cemeteries in Saskatchewan and continues to be an

important location for Métis families and local residents. The significance of the Cemetery is visible through the continued maintenance of the marked graves (i.e. with headstones), many of which are decorated with plastic flowers, statues of the Virgin Mary, and rosaries. In addition to its historical importance to the Métis and local residents, the Cemetery illustrates the connection between St. Laurent and the events and families associated with the 1885 Resistance.

While a Cemetery fence is not present, aspen, choke cherry, and hazelnut shrubs border the known Cemetery boundaries to the west, north, and east, while a large circular depression and an aspen bluff (south of the depression) are located to the southwest of the Cemetery. Sid Parenteau, former caretaker of St. Laurent, recalls that a fence was present around the northwest portion of the current cemetery when he was a child.³² To the west of the cemetery is a barbed-wire fence separating the Cemetery from a cultivated field (Figure 1). Recorded history suggests that the Cemetery has been continually used since 1872; however, it is possible that this Cemetery predates the first recorded burial, especially given the rich history of the area. The earliest recorded burial at the Cemetery is Meredgine Thomas, an infant who was buried in 1872 in an unmarked grave. Unmarked graves are reported to extend beyond the current boundaries of the cemetery to the north and to the cultivated field to the west, and several graves are reportedly located near the large cross in the northeast corner of the Cemetery.³³

The earliest marked graves in the cemetery belong to five men; Isidore Dumont, Jean Baptiste, Joseph Montour, Augustin Laframboise, and Charles (last name unknown, but known as Assiyiwin), who were killed during the Battle of Duck Lake on March 26, 1885 (Figure 2).

Cemetery mapping and recording

An archaeological approach was used for historical research and the detailed mapping and recording component of the Cemetery. Historical records including archival and published sources were reviewed. Oral histories based on interviews with local



Figure 2: Graves and Memorial of those killed in the 1885 Resistance. Courtesy of the authors, taken 2013.



Figure 3: Recording the marked and unmarked graves. Courtesy of the authors, taken 2013.



Figure 4: Volunteers helping mark the unmarked graves. Courtesy of the authors, taken 2013.

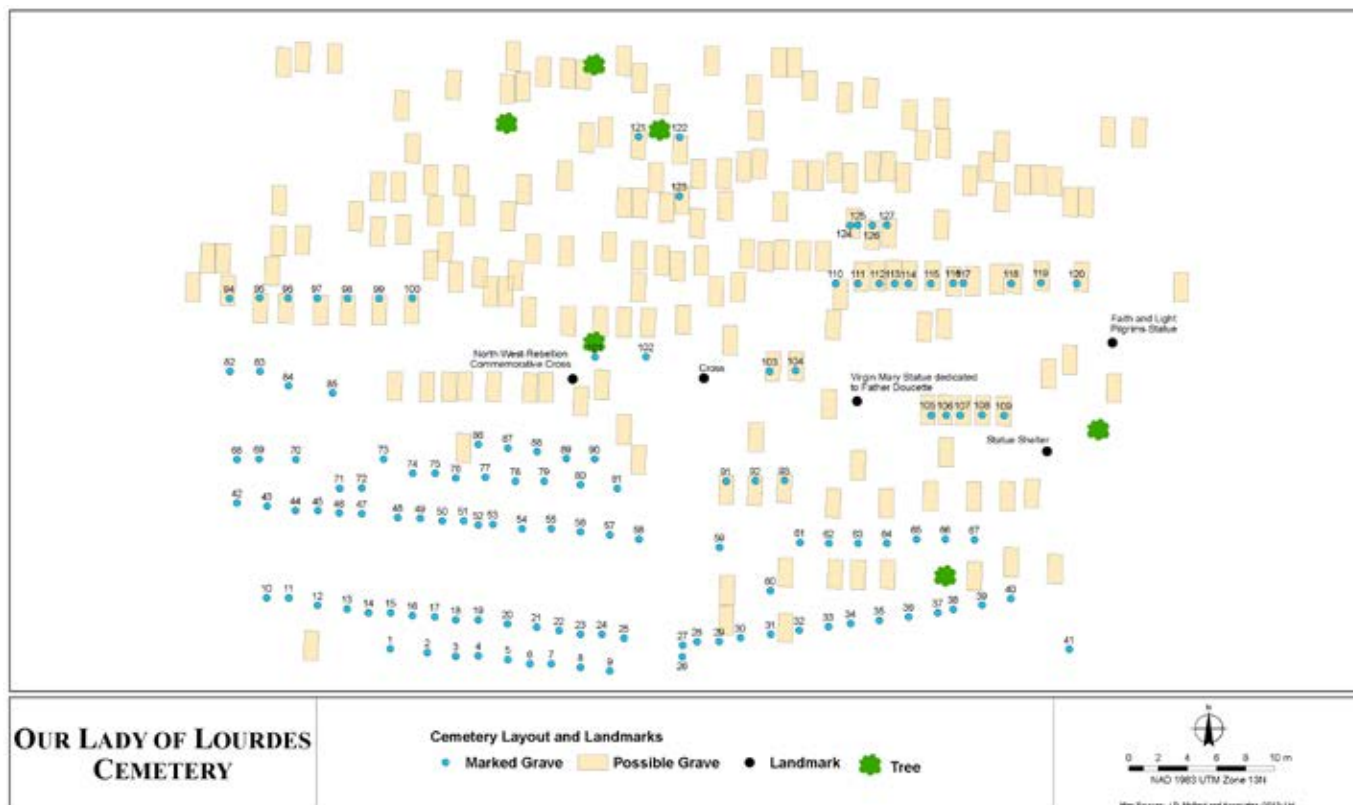


Figure 5: Map of the marked and unmarked graves at St. Laurent de Grandin. Courtesy of the authors.

informants, including Métis elders, were documented. The marked Cemetery (i.e. headstones) was mapped and recorded in detail.

Archival and historical research

Archival research was conducted at the Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB) branch located at the University of Saskatchewan. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Prince Albert was also contacted through email and telephone correspondence. Historical photographs of early pilgrimages to St. Laurent were reviewed at the SAB; however, no specific information about St. Laurent, including the St. Laurent Cemetery, was found. Yvette Gareau, archivist at the Roman Catholic Diocese of Prince Albert, reviewed archival records and was able to provide burial records, although incomplete, for the St. Laurent Cemetery. Further burial records were also obtained through the Committee.

Further historical research included reviewing local history books,³⁴ published books and articles,³⁵ and unpublished theses.³⁶ Dominion Land Surveyors Field Books from 1877 through to 1916 were reviewed for

pertinent historical information of the St. Laurent area.³⁷

The Committee also provided a number of credited people (i.e. people who resided and/or worked at St. Laurent) to interview. Several of these people were interviewed during the field assessment. Unfortunately, the majority of these individuals had very little knowledge about the Cemetery.

While there are many publications on the Métis in Saskatchewan, the majority of these sources focus on the Métis at Batoche and the 1885 Resistance. Publications that include St. Laurent's history focus either on St. Laurent up until the Resistance or on the spiritual importance of the Shrine exclusively, leaving a large gap in the history of St. Laurent. The scarcity of information pertaining to St. Laurent, and to the Cemetery in particular, reinforces the importance of this Project.

Project methodology

For compliance with Saskatchewan's *Heritage Property Act*, *Cemeteries Act*, 1999 and *The Saskatchewan Historic Cemetery Preservation Manual*,

this project was discussed with the Heritage Conservation Branch of the provincial Ministry of Parks, Culture and Sport and the provincial Ministry of Justice (Attorney's General Office).³⁸ Our Lady of Lourdes Cemetery is not considered an archaeological site since it is a marked cemetery and the Project area is within an existing cemetery; therefore, an Archaeological Resources Investigation Permit was not required.³⁹ As no ground disturbance (excavation) was anticipated, the Ministry of Justice had no further concerns regarding the project.

Our Lady of Lourdes Cemetery was documented in detail during the Cemetery recording program. All existing grave markers (crosses, headstones) were photographed and their locations mapped using a handheld GPS Unit.⁴⁰ General observations, including offerings of flowers and trinkets, were also noted (Figure 3). In addition, the locations of existing buildings and surface features, like cellar depressions at St. Laurent were recorded.



Figure 6: The cemetery following the installation of crosses, 2014. Courtesy of the authors.

On August 20, 2013, a GPR survey was conducted on portions of the Cemetery believed to contain unmarked graves.⁴¹ Prior to the formal surveys, several GPR calibration surveys were conducted across a line of marked graves in the Cemetery. These test surveys gave the survey crew a good idea of the characteristic signature of buried remains within the local environment and allowed the GPR unit to be calibrated for local soil and moisture conditions.⁴² The area to the north of the main cluster of marked graves was surveyed using a grid of parallel lines running east-west across the extent of the area. The total area surveyed was approximately 1,200 m².

Areas within the existing Cemetery were also surveyed, as requested by the Committee, which primarily included gaps between marked graves. Each survey line was recorded by the GPR's digital display unit as a separate radar file for post-processing and mapping. As the display unit provided real-time views of subsurface returns, anomalous readings -- which could signify the location of possible buried graves -- could be located and marked in the

field during the survey (Figure 4).⁴³ These anomalous locations were used to cross-check and confirm possible grave locations in the final mapping. Post-survey processing of the GPR data revealed additional anomalies not observed on-screen during the field survey. This was particularly true in the areas along the north and northwest edges of the main survey area, and may reflect a combination of the advanced state of deterioration of the remains and the compact nature of the dry silts and fine sands in the Project area. All anomalies identified as unmarked graves were added to the final map.

GPR survey results

Figure 5 shows the mapping results based on the recorded GPR survey lines and field staking. A total of 139 anomalous sites (sites with radar return signatures and characteristics consistent with known gravesites within the Project area) were mapped in the survey area.⁴⁴ Of these 134 anomalous sites, 24 were determined to be associated with known (marked) gravesites located adjacent to the survey lines. Excluding these known sites

leaves a total of 115 possible gravesites in the area to the north of the last row of marked graves.⁴⁵

A total of 44 anomalous sites were identified within the area of marked graves and were mapped based on recorded GPR survey lines and field staking. Of these 44 anomalous sites, 11 were determined to be associated with known graves located adjacent to the survey lines. The remaining 33 sites have been marked as possible grave sites.

Cemetery commemoration

CanNorth archaeologists and Committee members Lonnie Vermette and Lionel Sauve returned to the Cemetery in June 2014 to commemorate the unmarked graves identified within the existing Cemetery boundaries. Using the grid that had been established during the initial survey, in combination with the results of the GPR data, additional stakes were placed in the Cemetery to mark graves that were not located in real time. The placement of the stakes was adjusted to create rows of crosses, ensuring that Cemetery maintenance

could be performed efficiently. Finally, aluminum crosses were installed to commemorate all of the unmarked graves identified (Figure 6). Although these crosses might not mark the exact location of graves, they nevertheless represent the individuals buried in the Cemetery and demonstrate the respect the Métis community has for their history and ancestors, and the continued importance of Our Lady of Lourdes Cemetery.

Interpretation of the data

Based on the archival and historical research and the Cemetery recording program, it is estimated that 291 individuals are buried at the Cemetery. The Cemetery recording program recorded 127 marked graves. Recorded graves are marked with headstones that include names and dates or with simple wooden or metal crosses. Several of the marked graves are double plots (i.e. more than one individual, cremations) that typically consisted of a single headstone with the names of the buried individuals (i.e. spouses, children). Based on the information provided on the 127 marked graves, there are at least 143 known individuals buried at St. Laurent.

Data captured during the GPR survey suggests there may be as many as 148 unmarked graves within the surveyed areas of the Cemetery. Based on the combined results of the total number of known burials (143) and total number of possible unmarked graves (148), there is a minimum of 291 individuals potentially buried at the Cemetery. However, it is important to note that not all anomalies detected during the GPR survey may necessarily be graves since the GPR also detects a wide range of other subsurface features including buried rocks, logs and/or debris.⁴⁶ Moreover, the GPR survey may not have captured all graves within the surveyed Cemetery as a result of age, decay, and burial methods. For example, if individuals were buried without a coffin (perhaps wrapped in

blankets or other types of shroud), it is likely, given the high decomposition rates typical of well-drained, acidic sands, that there would likely be little to no bone or hard tissue remaining to reflect GPR waves. In such cases, identification of other subsurface features, such as disturbed soils within the burial column, may be the only clue as to the presence of the grave.⁴⁷

Based on the continued use of the Cemetery and historical significance of the area, it is likely that the number of individuals buried at St. Laurent actually exceeds the estimated number of burials (291). Furthermore, it has been suggested that more graves are located to the north of the current Cemetery boundary (in the bush), to the west of the Cemetery in the cultivated field, and to the northeast where an unmarked white cross stands along the tree line.⁴⁸

There is a correlation between the use of the Cemetery for burials to times of prosperity and recession at St. Laurent. An increase in the number of recorded burials and marked graves at the Cemetery corresponds to the most prosperous times at St. Laurent, including the initial settlement of St. Laurent in the 1870s up until 1885, and to the more-recent renewal of St. Laurent following the arrival of Father Doucette in 1973.⁴⁹

A spatial analysis of the layout of the current Cemetery was also completed. Burial dates recorded from marked graves were plotted on a Cemetery map to see if there is a correlation between the use of space through time in the Cemetery. The earliest marked graves at the Cemetery date to 1885. The 1885 graves are located near the middle of the Cemetery on the highest point of land (Figures 2 and 5). The second oldest marked grave dates to 1892 and is located approximately 22 m north of the 1885 graves, near the northern extent of the Cemetery. The locations of the 1885 and 1892 graves correspond with the results of the GPR survey,

suggesting that the north and northwest portions of the Cemetery are the oldest areas within the Cemetery's current boundaries.

The marked graves within the Cemetery are not arranged in chronological order (year of death). Evidence on headstones (spouse's name, parent's names, and children's names) and the Cemetery records suggests that marked graves appear to be randomly arranged throughout the Cemetery according to family groupings. During the Cemetery recording program, it was noted that graves may also contain several cremations of family members, while two headstones commemorate individuals whose bodies are reportedly not actually interred at the Cemetery.⁵⁰ Shared graves with family members and the commemoration of individuals not buried at the Cemetery reinforce the significance of family ties and further support the spatial layout of the Cemetery.

Project summary

Cemeteries studies are unique in many ways, whether undertaken for archaeological purposes or for cemetery preservation and management. With early burials, as is the case at the Cemetery in St. Laurent, it is important to consider that graves were often marked with wood or stone, which are easily moved and may disintegrate with time; therefore, the potential exists for unmarked graves and unknown burials in an existing cemetery, especially those with a long-use period. In early cemeteries, it was common practice to place burials outside of the known cemetery boundaries if the deceased was associated with certain religious affiliations, ethnicity, or cause of death. Given the heritage significance and local interest, the Our Lady of Lourdes Cemetery Project was crucial to the preservation and management of the Cemetery, as well as to the history and story of the Métis people.

While marked cemeteries are not considered an archaeological site, they are a significant part of our history and heritage. The Our Lady of Lourdes Cemetery Project involved an archaeological approach to record marked graves and to identify unmarked graves within the current Cemetery boundaries for preservation and management of the Cemetery.

The results of the Project reinforce the significance of using an archaeological approach for Cemetery management purposes, in addition to providing a documented history of the St. Laurent area — an area with little documented history.

Although areas within the current Cemetery boundaries appear to be “unoccupied” (the area to the northwest and north of marked graves and open spaces between marked graves), the results of this project indicate that the Cemetery has minimal space available for future internments. More importantly, the Project allows the St. Laurent Métis community to continue to use the Cemetery and formally commemorate their ancestors with the placement of crosses at previously unmarked graves.

Endnotes begin on page 46.



Métis pilgrimage to Our Lady of Lourdes Shrine, photographed by Everett Baker, 1944. Courtesy Saskatchewan History & Folklore Society, Inc.

Mike A. Markowski, B.A. (Hon.), M.A., is the Co-founder/Principal Archaeologist at [atlheritage services corp.](#), current President of the Saskatchewan Association of Professional Archaeologists and board member of the Saskatchewan Archaeological Society. Mike believes in the importance of recording, interpreting, and protecting our heritage ranging from Precontact archaeological sites to cemeteries.

Kara Wolfe, B.A. (Hon.), M.A., is an archaeologist at Canada North Environmental Services, and the current secretary of the Saskatchewan Association of Professional Archaeologists. Kara specializes in historic archaeology and believes that the archaeological record offers a unique perspective on well-known and little known periods of history.

Troy Zimmer (B.Sc.) is a senior environmental remote sensing and GIS specialist with J.D. Mollard and Associates. He specializes in the integration of remote sensing data with conventional survey and GIS data in support of engineering, environmental, geoscience, and geotechnical engineering applications.

Centre of Conflict: Mistrust and Turmoil in Creating the Diefenbaker Canada Centre

Craig Greenham

John Diefenbaker, Canada's thirteenth prime minister, often boasted that he shared a special bond with the Canadian people. As such, his good standing in the national collective memory was of the utmost importance to him. Diefenbaker desperately wanted to be remembered – preferably in the best light possible. When he was ousted as prime minister in 1963 after leading the country for nearly six years, Diefenbaker continued to serve as leader of the opposition. Even when he was defeated by Robert Stanfield in 1965 for the Progressive Conservative leadership, Diefenbaker remained the Member of Parliament (MP) for the Saskatchewan riding of Prince Albert. He served as a Saskatchewan MP for an incredible 39 years until his passing in 1979. Diefenbaker never shied away from the spotlight, nor did he want to disappear from the hearts and memories of Canadians.

Accordingly, instead of bequeathing his prime ministerial papers to the Public Archives of Canada (PAC),¹ Diefenbaker opted to break from tradition and gift his papers to the University of Saskatchewan, his alma mater. This gesture paved the way for the creation of the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker Centre, referred to hereafter as the Diefenbaker Canada Centre (DCC), as it is now commonly called. The DCC opened in 1980 and, as the only Canadian institution modelled on the presidential library system, remains unique. With the Centre, Diefenbaker established a distinctive legacy and a chance to be celebrated beyond his lifetime. The aging politician, no doubt, wished to be the subject of fond remembrance and the Centre seemed to provide a perfect venue for these commemorations. His penchant for self-aggrandizement is well documented. Peter C. Newman, noted journalist and unabashed critic of Diefenbaker, claimed that the former prime minister was “self-charmed” and “floundered because he couldn't help believing his own legend.”²

In many ways, the DCC mirrored characteristics of the man whose name graced the institution. Throughout his political career, Diefenbaker claimed he was one of the people and a proud Canadian. In the establishment of the DCC, he believed he was cementing his connection with Canadians. This bond was essential to Diefenbaker, who embraced and campaigned on his populist label. He viewed his donation

as a gift to Canadians, especially those living in the prairie west where he was raised. The DCC had the potential to give Westerners a feel for a federal government that many felt had abandoned them in favour of the more wealthy and populous Central Canada.

There was another startling Diefenbaker trait that bubbled just underneath the surface – paranoia.³ However, it was not the former prime minister who suffered false illusions of sabotage and seizure when it came to the opening of his Centre. Instead, it was the planners of the DCC who were haunted by notions of interference and skullduggery in the 11 painstaking years it took from the time of Diefenbaker's gift announcement in 1969 to the grand opening of the Centre in 1980. The University of Saskatchewan's administration was not, at least initially, an enthusiastic recipient of the Diefenbaker papers. When the University's hand was forced to accept the records, the University community's approval for a Diefenbaker facility was split. This division of feelings created suspicion among the DCC's supporters as to whether the University of Saskatchewan truly wanted the facility to succeed. Champions of the DCC also believed there was an off-campus threat that was even more menacing. The PAC, particularly Dominion Archivist Dr. William Smith, was (mis)cast as the supposed saboteur of the Diefenbaker papers. DCC Director John Munro feared that Smith would, in the

eleventh hour, convince the aging and increasingly unpredictable former prime minister to abandon his plans to give his papers to the DCC, leaving the newly built facility without its *raison d'être*. In an ironic twist, however, it was Diefenbaker's own actions and inactions that inflamed Munro's anxieties. This article explores the shaky support for the DCC within the University of Saskatchewan community, which created a guarded environment and led to the DCC's tension with the PAC.

This article also provides insight into several important areas. First, the founding of the DCC symbolizes the uneasy relationship between the Canadian prairies and Ottawa – commonly referred to as western alienation. This case study uncovers an apparent fundamental lack of trust from a western Canadian institution toward the Ottawa-located and federally supported PAC. This investigation also shows the dynamics of legacy creation for Canadian leaders and the complications that arise from national commemoration on a regional level. Finally, this work sheds important light on a noted aspect of Diefenbaker's personality – paranoia. The former prime minister peddled fear and mistrust to gain leverage for a project that he believed was central to his legacy. This examination also helps explain why Diefenbaker's leadership was so plagued by suspicion of nefarious plots and schemes designed by enemies within and outside his

own political party; Diefenbaker was a master plotter and schemer himself.

A contentious gift

Even in embryo, conflict plagued the DCC. While some gifts are welcomed with opened arms, others are thrust upon the recipients. In the case of Diefenbaker's papers, it was as much the latter as the former. Diefenbaker made two attempts to bequeath his papers to his alma mater before he succeeded. He first raised the matter in 1967, but the University of Saskatchewan respectfully declined.⁴ It was hesitant to accept a collection that was so large and costly to preserve.⁵ As alternatives, the University's Board of Governors suggested Diefenbaker house his papers at the PAC or the Saskatchewan Archives Board.⁶ Diefenbaker was not happy with either alternative and persisted with his original plan. Early in 1969 he offered his papers to the University of Saskatchewan a second time and the University's Board agreed to reconsider the proposal.⁷ By the summer, with little action on the Board's part and fresh from his vacation to the Truman Presidential Library in Independence, Missouri,⁸ Diefenbaker ran out of patience with the University's

inaction. The skilled politician declared he was going to announce his donation intentions publicly when he was installed as chancellor at the University's 1969 fall convocation ceremonies.⁹

Effectively, Diefenbaker left the University with little choice. The Board of Governors could either accept the gift and placate Diefenbaker despite cost concerns, or it could publicly refuse the offer which would embarrass and upset their new chancellor and one of the University's most distinguished alumni. They opted, of course, to accept the gift. According to the Board of Governors' minutes for July 3, 1969, "The Chancellor stated that he wished to donate to the University of Saskatchewan letters and papers written during his term as Prime Minister and as Leader of the Opposition."¹⁰ The University of Saskatchewan then formally accepted the donation: "President John Spinks stated that the University was greatly honored by Mr. Diefenbaker's decision to donate his papers to this University. This statement met with applause."¹¹ So, on November 1, 1969, in front of a crowd of University dignitaries, graduates and well-wishers,

Diefenbaker formally announced his donation.¹² Still unconvinced that the papers were good for the campus, the University of Saskatchewan continued to stall on the issue until Diefenbaker threatened that he would take his papers elsewhere.¹³ According to University of Saskatchewan History Professor Michael Hayden, who authored a book on the history of the University, "Instead of calling his bluff, the university administration in the summer of 1970 began to push the idea of a building that would house a Diefenbaker Library, offices for the university administration, a senate chamber, a board room, and a room for the meetings of the general university council."¹⁴

Hayden's account is somewhat contested. Dr. Lloyd Barber,¹⁵ who at the time of the donation was vice-president of the University of Saskatchewan, remembers a slightly more neutral attitude from the Board of Governors than what Hayden describes. In an interview, Barber states, "I don't recall that there was any great negativity about his papers. I am not sure there was a great enthusiasm either At the time I don't think there were all that many people with the appreciation

Left: L-R: Attorney General Roy Romanow, Premier Allan Blakeney, Colonel Robert L. Houston (chairman of fundraising campaign), Rt. Hon. J.G. Diefenbaker, and D.E. Tom Gauley of Board of Governors, at official ceremony at the site of the future Rt. Hon J.G. Diefenbaker Centre, October 1977. Courtesy University of Saskatchewan Archives & Special Collections, A-8497. Right: Official opening of the Rt. Hon. J.G. Diefenbaker Centre, June 1980. Chancellor Emmett Hall is speaker. Courtesy University of Saskatchewan Archives & Special Collections, A-10113.



for ‘papers.’¹⁶ Although Barber openly confesses he was not a fan of Diefenbaker, he thought the Centre was a good proposal and maintained that outlook for three decades: “I still think it’s a great idea that everyone who wants to study Diefenbaker doesn’t have to go to Ottawa. They can get some feel for what gave him his inspiration, what nurtured him, what his roots are. You have to get some feel for where people come from and you won’t get that from Ottawa.”¹⁷

Barber’s ability to put political differences aside notwithstanding, disapproval emanating from some individuals within the University of Saskatchewan’s administration had implications for the success of the Centre. Dr. Bruce Shepard, director of the DCC from 1994 until 2003, says that the University’s reluctance went further than the financial concerns. Shepard contends that there was a list of reasons that led certain people to oppose the institution. Some did not want the DCC because it was seen as a political intrusion into the objective ideal of the university. Others saw it as a dangerous precedent. By taking on this project, was the University of Saskatchewan opening the door to other donations of this ilk? For some people, their opposition was rooted in their political differences with Diefenbaker: every university has political factions and Diefenbaker had some stalwart political enemies

with friends at the University of Saskatchewan.¹⁸ Other people contested the Centre on the grounds of Diefenbaker’s ego. “As one person told me,” recalls Shepard, “it was a vain attempt by an old politician to be remembered.”¹⁹

Shepard contends that the University of Saskatchewan is a community and within any community there are a range of opinions. There have always been people at the University who did not want the DCC. In an interview he states, “I was certainly made aware of that from the time I arrived. I was being introduced to senior administrators who were decidedly cool when I was introduced to them. I knew it was not personal because I had never met them before, so clearly it was the fact that my position was director of the Centre.”²⁰ However, it should also be mentioned that there were individuals in the University’s administration who always wanted the DCC, and not just Tories but Liberals and New Democrats as well. According to Shepard, these individuals saw the DCC as a great gift, as a place where Canadians could connect with their federal government. It was an institution that added value to the University of Saskatchewan.²¹

While some in the upper-reaches of the University of Saskatchewan community might have been lukewarm to Diefenbaker’s gift privately, the University acted with great enthusiasm when corresponding with Chancellor

Diefenbaker. Spinks writes to Diefenbaker on June 16, 1970:

*You will remember that some six months or so ago the Board heard with great pleasure that you had decided to deposit your papers with the University, and at that time a committee was established to look into the technicalities of the matter. I was asked to reaffirm the great pleasure of the Board that you had decided to leave your papers with the University and to assure you of their continuing interest in seeing that they are properly housed. Perhaps when you are next out West a meeting might be arranged to get a clearer idea of when the papers might reasonably be moved to Saskatoon and what type of housing should be planned for.*²²

Publicly, the University of Saskatchewan also spoke of the project with great interest. Public appeals for money would have been hamstrung had the messaging reflected any conflict of sentiment, which was not in the University’s interest as it would be responsible to make up the financial shortfall. President Dr. R.W. Begg, who succeeded Spinks in 1975,²³ expressed delight in a 1977 fund-raising letter. He writes: “We are very fortunate that Mr. Diefenbaker’s high regard for his Alma Mater prompted him to donate

*Construction of Rt. Hon. J.G. Diefenbaker Centre underway, 1979.
Courtesy University of Saskatchewan Archives & Special Collections, A-8923.*



his papers and other memorabilia to it. Institutions in other parts of Canada have long coveted this splendid collection."²⁴ Again, consideration of Begg's comments must be tempered with an understanding that it was imperative for the University of Saskatchewan to speak enthusiastically of the project publicly if it expected to raise sufficient funds.

Some of the University of Saskatchewan's faculty members were genuinely delighted with Diefenbaker's choice and saw the addition of the former prime minister's papers as a valuable resource for the institution. Dr. John C. Courtney, then an associate professor in the Political Science Department, took the time on November 6, 1969, to write Diefenbaker personally to express his gratitude. Courtney writes, "Such an act on your part is a magnanimous one — one that will, at the same time, enhance the prestige of the university and reflect favourably upon you."²⁵ Conversely, there were faculty members who believed the project was fraught with problems. Dr. Jim Miller, who joined the faculty in 1970, and some of his colleagues in the History Department believed that the DCC was not a good idea. The crux of their opposition was the belief that the University of Saskatchewan would not properly look after the papers. In an interview Miller states, "The papers were the items that were most important to the department. Not a lot of evidence had been shown that the University was interested in this project. This University has always been interested in medicine and science and agriculture, not the humanities or arts. That's the way their priorities have been."²⁶ Miller remembers that not every member of the History Department disliked the notion of the Centre; Dr. Hugh Johnson, an American, quite liked the idea of the institution and thought it could be similar to an American presidential library.²⁷

The Ottawa threat

With the DCC being such a divisive issue on campus, there should be little wonder why John Munro, the first director of the DCC, was on guard for threats to the project on which his job depended. Munro was hired in 1978, personally endorsed by Diefenbaker himself. Munro was the ghostwriter for Diefenbaker's three volume memoirs, *One Canada*; according to the former prime minister, that gave Munro "unequalled knowledge of my personal past and enormous amount of papers."²⁸ As such, it is logical to assume that Munro liked Diefenbaker and wanted to see Diefenbaker's project succeed.

Not only did the creation of the DCC face many challenges from within the University surrounding planning and fund-raising, but there was also an external obstacle that threatened the success of the Centre. Some people involved in the creation of the DCC were concerned that the PAC intended to commandeer Diefenbaker's papers, which would leave the newly formed Centre without one of its biggest drawing cards.

Indeed, the PAC had always posed a threat to the establishment of the institution. As far back as 1969 when Dominion Archivist William Smith wrote Diefenbaker asking for ownership of the papers, subtle concerns arose. On October 31, 1969, Smith pointed out to Diefenbaker in a letter the advantages of housing his papers in Ottawa in the same building as most of his predecessors. Smith stated that the goal of the PAC was to be the repository for the collective memory of the nation.²⁹ With this letter, it was clear that the PAC coveted the collection, felt precedence should be observed, and, as such, constituted a threat to the University of Saskatchewan's efforts to house the papers.

In a follow-up letter on November 14, 1969, Smith informs Diefenbaker that the PAC had become aware of his plan to donate the papers to the University

of Saskatchewan and suggested that the PAC could provide assistance in arranging, indexing, and transferring the papers to microfilm at the PAC's expense.³⁰ On the surface, it appeared that Smith supports Diefenbaker's wish to have his alma mater house his papers, rather than the PAC. This "support," however, could also be perceived as a cunning measure to ensure PAC involvement with Diefenbaker's papers until such time as it could convince Diefenbaker to change his mind about bequeathing them to the University. Smith draws a parallel between what Diefenbaker was about to do with his papers and what had been done with the R.B. Bennett papers (prime minister 1930-1935) which were housed at the University of New Brunswick.³¹ Dr. Smith writes of the Bennett papers:

There is little doubt that the scant attention to the Bennett Period (except that based on the Mackenzie King Papers) and the absence even today of an official biography of Bennett is largely a result of the difficulty in using the papers for research purposes, even though large sums were spent by Lord Beaverbrook in the provision of such facilities as research rooms and expensive cabinets and the employment of research assistants. ... I mention the case of the Bennett Papers only to illustrate the point that the Public Archives can provide material assistance in regard to papers which are of essential importance to our national history.³²

Perhaps Smith perceived Diefenbaker's donation to the University of Saskatchewan as an attempt to bolster his image in the memories of Canadians. This hunch was logical given Diefenbaker's well-known pride. To change the former prime minister's mind on where the papers would do the most good for Diefenbaker's

legend, Smith suggests that the opposite might occur if Diefenbaker's papers were located in Saskatoon instead of Ottawa. The Dominion Archivist advises the former prime minister that if the PAC did not receive his papers, historians would likely portray him as having played a minimal role in Canadian history. Despite Smith's cautionary tale of Bennett, Diefenbaker remained undeterred with his selection of the University of Saskatchewan. If his donation was purely an ego play, Diefenbaker might have taken the safe option of having his papers housed in Ottawa. However, because of the altruistic dimensions stated earlier, it was important to Diefenbaker to bring his papers to Saskatchewan. It was his gift to Western Canadians.

Barber, University of Saskatchewan vice-president who also worked in Ottawa as Indian Claims Commissioner, met with Smith in 1970 to discuss the Diefenbaker papers. At this meeting, the two sides came to an agreement of cooperation. The PAC repeated to the DCC the offer it made Diefenbaker: it would help with the papers in exchange for microfilm copies. This arrangement was extended by Smith in a letter to Barber on October 5, 1970. The opening sentence expresses the PAC's anxieties regarding the University's ability to properly house and maintain the Diefenbaker papers, and referenced Barber's awareness of those worries. Smith writes, "I appreciated your courtesy and recognition of our concern for the permanent care of the John G. Diefenbaker Papers."³³ Reservations aside, Smith formally offers to provide, at no cost to the University of Saskatchewan, professional and technical services which were worth, in Smith's estimation, at least \$300,000. The Dominion Archivist says the process could take up to 10 years.³⁴ Though it was probable that he was still not entirely pleased with the papers going to Saskatoon and with having to settle for reproductions, this offer

kept the PAC involved in the process and guaranteed a copy of Diefenbaker's papers for Ottawa.

Barber recalls, "I think they [the PAC] were seen as a threat and finally they had to be convinced that these were Diefenbaker's papers and he could do what he liked with them."³⁵ Shepard saw the tension between the University of Saskatchewan and the PAC as a result of different philosophies. According to Shepard:

*The PAC is modelled after the Public Records Office of Great Britain where everything is centralized in London. The PAC for a long time and to some extent, still, views itself as the only repository for national records. Mr. Diefenbaker, by giving his papers to the U of S, set, in the view of national archivists, a very dangerous precedent. Mr. Diefenbaker spoke to a number of people at the time when he returned from the Truman Library visit. The expression I heard (that Diefenbaker said to others) was, "That's what Canada needs more of is locally based but nationally focused institutions. Not all of our history belongs in Ottawa." National archivists have a different view and that is: all the collections belong in Ottawa.*³⁶

Diefenbaker's vision of giving his papers to the University of Saskatchewan could have been seen by the PAC as an attack on the institution. Prime ministerial papers were some of the more valued collections at the PAC and if other prime ministers decided to follow Diefenbaker's example, the PAC's overall collection would have been weakened considerably.

Diefenbaker as a wild card

In relationships that lack trust, long periods of silence can increase

suspicion. There was not much correspondence between the DCC and the Public Archives for most of the 1970s and the lull in communication did nothing to soothe the anxieties of DCC planners. Before the DCC officially opened, Munro wanted to make sure that the PAC understood the arrangement once and for all, since no formal contract had been signed between the two institutions. What existed was only an agreement made in good faith, something that was in short supply at times. From correspondence records, it appears that almost right from his hire in 1978, Munro was very uneasy about the PAC's stance on the rightful ownership of the papers and the lack of a binding legal document that stated the PAC's compliance to DCC wishes. The DCC director admitted to University of Saskatchewan President Begg in 1978 that he might have been overly cautious when dealing with the PAC but he did not want to jeopardize the papers coming to Saskatoon.³⁷ Nevertheless, Munro's fears were evident in a letter he writes to Begg on September 14, 1978:

Fundamental to our dealings with the PAC is some definition of ownership of the Diefenbaker Papers. Although the legal ownership is debatable, unless the effect of the law is changed governing collections like the Diefenbaker Papers, the papers in question are the real property of Mr. Diefenbaker. In a more than technical sense, Mr. Diefenbaker, during his lifetime, is in a position, if he so desires, to exercise control over access to his papers. If we are to work out practical arrangements with the PAC for the processing of the Diefenbaker Papers, however, it must be clearly established that the University, through the medium of the Diefenbaker Centre, is the principal with whom the PAC must deal. Otherwise the PAC may feel

obliged to continue seeking Mr. Diefenbaker's approval for every major decision, especially where the transfer of original materials is concerned. The consequences of making Mr. Diefenbaker a partner to these decisions is not in our interest, as I see this. For example, in late 1977, as I understand it, the transfer of 1056 items of memorabilia from the PAC to the University was postponed at the last moment by Mr. Diefenbaker. I would suggest that the PAC may discover it in their interest, to employ consultation with Mr. Diefenbaker as a vehicle to postpone still further the transfer of the Diefenbaker collection. It is well, also, to bear in mind that there are pressures within the PAC hierarchy and elsewhere to bring about a change in the law governing official documents in private collections to prevent their transfer from the safe-keeping of the PAC.³⁸

It is apparent from this excerpt that Munro distrusted the intentions of the PAC. He was concerned about the potential tactics the PAC might employ to hamper the DCC getting the original materials that it had been promised. Munro also expresses dissatisfaction at the rate at which work was being done on the Diefenbaker papers. Munro contends, "No amount of rationalization on Smith's part can cover this fact. There is no way that they can meet their commitments to us to have several series arranged, indexed and microfilmed by 1978."³⁹ He argues that "[the PAC's] commitments were a device for keeping their hand in the game until such time as the decision of Mr. Diefenbaker to donate his papers to the University could be reversed."⁴⁰ Munro suggests that the University of Saskatchewan assist the PAC by providing supplemental manpower to complete the project so a labour



Chancellor Diefenbaker speaks at an official ceremony at the site of the future Rt. Hon. J.G. Diefenbaker Centre, October 1977. Courtesy University of Saskatchewan Archives & Special Collections, A-9827.

shortage could no longer be used as an excuse for the delay. He also says that Smith should be reassured that the PAC was entitled to receive microfilm copies of the papers to quell any attempt to seize the originals.⁴¹

The last segment of Munro's letter to Begg indicates that Diefenbaker was as much of a problem in the process as the PAC. Barber recalls that Diefenbaker could be a difficult man with whom to deal: "He wavered back and forth because [the University of Saskatchewan] weren't going to treat his papers the way he wanted them to be treated. He was quite childish almost in his wavering back and forth."⁴² It is possible that the chancellor used the PAC as leverage with the University of Saskatchewan on a variety of issues regarding the Centre and the handling of his papers. Diefenbaker was much more than an uninvolved third party. By early 1974, for example, Diefenbaker and some of his close friends were unimpressed with the DCC's slow reaction to fund-raising opportunities. In a letter to Diefenbaker from Senator David Walker, a devoted ally, the

dissatisfaction of the two was evident. Walker writes:

I am in total agreement with you that no work is being done in connection with the Library ... For the life of me, I cannot understand why the offer of Time Magazine [Time had offered an advertisement], made about a year ago, had not been accepted. That offer was to give two pages gratis and for some unexplainable reason Mr. Lovell and the Committee have apparently done nothing about the generous offer.⁴³

There were further suggestions of Diefenbaker's interference related to the selection of the site location for the DCC. It is rumoured that he "called in a few favours" to secure the most prominent location on campus that some University of Saskatchewan officials had earmarked for another project.⁴⁴ History shows he was not above such power plays. In the very early stages of the process, as mentioned earlier, Diefenbaker



Official opening of the Rt. Hon. J.G. Diefenbaker Centre, June 1980. President Begg is speaker. Courtesy University of Saskatchewan Archives & Special Collections, A-6649.

threatened to retract his pledge when the University of Saskatchewan reacted unenthusiastically to his gift. This Centre was Diefenbaker's legacy and it would be foolhardy to expect him to quietly sit on the sidelines, pleased with whatever happened, while the University made all of the decisions.

Munro corresponded with Smith on October 12, 1978, reiterating the agreement between the PAC and the University of Saskatchewan with the intention of ensuring that both parties were clear on what each expected from the other. Munro and Smith met in Ottawa in December 1978 to further discuss the issues that were informally agreed upon eight years previous. The Dominion Archivist wrote to the DCC director on February 2, 1979, to formally recognize the points raised during the Ottawa meeting. That fall, Munro drafted a contractual agreement on the access provisions for the papers, based on the letters and meetings between the two parties. There were four main points: it was agreed that no access would be permitted to any series in the Diefenbaker papers until the archival processing of each respective series had been completed, except for the director of the Centre who would have unlimited access to the papers for research and publication purposes; all access provisions accepted

for the Diefenbaker papers were to be equally and universally applied to all researchers; the appropriate government departments were to be invited to advise the director of the DCC and the Dominion Archivist on acceptable access provisions for all confidential departmental records found in the Diefenbaker papers; and all access provisions to the various series within the Diefenbaker papers were to be acceptable to both the director of the DCC and the Dominion Archivist.⁴⁵ Some of the papers in the collection were classified or otherwise restricted due to the sensitive nature of the material, for example, issues of national defence.⁴⁶ These points were agreed upon and were the basis of a contract between the University of Saskatchewan and the PAC. This deal secured the most important element of the Centre and the key to achieving its goals – the Diefenbaker papers.

The opening

With the issue of the papers resolved, the focus shifted to the Centre's opening. Mr. Diefenbaker had passed away the year before but on June 12, 1980, after 11 years of planning and fund-raising, and two years of construction, the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker Centre opened with federal and provincial politicians, as well as University of Saskatchewan

officials, paying tribute to Diefenbaker in front of a crowd of more than 300 people for the DCC's grand opening. The size of the crowd at the Centre's opening was not befitting a prairie legend. It was certainly a modest number, which, in some regard, called the Diefenbaker legend into question. To be fair, there were a number of factors that might have limited attendance. The *Regina Leader-Post* claimed that the opening was held in the "brilliant Prairie sunshine,"⁴⁷ but one guest contends that the heat was extreme enough to actually keep people from attending the outdoor ceremony. According to Shepard, who received an invitation because he was employed by the Western Development Museum, "What I recall is it was a phenomenally hot day. Very, uncomfortably hot. To the point where the metal chairs we sat on were slipping into the newly laid asphalt. I remember that vividly because at the end of the ceremonies I had to help several people pull their chairs out of the asphalt. That may have been a contributing factor that kept people away."⁴⁸ In addition to the heat, the opening was held on a Thursday, a day of the week when many people work and cannot attend such an event.

Although there were only approximately 300 people in attendance, a lot of emotion was in the air. "There was a varied mood in the crowd that day," remembers Shepard. "There was great anticipation and a sense of completion. There were some great tributes."⁴⁹ Despite the celebrations and excitement there was, as Shepard recalls, "some disquiet to the event too, that I picked up on. I couldn't quite put my finger on it, but there seemed to be some strain."⁵⁰ It was only fitting that an institution that had been fostered in such an environment of mixed emotions opened in the same fashion.

While the atmosphere included some "disquiet," the Centre's opening ceremonies went smoothly. The

senior choir from Alvin Buckwold School opened the event with a musical presentation. Following the music, Carolyn Weir, Diefenbaker's stepdaughter, cut the ribbon to open the one-storey, \$3 million structure.⁵¹ She used a pair of ceremonial scissors that her stepfather had used in 1959 to open a section of the Gatineau Parkway near Ottawa.⁵² The opening was filled with reminders -- big and small -- of Diefenbaker. It added to the remembrances Canadians had of their former prime minister.

Smith's speech

The day's proceedings would have not been complete without speeches. Consistent with the purpose of the day, each speaker took the opportunity to praise Diefenbaker and the DCC. Smith, once considered a threat to the project, spoke on behalf of the PAC. He announced that the papers surrounding Diefenbaker's legal career and his Saskatchewan political activities prior to 1940 were ready to be used at the Diefenbaker Centre, as well as at the PAC. Smith continued by saying that the Diefenbaker Project would maintain its status as a high priority item for the PAC until its completion. He stated that the collected papers of Diefenbaker would provide Canadian scholars with an essential source for documenting Canada in the twentieth century and that Diefenbaker was not only a dominant force in Canada but also a witness to much of the political, social and economic development in the country over the 100 years prior to 1980.⁵³ The Dominion Archivist's comments suggested that, through Diefenbaker, Canadians would have the opportunity to gain a greater knowledge of themselves and their fellow citizens. According to Smith, "It is important that we consider such

collected papers of our prime ministers as national cultural treasures,"⁵⁴ and their accessibility to all Canadians must be guaranteed if Canada, as a country, is to understand its past, cope with the present, and prepare for the future. He concluded his speech by saying:

*The opening of the Diefenbaker Centre marks the addition of the newest archival institution in Canada. This occasion is to be celebrated in itself – for in these times the opening of a new cultural institution is a rare event. The Centre's establishment sets a precedent in Canada, and the Public Archives will watch its development with great interest and seek to encourage its work whenever possible.*⁵⁵

Not only did Smith address the crowd, he also made a symbolic presentation when he handed over to Munro a volume of Diefenbaker's early papers, signifying the first installment of indexed and organized papers. Smith estimated that there were still several million more pages to be arranged and indexed, and that work on the papers would continue for many years.⁵⁶ The last of the papers were finally delivered to the Centre in 1989.⁵⁷ Smith's speech implied full PAC support for the Diefenbaker Centre, despite the Centre's fears to the contrary. There is a possibility, however, that the Dominion Archivist was merely being diplomatic. The opening of the DCC was not the appropriate time to air grievances concerning the institution or fears about the precedent it might set.

Conclusion

When the DCC opened in the spring of 1980, it showcased perseverance over precedent. At first, it was lack of

precedent that proved problematic. The Centre was unique in Canada and had no domestic blueprint to follow, nor was there any demonstrated tendency of Canadians to support this sort of facility with their dollars and attendance. It was this lack of precedent, in part, that created dissension within the ranks of the University of Saskatchewan. The University, some in the arts and social sciences argued, had no track-record for backing and funding projects outside the sciences and agriculture. While the absence of precedent was an impediment inside the University community, there were established traditions outside campus that created other problems. It had been an accepted norm for the PAC to house prime ministerial papers. Diefenbaker's desire to break with tradition and seek an alternative brought more turmoil to the University of Saskatchewan. Questions of prime ministerial legacy, rightful ownership, and faith in federal institutions to provide support dogged those in charge with creating this regional institution of national importance. In the background was Diefenbaker — a wildcard, as always, who demonstrated through his political past and in his ability to get the University of Saskatchewan to accept a gift it was not sure it wanted that he was not without strings to pull, even in the winter of his years. The Centre took 11 years from idea to opening and was born out of an environment of internal and external conflict and mistrust. Given Diefenbaker's personality, perhaps the former prime minister would have had it no other way.

Endnotes begin on page 47.

Dr. Craig Greenham is an assistant professor in the Faculty of Human Kinetics at the University of Windsor, specializing in cultural and sport history. As part of his academic journey, Greenham completed his MA in the University of Regina's Department of History before obtaining his PhD at Western University. This article represents the interests he pursued while a student on the prairie working with advisor, Dr. Jim Pitsula.

A. W. Davey: Artist and Visual Historian

Verna Gallén

Alf Davey's first experience of life in Saskatchewan occurred at four o'clock in the morning on a cold snowy day in 1920.¹ Dressed in the skull cap and short pants of a typical English boy, he got off the train with his father and older brother and tried until dawn to sleep on a bench in the small, unoccupied train station. After spending the summer in Ontario, where his father, Fred Davey, had briefly tried his hand at fruit farming, Alf had arrived in Birmingham, Saskatchewan, seven miles northwest of Melville on the Canadian National (CN) main line. His father had taken a teaching position there, and his mother and younger siblings would arrive the following year. Alf was 13 years old, and he realized that life in Saskatchewan was going to be very different from the one he had known in Burnham Market, Norfolk, England.

In England, Alf had been a boy scout and sung in the Anglican church choir.² He had also excelled in art and won several small art competitions. However, his father was head teacher of Burnham Westgate Boys School and he felt it was important not to show favouritism. Once, when Alf had won a large set of coloured pencils in a school art competition, his father gave the coveted prize to the second-place winner instead of his son, a decision that Alf never forgot.

Alf's stay in Birmingham was short. His father tended to move frequently to new teaching positions, and rather than follow him from place to place, his mother, Ethel Davey, decided to move with the rest of the family to Saskatoon. In 1923, she and the children settled in the Grasswood district and Alf soon found his first paying job as a coal hand in the South Saskatoon railway yards, earning 25¢ an hour shovelling cinders. A few years later, his father decided to give up



teaching. He rejoined the family in Saskatoon and took a job as a gardener at the University of Saskatchewan. The family then moved to the Nutana area of Saskatoon, and together with his older brother, Alf became the proud owner of a 1917 Harley-Davidson motorcycle with a sidecar that was their chief means of transportation to part-time work on farms and railway gangs. Later, Alf would note:

I soon became fascinated by railway life. It seemed to be a world of its own with a central nature of hard wheels on hard rails. At this time I made some of my first pencil sketches of life in early Saskatchewan. Life was arduous but interesting. Many of these sketches proved valuable in later years as reference material for documentary paintings.³

In 1927 Fred Davey died and Alf took over his father's gardening job at the university. On lunch breaks he would often sketch the buildings on campus. The quality of these sketches impressed several university staff members, who encouraged Alf to pursue a career in art.⁴ He took classes from A. F. (Gus) Kenderdine and became the founding president of the new Saskatoon Art Students' Association. He studied at the Winnipeg School of Art and enrolled in the Saskatoon Technical Institute, where he learned from Ernest Lindner. Much of his instruction was paid for through freelance art work, such as illustrations for university publications and technical drawings for class instruction. Among his early achievements was a design for a cloak worked in beads by the Mistawasis First Nation for presentation to King Edward VIII.⁵

Alf married Christina (Tena) Estenson in 1935, and they had two sons, Bruce and Keith. In 1942, the Daveys moved to Regina, where Alf worked for Regina Industries Ltd. During World War II, he designed special tools and illustrated installation manuals under contract for the British admiralty. However, he also taught night classes at the Regina College, and was active in the formation of the Regina Branch of the Federation of Canadian Artists, serving the branch as its president for several years. In this role, he was instrumental in founding the Western Canadian Art Circuit, which made it affordable to show paintings by distinguished Canadian artists throughout western Canada. Later, he was elected the first president of the Regina Federation of Artists, and received an on-going appointment as official portraitist for the Saskatchewan Dairy Hall of Fame.⁶

In 1945, Alf was hired by the Government of Saskatchewan and eventually became Commercial Art Director for the Department of Industry and Information. His career as a government artist would span 19 years and make him the visual spokesman for the province. He designed and illustrated numerous brochures and other promotional documents that won awards and international admiration. His versatility as an artist allowed him to create everything from letterheads to anniversary pins and illuminated scrolls that were presented to dignitaries such as Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent and Princess Elizabeth. These scrolls were a challenge because they had to be prepared without corrections. A mistake meant starting over.

Opposite page: Alf Davey – Portrait of the artist at work. At this time, Davey was in charge of the Art Department with the Bureau of Publications, Government of Saskatchewan, 1954. SAB photo: Photo Services 54-033-03. Top: Alf Davey in front of the cook shack in which he lived with his father, Frank, at Nutana. Middle: Alf Davey on his motorcycle, with the Walter girls on the Walter farm near Saskatoon, late 1920s. Bottom: Alf Davey as a young man sitting in a field drawing, 1937. All images on page 37 courtesy of Keith Davey.





By far the most challenging task that Alf faced, however, was to create images for the celebration of Saskatchewan's Golden Jubilee in 1955. The volume of work required for the Jubilee and the constant pressure of deadlines took its toll on his health, and he suffered a heart attack. His most notable contributions to the success of the Golden Jubilee included the preparation of 115 illustrations and maps for the book, *Saskatchewan: The History of a Province*, as well as a condensed junior edition of the book for schools. He also illustrated a popular cookbook (*Saskatchewan Homemakers' Kitchens*), developed a colourful pictorial map of historic Saskatchewan,

and designed the official Golden Jubilee emblem. His intensive work for the Jubilee identified him forever in the public mind with uncluttered and beautifully composed pictures of prairie life and Saskatchewan history.

Alf continued to produce a wide range of striking art works for the provincial government until arthritis forced him to retire in 1964. Fortunately, gold solution injections improved the mobility of his fingers and allowed him to resume working as an artist during his retirement. For Canada's Centennial, he created nine oil paintings entitled *Life in Saskatchewan's*

Past that were exhibited for four years in the Legislative Building in Regina. He undertook several major commissions, gave instruction in oil and watercolour painting at the University of Regina, conducted art workshops, and provided art critiques on request. At one time he was asked why his paintings and drawings of the prairie were dark and dramatic rather than the kind of pretty art that people like to hang on their walls. His reply was simply that what he saw wasn't pretty. He was known for celebrating the lonely beauty of the prairie, and critics noted that his works are "full of strong contrast between light and dark, and seen through the eyes of memory, give a sense of peace rather than of struggle against the forces of nature."⁷

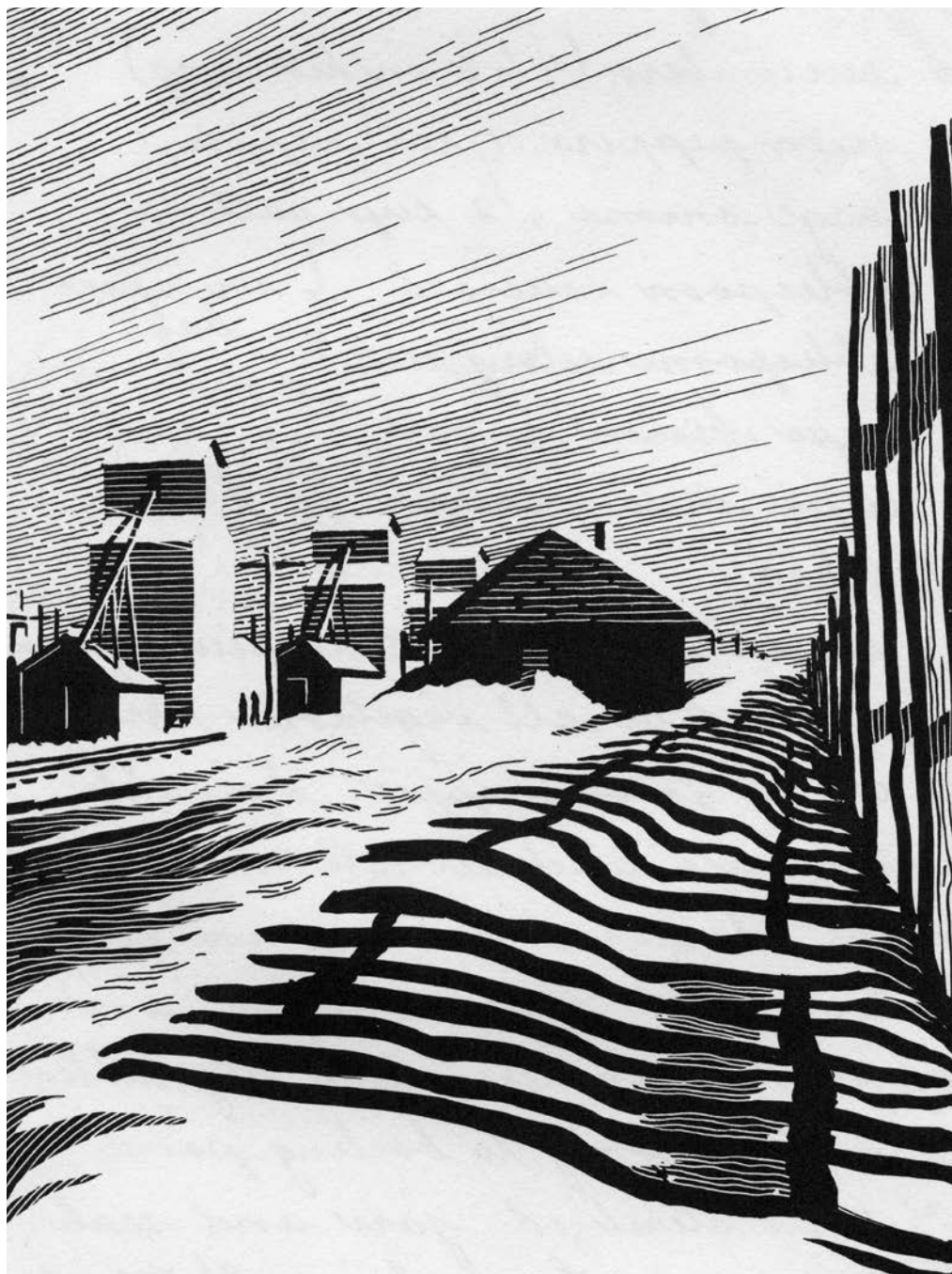
Alf Davey died in 1986 at the age of 78. His epitaph reads: *I tried to capture the reality of prairie life and record the vestiges of the past.*

Endnotes begin on page 48.

Verna Gallén volunteers as a Friend of the Saskatchewan Archives, and has provided several articles to this magazine.

Opposite page: "The Stooker" [Published in The Canadian Forum, Toronto]. This page: "In Winter's Grip" [grain elevators, railway station, and fence - appears in Saskatchewan Homemakers' Kitchens, p. 275].

All images courtesy of Keith Davey.





Above: "Quiet Evening" [farmer gazing at farm buildings]. Opposite page top left: Cover for Saskatchewan History, Vol. XX, No. 2, Spring 1967. Opposite page top right: Cover for pamphlet, Oil in Saskatchewan, produced for the Department of Mineral Resources. Opposite page: bottom left: Photograph of an illuminated address presented to Princess Elizabeth, the Duchess of Edinburgh, on the occasion of her and the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Saskatchewan, Oct. 17, 1951. Opposite page bottom right: Illustration of tiger lilies for pamphlet Saskatchewan Coat of Arms, Emblems, and Symbols. All images courtesy of Keith Davey.

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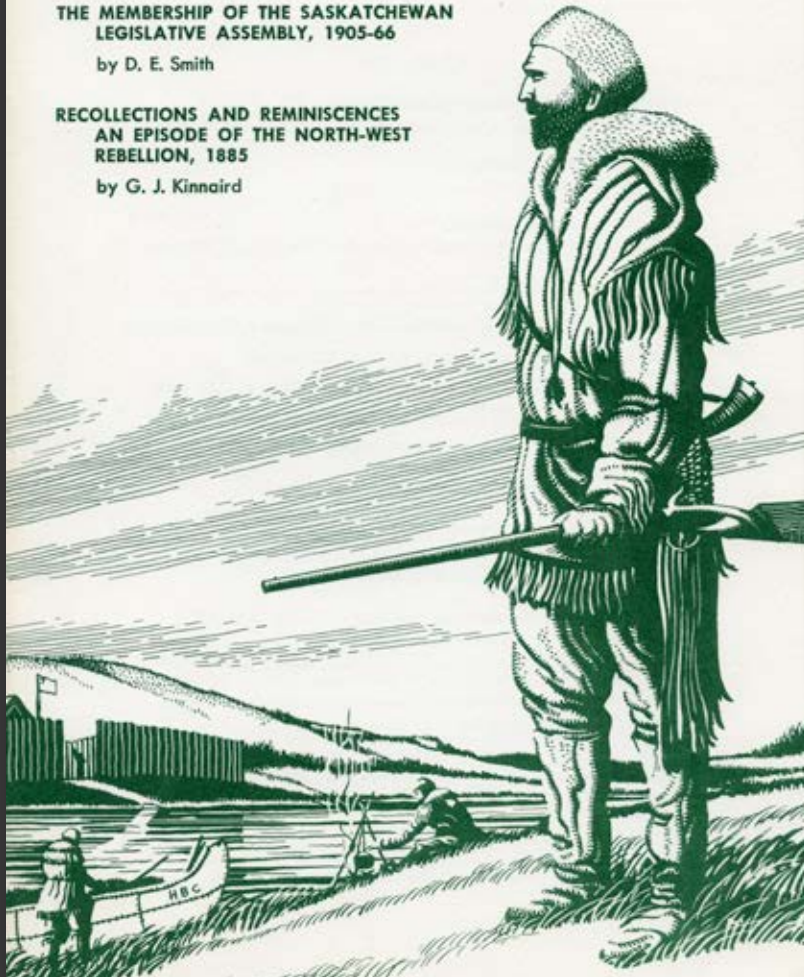
SPRING 1967

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1905-66

by D. E. Smith

RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES AN EPISODE OF THE NORTH-WEST REBELLION, 1885

by G. J. Kinnaird



OIL in Saskatchewan



SASKATCHEWAN



Above: Ink drawing of wind blowing curtain through broken window of abandoned farmhouse. Opposite page top: Cover of pamphlet for Mines Ministers' Conference, Regina, Sept. 14-16, 1959. Opposite page bottom: Cover for pamphlet for Farm Movement Day, Indian Head, August 19, 1955 entitled Working Together: The Story of Farm Organization in Saskatchewan. All images courtesy of Keith Davey



FOR 1959
MINES
CONFERENCER
PROCHURE
DOVE IN
HEAD

WELCOME TO SASKATCHEWAN...

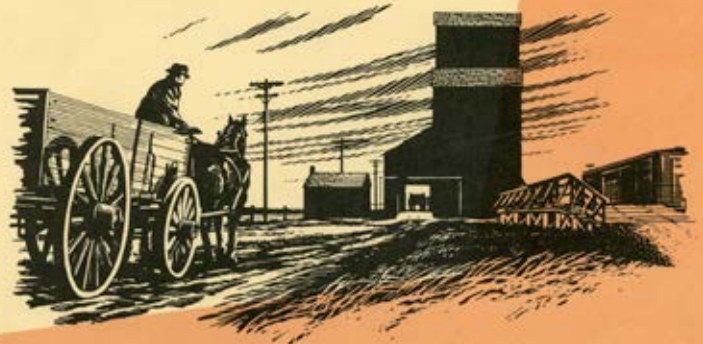
Working together

The Story of Farm Organization in Saskatchewan

FARM MOVEMENT DAY

INDIAN HEAD

August 19, 1955



Who are these remarkable people? A review of *Settling Saskatchewan*

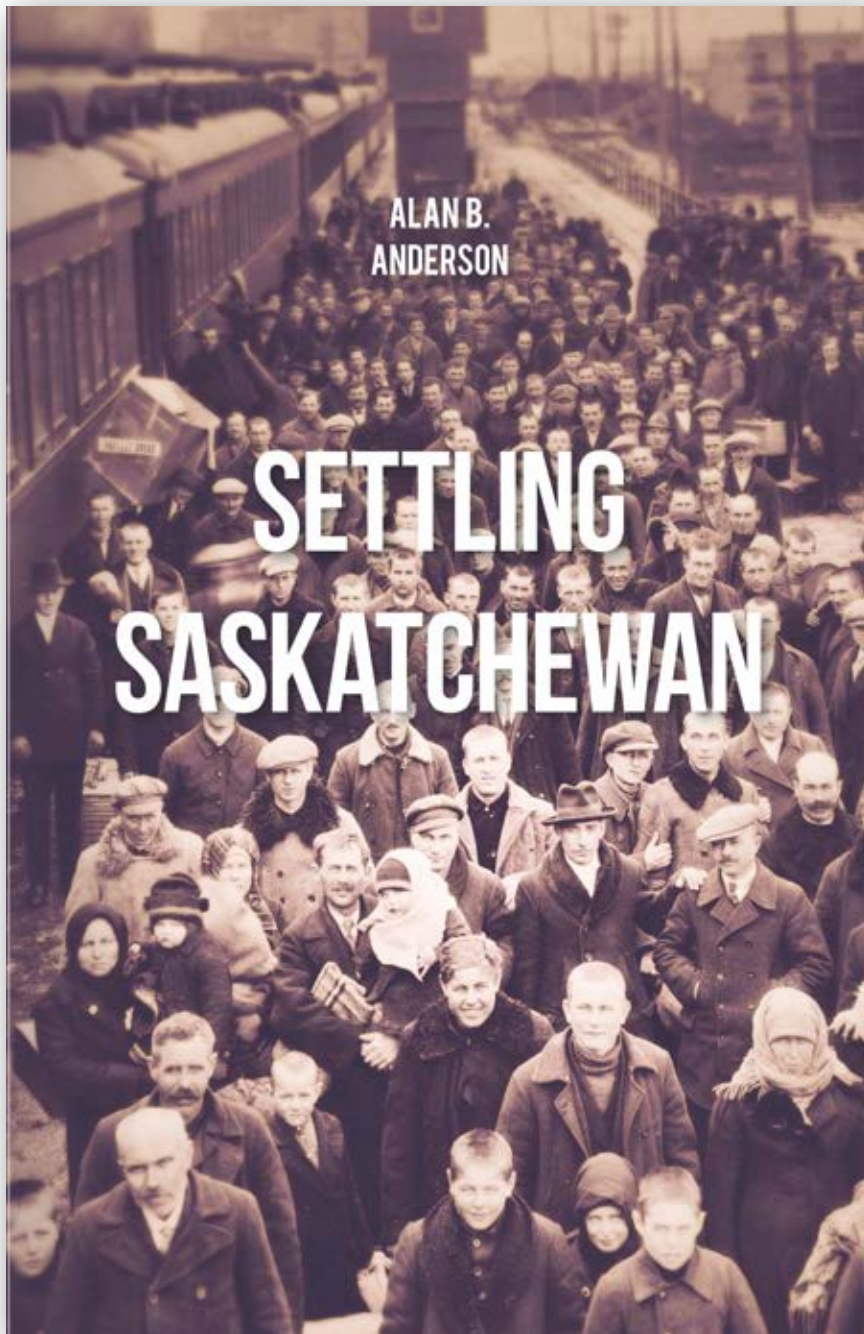
Author: Alan B. Anderson • Published by University of Regina Press, 2013

There are many ways to answer the question “who is a Saskatchewanian?” In *Settling Saskatchewan*, Alan B. Anderson looks at the question through the lens of ethnicity, specifically focusing on people who chose to immigrate and/or settle with those with whom they shared common ancestry. These bloc settlements, whether they are small parts of larger settlements or whole towns, provide a window into a province much more diverse than often portrayed.

Settling Saskatchewan is both incredibly detailed and thought-provoking. Those who immediately turn to the index to find their hometown or ethnic group will not likely be disappointed. Even those who think they know quite a bit about the history of a particular town or group may find themselves learning a new fact or seeing a part of their community in a different way. However, those looking for a simple, general history or a casual read may be left struggling through the details.

Anderson devotes considerable space to each group he profiles, moving from larger trends, to smaller geographic areas, to specific communities, and then deeper into the level of individual migrant groups, families, and, in some cases, right down to individuals. One strength of this book is Anderson’s ability to tell the story of each group through history while keeping constant the attention to detail and awareness of variability. Thorough source notes at the end of each chapter support further research.

The concluding chapter raises an interesting question: how ‘ethnic’ are people in Saskatchewan today? Anderson examines several factors that have challenged the “strength and persistence of ethnic identification” (373), including demographic changes,



urbanization and rural depopulation, intermarriage and population mixing, assimilation and multiculturalism. He then compares the relative influence each has had on different populations. For example, he notes that intermarriage has had a larger effect on Ukrainian and Russian communities than on Hutterite communities.

Where Anderson concludes his review, readers are left to consider not only the history, but also the future of Saskatchewan and its bloc settlements. What role will ethnic bloc settlements, and indeed ethnic identification, play as Saskatchewan’s demographic composition continues to change?

Review by Kristine Flynn

In Canada too! *A Generation Removed: The Fostering and Adoption of Indigenous Children in the Postwar World*

Author Margaret D. Jacobs • Published by University of Nebraska Press, 2014

“The institutionalization of Indigenous children caused undue trauma within families and threatened the very existence of Indigenous communities.” (xxxiii)

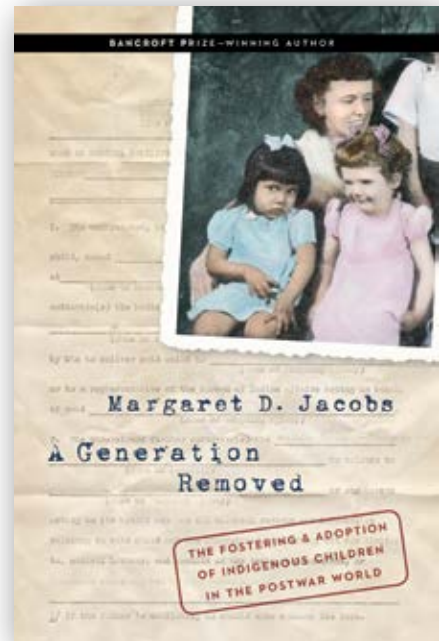
Margaret D. Jacobs has written a gut-wrenching analysis of the way in which Indigenous children were treated in North America and Australia following World War II, focused on adoption and fostering away from their families and culture. This book is not an easy read due to its insistence, well-documented, on the extremely hurtful behaviour of (mostly white) society, including many who believed themselves to be acting in the best interests of the very families they damaged and destroyed. A large portion of the book is devoted to the situation as it existed in the USA, making it hard for a Canadian reviewer with little knowledge of their policies and no first-hand experience with which to compare Ms. Jacobs’ claims. It is also a challenging read due to the large number of organizations named, often by acronyms. But her extensive documentation of cases makes it possible to believe that there is a considerable degree of truth in her arguments.

Jacobs’ thesis is that the First Nations communities in the USA, Canada and Australia have been poorly served by those in authority – and indeed by all of us. Her view is supported by what we have been hearing in recent years from First Nations spokespersons here in Canada about the tragic mistreatment of Aboriginal people in residential schools.

Aside from authorities who acted with callous disregard for children and their families, we can hardly deny that even programs designed and administered by the most well-meaning of people have effectively, if inadvertently, destroyed the fabric of First Nations families and communities. Jacobs tells us, “Many VISTA [an American anti-poverty program] volunteers... shared the commonly held view of Indian families as dysfunctional.” (89) In the insistence that the nuclear family is the only appropriate social structure for raising children, a blind eye has been turned to much of our own history. In the small-town world in which many of us grew up, grandparents, aunts and uncles, older siblings, and neighbours were not just peripheral but essential characters in our upbringing in the time period of which Ms. Jacobs writes. She describes First Nations communities as places where extended family was (and is) the basic social structure: “In many matrilinear Indigenous cultures, a mother’s brother played the fatherly role to his nephews and nieces, and a child might consider all his or her maternal aunts as mothers.” (xxxiii) Yet authorities have used the fact that a child’s parents were often not the primary caregivers to justify removing those children from their homes, their communities, and even their own culture, thrusting them into homes and communities where blatant racism and discrimination were common, and where policies prevented those children from having any significant contact with their families and their people.

Saskatchewan Indigenous children were frequently sent out of province and even out of Canada. A 1975 letter from an American adoptions agency stated that even after intensive lobbying, the Saskatchewan government “continued to place many Saskatchewan Native children out of the province and even out of Canada,” and “most of the Indian children they placed for adoption were from northwestern Canada.” (190) Jacobs cites the case of the Doucette family of Prince Albert, who protested: “Why are they kept just like prisoners ... and we cannot send them a Birthday card even?” (200)

Jacobs also points out that the lack of economic affluence was frequently a significant factor in removing children from their homes, even though they were quite happy there and they were being well-cared-for. The Doucette case is cited as an example, (200) as is the case of Bernadine Blackleg: “Bernadine Blackleg’s battle... encapsulates how middle-class bias, racial stereotyping, and disapproval of working women and single mothers could undermine an Indian woman’s claim on her own child.” (86)



Jacobs concludes, “Adoption schemes did not lead, as expected, to the seamless assimilation of Indigenous adoptees into mainstream life. Instead they created a defining feature of modern Indigenous life in all three of these nations: removal and displacement.” (263) Furthermore, “The crises persist, too, because Indigenous child removal has been a multigenerational cyclical phenomenon that is difficult to reverse.” (271)

Jacobs admits that some who went through these experiences have gone on to lead tremendously productive and enjoyable lives. But it is difficult to disagree with her when she argues that the policies of fostering and adoption of Indigenous children as carried out in North America and Australia have been, on the whole, primary causes of the disintegration of healthy Indigenous communities which will not be overcome overnight, an injustice that continues to cost all of us greatly in many ways. *A Generation Removed* is a powerful eye opener, covering a piece of history we push under the carpet at our own peril.

Review by Alan Porter

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- Ibid. H. McCarney is quoted.
- Ibid. P. McKenzie is quoted.

RESEARCH NOTE: LULU TURNER'S "PERSONAL JOURNAL" AT ONION LAKE, DECEMBER 1922

- For the family's history, see the authority description of Turner and his family, Saskatchewan Archives Board [SAB], Lang Turner family fonds, F485, SAFA 329. Onion Lake's administrative costs, Indian Affairs work, and salaries to staff

are found in Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report for the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended March 31 1921* (Ottawa: F.C. Acland, 1921), "Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Northwest Territories" Tables I-20, I-26.

- Lulu's salary is found in Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report for the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended March 31 1921*, Onion Lake Agency Salaries, in "Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Northwest Territories" Tables, I-32. Lang Turner's promotion to Indian Agent occurred in April 1921, see Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, *Auditor General's Report, 1921-22* Ottawa: F.C. Acland, 1922), Onion Lake Agency Salaries, in "Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Northwest Territories" Tables, I-38.

However, the year of this diary, Lulu had been reclassified as "junior clerk-stenographer," at \$480 per annum; her father had been promoted in September to full agent at \$875 per year plus allowances. Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1923, Report of the Auditor General for the Year Ended March 31 1922, Paper No. 1 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1923), I-38. The 1921 federal census lists the Turner daughters as Mary (20 years old and a teacher at the Indian school), "Louie" (Lulu), 16 years old and "stenographer", Nellie (14 years old), Margaret (12 years old), Lena (9 years old), Agnes (7 years old), and Joyce (5 years old). Library and Archives Canada [LAC], Statistics Canada fonds, RG 31, *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921*, Saskatchewan, Battleford Division, Onion Lake. "1921 Census of Canada – Ancestry.ca," accessed 17 February 2015, <http://search.ancestry.ca/search/db.aspx?dbid=8991>.

- Lulu Turner inscribed her name to the front page of the journal. LAC, Department of Indian Affairs, RG 10, Vol. 9084, Daily Journal, 1922, Onion Lake, Saddle Lake District Daily report, 1922.
- In the official journal, Lulu wrote for December 4: "Snowing and Blowing: Preparing matters for mailing and General office work."
- Elizabeth, who was 51 years of age in 1922, and was born in England.
- Mary had only recently married John McCusker. She appears as single in the 1921 census.
- In margin, "Mrs. Seymour teased me about E.B. [illegible]."
- In the official journal, Lulu wrote for December 5: "Writing letters, making out vouchers, balancing cash, General office work"
- Likely, this is Ada Ellis, married to Henry, who was 30 years of age with four children, living in Onion Lake that year. LAC, RG31, *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921*.
- In the official journal, Lulu wrote for December 6: "Making out vouchers, answering correspondence, General

Office work, Writing Monthly Report"

- In the official journal, Lulu wrote for December 7: "Preparing matters for mailing, making out vouchers, General Office work"
- In the official journal, Lulu wrote for December 8: "10° - zero, Filing letters and General Office Work, Agent visited C. of E. and R.C. Missions."

OUR LADY OF LOURDES CEMETERY: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACH TO CEMETERY MANAGEMENT

- Céline Perrillat, (Duck Lake Museum, director), in discussion with the authors, August 2013.
- Kim Weinbender, "Petite Ville: A Spatial Assessment of Métis Hivernant Site" (M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2003), 18.
- James Winkel, "Carlton Trail" in *The Encyclopedia of Saskatchewan* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 2005), 158.
- Bill Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History* (Calgary: Fifth House Ltd, 2005), 26.
- Weinbender, "Petite Ville," 11-12.
- Waiser, *Saskatchewan: A New History*, 26; Weinbender, "Petite Ville," 17.
- Ibid.
- Weinbender, "Petite Ville," 17.
- Solange Lavigne, *Kaleidoscope: The Roman Catholic Diocese of Prince Albert 1891-1991* (Prince Albert, 1990), 40.
- Ibid.
- Diane P. Payment, *The Free People – Li Gens Libres* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009) 34, 124. Weinbender "Petit Ville," 17-18.
- Lavigne, *Kaleidoscope*, 40.
- Lavigne, *Kaleidoscope*, 41. "WDM Prairie Gamble – Family History Album – Story – Shrine St. Laurent: Our Lady of Lourdes Shrine – St. Laurent de Grandin," accessed 2013, http://www.wdmprairiegamble.com/story/display_story.php?long_story=yes&story_id=41
- "WDM Prairie Gamble – Family History Album – Story – Shrine St. Laurent: Our Lady of Lourdes Shrine – St. Laurent de Grandin," accessed 2013, http://www.wdmprairiegamble.com/story/display_story.php?long_story=yes&story_id=41
- Ibid.
- Lavigne, *Kaleidoscope*, 43.
- Ibid.
- Rev. Jerome Weber, "Saskatchewan's Marian Shrines," *CCHA Report* 21 (1954):87-101; Lavigne, *Kaleidoscope*, 42.
- Weber, "Saskatchewan's Marian Shrines," 89.
- Ibid.
- Ibid.
- Ibid.
- Ibid.
- "WDM Prairie Gamble – Family History Album – Story – Shrine St. Laurent: Our Lady of Lourdes Shrine – St. Laurent de

- Grandin," accessed 2013, http://www.wdmprairiegamble.com/story/display_story.php?long_story=yes&story_id=41
25. Ibid.
 26. "HistoricPlaces.ca," accessed 2014, <http://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=11530>
 27. "WDM Prairie Gamble – Family History Album – Story – Shrine St. Laurent: Our Lady of Lourdes Shrine – St. Laurent de Grandin," accessed 2013, http://www.wdmprairiegamble.com/story/display_story.php?long_story=yes&story_id=41
 28. "HistoricPlaces.ca," accessed 2014, <http://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=11530>
 29. Ibid.
 30. Ibid.
 31. Gerry Ostiguy (volunteer at the St. Laurent Shrine), in discussion with the authors, August 2013.
 32. Sid Parenteau, in discussion with the authors August 2013.
 33. Lionel Sauvé (current caretaker at St. Laurent), in discussion with the authors August 2013.
 34. Duck Lake History Committee, *Their Dreams, Our Memories, volume 1 & 2* (Duck Lake: Duck History Committee, 1988). Lavigne, *Kaleidoscope*. Gail Morin, *Métis Families: A Genealogical Compendium* (Pawtucket, Rhode Island: Quintin Publications, 2001).
 35. Payment, *The Free People*. Weber, "Saskatchewan's Marian Shrines."
 36. Weinbender, "Petite Ville." C.J. Hopkins, "The forgotten cemetery of St. Vital Parish (1879-1885): a documentary and mortuary analysis" (M.A. thesis: University of Saskatchewan, 2004).
 37. Dominion Land Surveyors field books can be viewed on the Information Services Corporation website: <https://www.isc.ca/SignedInHome/Pages/FieldBookSearch.aspx>
 38. Saskatchewan Genealogical Society, *Saskatchewan Historic Cemetery Preservation Manual*, (Saskatoon: The Saskatchewan Genealogical Society, 2010).
 39. According to Sections 64 and 65 of *The Heritage Property Act*, Government of Saskatchewan (GS). 1980. *The Heritage Property Act*, being Chapter H-2.2 of the Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1979-1980 (effective June 28, 1980) as amended by the Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1980-81, c. 76 and 83; 1982-83, c. 35; 1983, c.977; 1983-84, c. 39 and 49; 1988-89, c.55; 1989-90, c. 15 and 54; 1993, c.26; 1996, c.32; 1998, c. P-42.7; 2000, c.L-5.1; 2001, c.20; 2002, c.C-11.1; 2005, c.M-36.1; 2007, c.P-13.2; 2010, c.N-5.2 and c.21; 2013, C.27; and 2014, c.E-13.1. 2014. (Regina: Queen's Printer), accessed 4 May 2015, www.qp.gov.sk.ca/documents/English/Statutes/Statutes/H2-2.pdf.
 40. A Garmin 60 CSx was used for this project.
 41. The survey used a Noggin™ 250MHz GPR system mounted on a four-wheel cart system with a real-time digital display. Start and stop locations of each survey line were marked using a hand-held Garmin GPS receiver. Post-acquisition processing and interpretation of the GPR survey data was carried out using Sensors & Software's GFP Edit 4 and EKKO_Mapper 4 software packages.
 42. Soil calibration was carried out using the hyperbola-fitting method. Based on these calibration runs, an average wave velocity of 0.142 to 0.147 m/per nanosecond was observed, consistent with the dry, fine sandy to silty alluvial deposits observed in the Project area.
 43. Each anomaly was marked using a wooden survey stake and given a unique ID number, and its location was marked with a hand-held GPS unit.
 44. The majority of the buried features detected in the survey areas were located at a depth of 0.4 m to 0.7 m (1.5 to 2.5 feet) depth below surface (DBS). A few features were buried at depths below 1.3 m (4 feet). These depths are consistent with burial depths observed in the calibration runs across known grave sites, where depth of burial ranged from near-surface to 1.4 m (4.5 feet) DBS.
 45. A total of 51 of these sites were identified and marked in the field during the August 20 GPR survey; several sites were marked with more than one stake as the buried features often spanned two or more parallel survey lines. The remaining 64 sites were identified during post-survey processing of the GPR data.
 46. When interpreting GPR signals for the purpose of identifying human burials, it is important to consider the size, orientation, thickness and depth of the burial before positively identifying an anomaly as a human burial.
 47. Using disturbed soils to identify burials may be affected by the degree of consolidation that has occurred in the burial column since the time of burial. The fine, dry sand underlying the Cemetery likely consolidates relatively quickly following the in-filling of the grave.
 48. Lonnie Vermette, Lionel Sauvé, Joe Parenteau (members of the St. Laurent Métis community) in discussion with the authors, August 2013.
 49. In the following statistics n= number of burials at the St. Laurent Cemetery. Based on the archival and historical records, the majority of the burials occurred from 1881 to 1890 (n=77), averaging 8.5 burials per/year (5 marked graves); followed by 1871 to 1880 (n=37), averaging 4.1 burials per year (0 marked graves); and, 2001 to 2010 (n=28), averaging 3.1 burials per year (28 marked graves). The years during the decline (post 1885) and eventual abandonment of St. Laurent in 1894 resulted in a significant decrease in the amount of burials. A total of 16 burials are recorded in between 1891 to 1900, averaging 1.7 burials per/year (1 marked grave), a 68% decrease from the previous decade. Very few people were buried at the Cemetery during 1901 to 1940 (n=21) averaging 0.5 burials per year (15 marked graves). From 1941 to 1970 there is a notable increase in the amount of burials (n=44), averaging 1.5 burials per/year, and an increase in the amount of marked graves at the Cemetery (n=35). The renewed popularity of the Cemetery between 1941 and 1970 does not correspond with an increase in the prosperity of St. Laurent. This increase is likely the result of the deaths of a generation of people who were raised in the St. Laurent area in the early 20th century. In other words, these were the children of the original families that settled in the St. Laurent area. The increase in burials between 1941 and 1970 is followed by a sharp decline in the amount of burials, with only two recorded burials between 1971-1980, averaging 0.2 burials per year (one marked grave). Since 1981 to 2013 there has been a gradual increase in the amount of burials (n=51), including marked graves at the Cemetery (n=50), which corresponds with the rejuvenation of St. Laurent.
 50. Lionel Sauvé (current caretaker at St. Laurent) in discussion with the authors August 2013.

CENTRE OF CONFLICT: MISTRUST AND TURMOIL IN CREATING THE DIEFENBAKER CANADA CENTRE

1. Now referred to as Library and Archives Canada.
2. Peter C. Newman, *Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1963), XVI.
3. Diefenbaker's paranoia, as well as indecision, were notorious personality and governing flaws of Canada's thirteenth prime minister. Newman's *Renegade in Power* demonstrates these shortcomings, but they are addressed in almost any work with a Diefenbaker focus, including Denis Smith's *Rogue Tory: The Life and Legend of John G. Diefenbaker* (Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 1995), widely recognized as the definitive Diefenbaker biography, and the Diefenbaker chapters in Michael Bliss' *Right Honourable Men: The Descent of Canadian Politics from Macdonald to Mulroney* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1995) and J.L. Granatstein and Norman Hillmer's *Prime Ministers: Ranking Canada's Leaders* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1999).
4. Michael Hayden, *Seeking a Balance: The University of Saskatchewan, 1907-1982*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1983), 248-249.
5. Denis Smith, *Rogue Tory*, 567.
6. Hayden, *Seeking a Balance*, 248-249.
7. Ibid.
8. Diefenbaker's visit to the Truman Library proved important for his vision for his own centre. Readers interested in Diefenbaker's decision to pursue an American model for his final legacy are directed to Craig Greenham, "American Inspiration: The Story of the Diefenbaker Centre's Unlikely Origins," *American*

- Review of Canadian Studies* 36, no.4 (2006): 596-611.
9. Ibid.
 10. University of Regina Archives & Special Collections, "University of Saskatchewan Board of Governors Minutes and Agendas May 1969-December 1969," Minutes from the July 3, 1969 meeting as reported on the August 7, 1969 agenda.
 11. Ibid.
 12. Hayden, *Seeking a Balance*, 248-249.
 13. Ibid.
 14. Ibid, 249.
 15. Dr. Lloyd Barber passed away in September 2011. The author would like to acknowledge Barber's candour and openness during the interview process.
 16. Dr. Lloyd Barber, interview with author, April 15, 2004, Regina Beach, SK.
 17. Ibid.
 18. Dr. Bruce Shepard interview with author, April 21, 2004, Regina, SK.
 19. Ibid.
 20. Ibid.
 21. Ibid.
 22. University of Saskatchewan, University Archives & Special Collections [UskUASC], John G. Diefenbaker fonds, MG 01/XI/A/178 vol.12, Diefenbaker, Rt. Hon. J.G. – The John G. Diefenbaker Foundation File – University of Saskatchewan – Diefenbaker Library, Letter from Spinks to Diefenbaker, 16 June 1970.
 23. "Robert W. Begg (1975-1980) – University of Saskatchewan," accessed 7 May, 2015, <http://library.usask.ca/archives/campus-history/presidents/president-begg.php>.
 24. UskUASC, President's Office, RG 1, Series V II.I.G, Development – Diefenbaker Fund, Letter from Begg, December 1977.
 25. UskUASC, John G. Diefenbaker fonds, MG 01/XI/A/178 vol. 12, Letter from Courtenay to Diefenbaker, 6 November 1969.
 26. Dr. Jim Miller interview with author, May 6, 2004.
 27. Ibid.
 28. UskUASC, John G. Diefenbaker fonds, MG 01/XI/A/162 vol. 11, Diefenbaker, J.G. – Diefenbaker Centre, Letter from Diefenbaker to Begg, 29 May 1978.
 29. UskUASC, John G. Diefenbaker fonds, MG 02/II/A/1, Development Office Correspondence and Minutes, Letter from Smith to Diefenbaker, 14 November 1969.
 30. Ibid.
 31. While Diefenbaker was the first and only Canadian prime minister to follow the American example when it came to the final destination of his papers and memorabilia, it is important to note that Diefenbaker's papers were not the first original prime ministerial papers to be housed outside the Public Archives of Canada (PAC), now Library and Archives Canada (LAC), and within a university. Fellow Tory Richard Bedford Bennett's original papers are at the University of New Brunswick. It was a decision made after Bennett's death in 1947. In 1949, Lord Beaverbrook requested Bennett's papers from Bennett's brother, Ronald, so they could be housed at the University of New Brunswick. Beaverbrook also planned to have the papers of former British Prime Minister Andrew Bonar Law (1922-1923) brought to the University of New Brunswick. Bonar Law and Bennett were both native sons of the maritime province. Ronald Bennett agreed to the plan. Beaverbrook's reason for bringing the Bennett and Bonar Law papers to the University of New Brunswick was: "It will encourage some young man to emulate the example of one or other of our greatest citizens," (University of New Brunswick Archives and Special Collections on R.B. Bennett, Available: <http://www.lib.unb.ca/archives/bennett1/bennett.html>, accessed 7 May 2015). The 600,000 items in the Bennett papers include documents, photographs, artifacts, and books reflecting the political and personal life of Bennett, from 1919-1947, with emphasis on his prime ministership that ran from 1930-35.
 32. Diefenbaker Centre Archives, Development Office Correspondence and Minutes 1969-1970 MG 02/II/A/1, letter from Smith to Diefenbaker, November 14, 1969.
 33. UskUASC, John G. Diefenbaker fonds, MG 01/XI/A/178 vol. 12, Letter from Smith to Barber, 5 October 1970.
 34. Ibid.
 35. Dr. Lloyd Barber interview with author, April 15, 2004.
 36. Dr. Bruce Shepard interview with author, April 21, 2004.
 37. UskUASC, John G. Diefenbaker fonds, MG 01/XI/A/178 vol. 12, Correspondence – General and Contracts, PAC-Dief Centre, Letter from Munro to Begg, 14 September 1978.
 38. Ibid.
 39. Ibid.
 40. Ibid.
 41. Ibid.
 42. Dr. Lloyd Barber interview with author, April 15, 2004.
 43. UskUASC, John G. Diefenbaker fonds, MG 01/XI/A, Walker, Senator David, Letter from Walker to Diefenbaker, 28 January 1974.
 44. In their separate interviews with the author (as cited above) Shepard and Barber disagree on the matter of whether Diefenbaker lobbied for the prime real estate. Shepard says favours were called in and this put off members of the university administration. Barber says he does not recall Diefenbaker making any end-runs around the administration when it came to the location, and that it was a desirable and natural site for the DCC.
 45. UskUASC, John G. Diefenbaker fonds, MG 01/XI/A/178 vol. 12, Proposed agreement drafted by Munro and sent to Smith, 16 November 1979.
 46. UskUASC, John G. Diefenbaker fonds, MG 01/XI/A/178 vol. 12, Letter from Smith to Barber, 5 October 1970.
 47. *Regina Leader-Post*, June 13, 1980.
 48. Dr. Bruce Shepard interview with the author, April 21, 2004.
 49. Ibid.
 50. Ibid.
 51. *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, June 13, 1980.
 52. *Regina Leader-Post*, June 13, 1980.
 53. UskUASC, John G. Diefenbaker fonds, MG 02/II/H/6/E, Speech, Dr. W. Smith, June 12, 1980.
 54. Ibid.
 55. Ibid.
 56. *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, June 13, 1980.
 57. Cheryl Avery (University of Saskatchewan archivist), email message to author, 10 May 2004.

A. W. DAVEY: ARTIST AND VISUAL HISTORIAN

1. This incident and others in this article were related by Alf Davey to his son, Keith W. Davey, who published his father's reminiscences in 1998: Keith W. Davey, "Everyone has a story to tell," *Saskatchewan Genealogical Society Bulletin* 29(1): 31-34.
2. Some details of Alf Davey's early and personal life have been provided through telephone and email interviews with Keith W. Davey, during the period January to April 2015. Others came from the section on Alf Davey in Keith W. Davey, *Davey Family History* (Regina: privately printed, 2015).
3. Davey, "Everyone Has a Story To Tell," 33.
4. Information about Alf Davey's career as an artist has been drawn from the *Davey Family History* and the following articles: *Biographical Dictionary of Saskatchewan Artists*, ed. Marketa Newman, vol. 2, *Men Artists* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1994), 62-63; Author unknown, "His Art Portrays Saskatchewan History," in *The Dome* (Regina: Saskatchewan Civil Service Association, July 1955), 144-146; *As They See It: Canadian Artists in Their Landscape* (Saskatoon: Mendel Art Gallery, 1977), 12-13.
5. The cloak was beaded by Emma Bird and given by the Mistawasis First Nation to King Edward VIII "as a symbol of their loyalty to the British Empire." The idea of the gift originated with the Rev. William K. Moore, a missionary at the Mistawasis reserve, and his sister, Wilna Moore of Saskatoon. *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix* 28 September 1936, 3.
6. The Saskatchewan Dairy Hall of Fame was located in North Battleford and commissioned portraits from Alf Davey between 1947 and 1981 (Newman, 62-63). Eleven of these portraits by Davey are now part of an exhibit on a wall of the Dairy Building in the Western Development Museum, North Battleford.
7. "Life in Saskatchewan's Past," *Regina Leader-Post*, 9 March 1968.

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Illustration of tiger lilies for pamphlet Saskatchewan Coat of Arms, Emblems, and Symbols. Drawing by A.W. Davey. Courtesy of Keith Davey.

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