Third Crossing

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The Broadfoot party leaving the corner of Portage and Main for Third Crossing, June, 1872. Identification by the late Peter Broadfoot. This picture is no doubt representative of all the many departures down Portage Avenue for the western settlements. *Courtesy of the Provincial Library of Manitoba.*

THIRD CROSSING

A History of the First Quarter Century of the Town and District of Gladstone in the Province of Manitoba

"Such toil it was . . ."

By
MARGARET MORTON FAHRNI
AND
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WINNIPEG, MAN.

TO THE
PIONEERS OF GLADSTONE AND DISTRICT
THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED
IN MEMORY AND AFFECTION

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AUTHORS' FOREWORD

This small book has been a work of leisure time, but it has also been a work of some devotion. We wrote it because we wished to see in the round a story known piecemeal and vaguely from childhood. In the result we see that it is a story representative of those of the early settlements of Manitoba, the contemporaries and successors of Third Crossing. Yet, though it is representative, we do not think it is commonplace, or not worth the telling, however imperfectly told.

We are very much aware that the fuller story, the family records, the personal memories, the colour, tang and feel of the early days, is not in this book. Only art could recall those qualities, or memory, where it serves. This is a historical sketch, put together in the hurry of other duties. But for those for whom it is chiefly meant it may serve, we hope, as a reminder.

To all those who gave us aid and advice we are deeply grateful: to those who gave of their knowledge and material; to those who furnished facilities for study; to those who read and criticized the manuscript; to our father who wished the story written and made publication possible. The errors and omissions are ours alone. The pleasure we drew from the task we hope the reader may share.

LAND

Gladstone, centre of the district of which this history is written, grew up where the north Saskatchewan Trail crossed the White Mud River for the third time.

Of Third Crossing before the first settlers came little is known. As far back as 1600 A.D., it is reasonably certain, Assiniboine, Cree and Chippewa Indians, in that order, hunted over the region. But the pre-history of the region remains to be investigated. Some work was done in 1907 on the great mound in parish lot 12, township 13, range 9, on the old Rhind farm at Westbourne. There were found "a few human bones, some marine shell beads and ornaments, and some pottery sherds. The trunk of one of the oak trees growing on the mound was fourteen inches in diameter".[1] In the neighborhood of Arden there is another mound. The many beaches of the region may well contain relics of men more ancient than those who built the mounds. But this part of the story remains for the present hidden with the arrow points the wind and plough from time to time expose and with the yellow bones under the sod and gravel.[2]

Of the land itself, however, the story is better known, is indeed one of the classics of geological knowledge. Like that of all lowland Manitoba, the land was once the bottom of glacial Lake Agassiz. But the region of Third Crossing lies at the foot of the Manitoba Escarpment, and along that ancient shoreline the pre-historic River Assiniboine laid down a vast delta which today survives as the Sand Hills of south central Manitoba and in the great fan-shaped area of sandy land which runs from Neepawa south-eastward by McGregor to Treherne. Thus the soils of Third Crossing consist of the sandy loam of the Assiniboine Delta to the west and south, of the clay loam of the flood plain of the White Mud just south of Third Crossing, and of the lake drift and boulder till of the old lake bottom to the north and east.[3]

As the broad glacial lake shrank with the retreat of the ice-sheet, beaches were formed by the subsiding waters. Some are conspicuous, such as that at Arden to the west, and that at Amaranth to the

north-east. Others are imperceptible to the untrained eye, such as the Gladstone Beach, which lies half a mile east of Third Crossing.[4] This lowland position and the north-south trend of the beaches across the natural course of the streams account for the imperfect drainage of the land of Third Crossing and the ever present threat of flood waters from the west and south in wet years.

The drainage of the region is carried by the White Mud River and its tributaries, which from south-east to north-west are Image, Beaver, Squirrel and Pine Creeks, followed by Silver Stream. Bear Creek empties into the White Mud above Third Crossing. Gopher and Jordan Creeks, and Grassy River to the north, drain into Big Grass Marsh and so into the White Mud. Along the line of the Gladstone Beach these streams, except Bear Creek, lost their courses in the Westbourne Bog to the south-east and the Big Grass to the north-east. The upper White Mud also lost itself in the Big Grass, but re-emerged in its lower course at the south end of the Marsh, to collect the waters of the Bog and flow northward into Lake Manitoba.

Main stream and affluents alike take their rise on the eastward slope of the Escarpment. The White Mud, however, in its upper course, rises far back on the Escarpment—its southern branch to the south-west near Justice, its northern branch, now known as the Neepawa River, to the north-west on Riding Mountain. After these branches unite near Neepawa the river breaks through the Arden Ridge and carves a valley across the sandy land of the Assiniboine Delta. About four miles south-west of Third Crossing the river leaves its valley behind and cuts a crooked channel, with many a twist and oxbow, north-eastward across its flood plain to the Big Grass Marsh. This sedimentary flood plain is somewhat lower than the built-up banks of the White Mud and is delimited by ancient courses of the river. These are the chain of lakes known as Dead Lake, which runs straight across the flood plain to the lower course of the river at Woodside, and Gopher Creek, which runs roughly parallel to the present channel down to the Big Grass. In wet years, as in the late seventies or in the twenties, the flood plain may become something not unlike Lake Agassiz; indeed in 1880, the *Gladstone News* wryly reported that jackfish and suckers were plentiful on the plain south of Third Crossing.[5] It was, however, the deep clay soil of this flood plain which drew the early settlers and which has yielded many a crop since with undiminished fertility.

Why and by whom the White Mud was named is unknown. It appears first in history as the "Riviére Terre Blanche" in the *Journal* of Alexander Henry the Younger, noted fur trader of the West. That portion of his *Journal* which survives begins:

> "Autumn, 1799. While building at Riviére Terre Blanche (White Mud) near the foot of Fort Dauphin (Riding) Mountain, my Russian Sheeting tent was pitched in a low place on the lower branch of the little river, sheltered from the wind, among tall elms and oaks. I was accustomed to sit up late, with a candle burning in my tent, for some time after the fires had been put out. Some of my people, who had occasion to sleep away from home, assured me that from their camp, which was about 12 miles east of us, they could distinctly perceive this light, which they observed to be extinguished about midnight, when I used to go to bed. Several Indians assured me of the same circumstances. I could only account for this by supposing the reflection of the candle-light among the tops of the trees to have caused this unusual illumination to be conveyed to such a distance, as it was impossible from the low situation of my station, that my fire could have been seen through the woods among which I was tented."[6]

By the light of this lone candle in the winter night the White Mud comes into our ken, and, like all Western history, the history of Third Crossing begins in the history of the fur trade.

For fur was, of course, the first great staple commodity which men could easily exploit in the North American wilderness, and which could repay the cost of canoe transport to Montreal or to York Factory. The fur trade, however, was carried on by the Indians and a few white men. It called for no great body of people as did farming; indeed settlement necessarily meant the driving away of the animals and the end of the fur trade. As the fur trade, or fur frontier, spread westward much more rapidly than the frontier of settlement, the Canadian West for two centuries was left to the fur trade, the Indians, the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company, and those of Montreal, both French and English.

These men it undoubtedly was who named the river Terre Blanche, or White Mud, as they did a number of others in the great West, either because of nearby alkaline flats, as in the Salt Plain west of the First Crossing, or because the mud of the lower river when used for plastering the chinks of log houses, turned a greyish white in drying. The latter, indeed, is definitely stated to have been the fact.[7] The region of the White Mud, however, had little

place in the fur trade. No permanent post was built on the stream. Only one wintering post is mentioned, again in Henry's *Journal* "Thence our course was N. for three days to the foot of Dauphin Mountain, where Joseph St. Germain had built on a branch of White (Terre Blanche or White Mud) River."[8] The region, in truth, was tapped of its furs by the fur posts at Portage la Prairie,[9] from La Vérendrye's Fort la Reine onward, as was to be the case in later days and in a different economy.

By mid-nineteenth century, however, the frontier of settlement in Canada was piling up on the poor lands of the Canadian Shield. The American frontier had crossed the Mississippi and was spreading northwards into the valley of the Red River of the North. In the eighteen-forties, furs began to go southward to St. Paul, Minnesota and supplies to be brought back to Fort Garry and the western posts. This traffic was organized in brigades of Red River carts, which in spring and fall made the long trip from Fort Garry to St. Paul and back, thus supplanting the historic water route by Hudson's Bay and York Factory, as that route after bitter conflict had supplanted the river route from Montreal. The advance of the frontier of settlement meant that not much longer would the West be left to the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company and empty of settler and farm.

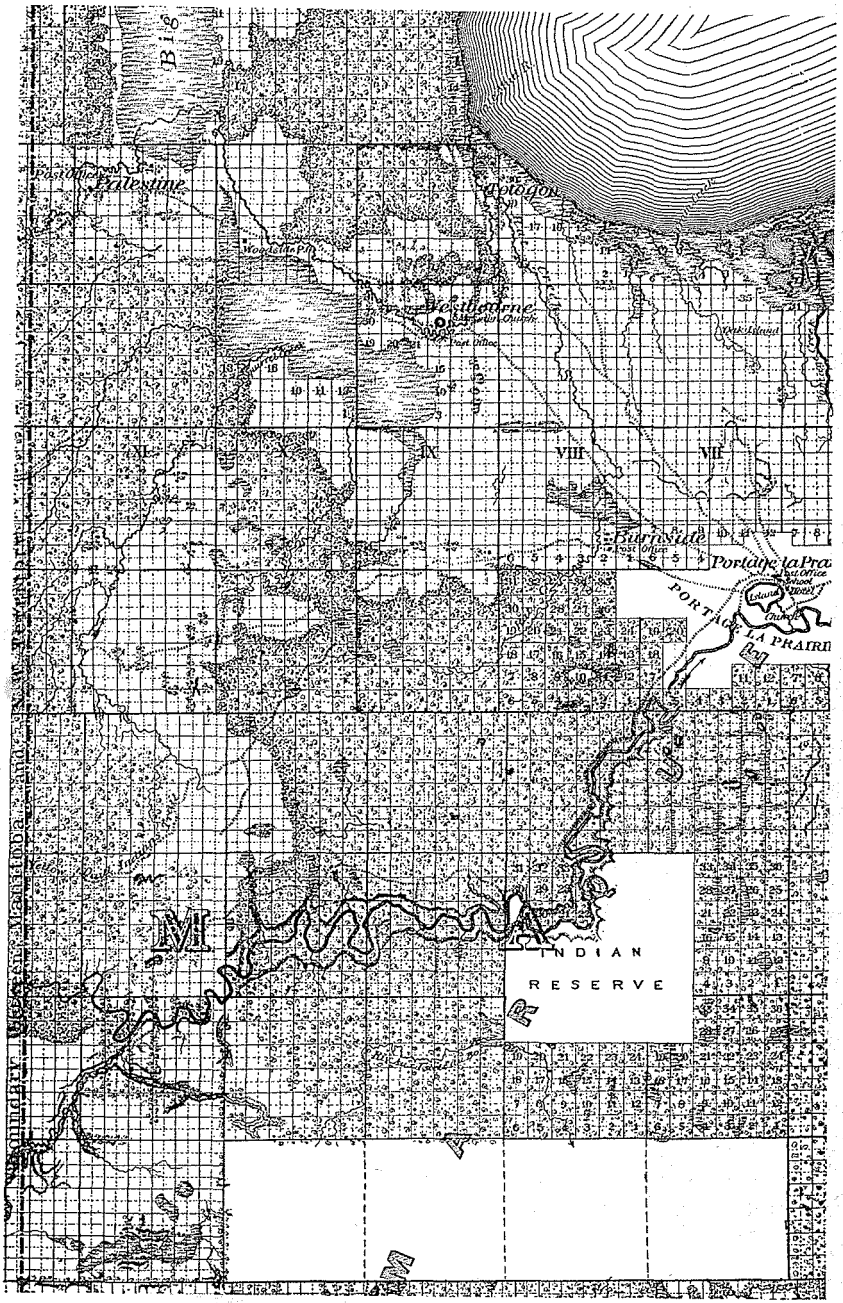
There had, of course, already been an attempt at settlement, Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony. This experiment did not, indeed, mark the real beginning of settlement in the West—that was not to come until 1870. Selkirk's settlement was too far in advance of the North American frontier to push forward with the irrestible vigor of that great folk movement, fed as it was by its own prolific increase and recruited by annual swarms of European immigrants. But the Red River Settlement did prepare for the agricultural settlement of the West in supplying the fur posts and the boat and cart brigades with provisions. In anticipation, it made ready for the dethroning of King Fur by King Wheat. The result was that by 1860 there was already laid down in the Red River Valley a definite pattern of settlement which, itself the product of the fur trade, was to influence the course of agricultural settlement. Its homes sheltered, its stores supplied the newcomer and its trails often guided the homesteader to his homestead location. Into the sturdy stock of this pattern was grafted the scion of westward settlement, out of which the new West was to grow.

In old Red River the settlements of the Selkirk Colonists, of the retired fur traders and of the buffalo hunters of the plains, centered on the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. Here was Fort Garry, western headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company, and seat of government of the District of Assiniboia. To the north down Red River lay the parishes of the Selkirk Settlers and the retired Hudson's Bay Company servants. To the south up Red River lay those of the French settlers and of the *Métis*, the half-breed buffalo hunters, boatmen and freighters. Westward up the Assiniboine were English and French parishes, which were added to as settlement expanded, until in the eighteen-fifties Portage la Prairie was reached. All the parishes took their form from the river lot survey, which gave each settler frontage on the river and a farm running back two miles from the bank with a hay privilege beyond. Thus the parishes appear on the maps as broad ribbons running back from one or both banks of the rivers, the whole forming a great crooked *T* with its junction at the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers.

There were, in addition, three outlying parishes, Ste. Anne des Chênes, eastward on the Seine, St. Laurent, north-westward on Lake Manitoba, and the Anglican mission at Westbourne, eighteen miles north-westward from Portage la Prairie on the White Mud River. This was the westernmost extension of Red River settlement, established in 1859, and with it this history properly begins.

For the opening of communication with St. Paul by Red River cart, and after 1859 by steamboat, made Fort Garry the chief distributing centre of supplies for the Red River settlement and the western fur posts. At first the old water route by Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan River was kept in use. But trouble arose with the turbulent boatmen of the Red River and Saskatchewan brigades. Moreover, if goods could be brought in overland from St. Paul they could also be carried westward overland to the posts of the Saskatchewan. Thus the Saskatchewan Trail came into existence.

> "Since the Saskatchewan district grew into importance, and the Hudson's Bay Company altered the route by which goods intended for its trade were imported, from the old one by way of Hudson's Bay to that by St. Paul, considerable cart traffic has existed between the Settlement and the region in question [the Saskatchewan]. About three hundred carts, employing one hundred men, and making one



This map of the country of the Crossings was made from the field sketches of the first surveyors. Part of the Trail between Westbourne and Woodside has been omitted. The map appears in the Atlas of Canada, 1874.

Courtesy of the Provincial Library of Manitoba.

> trip each season, travel over that road. The ultimate point to which Red River vehicles travel is Carlton, although a well-beaten track exists all the way between Fort Garry and Rocky Mountain House, comprehending a distance of about eleven hundred miles."[10]

By 1858, Captain Palliser, who travelled this route in making his survey of the West for the British government, could describe it in his *Journal* as "two tracks so strongly marked by carts as to deserve the name of road."[11]

This Saskatchewan Trail, which still survives in parts of Highways Nos. 1 and 4 of Manitoba and as Saskatchewan Avenue in the survey of the town of Gladstone, is the thread which ties this history to the old West of the fur trade. Along it, while the Saskatchewan brigades still creaked and lurched westward, came the first settlers of Third Crossing, the first settlement west of the old parishes of Red River. For the Trail ran from Fort Garry through the old parishes to Portage la Prairie, or the Portage, as it was known. West of the Portage it forked into the North and South Trails. The South Trail ran straight west along the present route of the Canadian Pacific Railway, to climb the Escarpment west of Austin and angle north-westward across the Great Plain to Shoal Lake. The North Trail struck north-westward, to cross Rat Creek at or near the present village of Macdonald, and so to the mission at Westbourne and the White Mud River. There, in the terminology of the Trail, was the First Crossing of the White Mud. Why the Trail forked can only be surmised; probably one or other was better according to the season or the weather. This forking, however, foreshadows the rivalry between southern and northern routes which was to mark the railway history of the West and in which the North Trail and Third Crossing were to lose the prize of being on the main trans-Canada highways. In the days of the fur trade, however, the North Trail was to win, for the Trails re-united at the north-east end of Shoal Lake and from there on continued as one to the Saskatchewan.

It is not to be thought, of course, that the Trail was a single line of tracks. The settlers followed a general line, varying the route as the season and flood waters required. In the late seventies the Poplar Point to Totogan route was used by some, causing a lively rivalry between Westbourne and Totogan. Sometimes a trail known as Pine Creek Trail from Burnside by Beaver and Golden Stream was followed to Third Crossing. Between Second and

Third Crossing, the route also varied, sometimes diverging from the usual one by the big tree at George Alcock's to the crossing at the end of Saskatchewan Avenue in Gladstone. "Suggenia" noted in 1876 that the bridge at Thomas Cory's farm caused travellers to leave the Trail three miles west of Second Crossing, to strike it again two miles west of the White Mud. Any alternative to fording the river, with its steep clay banks, would draw the traveller at once. But "Suggenia" goes on, the Gladstone hotel and Gladstone whiskey still kept most going the old and muddy way.[12] Peter St. Clair MacGregor, two years later, noted the same tendency, remarking that west of the river the trail, portions of which can still be seen, passed the farms of McLeod, Morton and Bennett.[13] These local variations repeat on a small scale the great forks into North and South Trail at the Portage, and, like the future railways, were fraught with serious consequences for the future value of the land crossed or passed by.

For example, Joseph Drysdale wrote to Peter B. Cleland in 1879 from Ontario, with a view to buying land in Manitoba, from which he had just returned:

> "I would like very well John Davidson's place on a count of the river running through it and the oak timber and your place is I think well situated. If you will take the trouble to rite mee again pleas let me know how the Railroad is a going to run. For I bought a scrip and for 160 acrs up wher Cook and James Proven lives on the Little Saskatchewan river and I am anxious to know how the Road will run and if ever you get a map of the new survey you would oblidge mee very much by sending it to mee."[14]

In the end, however, Trail and railway were fixed at Third Crossing.

At the First Crossing the prairies of the Portage Plains ended against the dark timber, oak, ash and elm which fringed the course of the White Mud. Of this district, Henry Youle Hind wrote in 1858:

> "White Mud River flows into Lake Manitoba at its south-western extremity. This river drains an extensive area of the richest prairie land; similar in all respects to the White Horse Plain on the Assiniboine or the richest wastes on Red River. White Mud River is connected with Prairie Portage by an excellent dry road, the crossing place being about eighteen miles from the Portage. The river banks are well timbered with oak, elm, ash, maple, aspen and balsam poplar. It possesses valuable fisheries, and communicates by an uninterrupted canoe navigation with Lake Manitoba for a length of thirty miles. The soil on its banks and far on either side is of the finest quality."[15]

The Trail as far as First Crossing was also known as the Mission Road, because of the Anglican Mission there. To the north, down stream at the end of navigation, was to rise the settlement and port of Totogan, now vanished. Upstream and to the south-west lay the great Westbourne Bog, then a desolate waste of reeds and bulrushes among savannas of coarse grass, now drained and fertile farmland. Into the Bog emptied the southern tributaries of the White Mud and from it their waters seeped, or ran, in years of high water, into the river.

Once across the river and clear of the hardwood groves, the Trail emerged on the Salt Plain. It may have been this Plain, as noted, which gave the River its name. In any event the seepage of underground water down from the Escarpment frequently brings mineral salts to the surface in depressions, creating the so-called "alkali" patches prevalent in the whole region.

Midway to the Second Crossing, the Trail ran over the broad low end of the Amaranth Ridge which here merges into the general plain. This Ridge it is which dams back the eastward flowing waters and creates the Big Grass Marsh, "a shaking morass" wrote Thomas Cory in 1880,[16] of reed-walled lakes, cut in quaint patterns by the contours which set the depth of water, of strange-smelling, drab-colored sedges, and miles of sullen peat. From this great swamp the lower course of the White Mud emerged to take the seepage of the Westbourne Bog and carry the waters northward around the end of the Ridge into Lake Manitoba. In draining these waterlogged lowlands, and in its cyclical floods, it had built up its banks, as do all the rivers of the Red River Valley, and formed a land bridge between the Marsh and the Bog. It was this strip of dry land and the convenient watering places afforded by the river that made the North Trail. Ten miles along this route from First Crossing the Trail came to Second Crossing, later Woodside, just where the White Mud turned eastward after flowing south from the Big Grass.

Beyond Second Crossing the Trail entered the flood plain of the White Mud. In 1871 this plain was prairie land, bounded to the north west by the dark line of the hardwood groves along the river, to the south west by the poplar and willow forests of the Delta lands beyond Dead Lake, and studded with poplar "bluffs". A traveller on the Trail in 1872 wrote of this section:

> "You are now travelling through one of the most magnificent portions of the Province. The land is chiefly a deep black loam varying in depth from two to four feet. The

face of the country presents a beauty to the eye, rarely witnessed and seldom or never surpassed. To anyone who has ever been in England or any other European country, it would need no great stretch of the imagination for him to fancy himself travelling through some old baronial park. Sometimes you are passing through a splendid natural avenue, each side of which is lined with trees of nature's planting; again you find yourself among groves of poplar, separated from each other by patches of clear prairie, covered with grass and flowers, and now you emerge from among the groves to find a high rolling prairie of one or two thousand acres in extent, surrounded with timber. A repetition of such scenes as these continue to meet your eye until you are eight miles from Second Crossing, when you arrive at Third Crossing."[17]

The enthusiasm of travellers—and that of land speculators still more—must be discounted, but it is of interest to note that this reporter found the scene worthy of enthusiasm.

Across these meadows and between these bluffs the Trail ran for seven miles until it reached the Gladstone Beach, just beyond which the first settlers stopped their teams and made their locations.

Less than a mile beyond, the Trail once more met the White Mud as it twisted north-eastward to the Big Grass. Here was Third Crossing.

Beyond Third Crossing, the Trail ran on over the Delta lands, winding through its poplar bluffs and along its runways and sloughs, and by the Beautiful Plain (Arden) to the Escarpment. From Third Crossing on clear days the violet front of Riding Mountain, forty miles away, caught the eye of the traveller. But in 1871 that landmark lay out in the North West Territories beyond the western boundary of Manitoba, then only seven miles to the west. Third Crossing was for a decade to be the taking-off place into the plains of the second prairie steppe.

Here, then, on a trunk route to the west, was a district rich in soil, wood and water. By the Trail it was connected with the old settlements of fur days and with the new lands to be peopled in the future. The Trail might some day become the route of the Pacific Railway; already the preliminary surveys were being made and what more likely than that it should follow the North Trail south of Lake Manitoba and westward to the great Saskatchewan Valley? It was a location to lure new settlers, and in the summer of 1871, in the long wash of summer sun, while the wind ran in the grasses and the tiger lilies flamed, the first unhooked their teams at Third Crossing.

It was, in fact, July, 1871, when the first party of settlers drew up their teams in the prairie south-east of the Third Crossing; their names were George West, Donald Ferguson, John Ferguson, Donald Leitch, Thomas Cory, Thomas Carmichael, Donald McLean, George McRae, John A. Davidson and James Glen. These were those who had come farthest; others had made their choice farther back along the Trail. At Totogan, down the White Mud from First Crossing, were Walter Lynch, leader of the whole party, David Morrison, David Stewart and Donald Stewart; at First Crossing, or Westbourne were John Chantler and James Bell; at Second Crossing or Woodside, was Donald McRae; at Pine Creek were Matthew Whaley, Isaac Whaley, John Switzer and Robert Wood.[1] Thus, in one quick onset the crossings were possessed.

By January, 1872, the Immigration Agent for the North-West could write: "At White Mud River, when [where] there were barely twenty families last spring, there are now seventy-five, and in three months there will be two hundred."[2]

For this moment of history, Third Crossing was the Canadian frontier; here was farthest west. Behind were the old settlements of Red River; before the empty plains and the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company. The country of the three crossings was yet wild, and the plow had yet to roll the first furrow. But on it were now people with their household possessions, their stocks of cattle and implements and the skills of the Ontario frontier. One season more and the wild west of the fur trade and pre-history, beneath the axe stroke and the share, would enter on a new age.

It was not to be an easy conquest. The after swell of the Riel Rising, that protest of the old West against extinction, was still working; the Indians were restless and mischievous. "Every difficulty was thrown in our way to dishearten and discourage us, both by blacks and whites. We were simply treated as intruders," wrote Thomas Cory a score of years later.[3] In the first month after their arrival, all the horses of the settlers living south of the river were stolen. Anxious to get on with breaking and building, the men searched far and wide, even going west to Fort Ellice, but with no success. Finally, in October, a half-breed appeared and offered to find the horses for a reward of fifty dollars. Being desperate, the settlers agreed. He turned up the next morning with the horses. As they were half starved and bore traces of hobbles, it was believed

that the same man had taken them off to a not distant hideaway for the purpose of earning the reward. However that may have been there could be no redress; ". . . the only law here then was in a man's strong arm and pluck."[4]

The first settlers were men of some means; they could not otherwise have made the long trek from Ontario. For those who needed cash after reaching Third Crossing, there was some opportunity to earn it by freighting supplies for Government survey parties, and for the western posts on the Trail. Even with means it was still difficult to provide the necessities of life. Supplies had, of course, been bought in Winnipeg, now becoming the outfitting centre of the west. The staple foods were bannock, pemmican and tea. Pemmican was used to make a thick soup; it cost fifteen dollars the hundred pounds at the Hudson's Bay Company Stores.[5] This diet in the fall of 1871 was supplemented by the wild fruits and game in which the district abounded, and thereafter by the milk, vegetables and fresh meat the new farms yielded.

When fresh supplies were needed, such as flour, there was no recourse but to go back over the Trail. The nearest stores were two at Portage, one belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, one to Charles Mair, the poet. The nearest mill was at Silver Heights in what is now St. James. "One settler says he then (1871) bought, at Portage, 60 bushels of wheat at $1.20 a bushel, had to take it to Tait's Mill at Silver Heights, and after leaving it three months to be ground, paid 25c a bushel for grinding. By the time the settler had reached home with his flour it had cost him $9.25 a bag."[6] From 1872, however, there was a mill at the Portage[7], but not until 1876 was there to be a mill in the settlement. As late as 1880 when the Trail was bad in the wet years, supplies of salt, sugar and coal oil ran low.[8] Little wonder that tales of hardship and danger on the Trail became family tales for two generations; little wonder that the settlement staked its future to bring the railway.

While the men were away to fetch up supplies, or freighting for the government, or bringing out logs from the bush, the women, often alone in a land in which unsettled Indians wandered, were making the new homes home. It was a bare and harsh beginning. The first house was completed in October, and the others followed quickly. "The walls were of logs, the cracks chinked and plastered with mud. The roof was of poles thatched with prairie hay. The bare earth served for a floor for the first year or so, until there was

time to put in one of boards hewn from logs. Not until 1875 was there a saw mill to provide lumber. My father built a clay fireplace in this house. He also did the thatching of the other houses in the district."[9] These details, log walls, hay or mud roof, earth floor, clay fireplace, were typical of the first shelters.

The log houses of the new settlement differed in construction from those of the old Red River parishes. There, buildings were put up in the style known as "Red River Frame", in which short sections of logs were inserted horizontally between uprights. This style was brought in from Quebec. Only one such house is reported to have existed in the region of Third Crossing. In that new Canadian settlement the houses were of the "notch and saddle" construction derived from the seventeenth century Swedish colonists of Delaware. The logs were laid horizontally and set into one another at the corners. At first the logs were probably unpeeled and not squared; soon the skill with the broad-ax, common among Ontario farmers, many of whom had spent a winter in the "bush", produced building logs of which the inner and outer sides were squared, the upper and lower being left round for chinking. Here is a picture by an eye-witness of a house-raising:

> "There were four men who were chief men or experts, commonly known as 'corner men'—one at each corner. The remainder assisted, peeling logs and putting them up—one at each side and then one at each end. They needed to be experts at finding positions for logs to lay, so there would be least cracks or crevices. Corners had to be kept plumb, which was work of ground men, who also cut ends off the logs. The walls were 15 rounds of logs. Top logs were hewn square, called 'plates'. Might add here that the foundation logs were of oak and the remainder were poplar. The ceiling was made of small logs or joists mortised into the 'plates' (no nails). In finishing the 'plate', holes were bored eighteen inches deep by a two-inch auger, in each corner and in centre of each 'plate' and an oak piece of wood put in these holes—called 'pinned'. Rafters were placed as close as possible together. These were cut with a heel and the plate had to be hewn, so the two would fit and be secure. Gable ends were logs also. Then it was ready to be thatched."[10]

It is a striking measure of the brief span of Manitoban history that the writers, who prepared most of this history amid the baroque magnificence of the Manitoba Legislative Building, were born in a house built in this style. It is still preserved, perhaps the lone survivor of its kind in the district.

How strenuously and successful this work went on is revealed by an account of the visit of Lieutenant Governor Adams G. Archibald to the new settlement in September, 1871. The lieutenant-governor's journey to the Portage is described, and the report continues:

> "The main body of the new immigrants have gone further west—between the Portage and Rat Creek, on the banks of Rat Creek, between the Portage and White Mud; and on the banks of White Mud from its mouth for many miles up. At the Third Crossing, (which is not, as generally supposed, the White Mud River, but is really Pine Creek, or as the Indians call it, Manito-me-na-qua,)[11] the great bulk of the new population is clustered. In all, judging from the houses in course of erection, and from the best evidence that could be procured by the party, there are about six hundred persons added to the population of the Western district by the immigration of the present year.
>
> "All along the banks of the White Mud River and Pine Creek, houses are being built, and preparations made for the coming winter. The place is all alive with the sounds of industry. Everything indicates vigor and activity—the settlers are gathering and preparing wood for building, breaking land, and next year the whole face of the country will be changed. . . . The scenery of the White Mud River is beautiful. Along the margin of the stream the wood is very fine. Forests of oak and maple and poplar, stretch away from either side to a considerable distance from the river. The prairie is studded with groves and clumps of every variety of shape and form that the most vivid fancy could suggest. Glades of park-like prairie open as the road winds among the trees, and it is impossible to resist the delusion that the visitor is gazing on an English park artistically laid out and beautifully kept. All this, in the lovely light of an autumnal day, with the leaves reflecting every variety of tint, formed a scene that was delightful to gaze upon. Now and then a house built on the edge of a grove, embayed as if to receive and enfold it, suggested the idea of a plantation artificially made for the purpose of shelter. Some of the sites of the dwellings were beautiful in the extreme. The party were much struck with the position of a cottage built by a Mr. Doggett, a Nova Scotian, who has taken up his residence near Third Crossing. The house is built on the north bank of the river—a beautiful stream flows in front—the house itself nestles at the foot of a maple wood which towers majestically behind it, and sweeping with the curvature of the river, partly encloses it, forming a beautiful background to the silver stream which meanders in front.

> "Many of the dwelling houses were built on sites which excited the admiration of the party, who returned from the river with the conviction that, for excellence of soil, beauty of scenery, for abundant supplies of wood and water, the country near the Crossing exceeds anything they had ever seem."[12]

So, in the unmatched beauty of a Manitoba fall, the new settlement throve, preparing for the first winter.

Clearly there were compensations for the hardships endured and the dangers which threatened. What had brought these people to Third Crossing?

They were part of the great folk-movement which, from 1604 to 1930, peopled North America north of the Rio Grande. By 1870 the North American frontier was preparing to move out on the Great Plains, leaving behind the forests of the east. Already the weapons and tools that were to conquer the plains were invented or just about to be; the Colt revolver, the chilled steel plough, the wind-mill and barbed wire. Third Crossing was founded in the midst of this change; at the writers' home the flail and the cradle used to thresh the first crops, are still preserved, but the first binder reached the district in 1878; the wooden walking plows of Ontario were early displaced by the sulky and the gang-plow which turned a flat furrow with the easily scouring chilled steel mould-board of the John Deere plow. The settlement of the region of the White Mud was part of the new forward surge of the American frontier. But there were special reasons too.

Nearly all the settlers were from Ontario—mostly from Bruce, Grey, Huron and Lanark counties—and in Ontario the good farming lands had been taken up and had consequently risen in value, by 1860; only the hard scrabble soil and savage rocks of the Canadian Shield remained. Even if a farmer had good land, there was none for his sons. Accordingly thousands of Ontarians went to the United States in these years. When the West was annexed to Canada, many who set out for Manitoba were persuaded to stay in the United States. But whether they became Americans or won through to British soil again, it was new land, cheap land and land free of forest and stone that the emigrants sought. Even more intense was the land hunger of those who came from the great estates of Scottish and Irish landlords, they and their sons to remember bitterly the landlords' grasp of the soil. At Third Crossing they found an extraordinary combination of wood, water and clear

prairie land; the rich Portage plains, to the regret of many a descendant, they had passed over because wood was scarce and water difficult to find, though the land good; at Third Crossing they found a near to ideal combination for men who were small farmers at heart, seeking to reproduce in more favorable conditions the small stock farms of Ontario. What these considerations meant is reflected in the report of Governor Archibald's visit quoted above:

> "Two years hence, the White Mud and its affluents, will be a continuous farm. In this country there is none of the tedious toil which a settler in the older Provinces had to undergo. Here the farmer may purchase his labor-saving implements and proceed at once to his work. The grass lies spread on the level prairies; he may enter with his mowing machine and cut in any direction in any quantity which his needs may suggest; he may gather it with his horse-rake and cart it over roads made without the aid of the hands of man; the plough may be put into the soil the first day of his arrival; no need here to wait months of toil to prostrate the monarchs of the forest; no need to wait till logs are rolled and turned; no need to grub for soil amid the burly roots; no need to wait for years till sun and rain shall rot the charred stumps; no need for the slow and tiresome progress of rooting these from the soil and fill the ungainly wounds their removal makes in the earth's surface. All this is done to hand. Where the Canadian farmer ends, after years of ceaseless toil, there the farmer of this Province begins."[13]

More concretely, the following interview by W. A. Myers of the *Gladstone Age* throws much light on the coming of David Kerr, an early and typical settler:

> "When did you arrive in Winnipeg?" asked the scribe.
>
> "In June, 1872, I landed in Winnipeg after a most tedious and costly journey by way of Duluth, Moorehead and Red River Valley."
>
> "Did you have any capital on arrival?"
>
> "When I left Ontario I had about $1,000.00 but when I arrived in Winnipeg that was whittled down to about $300.00."
>
> "Did you bring any stock or implements?"
>
> "I brought one span of horses with me. At Winnipeg I bought a cow for $50.00."
>
> "Where did you take up land?"

"I homesteaded the Southwest ¼ of 20-14-11, receiving no pre-emption. I immediately set to work to erect a dwelling house for my family of three sons and twelve daughters, and also built a stable for my stock."

"How did you succeed the first few years?"

"For three years in succession I was eaten out by grasshoppers, everything green being stripped to the ground. But I weathered it all and after the grasshopper plague I got along very well."

"What induced you to leave Ontario?"

"Well, I was working hard on a farm in Bruce County and making very little headway. I saw my boys growing up with little chance of getting a farm of their own, so I determined to sell out and go to Manitoba . . ."[14]

The land to which David Kerr came was not only so open to the farmer, it was also cheap. Under the Dominion Land Act of 1872,[15] one hundred and sixty acres might be homesteaded; that is, title might be acquired by filing claim, at a Dominion's Land Office within thirty days, paying a fee of $10.00, actually residing on and cultivating the quarter section for three years; or land up to 640 acres might be bought from the crown at a fixed price of one dollar an acre. In addition, land might be bought from the Hudson's Bay Company, which held sections in every fifth township, at prevailing prices.[16] Or half-breed scrip title to the share granted each half-breed head of family of the 1,400,000 acres set aside for the purpose under the Manitoba Act might be purchased at market rates. (None had been issued in 1871). Or land alienated on a militia bounty warrant or the warrant itself—one quarter section had been granted to each member of the Red River Expeditions[17]—or school lands, sections 11 and 29 in each township, might also be obtained by purchase. Thus the settler might homestead or purchase or both. So might the land speculator, and the possibility of the Pacific Railway going by way of Third Crossing led many to invest in adjacent lands, to the indignation of actual settlers. In the summer of 1871 the land survey was not yet made, and accordingly the first settlers had no choice but to squat and await the survey.

The settlers of 1871 came, then, to make a better investment in a favorable area. They had capital; they were not driven out, but came with their savings and the returns from the sale of their Ontario farms to try their fortune amid the possibilities of the new country.

They sought a larger opportunity for themselves, but especially for their children; for many this was the principal reason.[18] The speed with which they set up schools points this observation. The desire to settle on British soil under the British flag was also strong, else they might have settled, as so many had done, in the United States. Indeed, this drastic winnowing meant that those who won through were British by choice, and it made early Manitoba a fourth loyalist province.

The early settlers came to Third Crossing in particular because after surveying the Province, they thought it the best locality. "These men had travelled the country pretty thoroughly before settling down and came to the unanimous conclusion after viewing nearly all parts of the province, that this was the very best place to settle as there was plenty of wood, water and good land fitted for mixed farming, in fact everything they had sought."[19] The Trail led them on and furnished communications with the old settlements. Along the Trail was then thought likely to come the Canadian Pacific Railway, which in passing would boom land values and give an outlet for grain and cattle. "In a very short time, this tract will, in all probability, be traversed by the Pacific Railway. The settlers who have had the good sense to make their selections in this direction, will soon reap, in the enhanced value of their farms, a fit reward for their enterprise in pushing westward."[20] These men were capitalist farmers, however limited the means and prospects of some might be for the time being, who made their investment of money, enterprise and courage with due consideration of all fair prospect of gain.

Meantime the beginnings were modest. "The only farm equipment brought from Ontario was a plow which was a wholly wooden structure. A lot of people that came just brought the clothes they wore, and had to find work, before they could eventually settle on land. There were no markets or outlets or method of transportation so people didn't need any more equipment. They broke up a few acres, for feed, for potatoes and gardens. A large acreage was around 10 acres. Any grain grown was consumed at home, as later on they took grain to grist mills."[21]

How things, begun thus, would turn out was to be answered in the next decade, a decade of disappointment and achievement, in which neither the very best hopes nor the worst fears were realised, but which was to leave Third Crossing a fully developed community

full of vigorous life, well behind a frontier which had passed on to the high plains to the west.

Of life in the new homes in the first winter, no record remains. No record may be taken to mean no tragedy. In the following year new settlers came in and the settlement grew. In December, 1872, a correspondent reported that at Westbourne there was a post office, a Hudson's Bay Company and H. Mair's store, as well as the old Church of England Mission; eight or nine settlers, chiefly Canadians, at Second Crossing, and four or five at Pine Creek. Then follows the description, already quoted, of the country between Second and Third Crossings. Of the latter, or Palestine, he wrote:

> "This is considered the largest new Canadian Settlement in this Province. In this settlement there are forty-five claims taken and nearly all occupied, and a great many with extensive improvements. Sixteen new dwellings were built during the past summer. The greater part of Township 14, Range 11, West, is occupied, and part of Township 14, Range 12 West. Most of the settlers have a great deal of land fenced, and some have taken off one crop, and are very highly pleased with the yield of the different kinds of grain, and vegetables. Wild fruit, such as grapes, plums, black currants, etc. grow abundantly in this settlement. . . . There is a Post Office here; the Presbytery of Manitoba has a minister stationed here . . . the Rev. John McNabb . . . There are thirty-five children of school age in this settlement; the people have written to the Board of Education to be set apart as a school section; . . . The People in this settlement are, on the whole, a very intelligent and energetic community, and are all well satisfied with the country and its resources."[22]

What might be involved in coming, with what spirit the trials of the journey might be borne, is revealed in this letter to her home in Scotland of Mrs. William Ferguson.

> "Palistine, July 1, 1873
>
> "My Dear Brother and Sister,
>
> I sit down to write you these few lines to let you (know) that we are all well, hoping when this reaches you it will find you all enjoying the same great health. I dare say you will be thinking I have forgot you altogether but you must not think that for although I have not wrote you sooner you have many a time been thought of and spoken about.
>
> It is just exactly 12 months today since I left my native shore and I had a long journey before me as I was 6 weeks on the road so I was very glad when I landed at my journeys

end but I got on all right. I was always in good health, I never was much sick on sea I stood it better than anyone in the steerage, but I had more need to be well than some of them I had my dear little boy to look after, so you see the Lord afflicted and the Lord he helped me blessed be his name. He had many a sore day of trouble but they are vanquished now, and we trust he is happy with the Lord beyond the search of woe. He died on the 15 of July, the day after we landed at Qubec City. We were taken to the Hospital for the sick, it is a beautiful place the Cemetery where he was buried, it is just like Spittlehaugh flower garden with all kinds of flowers growing around and I hope his young soul shall be like the flowers blooming in the paridise above. Tell all his cousins to be good boys to their mothers, for they know not how they may be as he.

I may say that William was down at Fortgarry last week and got his land booked. He has got 320 acres of land of his own now, so he has got a farm at last. It is a beautiful country. We have 6 acres of wheat, 1 acre of potatoes planted, 7 swine, 1 ox, 2 hens, we are trying hard for a cow and another ox so we will get on if we are spared health. I wish you had just been out beside us, Christina is growing a little bigger now, and John is toddling about now to, Christina sends her kind love to all her cousins. This letter is to do for Maggie Scott to, hoping she is doing well.

William joins me in kind love to you all, from your loving and affectionate sister.

Elizabeth Ferguson.

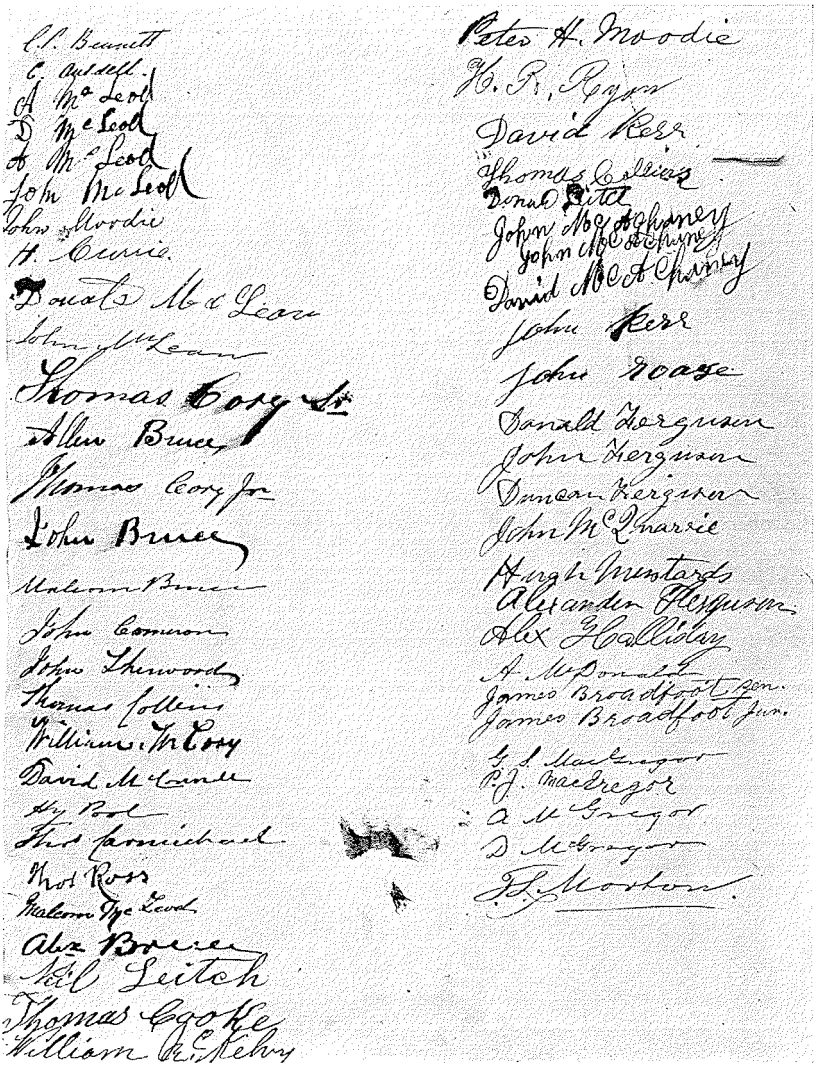
Write soon and give me all the news, excuse me for I am in a hurry.

Good by,

William Ferguson."[23]

Already, it is to be noted, the old descriptive name of Third Crossing is giving way to the new one of Palestine. A sketch map of 1871 in the Library of Parliament, Ottawa, marks the settlement as Palestine. By whom it was named is unknown; perhaps one may accept the verses of William Gerrond, poet of High Bluff:

"And Jemmy Hamel, now divine,
Called this country Palestine".



Signatures of settlers of Third Crossing to petition of December, 1874, requesting the Governor-General-in-Council to have the railway cross the Red River at Winnipeg and follow a route south of Lake Manitoba.

Courtesy of the Provincial Library of Manitoba.

Who poor Jemmy Hamel was is unknown now, but Palestine became the local name; first the township, after the Ontario fashion of naming townships, then the post office and school district, but after 1879 only the school district. The year 1872 saw the arrival of many newcomers, among them the party of James Broadfoot and family, nine in all, whose departure from Winnipeg is preserved in the well-known and typical picture reproduced in the frontispiece. In 1873 many others came, notably Peter Moodie and Thomas L. Morton; also some twenty families from Cape Breton Island, still speaking the Gaelic. In 1874 and 1875 some settlers arrived, despite the grasshopper plague. What is probably an all but complete, if not quite complete, list of the adult males of the settlement at the end of 1874, is reproduced in the signatures to the great railway petition of December of that year on the opposite page.

That the growth was one not of number only but in economic and institutional development is revealed not only by the following pages but also by surviving descriptions of eye-witnesses. In June, 1873, "Palestinian" wrote to the *Weekly Free Press*, protesting against the number of speculators buying land in the region and calling for actual settlers. "People settling amongst us now, will have none of the many inconveniences to contend with that the old pioneers of 1871 had."[24] There were new fields, cattle, dozens of houses, a post office, a general store, and two ministers of the gospel. So quickly had the settlement grown and so quick were the first families of 1871 to become conscious of their achievement! In August the crops were reported to be magnificent, and the greater part of three townships settled. The Westbourne correspondent of *The Manitoban* also reported that:

> "All the best land in Palestine is now taken up, either by homestead or purchase—and that mostly by actual settlers —and a better, more industrious and independent class of farmers are not this day to be found in the Province. They are composed of men mostly from Ontario, who know what farming is, and who have battled in former years with the forests, corduroy roads, stumps and stones of Canada. If they find annoyances and disadvantages now in their new homes, they have a compensation for these in a rich soil, and a clear unwooded prairie, into which they can place their ploughs, without that pressing and heavy toil which well-nigh broke the hearts of the early Canadian Settlers."[25]

Similarly, a letter to the editor of *The Manitoban* declared: "Palestine is already nearly all settled with industrious Canadian

farmers, and at the Second and Third Crossings, there are already stores and post offices."[26]

Even these flourishing years, however, had their alarms, and in 1874 an all but fatal blow was to fall.

The Red River Rising had had behind it the fear and suspicion of the half-breeds of the immigration from Ontario, in which they feared, with reason, that they would be swamped. Their unrest infected their Indian brethren. Over the border, sentiment in favour of annexing the West to the United States was strong, particularly in the Fenian Brotherhood, an Irish secret society devoted to avenging the wrongs of Ireland by attacking Canada. The warlike Sioux were restless and resentful before the advance of the American farmer. In 1862 there had been a fearful massacre of the whites and many Sioux had taken refuge on British territory; of these many remained at the Portage.[27]

In all the Province there was for protection only the garrison at Winnipeg, a newly organized provincial police force and two or three volunteer companies in the old parishes. The half-breeds had been quieted by the concessions made to them in the Manitoba Act, but they remained uneasy. Though the buffalo hunt still flourished, they were beginning to wonder what future remained for them in Manitoba; the trek to the Saskatchewan was not far off. The Indians, including the British Sioux, were dealt with by Treaties One and Two, and were satisfied except for the failure to carry out the "outside promises". A band of Fenians indeed threatened to invade the Province in October, 1871, but were arrested by the 9th United States Cavalry at Pembina. Louis Riel had mustered the *Métis* of the French parishes, and at Third Crossing Thomas Cory and one Berridge, the only men in the settlement at the time, walked as far as First Crossing with their rifles, only to learn that the threat had passed.[28]

In spite of the practically defenceless condition of the outlying settlements, however, there was surprisingly little trouble. The local Indians, apparently all wandering Sioux, the pits of whose winter dwellings may still be seen on the banks of the White Mud, were friendly and harmless, though their habits of expecting food when they chose to wander into houses, their wild yowling in nocturnal pow-wows, and their fondness for horses, were sometimes alarming to the newcomers and often annoying. But, on the whole, they were passing visitants, contestants at the summer games and

casual workers in the fields, as they are to this day, rather than the menacing terror of the American frontier. In this the settlers were the heirs of the fur trade and the Hudson's Bay Company, ever benevolent to the Indian upon whom the fur trade depended. The real danger was that the terrible Sioux, driven from the south of border, would turn on all whites in their fury. In March, 1873, it seemed that this danger might be realized.

In that month "Palestinian" wrote that the Sioux had crossed the frontier. This information was brought by half-breed runner, who said they proposed to wipe out the settlements. "Palestinian" wanted arms and ammunition to be supplied to the settlers and a party of Scouts posted fifty miles to the westward.[29] *The Manitoban* reported that nine hundred tents of Teton and Yankton Sioux had crossed the line,[30] and thereafter there were many reports of the movements of the refugee Sioux. At Third Crossing the alarm caused some of the settlers to leave for High Bluff, but most decided to stay and fight if necessary. For this purpose they agreed to fortify Rev. John McNabb's house, the strongest in the settlement.[31] Fortunately the Indians never came that way. At the same time Mr. McNabb and others petitioned the Provincial Secretary for protection from the Indians. The Executive Council appointed the Minister of Public Works, Hon. John Norquay, to go to Palestine to form a volunteer company at that point.[32] Mr. Norquay did so and "called a meeting of the settlers of Palestine, and after discussing the question they organized into a company, electing for their officers, Messrs. Thomas Cory, P. Ferguson and J. A. Davidson, respectively, in the order named, captain, lieutenant and ensign."[33] The company of fifty rank and file was to be armed from the armory at Fort Garry. After drilling faithfully for some time, the Palestine volunteers passed from military history, not even the Saskatchewan Rebellion calling them to martial life again.

This was partly because the same year saw the organization of the Royal North-West Mounted Police to deal with just such occasions. A sub-constable was for a while stationed at Palestine; there was a police stopping-house there for the use of parties travelling by the Trail to the West and to the headquarters of the force at Swan River. In 1876 a detachment of four constables and sub-constables was stationed at the Beautiful Plain, and one of seven at Shoal Lake.[34] Here was the strategic point from which all the trails leading into Manitoba might be watched; thus was ensured the protection of the settlements until the whole West was policed and

orderly. The Sioux continued to wander for some time but gradually retired to the reserves set aside for them or to the United States. The Indians, however much a latent terror, were ordinarily at worst a nuisance and at best a greater help than they were ever acknowledged to be.

The grasshopper visitation, on the other hand, was a calamity. For the first time the new settlers, though not the old settlers of the Red River, encountered the brute forces which some time gather and strike on the high plains, drought, insects, wind or hail. The blow was accompanied by the great depression of 1874.

In the spring of 1873 occurred the first mention of the grasshopper plague.[35] They did no harm at Third Crossing and the crop, like that of 1872, was heavy. The summer of 1874, too, saw a fine crop ripening. Reports of ravages by grasshoppers came in to Winnipeg from Minnesota and Dakota Territory. Then, when harvest was in sight, clouds of grasshoppers appeared over Third Crossing, darkening the sky, and dropped down to cover the earth and devour every green thing. All over the Province, at the Boyne, the Portage, Rat Creek, Pembina, West Lynne, Rockwood, Woodlands, Provencher, Winnipeg, Totogan, Second Crossing the damage was great.[36] At Third Crossing the loss was extensive, and for some was total. When the pests had done their worst it was reported that the grain crops were two-thirds, the potato crop one third, the vegetable wholly ruined.[37] But the settlers were well off, and expected huge prices, in view of the general damage, for what was left to them. The settlers took their losses and spent their last resources to buy seed at two dollars a bushel for wheat and oats at Rat Creek. In 1875 a larger crop was sown, at Totogan, Pine Creek and Palestine. But at the same time it was reported that the grasshoppers were swarming in immense numbers, having laid their eggs in the district the year before.[38] In consequence some settlers were leaving the country. From Palestine a correspondent wrote to say that a larger area of wheat, barley, oats and some flax had been sown, but that the grasshoppers were swarming and all the prairie, the spare hay and the straw had been burned to destroy them.[39]

It was to no avail. The young insects blackened the fields as the first green shoots appeared. Every blade of grass, every leaf on the trees, was devoured; nothing was left except the meadows which came on well enough later to save most of the cattle. Every-

thing was done to destroy the pests, by fire, by digging ditches, but to no effect. The horde was too great; it is a childhood memory that the writers' grandmother, who was a girl of sixteen at this time, told of the stench rising from the White Mud as it ran choked with the bodies of the swarming insects. Suddenly in August, they took wing, once more darkening the sky, and disappeared, leaving desolation behind. The loss in 1875 was complete, for the crops had been taken in the shoot.

"No wonder that a great many are disheartened," wrote a correspondent from Palestine, "after working hard for four or five years and only reaping one crop . . . a great many have large families depending on them for support, with every grain they could get sown, without bread this coming year, and no seed to sow next spring, provided the grasshoppers do not deposit their eggs, which God forbid . . . Nevertheless I firmly believe that if we have no grasshoppers here for a few years to come the country will rapidly recover from the present depression."[40] A week later came another letter asking that public works be pushed forward to give employment to those left destitute by the grasshoppers. A Westbourne correspondent confirmed the grave state of the White Mud settlements. "There will, I think, be few, or no crops here this summer. This is bad—alarming—to be sure, there is fish and fowl, and all who run may catch and eat these. But how for flour, potatoes, tea, sugar, and many other things? What about the payment of past debts? And we must not disguise the fact that there is a large indebtedness in the country."[41]

Such was the outlook in midsummer. The after effects followed in due course. There was no food for the pigs, and they had to be slaughtered. The chickens, which fed on the wingless hoppers, starved when the pests began to fly and had also to be killed. Somehow the year had to be tided over until the new season offered a fresh chance of prospering. C. P. Brown who owned the only store, and was the local member of the Provincial Legislature, aided those entirely without resources, when without such aid they would have had to flee the district.[42]

> In July, "A public meeting of the inhabitants of Palestine and Livingstone townships was held at the Livingstone schoolhouse, on the 7th inst., for the purpose of taking into consideration the best method to be adopted to tide over the grasshopper visitation. The meeting was called to order by the unanimous appointment of Mr. Thomas Cory to

the chair, after which the conditions of the settlers in this western part was fully discussed, and the following resolutions put before the meeting and carried unanimously: "Moved by Alexander Ferguson, Seconded by David McConnell, that Thomas Cory, Thomas L. Morton and J. A. Davidson be appointed by this meeting, a committee to urge upon the local and Dominion Governments the immediate necessity of pushing forward public works in this part of the Province.

"Moved by Donald McLeod, seconded by John Ferguson, that the committee also urge upon the Local Government the absolute necessity of bringing into the Province a sufficient quantity of grain for bread and seed for those in need.

Thos. Cory, Chairman,

July 12, 1875. Thos. L. Morton, Sec."[43]

In the following month Thomas Cory wrote to the *Free Press* urging that the Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just, Federal Minister of Agriculture, then in Manitoba, should visit the western parts of the Province to see the extent of the damage, which the writer claimed was the greatest in the Province.[44] This the Minister did, and as a result, sixty thousand dollars were provided by special warrant for relief and seed, mortgages being taken, such was the philosophy of the day, on the farms of those in receipt of aid.[45]

There were also the resources of self-help. Many men were able to get work freighting for Government survey parties, and for the Mounted Police. One instance of self-help is that of Thomas Carmichael, who was able to take enough butter, which was at a high price, for sale in Winnipeg to buy fifteen hundred pounds of flour.[46]

In 1876 the crop sown with the seed furnished by the Government turned out well. In August a few stray hoppers appeared causing great fear. They did little damage, however, and the visitation had been lifted.

It was a heavy blow to the new community, causing loss of capital to individuals—it cost one man eleven hundred dollars to bring his family through—and loss of actual and prospective settlers to the district.[47] On the farms of those who received aid remained a heavy mortgage indebtedness, increased by a rise of one third in price of seed in 1876, and by a fall in price of farm produce. In February, 1879, the Council of the new municipality petitioned the Provincial

Government to request the Dominion Government to lessen the burden, "as it paralyzes the effort of those who are willing to pay, but are utterly unable to redeem the Government mortgages on their lands, due to scarcity of money, low prices of grain, great distance required to team grain to market, and liabilities incurred during the plague." It was suggested that the Government should "take in payment for such relief granted the settlers, bushel for bushel and pound for pound to be delivered within some reasonable distance to the localities which have received such relief," preferably Palestine or Westbourne.[48] In December of the same year another petition was framed asking that the debtors be not required to freight the grain to Winnipeg, but to some local point, and that as a great part of the wheat crop had been lost by reason of the floods of that year, they be allowed to pay either in wheat or oats.[49] The Provincial Legislature had carried a similar resolution in 1878[50] and was to do so in succeeding years, but nonetheless it is clear that the Dominion Government kept to the letter of the bond. The mortgages were paid off by some quickly, by others over the years, but on some, it would seem, they were foreclosed. This provision of seed grain is an early example of government aid, that is, of the whole community sharing those losses the hazards of western agriculture sometimes inflict, and a first step towards a more enlightened way of dealing with such losses.

The effect was not wholly evil, however, for one result was that the new seed was largely the Red Fife which Kenneth McKenzie was growing at Rat Creek in 1872.[51] This strain was to become, by virtue of its shorter period of maturing and excellent milling quality, the chief wheat of the West until replaced by Marquis before the first World War.

Nevertheless the prospects of the new settlement were by no means wholly dark. A good year would set it going forward again, as 1876 did. Its natural attractions remained. Robert Ferguson of Palestine wrote home to Ontario: "Palestine is the largest and best settlement in Manitoba. The main portion of the land is prairie; there is an abundance of wood for all purposes of fencing, building and burning. The prairie land is smooth and level—nothing to impede the march of agriculture. Palestine is well watered by the White Mud River, a clear stream, containing the best of water, either bank of which is lined with oak or poplar." So crooked was it many farmers could avail themselves of it. There were no half-

breeds in the settlement. "Palestine is a fine place to live in—I like it well—I like the winter in Manitoba much better than in Ontario."[52]

For the new settlement was also exerting a pull of its own, and there must have been many such letters as Robert Ferguson's, singing the praises of the new land and luring friends and relatives to follow. There were other inducements, too, grim ones, to persuade them to venture. The depression had not yet lifted, and was to sweep Alexander Mackenzie's Government out of office and Sir John A. Macdonald in with the "National Policy" to put into effect. Whatever the merits of the National Policy, it did not lighten the load of indebtedness on Ontario farmsteads, but helped drive many a farmer West to add to the low-tariff voters there. Here is how and why Manitoba called to one Ontario home. It was written to Peter Cleland, who settled in Palestine in 1873 on a military warrant, by his brother, John:

"Hillsdale, March 1st, 1878

Dear Brother:

Yours of the 13th to hand and was waiting anxiously for a reply. I am glad to hear that you are enjoying good health. Since the reception of your letter it has caused considerable commotion among us and agitation. It has started us a-thinking, especially about our future destiny.

But! what the obsticle that little word *But*. You see we are hemed down here at the present. That is if we cannot eleviate this grievable circumstance.

In my last letter I scarcely gave you an accurate account. The cause of it is because I was not so well informed upon the subject. Since writing you I have studied the matter over.

In the first place we have this Mortgage to liquidate.

Secondly we have about $300 minor debts to pay off by next September. But the main obsticle is that this man I spoke of has not received the money yet and does not know exactly when he can get it or else we could get money right away. But still we are going to go through.

You see we are in this Company's debt and we want the mortgage lifted or transferred into another Company or to this man that is expecting the money. The reason that we want it changed is because we are paying such high interest. You see the loan was $1,750. Well the interest was to be 6 per cent. The first year it was 6 per cent.

They reconed it this way the first year it was that they split the $1750.. into 20 instalments. Therefore there would be $87.50 of Principal to pay yearly with $105. of interest and $2.10 for fees which equals $195.60.

Now you can recon that up for 20 years and it will equal $3892.00. You see that is enormous. You see they recon interest at 6 per cent the first year but really it increases at the rate of 6 per cent every year at the end of 20 years you are paying $1.20 for every $ that you borrowed. This is what is causing the commotion . . . We have studied the matter over and come to the conclusion that if we could make the raise of some money that I could go up in the Spring . . . [53]

So the flow of settlers continued, though diminished by the grasshopper plague, by the wet years of 1876, 1879 and 1880, and by the scattering of settlers to the westward along the Pacific Railway line and on the highlands above the Escarpment. "Parties leave the General Land Office every day for Pembina Mountain, Palestine or the Little Saskatchewan, which are the favorite locations for locators so far."[54] For not only did people draw people but so also did the economic development and institutional growth which went forward in spite of plague and flood.

Some idea of the growth and distribution of population in the region of Third Crossing may be obtained from the first *Manitoba Directory, 1876-1877,* which lists the voters, that is, the householders, by townships.[55] (See Appendix A). The *Directory* lists four hundred and twenty-six voters out of a population "of about a thousand". For 1877-1878 it gives an electorate of four hundred and thirty-one, and a population of "about a thousand".

A much more detailed account, however, of the number and composition of the population of the settlements is given by the municipal census taken by the newly organized municipality in 1878.[56] Electoral district and municipality were roughly approximate in area, the latter being the larger. The census was, by sex, males, four hundred and forty-seven, females, three hundred and forty-eight; by place of origin, English, forty-one, Scottish, one hundred and eight, Irish, forty, born in Canada, five hundred and four, born in the West, ninety-five, born in the United States, two, in Denmark, three, in Switzerland, one; by religious denominations, Presbyterian, three hundred and ninety-two, Church of England, two hundred and twenty-nine, Methodist, one hundred and sixty-six, Baptist, six, no denomination, two; total, seven hundred and ninety-five.

Thus it was a predominantly Canadian-born, and wholly a Protestant community. For seven years it had grown at a rate of about a hundred a year by immigration and birth, for there were some pre-1871 settlers in the vicinity of Westbourne Mission.

The same census portrays the amount of speculative land holdings in the settlement, which, of course, includes the land allotted to the Hudson's Bay Company. Residents held real property to the value of $212,190.00, and personal property to the value of $45,088.00. Non-residents were assessed at a real property valuation of $303,162.00, and half-breed's and minors' lands at $117,000.00. The rate of assessment of all lands except those surveyed as village lots at Gladstone, Totogan and Westbourne, was three dollars an acre.[57] This shows that in 1878, 101,054 acres were held by non-residents as against 70,730 acres held by residents. These figures are not quite accurate, as the assessment of village lots is not shown separately. In view of them, however, it is not surprising that in 1879 three hundred and eighty parcels of land, consisting of quarter and half section lots, were advertised for tax sale by the municipality.[58] By March, 1878, two thousand dollars had been collected in taxes on non-resident lands.[59] An attempt to tax "wild lands" had been made in 1873, and though the Act was reserved, it became law in 1875. Its operation, however, was unsatisfactory; but in municipal organization a way had at last been found to deal with speculators, as had been foreshadowed in the provincial election of 1874.

In 1879 the municipal census showed a population of six hundred and forty-six males and four hundred and sixty-two females, a total of eleven hundred and eight.[60] The assessed value of real and personal property was $847,323.00, an increase of $169,883.00 over 1878. Already the growth of the settlement was quickening towards the boom of 1882. The federal census of 1881 for approximately the same area as the municipality gave a total population of fourteen hundred and twenty-eight. These people lived in three hundred and two houses, with fifteen building, and twenty-six shacks. They produced in that year 26,774 bushels of wheat, 4,227 bushels of barley, 32,070 bushels of oats. They had sowed one hundred and fifteen acres of potatoes. Two hundred and fifty-six were classified as occupiers, two hundred and thirty-eight as owners, and eighteen as tenants.[61]

The livestock population no doubt built up more slowly, but by 1884 the census for the municipality, which was greatly reduced in

size in 1880, makes this credible showing; cows and young cattle, fourteen hundred and twenty-four, oxen, one hundred and fifty-eight, horses and young horses, two hundred and twenty three.[62]

The population in this year was nine hundred and ninety-two, a diminution to be accounted for not only by the decrease in the size of the municipality, but also, in all probability, by the collapse of the boom; indeed, as will be seen, the boom actually caused an exodus from the settlements to newer districts. This lights up the contrast in the story between the steady, stubborn growth of the settlements and the feverish speculation of the boom. The boom was in part the work of land speculators from Winnipeg, in part the result of the economic circumstances of 1881-1882 and the economic philosophy of the day. The steady growth of the settlements, however, was the truer indication of the quality and achievement of its people.

CHURCH AND STATE

As the people came to the land, social needs arose, law, public works, education, the ministrations of the church. There could be but little delay. Here were children growing up, young people anxious to wed, land to be bought and sold, debts to be collected, quarrels to be adjusted. The settlers had either to set up in the new land the institutions they had known in their old homes, or, as they did during the Sioux alarm, improvise as best they could.

For they had passed beyond not only the outer limits of the old settlements, but also beyond the working range of church and state in Manitoba. They had not, of course, gone into an unorganized wilderness. Third Crossing was within the western boundary of Manitoba, the little square province created in 1870 as the result of the Red River Insurrection. The province in turn was part of the new Dominion of Canada which, in the year the first settlers came to Third Crossing, was carried westward to the far Pacific. And Canada was a Dominion of the British Empire, to the Crown of which all the inhabitants of its world-wide territories, including the pioneers of Third Crossing, owed allegiance. But the pioneers had passed beyond the effective operation of all those institutions, police, soldiers, courts, municipal councils and the legislatures by which, under the British constitution, the authority of the crown is exercised and the will of the people made effective.

More, too, than their own convenience and peace would be served by the establishment of the institutions of civil life. New settlers were needed if the settlements were to flourish, and nothing would attract them like an already flourishing community, complete with roads, schools, churches and municipal government. The advertising literature of those days always stressed the existence of these advantages. Municipal institutions in particular were necessary if roads and ditches were to be built and the land drained. They might even bring the railway on which their major hopes of thriving depended. Accordingly, while yet the first small fields lay black in the prairie and before the yellow chips from the new log houses had weathered, the settlers set themselves to bring to the new land the ancient institutions of their race.

It is characteristic of Western history that it was the church that first overtook the settlers. In the fall of 1871 Rev. Thomas Cook, a Church of England missionary from Fort Ellice, spent a few weeks in the settlement, holding services in the groves north of the river[1], with logs for pews and all heaven for a dome. Private worship was, it is certain, carried on and perhaps there were meetings of neighbors for public worship also, as when Rev. Wm. Murdin, Baptist missionary, preached in Thomas Cory's house. It was a Protestant community, the members of which had been for the most part, strictly brought up in rural Ontario. One family is known, in which all meals on Sunday were Saturday-baked and cold, that there might be no labor on the Sabbath.

But such private devotion could not take the place of the organized church, and Third Crossing entered on the long struggle of western communities to establish and maintain the historic church, a struggle which was to result in part in Church Union and which has not yet worked itself out. Some time in 1872, Rev. John McNabb of the Presbyterian Church began his ministry in the settlement and was long remembered as the first and a much loved minister in the district.[2] Services were held in his house at Dead Lake, the same that was a fortress against the Sioux. From this homestead he gave, on his departure for reasons of health late in 1873, the land which is the Gladstone cemetery, the last link between Gladstone and the original centre of the community.

After the departure of Rev. John McNabb, Peter H. Moodie, a newcomer and a man of learning with a theological bent, carried on informal services.[3] Then in February and March, 1874, Palestine

was visited by Rev. James Robertson, greatest of the missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the West and its ardent organizer, on the first of his missionary journeys. His letters give many a glimpse into the life of the new settlement. Not only did he cheer the settlers with his ministrations and encourage the establishment of congregations and schools, but like John McNabb, he took full part in the life of the new community by acquiring land. During his stay he bought a quarter section for one hundred and fifty-five dollars, that is, at a dollar an acre, with a military warrant to cover the balance.[4] This, however, is but an interesting sidelight on the times. His real work he pursued arduously, driving himself in mid-winter about the scattered settlements to establish the church.

> "Have been making some arrangements for the organization of congregations here. Called the Palestine congregation together and $186.00 subscribed on the spot. We will get at least $225.00 at Pine Creek and the Second Crossing of the White Mud, as the river is called, will give $100.00 more. There must be a station also at First Crossing of the White Mud . . . Visited about thirty or more families here in the three places, and many more are coming in the spring. I have got up a petition and want to take it down to Winnipeg to the meeting of the Presbytery so as to have them organize at once."[5]

His great effort, however, had only partial success. Rev. Hector Currie visited the settlements, [6]and in July, 1874 the Presbytery of Manitoba did indeed appoint Rev. Hugh McKeller to Palestine,[7] but not until 1881 was it possible to appoint the permanent resident minister who had been desired both by the Presbytery and the congregation. Trained men were few, money was scarce, the grasshoppers and the hard times of the great depression of 1873 fell on the scarcely established settlements. Missionaries were appointed and held services as best their time and means permitted—Rev. J. S. Stewart after McKeller, Rev. Mr. Caswell succeeding Stewart when Stewart went to the Little Saskatchewan (Minnedosa) in 1880.[8] Under Mr. Stewart the Palestine congregation was organized, the session consisting of Mr. James Broadfoot and Mr. Donald MacLean, Mr. Isaac Whaley and Mr. George Waters being added later. Services were held in the MacLean and Cory houses, and in the Gladstone school, until in 1879 the first log church was built on land given by Mr. Broadfoot, in the village of Gladstone.[9] At the opening of the new church Rev. George Bryce edified the congregation with a sermon of three hours duration. In 1880, the Presbytery

of Manitoba sent Rev. H. McKeller to urge on the congregation at Gladstone the necessity of calling a minister at once.[10] McKeller was still at this task in 1881 and in September of that year the Presbytery received the call for a minister from the congregations of Gladstone and associated stations, and in December decided that the salary of the minister at Gladstone should be eight hundred and fifty dollars a year and that the congregations should raise five hundred and fifty dollars.[11] The minister was to be Rev. D. A. Stalker, who was to carry on the ministry with success and the great affection of his congregation until 1893. In that year the log church was blown down in the "Big Hailstorm", and was replaced by the present brick edifice. An organ was installed in the new building, much to the scandal of the graver sort. One Sabbath a Scot of the sterner persuasion, seeing another about to go into the church where the organ could be heard, asked, "Be you going into the dance?"[12]

By these stages the Presbyterian church was founded at Third Crossing.

Though the Presbyterian congregation was the largest and the Methodist the smallest of the three which all but entirely made up the community, the latter was not less active or successful than the Presbyterian. As early as 1874 it was reported that Rev. Mr. Edwards of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, preached on alternate Sundays in the new church built that year just east of the rising village of Gladstone.[13] He was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Lawson at least by 1877, for in that year Palestine was noted as the most western Domestic Mission in Manitoba, and a success under the charge of Mr. Lawson.[14] In October of the same year, the sum of three hundred dollars was raised at the meeting to complete payment for the building, much to the relief of Mr. Lawson who had taken on personal liabilities to ensure the completion of the structure. This church was a building of some pretentions, as it had a bell.[15]

In June of 1878 a dedicatory service was held in the new church at Palestine, Rev. Wm. Halstead of the Portage officiating.[16] From Christmas, 1877, at least, the Methodist minister was Rev. Wm. Morrison, who was an active leader in the community, especially in Sunday School and temperance work, and who was also chaplain of the local Orange lodge.[17] When Mr. Morrison left is not recorded, but in 1881 it was reported that Rev. J. Walker of Gladstone had accepted a call to the Methodist church at Pembina in Dakota

Territory.[18] With the removal of the church, which had been some distance outside the village, to a lot given by Hon. C. P. Brown, the Methodist Church was finally established in Gladstone. In 1882 the Methodist Conference appointed Rev. James E. Allen to Gladstone, his pastorate completing the first decade of Methodism at Third Crossing.[19]

The Anglican community, though second only to the Presbyterian in numbers, had a much less active beginning. It was served apparently as a domestic mission for the first decade of settlement. Rev. Charles Mearing is listed as being there in 1876-1878.[20] At Gladstone a parsonage was built in 1883, when Rev. F. T. Jephcott became the first resident minister.[21] but services were held in Andrew's Hall until 1887. Parochial organization began in 1881, when the old Mission at Westbourne dedicated its first church.[22] In the same year Bishop Machray of Rupertsland reported to the synod that he had recommended to the Colonial and Continental Church Society that the grant hitherto given to St. Margaret's at Headingly be in the future given to Gladstone. At the same time he laid down the principle upon which he had organized the Church of England in the west, that funds would be advanced only where substantial local contributions were forthcoming.[23] From this came the creation of All Saints parish in 1886, and the church was consecrated in 1887.[24] This comparative slowness of organization is an illustration of the difficulty ritualistic and parochial churches have experienced, as compared with the more evangelical communions, in establishing themselves in frontier settlements with shifting populations and few well-to-do parishioners.

Only six Baptists were enumerated in the municipal census of 1878 and the only known record of the activity of the church is a note that in 1881 two Baptists converts were baptized in the waters of the White Mud at Gladstone, when Rev. W. Murdin was in Palestine and neighborhood.[25] Not until 1900 was a congregation formed and a church built. Other denominations were singularly non-existent, as organized bodies at least.

The smallness of the outlying community and the shortage of trained ministers in the West explains the slowness with which the early missions became organized churches with regular services. In education, however, progress was more rapid and systematic, because behind its development was the authority and provisions of the Provincial School Act of 1871.[26] The Manitoba Act which

created the Province, authorized a denominational school system with Protestant and Roman Catholic schools, or was so interpreted at the time. School districts were authorized by the Provincial Board of Education on petition of not less than five heads of families, or any smaller number having children of school age to the number of fifteen.[27]

No time was lost by the settlers in invoking the provisions of the Act. In December, 1872, the school districts of Palestine and Second Crossing were authorized [28] and in May, 1873, the contract for the building at Palestine was let, and was to be finished shortly.[29] This promptness in providing for education is eloquent evidence of a main reason for the migration westward, that the children might have a better chance.

But the newcomers were by no means wholly satisfied with the school system of the new province. Behind them in their old homes in Ontario was the background of the ancient Quebec and Ontario feud, and the sectarian bickerings within Ontario. This intolerance, these animosities were brought, unhappily, into the new land, free until the coming of the Canadian of the rancour of sectarian quarrels. It is not surprising therefore, that in the first provincial election campaign of 1874 Mr. C. P. Brown made the first item of his election manifesto a demand for "A fairer and better system of education". In his first speech of his election campaign in 1874, Brown demanded that the school law be remodelled and the use of the French language and sectarian schools be abolished. In this he was supported by Thomas Cory who denounced the French as pursuing the same policy—presumably of aggression—as in Ontario.[30] This is a first rumbling of that conflict between the French of Manitoba and the Protestant immigrants from Ontario which was to produce in 1890 the Manitoba School Act, which abolished the sectarian schools, and rocked the Dominion for many troubled years. The surviving accounts of the election make it clear that Brown was elected on the anti-French cry[31], and on the debate on the Education Act of 1875, he expressed himself in the legislature in favor of non-sectarian schools.[32] At the same time he put a motion to reduce the attendance required to earn the grant from the Provincial Board from fifteen to ten pupils, in the interest of the outlying settlements.[33] Faithful local representative though he was, however, Brown's ability was soon to mark him in the House and cabinet office induced him to modify his views in the interests of government stability and racial harmony.

Meantime the other settlements proceeded to organize when the number of children demanded. In 1875 the district of Palestine was divided and the western half made into the School District of Livingstone.[34] At the first annual meeting, Messrs. T. L. Morton, D. McConnell and Thomas Cory were appointed trustees, and one hundred and twenty dollars were voted for current expenses.[35] Township 14, Range 12, was the new district, called Livingstone after the great African missionary, whose mortal remains had reached London the year before.[36] An earnest of the functioning of the new district is given by the following receipt. "Received from Peter B. Cleland: Five dollars and twenty cents for School Taxes due for 1876 on account of Livingstone School. January 27th, 1877. Thos. L. Morton, Secretary Treasurer."[37]

In December of that year school attendance was recorded for number of the new schools: Livingstone, nine boys, eleven girls; Woodside, five and ten; Palestine twenty-three and twenty-two.[38] Golden Stream was authorized in 1876,[39] though the minutes of the Board of Education in December, 1875, report an attendance of one boy and four girls, as though the school had begun before the Board recognized it. The truth is, procedure was irregular and the records are scanty and incomplete. How the settlers organized the districts is difficult to discover. Some fleeting glimpses may be caught. In 1874, Rev. James Robertson wrote: "Announced School meeting at Pine Creek, and was persuaded to remain and help them start a school. Did so, and we got all things arranged to build a house when spring opens. Logs, etc., are to be got out at once, and as soon as it is possible the house is to be raised, and then, by letting it in small jobs, it is to be finished."[40] This was really Golden Stream district for which Messrs. John Switzer, Matthew Whaley and William Ross were elected trustees.[41] Yet the district was not authorized in the *Gazette* until 18th January, 1876. It is very likely that the settlers were going ahead with a procedure they were already familiar with in Ontario and in some cases set up schools before seeking provincial grants under the School Act or before they could comply with the conditions of the Act. The report of the first Livingstone meeting, on the other hand, suggests a regular procedure. Not only is the district authorized in the *Manitoba Gazette* in January, 1875, but in the *Daily Free Press* for the 13th of February, 1875, there was the report of the school meeting already quoted.

What is clear is an eagerness for education and an ability to organize to provide it. The meetings are held, the schools spring

up. In 1879 Gladstone school district was authorized.[42] Blake School District followed in 1880, following the settlement in 1878 of the Downs party and others in the townships to the north, and Silver Stream the same year in the thickening settlements to the south.[43] Seven schools begun in eight years—years of the grasshopper plague and the floods—is a fair measure of the determination of the early settlers that their children should not want learning on the frontier.

The first teachers are almost as difficult to place accurately as the first ministers. Peter Moodie was the first teacher, however, in Palestine school, and therefore in the district of Third Crossing.[44] He was to teach later at Livingstone, and in the eighteen nineties to be principal of Gladstone school. Daniel Budge, an Ontario man, also taught in Gladstone, and, to judge by the controversy his method of examination provoked, was an indulgent teacher. Budge was also town clerk, and in general one of those clerical handy men every community finds useful. At Livingstone the first teacher is variously remembered as a Miss Wiggins or a Miss Gerrond; both may have taught. In 1879, however, it is a matter of record that Mr. J. Dill of Nova Scotia was the teacher at Livingstone, when school and pupils were examined by Rev. J. S. Stewart,[45] and a commonplace and account book of Thomas Cory contains this item, "J. Dill: Due for nine weeks board—$20.25."[46]

Other agencies of organized society were coming in during these years. In 1872 came the post office, that tendril of civilization which articulates the modern world. The first post office was at Palestine with George West as postmaster;[47] but the rising village of Gladstone just east of the Third Crossing soon disputed Palestine's claim to be the centre of the district. It was an important issue, for the post office would help to determine the future centre of the community and that meant much to owners of land around the site of the post office. By 1879 Gladstone had won the contest and became the regional centre arising at the crossroads where the Trail cut diagonally across the new survey on the two quarter sections held by C. P. Brown.[48]

To any Westerner the same rectangular survey is an institution of no little importance. The long straight roads that march with more than Roman imperiousness, the square fields, the dominant straight lines of the countryside are characteristic of the western scene and consequences of the Dominion Land Survey. This

survey, moreover, signalized the coming of Canadian control and the survey it was that touched off the Red River Insurrection of 1869. The broad, simple system of sections one mile square, lent itself to easy identification and registration of title; and it was peculiarly fitted to rapid survey and occupation of the land, and seemed to do little violence to the natural features of the flat or broad rolling terrain of the West. In Third Crossing, however, the settlers came in ahead of the survey, and had therefore simply to squat on the land of their choice. In 1871 the first partial survey was run through the area,[49] and the houses and fields of the pre-survey settlers were duly recorded, and may still be seen on the field sketches of the surveyors. In one or two instances the road allowances cut across the new fields, and the squatters had to shift to one or other quarter section, to one of which they were to have homestead right under the Dominion Land Act of 1872. The story still lingers that William Ferguson found when the survey was run that he had broken up with immense labor, a cross-road and also the provincial boundary, for he was for a few years the settler farthest west. Local legend has it that he pulled the plow, by means of a specially adjusted evener, beside his only surviving ox while Mrs. Ferguson held the plow. Soon these adjustments were made and the prairie and woodlands of Third Crossing began to take on the chequer board pattern of the modern West.

To file claim and get title, it was at first necessary to go to the General Land Office in Winnipeg, then to the sub-land office at Portage. In 1874 a sub-land office was opened at Westbourne for a while,[50] and then in 1880, during the boom, there was one at Gladstone itself and it did a "land office business" during those feverish days.

From 1871 to 1874 the settlement lacked courts and officers of the law. In 1871, however, the Province had been organized in five counties for judicial[51] and, under the County Assessments Act of the same year, for municipal purposes also.[52] The settlement of Palestine was included in the county of Marquette West which comprised about the north-west quarter of the Province. County court cases had to be carried to Portage la Prairie, forty miles away, and it would seem that the settlements were left pretty much to themselves. Contrary to all British usages, the Province had been denied its natural resources, which were retained by the Federal Government "for the purposes of the Dominion,"[53] the building of railways and the colonization of the West, and was in consequence

impoverished. This lack of funds of the provincial treasury explains much of the slow growth of legal and local institutions in early Manitoba. But in 1873 by the first redistribution of the provincial constituencies the settlements were first added to the electoral district of Portage,[54] and then created Electoral District No. 1,[55] and perhaps as a result of this entry into the political life of the Province the creation of officers of the law began. Thereafter the local member was to be active in assisting the organization of local institutions.

From the establishment of the Provincial Government in 1870, Lieutenant-Governors Archibald and Morris had used their powers to create justices of the peace in considerable numbers in order that the police powers of this ancient office might be used to preserve order in the settlements, disturbed by the after swell of the Red River Rising and the sudden inflow of Canadian settlers. Most were appointed for the old parishes, but some for the Province at large. No record survives of these latter performing the duties of their office at Third Crossing. In 1874, however, David Leitch, a government candidate in the forthcoming election, and Hugh Grant, of White Mud, were appointed justices of the peace for Marquette West.[56] In the following year Thomas Cory, a staunch supporter of the new member, C. P. Brown and Thomas Collins and Matthew Whaley, all cited as being of Palestine, were appointed justices of the peace, while John A. Davidson, one of the first merchants of Palestine, was made commissioner for taking affidavits.[57] In the next year the list of appointments and re-appointments as justices of the peace comprised John A. Davidson, Thomas L. Morton, Wm. Ferguson, all of Palestine, Thomas Cory of Livingstone, Thomas Collins and Matthew Whaley of Woodside (Second Crossing).[58] That it was not an office without duties is shown by the following note.

Livingstone, Nov. 23/75.

"Peter B. Cleland, Esq.

My Dear Peter,

John Ferguson is back without his man owing to a "non Identification". The people up there it seems try to shield him but John is determined to get him. Therefore you will have to go back with him on Monday to identify the man and take a horse and rig with you.

You must go there is no backing out now.

Yours truly,
T. Cory, J.P."[59]

John Ptolemy of Gladstone was made commissioner for taking affidavits,[60] while Andrew Malcolm of Gladstone was added to the roster in 1877,[61] and A. E. Smalley and George Mowat, both of Westbourne, in 1879.[62] W. H. Campbell of Gladstone also was made justice of the peace in that year[63] and Daniel Budge commissioner for taking affidavits.[64] This profusion was most likely by reason of political patronage rather than the needs of a peaceful community.

Other officials begin to appear on the record in 1877. George McRae of Gladstone was made a constable of the county of Marquette West,[65] and also John Rose of Palestine.[66] In 1878 Thomas Cory added to his other duties those of coroner of Marquette West.[67] When in 1879 he became clerk of the county court and George McRae bailiff,[68] the settlement had its full complement of officials, or at least all the political influence of its representative, now Hon. C. P. Brown, Provincial Secretary in the government of Premier John Norquay, could obtain. In response to a demand, voiced in the Legislature by Brown and Dr. Cowan, M.P.P. for Portage la Prairie,[69] that courts be provided in Marquette West, an act had been passed setting up the Western Judicial District of Portage and Westbourne municipalities.[70] The 27th of November, 1879, was the date of the first sitting of the county court in Gladstone. His Honour, Chief Justice E. B. Wood, held the court. The Chief Justice was a giant, one-armed man, known in Ontario politics on account of his loud, rolling oratory as "Big Thunder". Third Crossing had an opportunity to judge the quality of his eloquence, for in the evening he lectured on "Imagination".[71]

There were, however, the traditional provisions for police and justice. Municipal constitutions were being slowly worked out under Manitoba conditions during the years this history covers. The development of Manitoban municipal legislation began in 1871. The County Assessments Act of that year provided for the assessment of real property and the preparation of tax rolls by the clerk of the peace. At the court of sessions, the grand jury of the county presented a statement showing the amounts required in the various settlements for roads, bridges, ditches and other public works, and a rate was struck. Statutory provision was also made for statute labour of one to three days on roads and bridges, at the summons of the "Surveyor". It may be that this was the machinery by which local improvements, such as the bridges recorded as being over the White Mud at the Crossings—usually when they were swept away by

floods—and other improvements were made. On the other hand, there is good reason for the assumption, in the knowledge of the "bees" of old Ontario, that many of these were made by neighbors working together. That not much was done under the Act of 1871 and during the visitation of grasshoppers is certain, in view of what had to be done after the Municipality of Westbourne was formed; how much was done is uncertain. A "new" bridge was built at Westbourne in 1872 by the Provincial Government at a cost of three hundred dollars,[72] and at the same time the Trail or Mission Road, to Westbourne was surveyed, being marked with oak posts every half mile.[73] In 1873 J. A. Davidson of Third Crossing, having a contract to build a Government warehouse fourteen miles west, built a bridge over the White Mud.[74] In 1876 the Westbourne bridge was partly washed away by the high water of that year;[75] again there is reference in the same year to the bridge at Thomas Cory's farm between Palestine and Livingstone.[76] But, also in 1876, Rev. A. Macdonald, Baptist minister of Winnipeg, was nearly drowned while crossing the White Mud at Woodside,[77] showing that there was yet no bridge at the Second Crossing. Great concern is evident also over the condition and upkeep of the Trail. It was sometimes flooded and often muddy; settlers began to break up portions of it. C. P. Brown in 1875 presented three petitions from his constituency to the Legislature asking that it be made a "great highway", as the South Trail had been by statute in 1871.[78] The Government promised that this would be done.[79] In 1877 Norman Morrison of Woodside, James Broadfoot of Palestine, Thomas L. Morton of Livingstone and Matthew Whaley of Golden Stream were made overseers of highways.[80] This is the first indication that public authority was replacing private initiative in providing public works.

But only a municipal government of their own could effectively serve the settlers. This they knew, and as early as 1873 it was reported that the people of Third Crossing were to seek incorporation as a municipality under the Municipal Act of 1873.[81] Nothing came of this, no doubt because of the general depression which set in at that time and the grasshopper plague of 1874. At Westbourne, however, a municipality of Westbourne consisting of a single township was created.[82] It seems to have been stillborn, however, and was absorbed into the later county municipality of the same name and much greater area, as could be done under the County Municipality Act of 1875.[83] It was not, however, merely municipal

needs that led in December, 1877, to the organization of the Municipality of Westbourne, as a sub-division of the County of Marquette West. C. P. Brown, as representative of outlying and unorganized settlements, from the first interested himself in, and made his name by, the improvement of provincial legislation for municipal organization. In his first election campaign he called for a good municipal bill that would enable the actual settler to have benefit from the lands held by speculators, that is, by taxing them, thus touching on a very sore spot in the settlements. As member he introduced new municipal legislation. When he became Provincial Secretary in 1878, his appointment was approved because, among other grounds, he was a good private member to whom were to be attributed "The Subdivision of Counties Act, and the Act Respecting County Municipalities . . . the very groundwork for a municipal system which, before another parliament elapses, we hope to see universally applied."[84] Again in 1879 the *Free Press*, in commenting on the Government's record during the session, especially commends Brown's municipal legislation.[85] Thus Third Crossing gave Manitoba the legislator who established the first real municipal system in the Province, and it did so in part because new legislation was needed to meet its own needs.

Yet this inevitable development was hastened in the instance of Third Crossing by another pressing factor in the development of the settlement. A railway was needed also, and for railways much capital was, of course, required. Normally in North America governments aided railway construction by granting not only monetary aid but also grants of public land. This Manitoba could not do, as its lands had been retained by the Dominion. But there was another North American device by which capital could be raised, and it was peculiarly tempting to resort to it in Manitoba, since it offered a way of capitalizing the land and the prospects of the Province. This was for municipalities to grant bonuses to railways which would undertake to build through their territories, the bonuses to be met eventually out of taxes on real property. The municipality of Westbourne was organized when it was, not solely to meet the local need of public works, but also to hasten the coming of the railway to Third Crossing.

How this came about relates closely to another part of the history of Third Crossing. Not only did the settlement need municipal institutions; it also needed a railway. The railway most likely to be available was the Pacific Railway, which had dominated federal

politics since 1871, and the hope of being on the route of the Canadian Pacific had had something to do with bringing the first settlers to Third Crossing. The general assumption was that the route would run north-westward to the Saskatchewan Valley. But after the fall of the Macdonald Government in 1873, the policy of rapid construction was replaced by one of gradual construction, "as the resources of the country permitted", and in 1874 the surveyors proposed that the railway, when built, should cross the Red River at Selkirk, proceed north-westward between Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, cross the latter at the Narrows and so enter the Saskatchewan country. By this route they hoped to shorten the line and avoid the expense of bridging or filling the great river valleys of the plains. But this disappointed the hopes not only of Third Crossing, but also of Winnipeg. The result was a vigorous agitation for a more southerly route, or for bringing the St. Paul and Pembina Branch across the Red River to Winnipeg, an agitation which took the form of the great railway petition of 1874 and a delegation to Ottawa in 1875. It was to prove ineffective. Another way to produce the change would be to have a railway line already established along the desired route, as a link in the Pacific railway which the government would hardly care to duplicate. Such a line might, in any event, at least link up with the Pembina branch of the St. Paul and Pacific, later the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway. It is not surprising therefore to find that in May, 1875, the Manitoba Western Railroad was incorporated by the Provincial Legislature,[86] the bill being reported out by C. P. Brown and assented to 13th May, 1875.[87] The County Municipalities Act, introduced by C. P. Brown, was also passed, which gave municipalities the power to bonus railway construction within their limits by the sale of debentures.[88] At the same time both the City of Winnipeg and the Legislature petitioned the federal government to change the inter-lake route to one running south of Lake Manitoba, that is, to the Third Crossing route, or to bring the Pembina line across the Red River to Winnipeg, in which they were strongly supported by the *Free Press*. The new line, of course, was to run from Winnipeg through the settlements to Third Crossing.

The Manitoba Western Railroad was stillborn, in spite of a strong board of directors, including Donald A. Smith and C. P. Brown, but both Winnipeg and the settlements along the Assiniboine and White Mud continued to want a railway. In 1877, after the worst of the depression had passed and the grasshopper years were over, and when there was a prospect of the revival of the St. Paul and Pembina

Railway, the scheme was taken up again, this time with more backing and more skill. A mass meeting of citizens in Winnipeg decided that a western railroad be given a bonus of two hundred thousand dollars by the city, and appointed an executive committee to take all necessary measures.[89] The Committee met under the chairmanship of a former premier, Hon. R. A. Davis, and added to its members among others, Matthew Whaley, George McRae, Isaac Davidson and Thomas Cory, a direct bid for the support of the western settlements. On the motion of James H. Ashdown, seconded by Hon. W. N. Kennedy, an executive committee, to be composed of Hon. R. A. Davis, Hon. M. A. Girard, Duncan MacArthur, Hon. W. N. Kennedy, all members of Parliament along the proposed route, and some others, was set up. It was moved by Hon. W. N. Kennedy, seconded by Mr. C. P. Brown, M.P.P. that every effort be made to obtain a land grant from the Dominion Government for the Manitoba Western, a necessary measure, as the Province did not control its lands. The executive committee of the Board of Directors, of which C. P. Brown was a member, then met, and a motion was passed that a sub-committee be appointed to ascertain at the earliest possible date whether or not the provincial government intended to pass a municipal bill which would allow the granting of bonuses by municipalities to railway companies. Some difficulty had been encountered, though what is not evident, in applying the railway bonus provisions of the County Municipalities Act of 1875.[90] At a meeting of the Provisional Directors of the Manitoba Western Railway, three days later, the committee was told that the government was willing either to amend C. P. Brown's Counties Bill, then before the Legislature, or bring in legislation so as to legalize the grant of bonuses.[91] On the 17th of February, Brown himself informed the committee that his bill would be so amended and this was done, the provisions of the Act of 1875 being altered so as to render the granting of a bonus easier.[92] Thus a means was found for placing public as well as private capital behind the enterprise.

The public response to this initiative was favorable. Not only did a mass meeting in Winnipeg endorse the two hundred thousand dollar bonus, but similar meetings on the western settlements from Headingly to Westbourne declared themselves in favor of aid to the Manitoba Western.[93] In March, a Livingstone correspondent wrote to the *Daily Free Press*,

> "The general topic of conversation in this section at present is the Manitoba Western Railway. An expression of opin-

ion regarding the advantages to be derived from such a road by the western settlements was ably set forth at a public meeting at Mr. Donald Ferguson's. The resolution as proposed by Mr. Cory, and seconded by Mr. Donald Ferguson, embodied the sentiments of everyone having the welfare of this Province, and the western part in particular, at heart, was carried unanimously, without one dissenting voice. And our only hope is that we may be placed in a position to grant material aid to such a beneficial scheme, as the sooner the road is begun the better pleased will be your western friends . . . I have not the least doubt but that each municipality, when organized, through which the road will pass will do its very best to make the Manitoba Western railway an accomplished fact."[94]

This hope was soon realized, for on the 11th of April, a public meeting was held "of the inhabitants of Palestine held at Gladstone, for the purpose of taking steps to secure municipal incorporation, so as to place Westbourne in a position to offer a bonus to the Manitoba Western or other railway company." Mr. James Broadfoot was elected chairman, Mr. John A. Davidson, Secretary. Mr. C. P. Brown then set forth the advantages of the proposal—how well he knew them, since he had so much to do with it! On the motion of George McRae, it was resolved to petition for incorporation and a committee, to consist of T. Cory, G. McRae, N. Hamilton, F. Blackmore, T. Collins, and J. Moonie, was appointed to draft a petition praying the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council for letters patent incorporating the county sub-division of Westbourne as a municipality. The petition, when drafted, was signed by all present.[95] A similar meeting, also addressed by Brown, was held at Westbourne, with the same result. On December 1, 1877, the letters patent were issued and Westbourne became a municipality, first of the new settlements,[96] to be followed in 1878 by Portage la Prairie. In 1878 the Council proposed to submit a by-law to the rate payers, providing for a bonus of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars[97] to a railway company. The *Free Press* commented: "This one act of the County of Westbourne to promote a western railway transcends all other movements combined, and were the other localities equally interested to take similar action, the *desideratum* would be speedily realized."[98]

Thus the settlements, under the stimulus of the need for railways, became a municipality. It was given the name of Westbourne, thus carrying over into the new times one of the old Red River names. But beyond the old mission of Westbourne for twenty-four miles it was made up entirely of new settlements. In length it was sixty-six

miles, from the northern boundary south to beyond the Assiniboine River. In extent it was not far short of one eighth of Manitoba, and since that time the municipalities of north and south Norfolk and Lakeside have been created out of Westbourne, leaving it still a large municipality. This large size, of course, was dictated by the sparseness of settlement in the area and proved unworkable. It was not until Westbourne was reduced in 1880 to its natural area, the lower course of the White Mud and its tributaries, that it became a manageable area and a genuine local community.

The first election of the municipal council was held in January, 1878. John Mason of Gladstone was returning officer; the names of those nominated in a public meeting held in the hall over C. P. Brown's store were James Broadfoot, Sr., Donald Ferguson, William McKelvey, David McConnell, Thomas Cory, Sr., Thomas Collins, A. E. Smalley, John A. Davidson, John Mooney, George McRae and Edward Field. Seven hundred and seventy-two of the electorate voted; George McRae received one hundred votes, McConnell ninety-five, Smalley eighty-two, Ferguson seventy-four, Cory sixty-eight, McKelvey sixty-seven, Collins sixty, Mooney fifty-nine, Broadfoot fifty-four, Field forty-eight, Davidson forty-five. The first seven were declared elected, and constituted the Council. It was not the law at that time that the reeve should be elected by popular vote. Accordingly one of the first items of business at the first meeting of the new Council, held at A. Malcolm's residence, was the election of the Warden, as the title then was. Thomas Cory was elected over George McRae and became first Warden.[99]

The Council set vigorously to work. Not until March did it submit to the electors a by-law providing for a railway bonus, but it proceeded at once to carry out those many local improvements which hitherto it had not been possible to do, or which had been done haphazardly. The settlements now had a focus of energy, their resources could be mobilized and their credit made use of to create the conditions of progress. Roads, bridges and ditches could now be had speedily. Council met frequently and regularly and the details and the volume of its business are preserved in the old minute books, kept in the firm flowing hand of John Mason, clerk of the municipality. Officials were appointed: clerk, John Mason, treasurer, T. L. Morton, assessor, Peter St. Clair Macgregor, as well as constables, pathmasters and poundkeepers.[100]

As cash was scarce, the performance of statute labor in place of the payment of taxes was regulated. By-laws were passed fixing the

councellors allowances and mileage, and prohibiting noxious weeds, public nuisances and cruelty to animals. From time to time, and fortunately the need was infrequent, grants were made to the needy and distressed.

These, however, were routine matters. The principal work of the Council was to provide, as taxes flowed in, and as the Winnipeg banks accepted the municipality's notes, those improvements without which the settlers could not go ahead, or new settlers be attracted; especially now that the wet years of the late seventies were sending new settlers westward to the high land beyond the Escarpment.

All bridges built before the municipality was incorporated, went out in the big flood in 1877.[101] They were said to be "more useful than ornamental" and it may be assumed that they were not strong structures. All efforts made to improve the Trail both private and public, were inefficient; and as late as 1877 C. P. Brown is to be found asking for government help in keeping the Trail passable, and for local improvements,[102] but the Provincial Government, unable to dispose of the natural resources of the Province, was impoverished, while every new settler the Dominion encouraged to come in added to the claims on the provincial revenues. Hence the long struggle for "better terms", and hence, also an extra burden on the municipalities, which could expect little help from the Provincial Government. As Thomas Cory wrote later, the newly organized municipality ". . . assumed the responsibility [of financing a railway] because the local government was not in a position financially to do anything for railways or anything else".[103] The result was that the new Council had to start almost unaided in making local improvements.

No time was lost and no expense spared, by the standards of those days. In 1878 five bridges were built over the crossings of the river and at Pine Creek and Dead Lake.[104] Particular care was given to that at Westbourne, an experienced Ontario bridge builder being given the contract.[105]

In 1879 this brave start was ruined. In 1879 Westbourne paid the penalty its topography always threatens. The late seventies were years of abnormal rainfall. The low lands were saturated and flood waters came down off the high lands to the west, the river burst over its banks and the flood plain between Livingstone and Palestine became a lake. The bridges over the White Mud went out with the flood, though, as the *Free Press* noted, that at Westbourne was one of the best in the Province.[106]

There was nothing to do but replace them. Notes were renewed at the bank, aid was sought and received from the Provincial Government which took over the main highway,[107] and contracts for bridges were let anew. At Woodside only a ferry was put in, but over the wide lower White Mud at Westbourne, another bridge went up, at least the third, and possibly the fourth or even fifth. But in 1880 there were fresh floods and renewed damage and the burden had to be shouldered again.

Clearly some attempt must be made to prevent the recurrence of such losses, and to drain the wet lands of the municipality. As early as 1878 the municipality had had a ditch dug to re-open the channel between Dead Lake and the White Mud, in order to make the old river course serve as an alternative outlet to the river in flood. Now the aid of the Provincial Government was sought and it cleared the banks of the White Mud of brush from Big Grass Marsh to Gladstone in order to give the swollen river a freer run, as well as meeting the cost of digging a number of ditches. The Council itself decided to carry the work as far above Gladstone as seemed necessary.[108] The Provincial Government also surveyed a channel for the White Mud across the south end of the Big Grass and in 1880 the work of cutting the channel was carried out at Provincial expense under the Act of 1880, introduced by C. P. Brown.[109] Supervised by Peter St. Clair Macgregor, the workmen cut through the peat with hay knives and floated the blocks clear. That winter, Warden Cory, in a letter to the *Free Press*, expressed himself satisfied with the work[110] and the White Mud now ran uninterrupted from its upper to its lower course. Brown's ditch, it was called, after the Minister of Public Works. Much local ditching, some by farmers themselves, but still more the dry years of the middle eighties, removed the menace of floods. In 1880 the Provincial Government awarded to the Manitoba and North Western Drainage Company the contract to drain the Big Grass Marsh and the Westbourne Bog. The company was to receive the even numbered sections in the areas drained in compensation, such 'swamp lands' being under provincial control. W. E. Sanford[111] was the chief member of the company, and by 1884, though the work was alleged to have been done very unsatisfactorily,[112] he had received fifty-two thousand acres for his services. So began 'the Sanford Estate', a source of controversy at the time, in which Brown as Minister of Public Works was involved, and a source of embarrassment to the municipality for years, as it had exempted the lands from taxation. Of the work

itself it is perhaps enough to say that the Marsh and the Bog were not completely drained until forty years later.

None of the villages of Westbourne, except Gladstone, attempted incorporation. The old mission of Westbourne had ambitions but they faded early. In 1874 Totogan had a boom on the strength of the hope that the Pacific Railway would cross the river there.[113] Town lots sold from eighty-five to a hundred dollars each but after a brief existence as a lake port, for the trans-shipment of wood and salt from Manitoba House, the little village passed out of existence. Woodside became a post office in the seventies, and has remained a post office. But Gladstone, situated farther from Portage, fostered by C. P. Brown, and given the municipal office in 1878, had a larger future. In August, 1879, the post office had been moved there from the old site at Palestine,[114] ending that early rivalry. When the boom came and the railway was at last to become a reality, Gladstone, like the municipality, was incorporated in order to give a bonus to that project. A public meeting was held in the school on 19th June, 1882, and Mr. James Anderson enthusiastically proposed that Gladstone be incorporated as a town with an area of nine square miles. The meeting was favorable to the project, but the report continues, "Mr. Christopher Fahrni objected to the size of the proposed town" (which would have included his farm) "but, upon explanation, concluded that the size would suit."[115] Mr. Fahrni's original opinion was justified, but for the moment the boom carried everything before it. It was so incorporated and Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, was asked to allow his name to be formally bestowed on the new town. This he did in a stilted, secretarial letter to the first mayor, Peter St. Clair Macgregor.[116] The name, so local legend runs, had first been given by C. P. Brown to a horse of his, a horse which always knew its own mind, but was of different minds at different times, and the village had been named after the horse. Be that as it may, the land boom and the railway brought Third Crossing into legal existence as the town of Gladstone.

The decade of the seventies also saw the settlements enter the political life of the Dominion and the Province as well as assume municipal form. The Province of Manitoba was given a representation of four in the Dominion House of Commons, and divided into four constituencies. The settlements of the White Mud were contained in the great constituency of Marquette, which ran from St. François Xavier on the east to the western boundary. In the

first federal by-elections, held in 1871, to give Manitoba representation at Ottawa, the vote in Marquette was tied. The returning officer not having the power to cast the deciding vote, neither candidate was declared elected. Both, Angus McKay and Dr. J. S. Lynch, were returned and sat in Parliament at different times.[117] In the general election of 1872, Robert Cunningham, joint editor and proprietor of *The Manitoban*, a Winnipeg paper, was elected over three other candidates, one of whom was John Norquay. Cunningham was "a Liberal and a supporter of the present administration".[118] Whether any poll was held at Third Crossing is not known.

In 1873, however, the "Pacific Scandal" overthrew Sir John A. Macdonald's government and brought in the Liberals under Alexander Mackenzie. In January, 1874, Mackenzie went to the country. Cunningham contested Marquette again, for the Conservatives this time; opposed to him was Joseph O'Connell Ryan, a young Portage lawyer, who ran in the interest of the Reformers.[119] In the result Cunningham was declared elected; but on petition an election trial was held, and forty-two of Cunningham's votes were declared invalid. These votes were all from the eastern, that is, the French, polls of the constituency in St. François Xavier and Baie St. Paul.[120] In general the French and the old settlers of High Bluff and Poplar Point supported Cunningham while the Portage and the new settlements supported Ryan. It was old against new, also French against English. The White Mud settlements took their poll at Westbourne; here eighty-two votes were cast for Ryan against two for Cunningham. Late in the day there was much drinking and the Canadians and half-breeds clashed, the Canadians being the aggressors. "I am sorry," wrote Rev. James Robertson, "that our Canadian People are more to blame than the half-breeds".[121] In the brawl, George West of Third Crossing was stabbed by a half-breed.[122]

Thus the race cry played a part in the third federal election in Marquette, and the episode is typical of the fierce intolerance with which the Canadian settlers regarded the half-breeds whom they distrusted not only because of their race and religion, but also because of the Red River Insurrection.

The party affiliations in these elections are curiously complicated, and have not always been understood by historians. The common statement is that members of Parliament from frontier constituencies posed as independents, in order to compel the parties to bid

for their support by doing favors for their constituencies, which as undeveloped communities stood much in need of public money. This is true, particularly of their attitude at Ottawa. Thus we find Ryan saying in his nomination speech that "The first plank in his platform was the railway plank."[123] Again at a complimentary dinner given him in 1878, he declared that he had been elected by both Conservatives and Reformers (Liberals) in 1874, and that the interests of the Province were more sacred to him than party.[124] In 1874 he had declared himself a Reformer, yet in 1878 he retired in favor of Sir John A. Macdonald, who was elected by acclamation for Marquette. On becoming Prime Minister, Macdonald did not stand for re-election in Marquette, but in Victoria, B.C., and Ryan was elected as member for Marquette by acclamation, presumably as a supporter of Macdonald. Nevertheless, "Mr. Ryan's instructions were to favor the government or party that would favor the Portage, or in other words, cause the road to deflect from the proposed route and tap the town".[125] Yet, whatever the members might do, the voters remained partisan; hence the constant appeals to partisanship that candidates made and the ease with which traditional party lines were established in the West once the route of the Pacific railway, the chief local issue, was determined.

In provincial politics the year 1874 was equally important. In the province the equality in political power of English and French was giving way to domination by the English as immigration flowed in, chiefly from Ontario. This shift of power kept provincial governments weak. By the Redistribution Acts of 1873[126] the provincial constituency of Westbourne was created, the first to be made up predominantly of new settlers. It was therefore a centre of the conflict between the old order and the new. The Acts were passed by the Clarke Government, which rested on French support. Accordingly the lower White Mud polls, in which elements of the old population resided, were kept in the constituence of Lake Manitoba, of which St. Laurent was the centre. But its successor, the Davis Government, bid for support from both old and new elements, and passed a new measure in 1874[127] which put the lower White Mud in Westbourne, in which, of course, the old voters were submerged under the new.

In the provincial election of that year four candidates were nominated in Westbourne, one McFadden, Walter Lynch of Totogan, David Leitch of Palestine, and C. P. Brown.[128] McFadden withdrew,[129] and the other three waged a merry fight in a series of public

meetings held in the larger settlements. Brown was in the lead from the first, and indeed campaigned most vigorously. His appeal "To the Electors of Westbourne" was as follows:

"1. A fairer and better system of education.
2. A road from Portage through the White Mud settlements.
3. English to be the language of the Province, in the Legislature and the Courts.
4. The public lands to be handed over to the Province.
5. The Province to be enlarged and the federal subsidy increased.
6. The Province to be divided into counties for municipal purposes.
7. Early communications with the outside world to be established."[130]

This is a very fair summary of the needs and desires of the settlers, and it is not surprising that Brown's appeal was favorably received. Moreover Brown ran as an outspoken opponent of the governments of Premiers H. J. Clarke and R. A. Davis, while Lynch incurred the suspicion of being in touch with Winnipeg land speculators and a government supporter, though running as an independent. Leitch, while also an independent, was but a blurred duplicate of Brown. Though the Davis Government, constituted December 3rd 1874, was not like its predecessor, that of Premier H. J. Clarke, based on the principle of equal representation of French and English, it was under suspicion of being a continuation of the regime which had obtained in the Province since 1870.

A full account exists of the campaign meeting held at Pine Creek, in the house of Mr. Ross, Matthew Whaley being in the chair. Brown began by denouncing the government as not possessing the confidence of the English-speaking people of the Province. He wanted the school law remodelled and the French language abolished; sectarian schools should be done away with as soon as possible. The use of French as a second official language he denounced as an unnecessary expense. On the same ground of economy, he favored the abolition of the Legislative Council. As noted above, Brown wanted a good municipal bill so that actual settlers would, among other things, derive benefit from the lands held for speculation.

Lynch, in his address, deprecated Brown's proposals, and spoke in favor of promoting immigration into the Province and of endeavoring to gain a greater subsidy.

Leitch took the same line as Brown, stressing that he was an independent candidate, obliged to no one.

In speeches from the floor, Thomas Cory expressed himself as strongly opposed to the status of the French in the government of the Province. The French, he said, were pursuing the same policy as in Ontario. He gave his support to Brown, and denounced independence as only another name for support of the government, whereas, "the present unholy compact known as the Government of Manitoba" should be ousted. Peter Moodie also supported Brown, but favored a more lenient policy toward the French. Only one voter present spoke in favor of the government.[131]

So it went on through meetings at Westbourne, Burnside and Woodside.[132] Lynch could not escape the suspicion of being a supporter of the Government, Leitch could not differentiate himself from Brown, Brown drove steadily ahead as an opponent of the Government. The vote stood: Brown 98; Lynch 70; Leitch 18.[133]

Behind the criticism of the government lay the hard times, the hostility of the new settlers to the old, and to the order established by the Manitoba Act, and the impoverished condition of the Manitoba treasury. Westbourne was a new Canadian settlement, it had undergone the first grasshopper year, it was badly in need of government aid in development. Brown most adequately voiced its needs and discontents.

This was the beginning of a political career of some note. Not until 1886 did Brown have to contest an election in Westbourne, receiving acclamations in 1878, 1879 and 1883. He made his mark in the Legislature at once, as a member of the opposition, led by Hon. John Norquay. He was appointed to the Board of Education, 1875-77. In 1878 he became Provincial Secretary, and in 1879 Minister of Public Works, under Premier Norquay. This post he held until 1886, when he became Provincial Secretary again and so continued until his resignation in March, 1887. On his first appointment the *Free Press* commented cordially. Brown was a fit man, and had been a good private member.[134] His appointment was welcomed too, because Brown was from the western-most constituency and thus representation in the cabinet would be broadened; that is, political power was shifting to the new Manitoba settled from Ontario. Brown it was also who introduced the principle of representation by population—modified, it is true, by territorial considerations—into the electoral system of Manitoba, and so struck

another blow at that system of communal representation, by which the French and the old settlements strove to preserve equality of political power with the new-comers.[135] This career, however, was not built on the general policy of opposition with which he began. The oppositionists of 1874 came together under John Norquay, did force a number of reforms such as the abolition of the Legislative Council in 1876 and Brown's municipal bills, but when they came to power in 1878, their opposition to the equal status the French enjoyed under the Manitoba Act had moderated, and like all other Manitoban governments, they achieved a working agreement with the French, now a definite minority. Thus it was that Brown, who considered himself a Liberal in the beginning, came to be a Conservative as Norquay led his followers into harassed allegiance with the federal Conservatives; who was first elected in part on the anti-French cry, came to be a defender of the compromise embodied in the Manitoba Act. It is an interesting example of the moderation which responsibility imparts. Much of it is also to be explained in terms of the great advance in wealth and organization made by Manitoba between 1874 and 1887, thirteen years which saw the main lines of the Province's development established.

In the seventies, then, the White Mud settlements passed from scattered homesteads to a fully organized society. It was a great accomplishment but little marred either by lawfulessness or that coarsening of manner so many frontier communities incurred. A great heritage had been brought in and transplanted with singularly little loss, the church sprung from a far different Palestine, local government going back to Robert Baldwin's Ontario, and the New England townships and beyond the seas to Norman and Saxon times; and self-government as the English-speaking people had developed it over the centuries and in new lands.

ROAD AND RAIL

Dominant in the life of the new settlements on the White Mud was the fact that they were out on the frontier, ahead of the advance of the institutions and conveniences of organized society. Not only had their people to make a living in the new land, not only had they to build up local institutions and knit connections with church and state, they had also to strengthen the slender and imperfect communications with the older society of the east by which they had reached their new homes. They had come in by the Trail, and the

Trail must serve as the only way back to the outside world, the only way to bring in necessities and send out what little surplus they had to sell. But if they were to thrive according to the common mode of American frontier settlement, of quick returns from exploitation of an abundance of cheap, new land, then they must replace the Trail by the railway, the indispensable condition of progress in those days.

But the story of the coming of the railway was one of hopes deferred and fruitless endeavor. The settlers at the Crossings of the White Mud had come too early. The hopes of 1871 had been founded on the settlement of the Red River troubles, the free land of the West, and the coming of the Pacific railway. The troubles in Manitoba had passed, the land was there for the taking, but the railway delayed.

It is true that the government of Sir John A. Macdonald, consolidating the Dominion with bold strokes, had set themselves to bind with steel the vast territories they had united under the name of Canada. When British Columbia entered Confederation in 1871, it did so with the pledge that the Pacific Railway would be begun in two years and completed in ten. But the granting of the charter to build the railway gave rise to the "Pacific Scandal", Macdonald's government fell from power and was replaced by that of Alexander Mackenzie, Liberal leader, in December, 1873. The Liberals were pledged to a policy of economy, and adopted the policy of building the transcontinental railroad piecemeal as a public work. In the event, the depression of 1874 made this a wise policy. But the early settlers were left with the prospect of years of waiting for rail communication with the outside world.

Not less important than the question of when the railway would come, was that of what route it would take. The hope that it would follow the North Trail was a factor in taking settlers to the Crossings.[1] It was not only communications which made it wise to homestead on the most likely route but also the great increase in land values that proximity to the railway would cause. The railway was the key to prosperity and with its coming land values would boom.

The first assumption, then, was that the railway would follow the old trails to the West. But as the surveys of the prairie section proceeded in the seventies, the engineer in charge, Mr.— later Sir—Sanford Fleming, became impressed with the cost of bridging or filling the great valleys the prairie rivers had cut below the level of the plains. The need of economy reinforced the strength of this

consideration. In 1874, therefore, it was decided that the railway should cross the Red River at Selkirk, run north-west between Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, cross the latter at the Narrows, and proceed westward to the Saskatchewan Valley and the Yellowhead pass.[2] The result was to threaten the city of Winnipeg with loss of that future as metropolis of the West, which its ambitious citizens had assumed to be its destiny, and to by-pass the settlements along the Assiniboine and the White Mud, settled in part because of the surveys showing the line running south of Lake Manitoba. And indeed it was reported in 1873 that speculators were very active in the White Mud settlements;[3] spurred on by a newly issued survey map of Dominion lands, showing the approximate line of the Canadian Pacific Railway crossing at Palestine.

The announcement of the choice of the inter-lake route was met by a fierce outcry. Everyone in Winnipeg, except those who had been foresighted enough to buy lots in Selkirk, rose in protest. At a mass meeting it was determined to petition the federal government to have the railway from Pembina cross the Red at Winnipeg and proceed westward south of Lake Manitoba. "Then our representatives will enlighten the Government as to the propriety, urgency and necessity of aiding in some way to run a line hence through the settlements up to White Mud River."[4] A petition to the Governor-General-in-Council was drafted; Signatures were gathered in Winnipeg and the western settlements; the great roll of the petition and signatures may be seen in the Provincial Library, Winnipeg, and those from Third Crossing are reproduced on page twenty-two. But the Government remained unmoved.

These events, as described above, led to the incorporation of the Manitoba Western Railway, and eventually to the incorporation of the Municipality of Westbourne.

Not for two years, however, does another mention of the Manitoba Western Railway appear in the records. Then comes the report of the Western Railroad Meeting, already noticed, out of which came the organization of the municipality of Westbourne and the railway bonus; a meeting in which C. P. Brown was active. Apparently lack of funds had delayed the construction of the proposed line, a lack common in early Manitoba and no doubt increased by the depression and the grasshopper plague. Now it was determined to solicit a land grant from Ottawa and to encourage the organization of municipalities which might grant bonuses. Although the city of Winnipeg voted a bonus two hundred thousand

dollars, and the municipality of Westbourne one of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, as recorded, while a vigorous agitation was kept going for a year, with meetings in Winnipeg and the western settlement passing resolutions in favor of municipal organization and bonuses, although a Board of Directors was chosen with A. G. B. Bannatyne as President,[5] the Manitoba Western Railway never began construction. Why is not known. The most likely reason is that the main purpose of the agitation was achieved without building the railway. In June, 1877, the representations of the Manitoban government had such effect that a Mr. Lucas, Civil Engineer, was sent to explore the southern route.[6] In April, 1878, it was reported that the decision had been made to adopt the southern route,[7] and in 1879 the Canadian Pacific railway was brought south to Winnipeg and the Louise Bridge over the Red was begun. For this reason little more is heard of the Manitoba Western Railroad Company. Lack of capital and the competition of other companies also had something to do with its disappearance. At any rate, in December, 1878, the Provisional Board decided to open the stock books and, if sufficient capital were not subscribed, to amalgamate with the Manitoba Western Colonization Road, which was done.[8] So the company vanished in the welter of local lines competing for charters and support in Manitoba at the end of the seventies.

While these events took place, Third Crossing went without a railway, and the Trail had to serve. Over it came the settlers' wagons and buckboards. Over it still moved the brigades of Red River carts, in shrieking chorus lurching westward to Fort Ellice and the Saskatchewan. Eastward went the returning brigades and the settlers' wagons, going to meet new arrivals and to buy necessities at Portage or Winnipeg. The crossing of the White Mud, bridged or unbridged, and the morass of Long Lake, imposed many a trial on the traveller. The Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the Masons of Manitoba, J. H. Bell, wrote of the trip in 1880.

> "I approach the subject of my visit to this lodge (Gladstone No. 11) with remembrances of mud and water. Mud of such depth and tenacity as is only to be found in Manitoba when it happens to be muddy and water of a coldness which still makes me shiver . . . the trip had to be made by team. Bro. Small . . . said repeatedly the roads were 'not bad'—we wondered what 'bad' meant. . . . But beyond walking some miles and occasionally helping the horses to pull the wagon, wet feet and muddy clothes, and wading a creek on our return, the coldness of the water causing Bro. How to utter strange sounds, we met no mishaps."[9]

In winter dog teams and horse drawn sleighs made better time and had easier going. How little could be exported by these means is apparent. Some grain, after 1876 some flour, some cattle and butter, is all that a few bare indications suggest as exports. The settlements had to be largely self-sufficing.

The isolation of the settlements, on the other hand, must not be exaggerated. Palestine was a post office by 1872 and the other Crossing shortly thereafter, with a semi-weekly service from 1873.[10] With the mails came the mail stage, light wagons in summer, sleighs, sometimes dog teams, in winter. There was, of course, from 1871, the stage from Winnipeg to Emerson, run by the Minnesota and Manitoba Stage Company. In two or three years stage lines ran from Winnipeg to Portage and along the Dawson Trail to the Lake of the Woods. There is, however, no indication that a staging company, carrying both mail and passengers, operated as far west as Third Crossing. In 1878 it was noted that "A weekly stage line has been put on between Palestine and the Saskatchewan."[11] It is possible that this line operated, for in 1877 the Minnesota and Manitoba Stage Company was bought out by the North Western Transportation Company, two members of which were owners of the Portage Stage Line.[12] This in turn followed on a proposal for a stage line to the Saskatchewan to operate with a federal subsidy until the railway should be built.[13] Thus means of transport for mail and a few passengers existed. But few details survive, and the stage left little impression on the memories of early Manitobans. With the coming of the railway the stage moved farther west, notably to the Black Hills of Dakota for the gold rush of 1876-78.

With the stage for mail and passengers came the steamboat for passengers and freight. On the waters of the vast Mississippi Valley the steamboat had had a prosperous and storied career in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. Like the stage coach, it could not compete with the railroad and prolonged its career only by moving west before the advancing steel. But when it crossed the low water shed between the Mississippi and Nelson basins and appeared as the "Anson Northup" in 1859, it was one of the factors which destroyed the old West of the fur trade and brought in the new West of the wheat economy. From then on the Red River steamboats were the principal outlet of the Red River valley, and the coming of the first steamboat after the spring break-up is joyously and lengthily recorded in the Winnipeg papers. In 1872 they linked up with the American railways at Moorhead on the Red.

In 1875 they struck out west when the "Prince Rupert" ascended the Assiniboine to Portage la Prairie.[14] Thereafter for six years high water on the Assiniboine saw the "Prince Rupert" the "Alpha", the "Cheyenne" and others ply its fantastically crooked course, in the flood year of 1879 even passing the rapids at Grand Valley below Brandon and ascending the Minnedosa river to Rapid City and the Assiniboine to Fort Ellice. Thus freight could be brought closer to Third Crossing; it may be that the engines for C. P. Brown's mill were brought up to Portage by steamer.

These feats of navigation make less preposterous the story of the "S. S. St. Boniface", the only steamboat to ply the White Mud. The "St. Boniface" was a small, propellor-driven steamer, of nine foot beam, forty foot keel and five tons burden.[15] When or by whom she was built is unknown, but in the late seventies she was plying the Red, part time at least, as ferry between St. Boniface and Winnipeg.[16] In 1879 the "little steamer" as she was always affectionately termed, was reported lost on Lake Winnipeg, but turned up stoutly and safely at Selkirk after surviving a heavy storm on those perilous waters.[17] The next entry is this: "The little steamer 'St. Boniface' has discovered a new wrinkle in passing under low bridges. They have one on the White Mud, which the vessel wanted to pass, so, as her smokestack was too high, they just sank her to the bottom, hauled her clear of the bridge and then set her afloat again."[18]

Thus ingeniously did the steamboat come to the White Mud. But how and why? The little steamer, purchased by Hon. C. P. Brown, ascended the Assiniboine, then crossed the plains on the high water of 1880, came down Rat Creek to the mouth of the White Mud, and so up to Third Crossing.[19] Why, is another matter. The railway which was to reach the Crossings, was already being organized, largely by Hon. C. P. Brown. It may have been that Brown saw Third Crossing as a lake port, but the only economic purpose the little steamer served was to haul supplies to the men cutting the channel of the White Mud through Big Grass Marsh.

One informant does state that she also brought fish from Lake Manitoba, but except on her first voyage, it seems unlikely that she ever plied the course of the lower White Mud. Her connection with the cutting of the ditch in the Big Grass, then, is perhaps the only major reason for her appearance on the White Mud. "They brought up the boat to find out whether the plan of cutting a ditch to connect the river at Westbourne and that at Gladstone was feasible."[20]

But local legend is not to be neglected; it is the most entertaining if not the most accurate, explanation. Hon. C. P. Brown had surveyed much of the White Mud region, and in his exuberant appraisal of the place he made his home, had marked the White Mud on a map—presumably issued by the Department of Public Works—as a navigable stream. For this his fellow legislators, knowing the small volume and crooked course of the river, had twitted him unsparingly. Finally he declared he would prove his point, bought the "St. Boniface" and she duly clove the waters of the White Mud. It is a good story, and at least typical of the man and the times.[21]

Be that as it may, the historian must be grateful to the little steamer for her advent makes complete, by however slight a margin, the story of western transportation at Third Crossing. The old steamer's engines, rusting on the river bank on the edge of Big Grass, are a monument to a vanished phase of frontier history and to the energy of the settlers of Third Crossing.

But by 1880, serious work was under way. In that year the Manitoba telegraph reached Gladstone;[22] it had reached Winnipeg in 1871. In 1878 Sir John A. Macdonald had returned to power on the platform of the National Policy. His government had reverted to the policy of building the Pacific Railway by chartering a private company, and these events, with the return of prosperity, promised a speedy construction of the railway. The reported decision of 1878 to build by the southern route was confirmed and in 1880, Sir Charles Tupper, Minister of Railways, promised Portage that the railway would run through the town.[23] This gave rise to a rumor that the line might yet cross the White Mud, but by the end of the year the decision had been made to continue west by the Assiniboine to Grand Valley, or Brandon, as it became. The South Trail had triumphed over the North and the Third Crossing had missed its destiny. Not until 1896 when construction of what became the Canadian Northern began at Gladstone did the historic northern route to the Saskatchewan really begin to vindicate itself as against the new route over the southern plains.

But already the tireless Brown had set out to redeem the situation. In February, 1880, the Westbourne and North Western Railway Company was incorporated to run from Poplar Point to the western boundary and then northward, east of Riding Mountain.[24] The line, it was said "would become a feeder of the C.P.R. running in a north westerly direction through territory which the latter

would not touch at all".[25] In 1881 the Act of incorporation was amended to have the line, now the Portage, Westbourne and North Western Railway, begin at Portage.[26] Thus Third Crossing, made economically subject to the Portage, was fighting to tap the far North-west. The capital stock was to be doubled, and the line to reach Gladstone in 1881.

So began the line which received a Dominion charter in 1883, was renamed the Manitoba and North Western in 1885, with a federal land grant, and was to be taken over by the Canadian Pacific in 1900. Before losing its identity, however, it had an energetic, if not too successful, career. In 1881, Hon. C. P. Brown became Managing Director.[27] Construction began in the same year.[28] The old "Countess of Dufferin", the first locomotive to arrive in Winnipeg, was to be used to lay track.[29] The hope that the steel would reach Gladstone in 1881 was not realized but the hope was strong enough to touch off the boom of that year, part of the great Manitoba Boom. Brown bestirred himself to raise money. In March, 1881, he announced to a meeting, attended by a delegation from the municipality of Westbourne consisting of Thos. Cory, Oliver McRae, A. E. Smalley, John Mason, Peter St. Clair McGregor, J. Small and A. Malcolm, that the company had the backing of a strong syndicate, headed by Sir Hugh Allan, of Canadian, Scottish and American capitalists.[30] This looks as though big game were afoot, for Sir Hugh Allan had failed to get the charter to build the Canadian Pacific in 1873, and it may be that behind him was the Grand Trunk, then building to Chicago and perhaps thinking of entering the Canadian West from the south. However, that may be, Brown urged the importance of the bonuses to be offered by the municipalities. Portage la Prairie, he said, would give one hundred thousand dollars and others seventy-five thousand.

All went smoothly. On the 15th and 16th of March, the Westbourne Council heard Mr. J. A. M. Aikins of Winnipeg—presumably solicitor for the railway company—present a by-law providing for an issue of debentures to the amount of seventy-five thousand dollars, and gave it first reading.[31] It was passed with amendments on the 8th of April, and on May 12th was submitted to the ratepayers.[32] Receiving a majority of one hundred and seven from more than one fourth of the qualified electors, as required by the Municipal Act of 1880,[33] it was ratified by Council on the 20th of May.[34] Then the legislature amended the Act of Incorporation of the Portage, West-

bourne and North Western Railway, ratifying the by-law and a similar one for one hundred thousand dollars of the municipality of Portage.[35]

The debentures were to pay six per cent interest, payable half yearly, and were to mature at stated intervals over a period of twenty years. Debentures or cash were to be paid over to the railway company on condition that it build "a line of railway from some point on the Canadian Pacific Railway thence in a line crossing the White Mud River at the head of navigation . . . thence to the town of Gladstone." The line was to be graded twenty inches above the level of the prairie "in all places liable to be drifted with snow";[36] at least three stations were to be built in the municipality—which duly appeared at the old Crossings as Westbourne, Woodside and Gladstone.

These events had touched off the boom in Gladstone, and it was this exuberant prosperity that led the citizens to seek incorporation in 1882. Incorporation was followed by the town assuming fifteen thousand dollars of the obligation undertaken by the municipality of Westbourne.[37]

The approach of the railway led to a struggle as to whether the line should run through the town or to the north. The line was actually cut to the north, where the gap in the hardwood forest can still be seen. The Council protested. The railway demanded a further bonus of twelve hundred dollars to take the line through the town and the Council, after a struggle, agreed.[38] The track was then brought through the town along Saskatchewan Avenue, which still preserves the line of the old Trail. Why there should have been this dispute is by no means clear. Land values were at the bottom of it, and it was no doubt one aspect of the struggle between the interests of C. P. Brown and those of James Broadfoot and George West, owners of the land on which Gladstone stood.

Work began on the Portage, Westbourne and North Western in July, 1881.[39] The work went on rather slowly, in spite of the efforts of the Managing Director, who is to be found in Ottawa seeking federal support for the line[40] and a charter to build beyond the boundary of Manitoba—extended in 1881—and arranging with new municipalities west of Third Crossing in New Manitoba for bonuses for the line.[41]

Finally in September, 1882, a dinner was given in Gladstone to the directors of the railway "in honor of the arrival of the iron horse".[42] Operation was to begin on October 1st, 1882, and the

long effort to ensure the economic future of Third Crossing was accomplished.

Thereafter Third Crossing had one daily event of unfailing interest.

> "In a small town trains were always of interest. They were a glamorous visible tie to the outside world, and around train time the tempo of the whole town changed. Buggies, bicycles, wagons, delivery carts, people on foot—all headed down the roads leading to the station. At the last minute Bena's and Maggie's old grandfather urging the fat old pony to an extra spurt of speed, arrives and ties up to the platform and tosses up the precious bag of mail.
>
> "If it is a train for Winnipeg and the East, the bustle and excitement is soon over.
>
> "If it is going west, to the West which still held mystery and allure, its noisy chug-chugging engine, bell ringing, passenger and freight cars and caboose, go swinging down the old Saskatchewan Trail and at Third Crossing it throws back a shrill good-bye whistle."[43]

Third Crossing had at last achieved the ultimate condition of progress, railway communication with the markets of the east and the world. Grain, cattle, cordwood, flowed out; supplies, machinery and new settlers flowed in. But the achievement was costly in inflated values and deadweight debt. The promise of 1871-1882 was not wholly realized: another frontier community, after a decade of disappointment, had discounted the future too heavily.

MAKING A LIVING

The economic life of Third Crossing was transitional—as a semi-isolated community it had to be largely self-sufficing, but as a community of capitalist farmers, it strove to develop surpluses for export at a profit. It strove to become part, that is, of the great capitalist order of the nineteenth century, founded on the free exchange of products produced under conditions generally competitive and operating on the whole under the law of comparative advantage. To progress it must borrow; as a debtor community it must export to meet its indebtedness; to discharge its indebtedness it must export at a profit. These were, in terms of exchange, the fundamental conditions of its economic life.

In terms of production, those conditions were the nature of the exploitable resources of the region. These were basically the virgin fertility of cheap land to which were added the timber, furs and incidental products of a wilderness area. No mineral resources existed, except the underlying clay and the gravel of the ancient beaches. Thus farming was of necessity the principal industry, but it was to be a varied or mixed agriculture and never, from the first, the monoculture of the high plains.

As noted, the settlers were almost wholly Ontario farmers; they brought with them practices and prejudices of the Ontario farmer. Wheat, oats and barley were the principal grains; there is some record of flax being raised, but none of corn. There was probably some rude rotation, such as that which survived in later days, of wheat, barley, oats and wheat again. Cultivation was simple; plowing, harrowing and sowing broadcast. Breaking was done in July, when the rains softened the sod, and in time for the plowed sod to rot. Fall plowing was considered of great importance, particularly as grain on spring plowing was short or failed in the dry years. Summer-fallowing came in in the middle eighties, as it did throughout the West. Weeds, notably the Canada thistle, mustard and wild oats, multiplied, and with the dry years compelled some measures to be taken to conserve moisture. "No better oats and wheat could grow than on the new land of Mr. John Lloyd, while the contrast between them and the fair crop on the old land significantly enough points out the advantages of summer-fallowing."[1] Thus the practices of cultivation were worked out which were to last until the third decade of this century.

In the first decade of settlement, farm implements were few and simple. The walking plow, the old iron plow with wooden beam, was the dominant type. It was usually ox-drawn at first; but by 1884 horses outnumbered oxen in the municipality. In the late seventies, however, the sulky plow came in. "Chris Fahrni broke fifty acres of land in less than eighteen days with a Tiffany sulky plow to which were attached three horses abreast."[2] In the same year advertisements appear of the John Deere walking plow with chilled steel mould-board to deal with prairie soils and shaped to turn a flat furrow to preserve moisture rather than drain it away. The harrow was long supreme in secondary cultivation, though the disc and packer probably came in in the late eighties or early nineties. Sowing at first was done broadcast; when the seed-drill appeared is not apparent. Reaping at first was done with the cradle, and the sheaves

were bound by hand. Reapers appeared in the seventies and in 1878 Hon. C. P. Brown brought in the first binder, which bound the sheaves with wire.[3] Thereafter binders came in rapidly. Harris & Sons, for example, opened an implement agency at Gladstone in 1888.[4] Threshing was done with the flail, and the grain winnowed by hand, but the middle seventies saw the advent of the steam-thresher. When the first one came to Third Crossing is not known, but they were in universal use in the eighties. "Mr. S. T. Wilson's new steam-thresher did its first work Monday and did it well . . ."[5] The prevailing practise was to cut, stook and stack; then the threshing gang worked through the neighborhood, cleaning up farm after farm in days which began at dawn and lasted into dark, in a season which sometimes ran into November, or even December. In the early dusk of fall the quavering call of the steam whistle for water or grain wagons often echoed the howl of the coyote.

Barb wire to keep cattle in, and cattle or wild animals out, was an indispensable factor in farming on the prairies. It was invented in the middle seventies, and had reached Third Crossing by 1884.[6] Fences before this were of rail or piled roots, as in Ontario; indeed, one reason for stressing the advantages of the woods of the region was that there was material not only for building and fuel, but also for fencing.

The varieties of grain grown are not fully known. Perhaps the first wheat was the old Red River variety, procured in Winnipeg or at the Portage. But increasingly it was supplanted, and completely after the grasshopper years, by two strains, Golden Drop and the famous Red Fife, which with its shorter growing season, escaped the early frosts in most years, and with its superb milling qualities made Manitoba No. 1 Hard the world standard of milling wheats. There is record of Norway or Black Oats being grown in the seventies, but otherwise the record is blank.

Cattle, sheep, hogs and poultry were parts of Third Crossing farming from the first; the animals came in with the settlers, being bought in Winnipeg which specialized in that as in other forms of settlers' outfitting. Cattle were driven up from the United States, corralled along the Portage Trail and sold to the settlers taking off for the West. This stock was a necessity in a community bound to be largely self-supporting in the basic foods. It was, moreover, a good way of building up capital while awaiting the railway. Freighters, surveyors, the western posts and the railway when it

came, furnished a local market of some importance for meat, eggs and butter. Hard times, like the grasshopper years, the wet years of the late seventies, and the drought and depression of the middle eighties, are always noted as causing a swing away from grain farming and an increase of livestock, indicating the flexible character of the mixed farming economy of Third Crossing, as contrasted with the rigidity of the grain growing of later days in the farther West. In the eighteen eighties cattle were being shipped out by the carload by Galloway Brothers, Chris Fahrni and W. E. Sandford.

While the community, however, could be largely self-sufficing, it was not its purpose to be. Markets were needed and sought. As surpluses were developed they were sold locally, or to travellers on the Trail, freighters, surveyors and settlers bound westward. Some grain was even teamed to the Portage or Winnipeg, as the trouble over the seed grain mortgages reveals, but this was a hardship and must have been resorted to infrequently before the railway came. Even with the railway, difficulties remained; the service was poor, and the building of warehouses and elevators did not keep pace with the expansion of the crop area and the yield of bumper years like that of 1887, when the grain was piled beside the tracks and ran in a golden flood over the rails.[7] It was better to turn the grain into meat or flour for shipment along the Trail, than to export it as grain before the railway came. When the railway did come, Third Crossing grain followed the first Manitoba shipment of 1876 out to the markets of the world.

Other exports then were furs, as in the old days, and down to modern times, for the Big Grass and the wooded course of the White Mud gave protection to the muskrat, the weasel, mink and otter not even the coming of settlement removed. There was also the digging of senaca root, particularly in the northern townships, and the gathering of wild hops. When the railway came in 1882, ties for its construction, and cord wood for fuel in Winnipeg and Portage, were cut in considerable quantity. Ties for the construction of the Manitoba and North Western as it moved on westward were shipped out all during the eighties.

Supplies on the other hand, came from Winnipeg, Portage, or local stores and mills. At first all necessities, flour, salt, sugar, coal oil, came from Winnipeg and Portage. But a store was built at Westbourne in 1872 and two at Palestine in 1873.[8] One was J. A. Davidson's, which in 1874 was taken over by George McRae. The other was C. P. Brown's.

In Brown, about whom much of this history has turned, one meets the local capitalist and western enterpriser in full flower, and it was perhaps in this role rather than in that of politician that he was at his most characteristic. Brown was born in New Brunswick in 1848, grandson of a British army officer who settled in the province after the American Revolution. There he taught school and became a civil engineer and land surveyor. He came West as a land surveyor in 1870 or 1871 at the age of twenty-two or three, and in 1873 surveyed the district of Third Crossing and acquired the two quarter sections on which the village of Gladstone, largely through his efforts, arose. In 1873 he established one of the two first stores in competition with J. A. Davidson, whose sister, Emma, he married in 1874. In 1875 he surveyed the village, preserving the line of the Trail which ran diagonally across his quarter sections, thus giving rise to the local legend, perhaps not without basis, that the survey made settlement on Brown's land more attractive than on the adjoining land of Broadfoot and West.[9] In 1875 he erected the first sawmill in the district, which was water-driven,[10] and in 1876 brought in a steam engine to operate both the sawmill and a grist mill. This was a thirty-five horse power Watrous engine, which drove two runs of stones, producing one hundred bags of flour a day. A twenty horse power Watrous Engine was installed to drive the sawing machine, a lath machine and a planing and sticking machine.[11] Logs were floated down the river to supply the mill.

As well as these activities in Gladstone, Brown took over a dry goods' store in Winnipeg,[12] where as local member he now spent much time and to which he was to move on becoming a cabinet minister. In September he obtained a contract to supply the Mounted Police posts at Beautiful Plains, Shoal Lake, Swan River, Qu'Appelle and Touchwood Hills, and left for the West to carry out the contract.[13] That in this and in his new mill he was successful may be assumed from this letter from Lieutenant-Governor Laird of the North-West Territories on the quality of flour from the Gladstone mill. "Allow me to say that after a fair trial I was much pleased with the flour. The sample was sweet, sound and good."[14] In May, 1877, Brown sold his Winnipeg store but advertised that his store at Palestine had a complete line of goods for settlers going westward, and by outfitting there they could avoid carrying their goods over the muddy hundred miles of Trail from Winnipeg.[15] In the same advertisement he offered town lots for sale in Winnipeg, Selkirk, Portage, Totogan, Westbourne and Palestine, as well as

farms. From these ventures Brown was to pass in 1881 to managing directorship of the Portage, Westbourne and Northwestern Railway, and in 1882 to the Local Advisory Board of the Manitoba Loan and Investment Co. Ltd., of a capital of $2,500,000 and formed expressly for the purpose of lending money on the security of real estate in Manitoba.[16] Little wonder that a Westbourne correspondent hopes that Brown, "who seems to outrival all the enterprises of the province and to have innumerable irons in the fire", would build in Westbourne,[17] or that a Livingstone correspondent was certain Gladstone, not Totogan, would be the metropolis of the crossings, since ". . . it has a live man at the helm, one who is determined to succeed, and he deserves it."[18]

There is no better instance of the mingled affection and zeal with which Brown worked for the district he thought his own than this letter of the towns and municipalities along the White Mud.

> "In the course of the last few years it has often occurred to me that the name bestowed on the River flowing through our section of the Country is a singularly inappropriate one. From my own personal observation there is not a finer stream in the whole Province, and I do not know of one in the Territories that can excel it . . . .
>
> "I remember well the impression I had when I first heard the name, White Mud River; . . . I at once apprehended that a stream so bad as to deserve such an appellation in a country whose rivers were all muddy must be bad indeed. But, as you will agree, such is not the case, and I would now suggest that we can now adopt a name which would be more in keeping with the facts and with the beauty of the stream; which would not grate so harshly on the ear or be detrimental to the country thro' which the river flows."[19]

He then goes on to suggest "Westbourne" as a fitting name, both as euphonious and also because the river does mark the western limit of the Red River Valley prairie, but his suggestion was not accepted and the sparkling White Mud continued to flow placidly under its familiar misnomer.

It was this boyish, buoyant enterprise that made Brown a marked man and unrivalled leader in Third Crossing. Nor has the list of his activies there been completed. He sold his share in the store to Mr. J. A. Davidson. When fire destroyed both grist and sawmill in 1878, as well as the town bridge, he re-built both. Early in 1879 the first newspaper, the *Gladstone News*, was started with his capital, with a Mr. Maine as editor.[20] Brown assisted his brother-in-law,

J. A. Davidson, and Davidson's partner, J. H. Hamilton, to build a large new store. In 1882 he entered into the partnership of Bailey, Lockhart and Brown, bankers, which fittingly closed the number of his enterprises at Third Crossing by giving the community that last refinement of economic civilization, a banking service.

In addition to Brown's ventures, however, were others of importance. Peter Ferguson opened a store in 1877. The same year saw James Broadfoot begin the second grist mill in the settlement. James Doherty moved his hardware store, which he had been carrying on in a shack, in 1878 into Brown's old store when Davidson and Hamilton built. J. D. McQueen opened a new store in 1879 and in 1880 Davidson and Hamilton sold out to Galloway Bros. from Paris, Ontario, which was to be the largest and most noteworthy of all Gladstone firms. To these mercantile establishments must be added the first hotel, the Windsor House, of J. A. Malcolm, which entertained guests from 1876 on. In 1878 Malcolm founded a local industry in his cheese factory which did business for some years, and in 1877, James Newcombe, having previously had his forge in the open air, built a blacksmithy to render a farming community invaluable service.[21]

By the end of a decade Third Crossing had its needs supplied by two gristmills, one sawmill, four stores, two blacksmith shops, one tinsmith, three hotels, and one livery stable.[22] The increment since 1880 was owing to the gathering force of the boom. To these may be added the professional services of the first doctor, Dr. Ferrier, just arrived, and the first lawyer, Geo. Claxton, Esq., to arrive shortly thereafter. Here then were the essential supplies and services of a community.[23]

Such assets, however, had been acquired only by purchase, either from savings, earnings or from borrowing. How did Third Crossing attract liquid capital for transformation into fixed capital in land, building and machinery, in professional skills and also for current consumption? If the process of capital accumulation could be traced, then the process of transition from a debtor to a community free of debt could be established.

As already noted, most of the settlers had some capital; many earned some money by freighting and so on, or by following a trade in Third Crossing or Winnipeg. But these earnings must have largely gone into current expenses, as did, for example, Peter Cleland's.

Third Crossing at the beginning of its second decade; Morris Avenue looking north across Saskatchewan Avenue (the Trail) and the White Mud. On left of picture, The Queen's Hotel, Peter Ferguson's Store, the Moodies' *Age* Office. Across the river, Malcolm's Cheese Factory. On right of picture, McQueen's Store, Doherty's Tinsmithy, Wilson's Hotel, Brown's Gristmill.
Courtesy of Mrs. H. O. McDiarmid.

The standard way of raising money was to borrow by mortgaging the land. What was involved here is instanced from Peter Cleland's notebook.

"May 8th, 1878.

Mortgage to Robert Tait for $250.00 for three months at 18% interest payable half-yearly. Int. $45.00.

January 10th, 1879.

Mortgage to Angus McFee for $250.00 for three years at 15% interest payable half-yearly with a proviso to redeem by giving one month's notice. Int. $37.50."

In July of 1879 Cleland attempted to refund these mortgages at a lower rate of interest.

Winnipeg, July 3rd, 1879.

"P. B. Cleland, Esq.,
Gladstone.

Dear Sir, Re your proposed loan for $700.00

Your favour of 28th instant is received and contents noted.

Our rate of interest is 12% and at present is not likely to be any lower as there is a good demand for money at this rate.

Enclosed I hand you a form of Application which kindly fill up with a description of your property and forward to me together with $10.00 to pay any preliminary expense and which I will account to you for.

I am,
Yours truly,

G. A. Muttlebury,
Manager, Manitoba and
North West Loan Co."

Winnipeg, July 10/79.

"P. B. Cleland, Esq.
Gladstone,

Dear Sir, Re P. B. Cleland

Your favour of 12th inst. came to hand today. From what I have been able to learn of your property you value it too highly, at any rate we could not loan more than $400.00 to $450.00 on it. Should you be willing to take this amount inform me by return mail and I will bring the matter before the Board.

I am, etc."

Winnipeg, July 23, 1879.

"P. B. Cleland, Esq.
Gladstone.

Dear Sir: Re P. B. Cleland.

Your favour of 19th received.

You wish to borrow $600 in addition to Robt. Tait's Mortgage for $250 making the total encumbrance $850. This is quite beyond our views and I therefore return your Abstract and Interim Receipt.

The most that we could do would be to advance $500 which would barely pay off those two Mortgages. We must have the first Mortgage on the place.

Yours truly,
G. A. Muttlebury.

*That is $500 to be used in lifting McFee's and Tait's Mortgage. G.A.M."

It is scarcely necessary to add that poor Peter was constrained to sell his land at Third Crossing.

The mortgage loan companies were undoubtedly the principal source of credit in these days, such as The Manitoba Loan and Investment Company, with which Hon. C. P. Brown was connected. The Canadian banks were coming into the field in the late seventies, the Ontario and Merchants Banks being the first. There were also private Manitoba banks, like the well known house of Alloway and Champion. Business men, and the municipalities dealt with these. But it was the local private bank, like that of Bailey, Lockhart and Brown which served minor local needs. The details of this business may await consideration; for the moment it is sufficient to note that it was a principal agency in bringing in outside, and using local, capital in developing the community.

Both the municipality and the town, by signing notes in anticipation of taxes with the Winnipeg banks, and by the sale of debentures for railway bonuses, drainage and other public works, also capitalized the prospects of the community and brought in liquid capital.

The process is clear, and may be traced in remarkable detail. The question was whether the future of the community had been borrowed against too heavily, and how and when these liabilities were to be liquidated. This question the boom of 1881-1882 was to pose and point.

LIVING

It is perhaps an old-fashioned philosophy, but what is most important about a people is not how they order their lives or provide for their living, but how in themselves they live. Man is most himself, least a tool and least an agent, when he is at leisure, in talk or at play. Yet this aspect of life is the most evanescent of all; men do not often record their leisure; talk is seldom preserved, and play is the matter of a day, usually remembered as pleasure, not as an event. Then, too, these are for the most part private things, not reported for the public. But, above all, they are things done in and for themselves, not for ulterior ends, and are complete in themselves. They do not require recording, being at once ephemeral and lasting.

The people of Third Crossing were people of the nineteenth century and of the civilization sprung from western Europe and particularly from the British Isles, as it had been modified by contact with the North American wilderness. That is to say, they they were devout Christians of the Protestant persuasion with a greater or lesser number of 'backsliders'. In manners they were conventional but the conventions were meant to mark the dignity of the individual and to convey a great human kindness; often they failed in this purpose and they were already breaking down on the frontier, and kindness now—sometimes its unrestrained opposite—flowed spontaneously. The symbols of the conventionality of the day are the family portrait and the unused parlor; of the kindness, the door never locked, the open hand, the stranger at table. They are often called individualists, and in economic matters they were, but in social matters, the dominating concept was that of good neighborliness, a homespun and practical Christianity. To be known as a good neighbor was to have won the highest praise of the community.

The settlers of Third Crossing were strong patriots, priding themselves on their loyalty, and regarding the nation as the natural unit of human association. It was, after all, the age of national consciousness, while nationality was yet a creative concept, not yet become a retarding and destructive force. The twenty-fourth of May was becoming a great national holiday, and three cheers for the Queen closed all sportive gatherings. The celebration of the Queen's birthday at Westbourne in 1877 was such as to "place Westbourne's loyalty in such a light as would scorch to death all

Chartists and Fenians forever".[1] Quite unaware of class conflict, they assumed that in the long run and as a rule each got his economic deserts. Opportunity was open to all, and every man of energy might make a place for himself, subject to reasonable restraints and within the limits of social order which they identified with the nation, a community bestowing benefits and imposing duties. Of this they felt themselves to be significant and active members, qualified for offices of trust, and capable of forming opinions and shaping policy. In short, they were democrats, believing in and practising self-government, but they comprised a democracy which preserved a distinction between the theoretical equality of all men and the practical capacities of individuals. Any man might hold office, but in fact the proven leader was usually re-elected.

In the community the family was the primary social unit. The only factor in life at Third Crossing which in any way infringed on the old family supremacy was the public school, and this, as it existed then, was but an association of like-minded and often kindred families seeking to achieve a common purpose. Nor were there the distractions of the modern world, whereby nearly all amusement is sought outside the family, the moving picture, the motor car, the corner drug store, the youth organizations. The fireside, still not a figure of speech, was what it had been from primitive times, the focus of all life, economic and social. Hence it was in the home and with the parents that amusement was sought; in talks, reading, games and song. It will not do, of course, to make an idyl of a vanished past; they were homes where parental severity and a grim Puritanism checked young spirits and prohibited pastimes which would now seem very innocent indeed. But, whatever its character, home was the place where one found one's happiness or not at all.

What songs they sang, what games they played, what books they read, no known record tells. But childhood memory makes it certain that the songs of Burns and Foster, charades and blind man's bluff, the Bible, the novels of Scott, and Dickens, and the poems of Burns were a substantial part of recreation and edification in most households. The same source makes it only too apparent that there were also homes where these comparative riches were unknown and unvalued, and where there was no play for weariness and dullness, and the talk was of crops, weather and neighbor's affairs. This was for most the second frontier; and the cultural decadence the frontier invariably imposed was also present in Third Crossing.

It was, of course, peculiarly upon the women that the work of keeping family life sweet fell, for family and home were synonymous, and the women were the home-makers. Of the pioneer woman much has been written either in praise or pity. But they themselves approached their hard and unusual life in no sentimental way; not self-pity, but a quiet pride, or even complete unconsciousness of any uncommon achievement, is what strikes the observer of those who went through the years of original settlement. They followed their men; they bore what had to be borne; so far as they could they kept their families fed, clothed, clean, and decently brought them up. They did so, as it seems to those of the second generation of Third Crossing, with extraordinary success; by and large, after going through the frontier experience of the seventies and eighties the people of Third Crossing were as civilized as when they went in, and that civilization they transmitted, on the whole, undiminished. It was not everywhere so, where the frontier experience was harsher, or the original settlers less resolute.

Yet this is not said to diminish the hardships endured in the first decade of settlement. For example, in 1881, the notice appeared in the *Free Press*, "Gladstone Wants a Doctor".[2] Gladstone did indeed; diptheria had been raging all winter in the townships to the north-west, and many children died; in one family, four, three being dead in the house at one time. There had been no doctor from the beginning; how much sickness there had been, how many children born, we do not know. But there had been no professional training to help, only the kindly help of good women who shall be nameless for their name was everywoman. This same year, possibly because of the diphtheria epidemic, saw the arrival of Dr. Ferrier, and thereafter there was usually a doctor in the community. But these were "mostly new beginners who merely stayed here until their whiskers grew, then left for pastures new."[3] But, until then, Nature took its course; the strong flourished and the weak succumbed.

Of the household arts, other than the strictly utilitarian, such as cooking, sewing, knitting, none apparently existed. The machine age had already eased the housewife of many of her tasks and stripped her of many of her skills. It was by her skill in cooking, particularly in the making of bread and pies, that the good wife was known. There was little chance for versatility except in preserving wild fruits, when sugar was available, and making pickles, for materials were scant; the staples of flour, potatoes, meat, molasses and dried fruit might be well prepared, but they could not be transformed. So the

skill consisted in doing the standard thing well; bread in the house nearly always signified a woman also, and a good bread-maker was in price above rubies. The lone bachelor soured his stomach with bannock, but the wise bachelor sought and married a good cook as soon as he had a roof on his shack.

For women had a price on the Western frontier which eventually they exacted in complete emancipation from male domination. Rev. James Robertson wrote to Mrs. Robertson from Third Crossing in 1874, "Pine Creek settlement is not large, and most of the persons having claims are bachelors. I never knew a better chance for old maids, anything will go here. Women have come here that would never have had an offer in Canada, and they have been picked up in a trice, and that by good looking active fellows, one by a man at least ten years younger."[4] The disparity between males and females in the census of 1878 points the observation of the reverend gentleman and of course reflects a familiar phenomenon of the frontier.

However much the family might be the centre of social life, its resources were naturally not inexhaustible, and company of neighbors and relative was eagerly welcomed to end the isolation of the farm and break the monotony of the workaday world. In some measure the "bees" for house-raising, plowing, or barn-raising or for quilting or sewing, served this purpose as well as getting work done. Such was the plowing bee held at Mr. A. Downey's Silver Stream farm, when "between 30 and 40 acres of summer fallow were turned over. A dance took place at night."[5] But either the social historians of Ontario have exaggerated the formal character of the "bees" of Old Ontario, or the bee was dying out at the time of the settlement of Third Crossing. Neighbors liked to work together, often did, and enjoyed it, but few records exist of the traditional bee.

Not at all a formal institution either, but not far removed, was the visit, no mere call for politeness' sake, but a moving in of a whole family on another family, the generations sorting themselves out, for a whole day or a whole week-end. It was a response to a real hunger; they wanted to talk, to have some change from the routine of their own circumvented round of work and family life. When the visit was over, the wagon, or buckboard, would start out on the longer or shorter journey home.

Picnics of many kinds and on many occasions, civic, Orange, Masonic, Church, and School, were in many ways an extension of

such family junketing. The civic picnic at Gladstone in July, 1884, is typical. It was arranged by the councillors and leading citizens, and held in Councillor Davidson's Grove. The local members, Hon. C. P. Brown and Mr. Robert Watson, together with Mr. J. A. Davidson of Neepawa, were invited. The Gladstone brass band furnished the music. As it was a basket picnic, families brought their own refreshments. A baseball game between Portage and Gladstone was unfortunately lost by the home team despite their best endeavors. A dance at night, kept up for an indefinite period, closed the festivities.[6]

Then too, there was the "Social" or Soirée, that is social evening or gathering. It might take the form of an informal or an organized concert; it might be merely "fun and games"; it might be the genteel and refined "lawn social" held to raise funds for the church or in honor of a visiting dignitary, the forerunner, usually, of the later, "church tea"; or it might have some definite feature such as the "box social. At these it was incumbent upon every lady attending to prepare a repast in a suitable box; the boxes were auctioned off in the course of the evening to the men, and the purchaser had his refreshment with the lady whose name he found in the box. Keeping secret the identity of the box of the belle of the neighborhood was a major diplomatic task, never accomplished, as the lady could always reveal the secret to whom she would.

Dancing was also among the recreations of Third Crossing, though it must be noted that some people danced, and some disapproved of dancing—it is not quite clear where the dividing line ran; certainly not along denominational lines. There was, to give the one known early instance, a party at George McCrae's, with dancing from nine o'clock to half past twelve. Sixty people were present, and after refreshments were served, the dancing was continued until daylight. As it is also noted that Mr. McCrae's house measured thirty by twenty-four feet, and it had a shingled roof, this was probably a house-warming.[7] And what has come down by hearsay suggests that dances were, in winter, not infrequent, definitely vigorous, and night-long. Certainly the columns of the *Age* reveal that this was just one of the first of many dances, house-warmings and weddings, and those with no excuse beyond the fun. A dance at a wedding might well end in a "chivaree", the making miserable the first night of the newly weds, when the groom had failed to pay in full the tribute males exact from a "happy man."

These were the spontaneous amusements of the community; around the churches sprang up more organized efforts for personal and community betterment. Thus we find the Young Men's Library Society of Palestine in 1873 giving an entertainment presided over by Rev. John McNabb. Speeches were given by Messrs. McNabb, Cory and Moodie, followed by readings by Messrs. Moodie, Cory, Ferguson and Alcock. These, it was observed, "would have done credit to any town in Ontario". Mr. George Alcock then gave some recitations. Miss Davidson gave some very select pieces at the organ, accompanied by Mrs. West. The choruses were well rendered. The singing of Mrs. Ferguson and Miss Ward were thought especially praiseworthy. The meeting closed with the National Anthem.[8]

Three weeks later the Young Men's Lyceum heard a lecture by Mr. McNabb, on "Mental Culture".[9] Such efforts at mutual entertainment and improvement were widespread in nineteenth century Canada, and no doubt were more frequent in Third Crossing than these few glimpses suggest. When the files of the *Age* begin they are frequent in one form or another, such as the temperance programme of the Gladstone Literary Society. Rev. Allen opened the meeting with a temperance reading, and was followed by Mr. Turner, who gave a good song in first rate style, which received an encore. Mrs. Reece gave a temperance reading, which was applauded. Then Dick Alcohol was tried with all the trappings of a Court of Law, and was condemned. Impromptu speaking was then tried for the first time, Mr. Bailey being thought worthy of honorable mention. Messrs. Stalker, Allen and others then gave some very good temperance speeches. A challenge to debate from the Portage Literary Society was accepted. Messrs. Allen, Stalker, Claxton and Best—two ministers, a lawyer and a teacher—were appointed to draw up a list of suitable subjects. The meeting adjourned after singing "God Save the Queen".

The programme for next week's meeting was:

Instrumental music . . .	Miss Broadfoot
Song	Mr. L. Dunning
Reading	Miss Stalker
Solo	Mrs. Allen
Reading	Dr. Ferrier
Oration	Mr. W. Martin

Debate: "Resolved that Canada is preferrable to the United States as a place for settlement".

Affirmative: Messrs. Stalker and Moodie
Negative: Messrs. Herron and Bailey

Critic's Report.

A collection to be taken up.

"GOD SAVE THE QUEEN"[10]

Again we find the church at work in a social spirit in the Christmas tree entertainment held in Gladstone under the auspices of the Methodist Sunday School in 1877. There were two Christmas trees and Santa Claus duly made his appearance. The Gladstone Glee Club under the leadership of Mrs. Morrison, wife of Rev. Wm. Morrison, made its first appearance. The children's choir sang. Then Mr. C. P. Brown, M.P.P., spoke in praise of Sunday Schools. A reading, "Beyond", was given by Miss Alice Arkell. Mr. A. Malcolm lent his organ for the festivity.[11] Here we have a wealth of detail on the church as a centre of moral edification and innocent recreation, and it is significant that it was the Wesleyan Methodist Church which led in these matters. The puritan spirit of many Presbyterians of that day was grim and inclusive; the puritanism of the Methodists was selective, aimed at specific social evils rather than at a general repression of the natural spirits of the individual.

Thus we find the United Temperance Lodge organized in the Wesleyan Church, and arranging to meet every Tuesday evening at seven o'clock.[12] It started vigorously and we hear of a Temperance Entertainment, addressed by Rev. Wm. Morrison and Rev. J. S. Stewart on the evils of intemperance. Music, readings and recitations followed, as samples of the pleasures of temperance presumably. The Lodge, it is noted, now numbers sixty members.[13] It continued active throughout 1878; in January the Manitoba Legislature received a petition from Palestine, as well as other places, for a more stringent license law than that passed in 1873.[14]

A more urbane civilization may smile at this moral earnestness, but these men were combatting a positive evil. There was little moderation on the frontier; men abstained, or drank to excess. There were few opportunities to drink, and the work was hard, the climate severe. When the opportunity came, indulgence followed. About the only alcoholic drink was hard liquor, often bad and usually

cheap. When whiskey reached five cents a glass again, in Gladstone, in 1885, the boom was finally over. Beer and wine were little known or appreciated; hence the drawing to extremes of complete abstention or over-indulgence. The same phenomenon appeared with respect to cards, the extremes being draw poker at one and allowing no cards in the house at the other. Then, too, the practise of treating, of requiring each new-comer to buy a round of drinks and every one present to down the treat, made the tavern not the social club it might have been, but a place where men willy-nilly got drunk if they stayed, with not infrequent outbreaks of violence as a result. Against this excess most decent people protested and, of course, the busy-bodies had their day too. In consequence the temperance movement, as it really was, prohibition being a later thing, continued; in 1890, in particular, the Royal Templars of Temperance became a vigorous force in the community. In 1894 the editor of the *Gladstone Age* could write: "Gladstone is now a temperance town. It was not always so. Liquor and blood have flown down the streets of Gladstone like water in the years of the flood . . ."[15] It was never quite that bad, but tales of tavern brawls have come down which suggest that there were evenings when it was well for the peacefully inclined to keep off the streets. Then too, there is the yarn of the drunken Swede who was deposited while unconscious in the new town jail. When he came to in the dark small hours and found himself confined, he rose up in berserk wrath, kicked the end out of the lock-up, and departed howling into the night, never to be seen at Third Crossing again.

Less concerned than the temperance folks with moral edification were the fraternal associations. Of these, two appear at Third Crossing in the first decade, The Loyal Orange Lodge and the Order of Masons. "Enniskillen Loyal Orange Lodge, No. 1,355 of Palestine celebrated the 12th in good loyal style". Addresses were given by the Grand Chaplain, Rev. W. R. Morrison, by T. Morton and T. Cory, Sen. "The proceedings closed with three cheers for the Queen and the Hon. C. P. Brown".[16] Again in 1882 it is reported that the Lodge celebrates the 12th with a dinner and speeches; "a prominent feature of the speeches was their freedom from political animus, forming a pleasant contrast to the tirade by a certain gentleman at Portage la Prairie".[17] This last remark perhaps illustrates that change of temper and loss of bigotry which has marked the Orange Order in Manitoba. In the second transplanting the Order lost much of its original animus and became an

almost purely fraternal association. This is perhaps confirmed by the tale of Mickie Niven, a Catholic, who for five dollars would beat the Protestant drum on the Twelfth and by night be as drunk as any Orangeman.

The Gladstone Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was founded in 1879 with Alexander Nicholl as Worshipful Master and Archibald Macdonald and C. P. Brown as Senior and Junior Wardens. It was formally constituted in 1880 and numbered eleven in the Grand Lodge of Manitoba.[18]

The Lodge was, it would seem, the first of a number of fraternal orders later active in the community, such as the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, which appears in 1884.

But for men and boys at least, perhaps more important because more enjoyable, and more continuous, were the sporting activities of Third Crossing, chiefly athletics and hunting. It is difficult to believe that in so Scottish a settlement, curling was not first, as it was to become most cherished of sports. Of when the roaring game first came to Third Crossing no record is known. A meeting to organize a curling club was held on the 9th of February, 1885, and Dr. Scott was elected president; J. Small and Rev. D. Stalker first and second vice-presidents, John Mason, secretary-treasurer, and Messrs. McLaren, McDougall and Moodie, directors of the "Gladstone Curling Club".[19] Thereafter we may be sure curling was a steady pastime of winter evenings; no other sport has aroused such devotion at Gladstone. How it throve is evidenced by many later reports, notably that of the curlers' oyster supper in 1894.[20]

It is quite otherwise with baseball. The first record of this game is for 1875. "Mudjekeewis—the above is the name of a baseball club just organized at Palestine, of which the officers are J. [T.] L. Morton, president, John Mason, vice-president, W. J. Ferguson, Captain, and John A. Davidson, Secretary."[21] Mudjekeewis was, of course, the name of the west wind in Longfellow's "Hiawatha".

This organization was not without result. A correspondent wrote two days later:

> "Allow me to give you a short synopsis of the games that took place at the village of Gladstone, Palestine settlement, on the Queen's birthday. The following is the programme and the names of those to whom prizes were awarded:

Men's foot race, 300 yards, 1st, David Paul
2nd, Andrew Paul

Indian foot race, 1st, Chippewa
2nd, Dakota Tom

[Two years after the Indian Scare!]

Squaw Race, 1st, Winona
2nd, Maggie

Boy's race, ten years and under twelve,
1st, W. Broadfoot
2nd, Jas. MacLeod

Boys over twelve and under fifteen,
1st, Robert Little
2nd, Robert Broadfoot
3rd, William Broadfoot

Standing Jump, 1st, Robert Ferguson
2nd, John Ferguson

Running High Jump, 1st, John Ferguson
2nd, Alex. Ferguson

Boy's Jump, 1st, F. McCrea
2nd, G. Hindman,
3rd, W. Broadfoot

Sack Race, 1st, W. J. Ferguson
2nd, Thos. Cory

Three-legged race, 1st, W. J. Ferguson, Andrew Paul,
2nd, F. Rerguson, Thos. Cory

"The programme was well carried out, the different prizes well contested, and the prizes satisfactorily awarded. The games were closed by a baseball match between the members of the Palestine Club, in which some really good play was shown. Among those whom I consider as having shown the best play on the occasion was Wm. McCrea, who handles the bat well, and W. J. Ferguson, who is a splendid catch. The rest proved themselves no novices at the game, and all played well, but unfortunately a dispute having arisen in the eighth innings between the captains of the respective sides and the umpire, the game was not finished, it being late. The game stood; W. J. Ferguson, Captain, 35; Robert Ferguson, Captain, 19. So ended the Palestine games. God Save the Queen. Livingstone, May 25th, 1876, A Lover of Sport."[22]

The tradition of organized athletics, so well begun, was long kept up, in track sports, baseball, in football and even in cricket. The exploits of J. G. Cory and T. Morton on the track at St. John's

College, and at the fairs in summer, are carefully reported in the *Age*. In 1894, for example, "Gladstone celebrated Dominion Day right loyally". A cricket match between Gladstone and Richmond [Plumas] went to Gladstone on innings and 117 runs. In the track events the results were:

100 yards race, J. Cory, J. Grantham
Half mile race, J. Cory, T. Morton
Boys race, E. McConnell, W. Grantham
Obstacle race, J. Grantham, S. Bruce
Wheelbarrow race, W. Mayor, J. Grantham
Standing long jump, G. Downie, J. Cory
Running high jump, T. Morton, G. Downie, J. Cory, even
Hop, step and jump, D. Ross, J. Cory
Running long jump, J. Cory, T. Morton

Horse racing and a tennis tournament were also on the programme. "The tug of war in the evening between eleven men from the town and, it is claimed, fourteen men from the country, was won by the latter two to one."[23]

Cricket and tennis, of course, reflect the influence of a not inconsiderable number of English settlers, of whom the chief sportsman was Sidney Crowder. Perhaps the high mark of Gladstone cricket was in 1895 when at Portage fair the Gladstone Cricket Club nearly beat the Winnipeg Club by reasons of Mr. Crowder's great innings.[24]

It was as huntsmen, however, that they found their chief pleasure. Not only was there big game in the first years, deer, bear and the odd buffalo; there were also the passenger pigeon, the prairie chicken of the meadows and fields, the partridge of the woods and willow brakes, and the water fowl of the sloughs and the Big Grass. In the clear days of fall, with mornings bright with hoar frost, and leaves and evening sky aflame, the guns thudded by slough and river and from hides in marsh and field. The prairie chicken whirred across from bluff to bluff, the partridge rose in sudden thunder of wings, the geese beat laboring wings to swing their V's away from the hidden guns. Mallard and pintail came in black myriads against the sky, the teal wove in eye-dazzling flight over the stubble. Long days in the open, jogging behind the old gray horse, the dogs padding behind the buggy, nights in some shack by marsh or lake with the cards and a bottle; here was a refuge when civilization closed down and Third Crossing men of the first generation went behind the desk

and counter. What nimrods they were is indicated by the results of the shooting match of September, 1894.

"Early Wednesday morning long before sunrise, most of the sports who took part in the shooting match had left for the marshes where millions of ducks made their abode. There is not a better shooting ground in Manitoba than in the Big Grass Marsh. Quietness reigned supreme in town all day while the thick smoke of battle and the bang, bang of guns was the order of the day on the hunting grounds.

"The first man to return was W. Williams, who brought in 33 ducks. He remarked with a twinkle in his eye that his mates were doing better than that and that his side was a sure winner.

"A few minutes later, Captain McMillan and Dr. Armstrong returned with a broad smile of satisfaction on their faces and 93 ducks and 3 sandhill cranes in their buggy. Captain Williams' jubilation was not then so demonstrative. His certainty of victory was still less pronounced when one of his lieutenants returned with only 3 ducks to his credit, another with one and two more with 8. But at last when all had returned Mac was defeated by 1,575 points.

"The total number of ducks bagged were 327; geese 1, sandhill cranes 3. Following is the score:

	Points		Points
W. Williams, Capt.	825	Mr. McMillan, Capt. Dr. Armstrong	2625
A. J. Andrews	75	E. S. Edwards	175
H. J. Pearson	25	A. Kirkland	25
J. Cory	225	J. W. S. Logie	50
A. Collins W. Galloway	1900	J. [T.] Morton	350
J. Foster W. Butchard	1850	W. Eccles J. H. Monington	300
B. Williscroft S. Williscroft	200		
	5100		3525[25]

For the boys there was shooting too, and in the White Mud, fishing with hook and line for chub, with spear and net when in the spring flood the jack fish and suckers swarmed up from Lake Manitoba to spawn in the clear headwaters on the Escarpment. And in June the lowering water was warm enough for swimming, by bright sand-bars where the current tugged at legs still bleached by winter clothing, and in deep pools where slow eddies invited estatically lazy youth to float and watch the over-hanging trees and the slow drift of clouds.

BOOM AND SLUMP

Life at the Third Crossing had its pleasures running through economic ups-and-downs. These too, however, went on. By 1881 Manitoba was ripe for a boom in land values. The depression of 1874 had passed and prosperity had returned. The long controversy over the route of the Pacific Railway had been settled in favor of the Southern Route. Moreover, the construction of the railways was being pushed vigorously by the new syndicate to whom a highly advantageous charter had been granted. But the long delay and doubt had scattered the settlers of the eighteen seventies all over the Province and Territories, a scattering increased by the land policy of sale and of reservation of blocks of land for colonization companies, railway construction and the half-breed claims. Thus every settler had been perforce a speculator; in addition there were many real speculators who had had to wait long for their returns. Villages had sprung up and nourished unwarranted ambitions; each saw itself as a future city.

These conditions were, of course, duplicated at Third Crossing. The Indian alarms, the grasshopper years, the isolation of the settlements, had held back development. It had been hoped that the Pacific Railway would run by Third Crossing; that hope had not been realized, but now its own railway was coming. Farmers looked to see their lands increase in value, townsmen to see the town grow and business thrive. Local businesses and local industries had been established; why should not Third Crossing become a regional business, an industrial centre on the model of the smaller cities of Ontario? Hopes deferred for a decade were now, it seemed, at long last to be realized.

The Manitoba Boom, long making and brought to a head by these conditions, was sudden, violent and short. In Winnipeg, it ran its course in the winter of 1881-1882. As it failed there efforts were made to keep it going in the western settlements, as the railways pushed out.[1] In Third Crossing it lasted a little longer, as the Manitoba and North-Western did not reach the town until September, 1882. But otherwise it conformed in every way to the general pattern.

The opening chords are struck in the *Daily Free Press*, "Gladstone Notes" . . . A boom was coming. Mr. R. Galloway, in business but a short time, had bought 145 lots from Mr. Jas. Broadfoot. A new grist mill was approaching completion. The town already

boasted two, as well as four stores, two blacksmith shops, one tinsmith, one livery stable, three hotels, a billiard parlor, a registry office, a sawmill, a Dominion Land Office, a barber shop, several grain-buying agents, three resident clergymen, and one doctor."[2] Here indeed were the conditions and appurtenances of prosperity.

But none of these things was unjustified by prevailing conditions. The unreasonable and frenzied character of the boom, puffed up by the long disappointed land speculators of Winnipeg, is revealed by the following advertisement, typical of dozens of others:

"NEW TOWN! NEW PLAN! NEW BOOM!
The new plan of the town of Gladstone will be placed on exhibition at the Queen's Real Estate Exchange at 9 o'clock this Tuesday morning, when lots and Blocks will be offered on good terms at reasonable rates. This is something new.

GLADSTONE!
It is well known that Gladstone is to be the chief point on the Portage, Westbourne and Northwestern Railway. It is not a paper town! Gladstone is now and has for some time been the county town of Westbourne, and is a thriving place with two grist mills, two sawmills, stores, churches, schools, etc., etc.

THE RAILWAY
Is graded to within one mile of the town and trains will be running to within a dozen yards of the lots which we offer for sale in the course of four months. This is a special offer for

SPECULATORS.
These lots and blocks can be turned over in a short time at double the prices now asked for them. To show you how the town is booming it is only necessary to state that

OVER 100 LOTS
have been sold before we could get the plan from the office of the Surveyor. That is the history of Brandon repeated. One man has sold the block which he bought two days ago while the plan was being made at a

LARGE ADVANCE.
In short, there is a regular "hum" over Gladstone. We expect to clear off the balance of this property today. So if you want something good, call early."[3]

It will be noted that this was in February, 1882; the public meeting to discuss the incorporation of the town was not held until the 19th of June.[4] There was therefore some anticipation of events

in the foregoing advertisement, and there can be little doubt that the village had incorporation thrust upon it by interested parties.

The town plan, which, unlike greater Gladstone, became a reality and may still be seen in the Town Office, gives a measure of the grandiose design. Nine square miles[5] were laid out in streets, with names both appropriate and fanciful; the White Mud was shown somewhat larger than life as it twists through its treed banks. A half mile to the north extended "Victoria Park", which, alas, was never to pass from paper to fact. But streets were cut through the brush, and lots sold on land half a mile from the present town limits.

The population of Gladstone rose to the figure of six hundred. Town lots sold and re-sold merrily. Building went up like mushrooms, some never to be occupied. Farm lands were equally involved. Peter Ferguson's quarter was priced at five thousand dollars; James Ferguson's, at twelve thousand; Donald Ferguson's, at nine thousand; Donald MacLeod's, at four thousand. Many sold at these prices, to buy elsewhere at higher. The sudden collapse caught them and their second state was infinitely worse than their first.[6] Many mortgaged their homesteads, to buy or homestead a second time, as then existing regulations permitted, farther west. When the collapse came they were involved in a double liability, for the mortgage on the old homestead and the commitments on the new. In this way many settlers were lost to the district, and lands passed into the hands of the mortgage companies.

The galvanic shock of the boom thrust the frontier forward once more, out along the old trails and the new railway. The new settlers came, not only from the East and from the British Isles, but also went out from the now "old" settlements of Manitoba. Third Crossing, so recently colonized and now the "end of steel", also sent out its colonists, westward to the new town of Neepawa, and to Minnedosa and the farther West. Thus many settlers were lost, and Third Crossing names, such as Davidson, Hamilton and Rutledge, pass out of Third Crossing history. This rapid proliferation was a process repeated time after time, until Third Crossing names, known in many a prairie town, appeared all up and down the telephone directories of Vancouver and Victoria.

By the end of 1883 the boom was completely over. Commercial depression set in again, and with it dry years and short crops. The boom left behind ruined speculators, indebted farmers and municipal corporations, with falling revenues and fixed interest charges.

The next decade is concerned with the endeavors of Third Crossing to recover from the collapse of the boom and regain prosperity. But never again were the bright fantastic hopes of 1881 to animate the settlement. As prospects of the settlement grew clear in the grey light of deflation, the modest hope was to discharge the liabilities left by the boom and regain financial solvency.

In 1889, when times were somewhat improved, Peter Moodie, the editor of the *Gladstone Age*, discussed the worst feature of the boom.

> "Gladstone is one of the oldest towns in Manitoba, the place having assumed considerable importance prior to the 'boom' days. The place suffered a good deal in common with most of the older settlements, owing to the second homesteading regulations. The land regulations formerly allowed settlers, who had received a patent for their homesteads, to take up a second homestead. This was one of the worst features ever connected with the administration of the public lands in Manitoba. While the boom was on, settlers, who were anxious to grasp as much land as possible, mortgaged their farms and took up second homesteads. As Gladstone was one of the early settled districts, a good many of the residents had received patents for their homesteads previous to the boom days, and they forthwith proceeded to mortgage their farms in order that they might move west and take up a second homestead. In this way a great many of the best settlers were drained from the district. Their idea was that they would be able to sell one of their farms for a big sum in a short time; but when the boom collapsed, they were unable to do so, and the change proved disastrous for many of them. In most cases it simply amounted to the throwing up of an improved farm for an unimproved place and often exchanging a good farm for an inferior one. The money raised by the mortgage on the deserted place would only about pay for the cost of moving to the new location. Their crops did not turn out so good in the western districts to which they had moved and as they were unable to pay the interest on their first homestead, the lands passed into the hands of the loan companies. The towns in the older districts thus suffered a good deal from the removal of the settlers who went west to take up second homesteads, but these lands are now being sold to *new* settlers, and the conditions are improving."[7]

The town itself went through much the same cycle of deflation and recovery. By the end of the eighties business was picking up again, and building was resumed. The town limits, however, were

still the inflated limits of 1882, and the burden of the railway bonus was crushing when added to current expenses. The corporation was consequently in distress, with taxes unpaid and creditors pressing. In 1885 the Council sought to have the town relapse into the municipality,[8] which was in a much better financial position, and also a principal creditor of the town. In 1886 the Council gave up in despair, and resigned as a body;[9] thereafter the town of Gladstone ceased to function for four years, though the Gladstone School District continued to collect the school taxes, and to keep the school open.

RECOVERY

It is too easy, however, to exaggerate, as contemporaries did, the impact of the boom and the depth of the consequent depression. Not everyone was swept off his feet by the boom; the natural resources and advantages of Third Crossing were unimpaired; the records of these years point to a steady if slow material advance and a genuine enjoyment of life. In especial, the Manitoba North Western Railway not only touched off the boom and left the embarrassment of depression, but, as it was intended to be, was also a direct means of stimulating the growth of the district. Some Third Crossing men found work for themselves and their teams in the actual grading and building of the road as it moved westward from the town.[1] During the winter of 1885 three large gangs from the neighbourhood were busy getting out ties for the railway from the wooded lands nearby. But the chief beneficiaries were the hotels in the town; the steady stream of commercial travellers and others brought in by the trains, and the long stop-over daily for meals, made business boom for them. So much was this the fact, that the railway company itself built a dining-hall,[2] which developed a lively business and employed local labour and supplies. These years also saw new enterprises set on foot; the Gladstone, Dauphin and Duck Mountain Railway was chartered,[3] and from time to time families left for the Dauphin country, the new hinterland of Third Crossing.

This fundamental economic health is reflected in the growth and prosperity of the commercial and financial firms of the district.

The bank which Messrs. W. S. Bailey, C. P. Brown and R. T. Lockhart had set up in a shack on Morris Avenue in 1882, with a paid-up capital of twelve thousand dollars, remained the chief

financial agency of Third Crossing. When the depression came in 1883., Brown and Lockhart withdrew from the firm, but Bailey reorganized the business as W. S. Bailey and Company, with a paid-up capital of fourteen thousand dollars.[4] This private bank was the only bank in Third Crossing until 1896, when it was sold to the Merchants' Bank. It met with much criticism from the *Age*, which advocated the establishment of a government savings bank, arguing that such were safe and charged interest at a much lower rate. It also appealed for the setting up of a Post Office Savings Bank.[5] The need for lower interest rates was apparent, for Bailey's charged two per cent a month compounded monthly on the small loans of the day.[6]

This private bank paid interest on deposits, loaned money on the security of real estate and chattel mortgages, bought and sold foreign and inland bills of exchange, and, in short, conducted a general banking business, except for the issue of notes. From 1883 on business and capital grew steadily, so that by 1894 the paid-up capital of the firm was thirty-two thousand, seven hundred dollars. Between 1886 and 1893 its exchange grew from thirty-one thousand, two hundred and fifty-seven dollars to seventy-four thousand, nine hundred and ninety-one dollars. The rate charged on exchange was one quarter of one percent, one half of that charged on money orders. Interest was paid at the rate of six per cent on calls and eight per cent on time deposits. Rates of interest on loans were admittedly double those charged by the chartered banks, but as soon as the securities offered and the credit of the country permitted, they would, Mr. Bailey asserted, be lowered.[7] These details give an interesting glimpse of the function private banks performed in the days of settlement, that of filling the gap between the first settlement and the cautious coming of the chartered banks. The proprietor of Bailey's did well in performing this service, for he made what was probably the largest fortune ever garnered in Third Crossing, and in the nineties owned much property there, including a hotel and a business block.

Until 1896, however, many depositors, especially the larger ones, kept their funds in Winnipeg banks, as the *Age* noted, in July, 1886, that the Commercial Bank in the city had suspended payment and that the town and municipality and Messrs. Morton, Cory, Pearson and Bailey would have to wait before they could withdraw their deposits.[8]

In addition to Bailey's Bank as a source of credit, there were several private money-lenders in the district. Those whose advertisements appear in the local weekly during these years were D. Budge, T. L. Morton, J. L. Logie and H. J. Pearson.

Mortgage companies, of course, remained prominent in the economic life of the community as suppliers of ready capital. Those advertising in the *Age* were the Hamilton Provident and Loan Society, of Hamilton, Ontario, and the Manitoba Mortgage and Investment Company of Winnipeg. The chief instances of settlers resorting to mortgages to raise money were first to buy land further west during the boom, a disastrous venture, it proved, when the collapse occurred, and second to buy farm machinery.

High interest rates on mortgage loans continued to be a grievance, and those who had received, or wish to make loans found a champion in Peter H. Moodie, who during his editorship of the *Age* from 1880 to 1890 kept up a sharp and not unreasonable criticism of companies and the high prices at which they held foreclosed lands. There is little doubt but that the rates of interest charged on loans and the consequent defaults and foreclosures caused land to fall into the hands of the companies, where it remained for many years and the progress of the country was retarded.

Business and industry, though depressed, continued to function and even expanded. Of the early stores, McQueen's, Doherty's and the Galloway Brothers were to continue under the same proprietorship for the duration of the period this history covers and longer. Peter Ferguson's business failed in 1883, one of the few to do so. Many other shops were opened, and many changed hands from time to time.

The boom years, of course, saw a marked upsurge of enterprise. *The Commercial* in March, 1883, reported that considerable building was going on in Gladstone,[9] though in July of the same year it noted that operations were at a standstill by reason of a shortage of building material, caused by the railway's failure to operate regularly. By January, 1884, however, the *Age*, now well in its first year under the management of the Moodie brothers, showed well-filled columns of advertisements, for four general stores, two hardwares, three hotels, one bakery, one blacksmithy, a livery stable, a carpenter shop, a butcher shop, as well as the Gladstone Flour Mills, and, in addition, a bricklayer's card.[10]

The Commercial again, in February 1888, noted that Gladstone "one of the oldest towns in Manitoba" had twenty business institutions, but added that it had made "not much progress of late," by reason, of course, of the after-effects of the boom, the heavy burden of the railway bonus, and the resulting poor financial condition of the town corporation. Between 1884 and 1888, however, a new general store, two "fancy" stores, and the Manitoba and North Western restaurant had opened, and a contractor had come to town. Much building and renovation was done in the fall of 1888 and in 1889, following the bumper crop of 1887. The latter year saw an "unprecedented" sale of farm machinery; many warehouses for implements were built; a lively new business had begun.[11] The town's most disastrous fire occurred in March, 1892, destroying Williams' hardware, the Wilson House, Schooley's and McQueen's stores, and Doherty's hardware store. Showing good faith in the future, these firms carried on immediately in temporary shelters, and by the fall had erected new buildings. Other new firms opened that fall, including the new mill. A development of the middle eighties was the construction of "warehouses" for the storage of grain awaiting shipment. This reflected the improved conditions of business and the increased acreage under cultivation, an increase in part stimulated by the new implements, in part, perhaps, by prevailing low prices. The new warehouses and the railway could not always keep pace with this growth and the erratic bounty of nature; in 1887, a big crop year, the grain piled up at the tracks.

By 1893, we are told, building to the value of fifty thousand dollars had been done, and that this would increase as soon as the new survey of the town was completed. Trade was received from an area of twenty-five to fifty miles, and a conservative estimate of all trade, including the exports of stock and grain, could be put at three hundred thousand dollars. The business houses listed as three hotels, three grocers, three drygoods stores, two butcher-shops, five dining-halls (including those in the hotels), six house-furnishing and hardware stores, four implement dealers, one harnessmaker, two blacksmiths and carriage-builders, one drugstore, one sash, door and planing mill, two manufacturers of sheet iron and tin, one foundry and machine shop, and one flour mill. Among those businesses mentioned specifically were the general store of Galloway Brothers, D. J. McQueen, drygoods, "the oldest merchant in town", then in business fifteen years, S. Schooley, who had opened his drygoods store in 1885, Williams Brothers, hardware and implements,

in business fourteen years, McCrae and McLean, hardware, H. J. Bickle, "not a better harnessmaker in the province", E. G. Edwards and Allan Gould, butchers, Knox brothers, furniture, A. T. Andrews, the enterprising new druggist who had set up the year before, Magnus Wilson, then in his fifth year of business as a blacksmith and carriage-builder, "quite a mechanical genius (who) can make anything required from a needle to an anchor", W. S. Bailey and Co. bankers and lumber-dealers, R. Muir and Co. of the new flour mill, E. H. Barker's stationery store, H. J. Pearson, grain-dealer, B. Williscroft, builder and contractor, J. Sharp, painter, Miss Sharp, confectionery, Wm. Eccles, blacksmith, Jas. Hastie, proprietor of the Manitoba and North Western dining-hall.[12]

The expansion of business as pictured thus in 1894 reflected the improved financial condition of the town which in part resulted from the settlement of the railway bonus in 1892. But it reflected also the growing volume of export trade in grain, cattle, hogs, flour and dairy produce. For the next two years, and for many years after, the business firms went ahead steadily, old ones enlarging themselves, and some new ones coming into being.

Galloway Brothers, for example, were "the leading merchants not only of this town but of the whole northwestern part of Manitoba", and, indeed, "this firm stood at the head of the general merchants of the province". Certainly they conducted a most outstanding business.[13] Its story is of the west, typical perhaps of many other prairie businesses begun at the same time, yet with a color of its own.

The brothers Galloway, Roper and William, were born near Falkirk, Scotland, and both as boys were apprenticed to a dressgoods and millinery firm. In 1873, at the age of twenty, Roper emigrated to Canada, where he first worked with a dressgoods firm in Toronto. Soon he left there, and opened a millinery and dressgoods store in Paris, Ontario. In 1879 he visited Scotland, bringing his brother back to Canada with him. In early spring, 1881, they sold the Paris business and came West. Winnipeg seemed too settled, they wanted a young community, and found it further west at Palestine. There they bought out the store recently built by Davidson and Hamilton, and set up business immediately, under the slogan "The Live Business House of the West". Live it proved to be. The first stock from Montreal and Toronto was shipped to Portage and thence brought over the trail on Red River carts. But in two years the

railway had reached the town and was running regularly, and from then on thousands of dollars of stock marked "Galloway Brothers" came in annually.

They not only conducted a general merchandise business, selling groceries and drygoods, but also a wholesale business, buying eggs, butter, fowl (dressed) vegetables, potatoes, berries, furs, wild-hops and seneca roots, which they shipped out for sale in Winnipeg. The extent of both businesses was large. Large advertisements in the *Age* told of the variety of their stocks; in May, 1894, they had new stock in to the value of twenty thousand dollars; the next year they opened up a branch store at Midway [Keyes] to the west; customers came from miles around; in January, 1892, the *Age* notes a sale of seven hundred dollars worth of stock to a Lake Dauphin customer. On the other hand, carload after carload of vegetables, furs, and large consignments of goods were shipped out annually; in 1893 the seneca root trade alone netted them over three thousand dollars.

In the summer of 1886, Roper left the management of the store to William and devoted himself to the cattle business. He started a large ranch at Big Grass Marsh, stocking it with fine cattle, and thereafter became one of the chief exporters of cattle in the district. In September, 1896, the firm won a contract to supply beef to the contractors building the Dauphin Railway—later the Canadian Northern. The contract called for four or five beeves daily.

Thus was prepared the later and crowning achievement of the brothers' career, erection of a large brick store, divided into many departments, with thirty clerks and an ultra modern cash-carrier system, at which the country boys used to gape in fascination.[14]

The Age, commenting in 1884 on the industrial growth of Third Crossing, announced that the town's three mills were busy.[15] In October of 1886, however, Brown's mill, having done gallant service, was dismantled and taken to Westbourne. Somewhere in the next two years the second also went out of business, for in 1888 only one grist mill was listed among Gladstone's twenty businesses.[16] This was the original Broadfoot mill, which had served steadily through these years under various managements. Latterly owned and run by Mr. A. G. Williams, it was burned down in January, 1890. All through these later years the Moodie Brothers had called for a new roller mill, citing the success of this new type at McGregor and Arden, and the prosperity it fostered. Now that the last old stone-

using mill was gone, enterprising townsmen immediately began negotiations for the erection of a new roller mill in its place. But it was not until December, 1892, after a by-law authorizing a bonus of five thousand dollars had been voted on and passed by the ratepayers, that R. Muir and Co. of Shoal Lake moved into their new mill building with its improved machinery, and capacity of one hundred and twenty-five barrels daily. By February, 1893, the mill was running twenty-four hours a day. In December, 1895, the *Age* declared proudly, the mill was behind on its orders, which were so many it was unable to fill them promptly. The flour had been highly praised by eastern merchants; seeking to hold to this eastern trade, the Company ordered a carload of barrels that same month, as these were preferred by these merchants to sacks.[17]

The hotels of Third Crossing were an index of prosperity, for they catered to the wants of the new settlers, the traveller, the railway man and the commercial agents, the harbingers of good times. At them, travellers passing through on the Trail brought the latest news by word of mouth; and there the farmers from roundabout gathered for this communion with the outside world, longed for by those living in isolation. Later, the railway brought in scores of commercial travellers, land inspectors, prospective immigrants; thus much of the business of the district, and consequently much of its history, was born in the bars and sitting-rooms of the early taverns. "Stopping-place" or "tavern" is a more appropriate term for these early buildings, most of them small log houses, but with the false-front optimism of the early West, "hotels" they were called from the first.

The first stopping-place at Palestine had been built in 1876 by Mr. Malcolm; later it was called the Windsor House. It was here that Roper Galloway stayed on his arrival in 1881, and here he brought his bride the following year, to live until their house was completed. Another early hotel was the "old" Queen's, this a log building, whereas Malcolm's was frame. It had been originally a Royal North West Mounted Police stopping-place, and later housed the first newspaper. Moodie Brothers wrote in 1887 of the demolition of this early landmark:

> "The old Queen's Hotel was brought down with a crash last Monday. The amount of nails in the building was a caution. It has had a chequered history. Years before incorporation it was the den 'of the printer's devil' who from its recesses mixed brains and ink together so as to

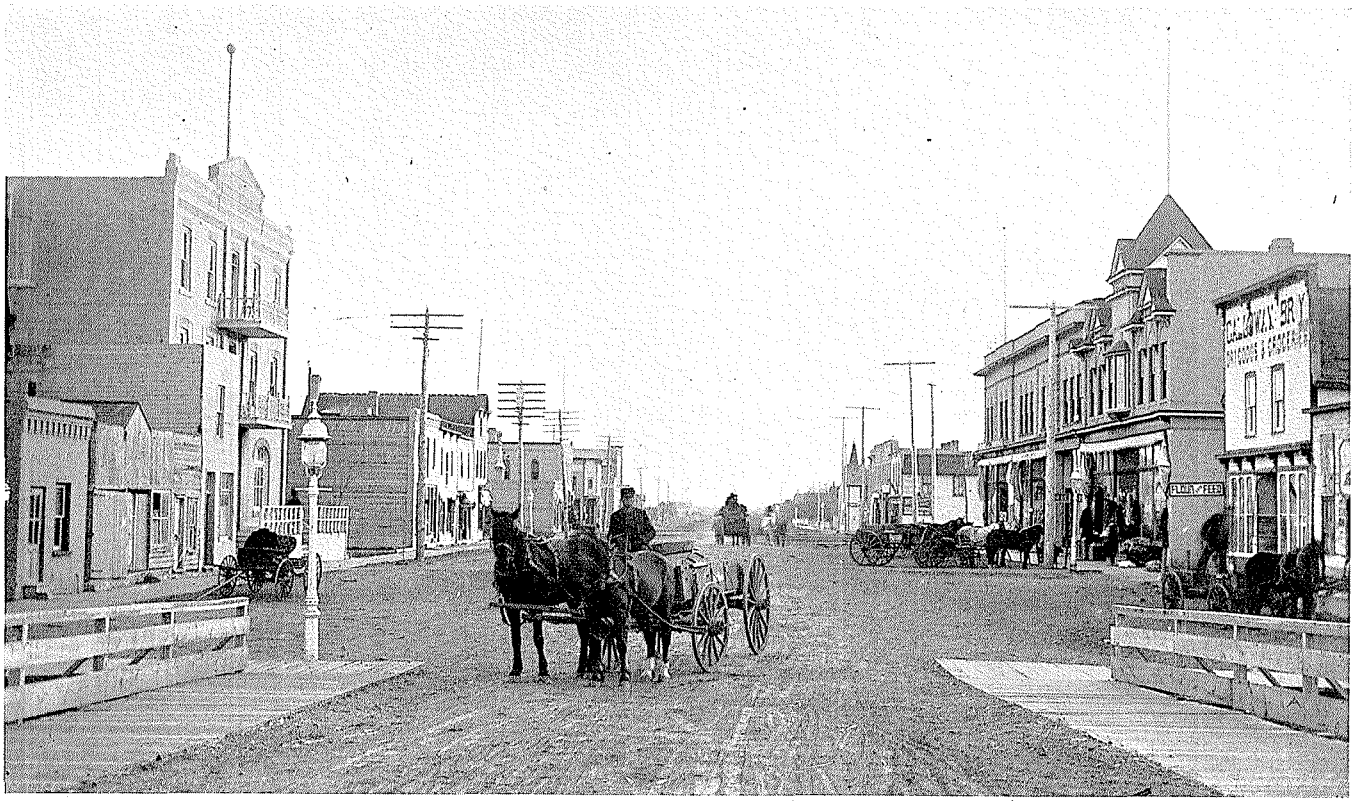
mould public opinion. Afterwards it was turned into a tavern, room from which a real, live unfortunate 'devil' often reeled. We suppose the money wasted within its walls in drink alone would have papered it from top to bottom with $5 bills. But it has seen its day, and now it descends further, as a shelter for cattle for a few years before being finally burned up. How many remorseful fires did it set agoing while in the drink traffic?"[18]

Other early hotels were Cameron's Hotel, a two-storey frame building, and S. T. Wilson's Wilson House.

The exact subsequent history of these houses is difficult to relate, for lack of recorded information. Three hotels were advertised during 1883-1884: Wilson Hotel—"First Class accommodation for travellers. A billiard hall in connection. The bar is constantly supplied with a large stock of choice liquors and cigars. S. T. Wilson, Prop."—Queen's Hotel: "Newly-built and furnished. The largest and most commodious in town, situated on north side of river. The bar furnished with choicest liquors. Pool table in connection. Jas. and G. McCrae, Props."—The Revere House: "Best conducted and most popular hotel in Gladstone. First class table and luxurious beds. Good stabling in connection. Jas. Herron Prop." The latter two had then been recently built. It is to be assumed that the old Windsor House was then being operated by J. McAlpine, as it was to be for many years to come.

The railway, from 1884 on, brought increasing trade to the hotels. It was noted in October, 1884, that the hotels were extremely busy, filled with commercial travellers, homestead seekers, land inspectors and shooting parties. In July, 1885, it was observed that Mr. Wilson was often called upon to accommodate thirty for breakfast, and as many as fifty for dinner, when the train stopped over daily. This business in meals finally resulted in the building of a railway dining-hall in 1886. Some time before 1889, however, the Queen's went out of business. Both the Revere House and the Wilson House had been enlarged and renovated, the latter now in possession of Mr. Bailey. The Windsor House carried on.[19]

By 1894 there were still three hotels in the town, still doing a thriving business, listed as the Windsor House, the first built in Gladstone, a quiet, family hotel, off the busy streets; the Revere House, "best in the North-West", of three-storeys, with twenty bedrooms, bar-room, sitting-room, parlor, and dining-hall, a favourite *rendez-vous* for commercial men; and the Commercial [former



Third Crossing at the end of its third decade; Morris Avenue looking south from the bridge over the White Mud.
Courtesy of Mrs. H. O. McDiarmid.

Wilson House], with twenty bedrooms.[20] As an indication of the patronage in the course of a week the following guest list of Revere House may be cited—eight from Winnipeg, one each from Ottawa, St. Paul, Fairbault, Minneapolis, Hamilton, Brandon, Carberry, Neepawa, Portage and Rochdale, England.[21]

The growth, the prosperity, of these years took the form of wide, treed and well kept streets, of two and three storey buildings, neatly painted frame ones and imposing ones of brick. Since 1880 the number of businesses had grown from less than a dozen to over thirty. This is scarcely the result of a wholly speculative boom or an unrelieved depression.

To place journalism among economic phenomena is to show a want of appreciation of that unique profession, yet the local paper in a small community is the reflex of the whole life of the community, a barometer of economic life, and for the historian almost the sole record of business prices, and new enterprises and commodities. It is not unfitting to conclude the substance of this chapter with some brief description of the *Gladstone Age*; how great our debt to this weekly paper is, not even the appended notes reveal.

The history of the local newspaper began in 1879 when C. P. Brown set up a Mr. Maine as editor of *The Gladstone News and Westbourne County Farmer*. The 17th number of Volume I, appearing 25 April, 1880, is the earliest copy known. From this it can be deduced that the first issue was printed late in 1879. The press was housed in an old log building first used by the Royal North West Mounted Police as a stopping-place. Of the handpress itself, Editor Moodie published some interesting information. "Mr. Hampton shipped the plant west Wednesday from here which he bought from Mr. Brown. Probably the handpress is the oldest in the province, as it was used in the old 'Nor-Wester'. It could 'a tale unfold', as it experienced some rough handling when Riel and his braves in the first rebellion wrecked the office in their chagrin at not finding the proprietor, Dr. Schultz. Likely in another fifty years it will be hunted up and set up in the historical museum as a fossil of the times before Winnipeg had a being."[22] Mr. Maine was succeeded as editor by Mr. Patmore who, in turn was succeeded by a Mr. York. Mr. Peter St. Clair McGregor took over after York's brief editorship, but he, too, closed shop in 1882, oddly enough, during an election campaign. The paper ceased publication then until May, 1883, when the Moodie Brothers, Peter and

John, pioneers of 1872, bought the business. In May, 1884, they were able to announce that theirs was the first paper in Gladstone to last a full year under one management. They continued to publish until January, 1890, when their business failed.

Peter, at least, was a man of note. He and John Moodie emigrated from Scotland and took homesteads in Palestine and Livingstone in 1872, and Peter, as already recorded, was one of the first school teachers in the district. He had all the characteristics of the educated Scot, a deep love of learning, a deep-set piety, unswerving loyalty, a fearless outspokenness, all wrapped in a somewhat dour and forbidding manner. One thing becomes plain in the reading of his editorials—his deep faith in the future of the North-West, and in the future of Gladstone in particular. All the Western causes he championed with blistering fervour—the disallowance of railway legislation, the building of the Hudson Bay Railway, the fight for higher wheat prices and lower tariffs on farm machinery. This made him a Liberal in politics, and at least a sympathiser with the Farmers' Union of 1883, the first agrarian movement in the West. In local matters, the good of the district was first in his heart. He persistently advocated economy in municipal affairs—he was one of the few to vote against the bylaw authorising the railway bonus, feeling it a too expensive undertaking—, mixed farming and the bringing in of purebred stock, the continued support of the Agricultural Society, the establishment of local industries. He also encouraged the work of the school and the churches, and was a fiery temperance man. One characteristic marred his editorship—his extreme partisanship. His bitter outspokenness made him many enemies; though it seems never to have been reciprocated, he carried on a feud with Hon. C. P. Brown during his whole editorship of the paper, and attacked him constantly in a bitter and personal manner. This fault caused him to lose the support of the community; the advertisers fell off; finally, though Mr. Galloway promised his continued support and patronage, the brothers were forced to give up. Well over fifty years of age then, Peter Moodie went back to studying, and in 1893 obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of Manitoba. A thorough scholar, he was for many years principal of Gladstone School before retiring to his native land.

A later editor, W. A. Myers, wrote in a history of the paper in May, 1894, that the Moodies "continued to pour out fire, brimstone, and cold water on the climate, the railway, the officials of the county

and town and every enterprise that tended the public good until it all came back on their own heads and destroyed their influence and cut off their patronage to such an extent that in 1890 there was not enough in the paper to buy oatmeal and buttermilk, and the *Age* starved to death."[23] To balance this harsh statement the following quotation from a letter to the *Age Press*, March 9, 1945, written by one of Peter Moodie's former students, J. W. S. Logie of Victoria, is given: ". . . He taught us Latin after hours and I can never forget his patience and scholarship. His gruffness was only on the surface and although we used to be amused by his little idiosyncracies I always regarded Peter as a real scholar and a very kindly man. It will always be pleasant to remember that we had a deep affection for each other and among my memories of Gladstone my friendship for Peter Moodie will never be forgotten."[24] There are still men all across the West, some in high places, who cherish his memory and who can recite still the poems of Burns he had them memorize in unadulterated broad Scots.

A course as stern as the Moodies pursued creates its own obstacles. An opposition paper to that of the Moodies' was published for a short time between 1884 and 1886 on intermittent weeks. Called *The Bug*, it was edited by Mr. J. D. McLaren, and was printed in Portage. It appears to have been mainly a humorous and satiric sheet, born from the nettled feelings the Moodies aroused.

After the Moodies' failure, a Mr. Grover started a paper in December, 1891, but it collapsed shortly. Mr. F. Armstrong became the next editor in February, 1893, but ill health forced him to sell to W. A. Myers in July of that year. Myers put out a lively and public-spirited paper, which grew to embrace the Westbourne, Keyes, Arden and Plumas districts. His energy and enthusiasm during the years when immigration was at its height, did much for the district, and his proprietorship sees this history to its conclusion.

On a full survey there can be little doubt that the distress caused by the boom and the subsequent depression that followed was exaggerated by those who suffered the depression, as was also the

part the railway bonuses played in causing the local features of the depression. There can, however, equally be no doubt that the effects of the railway debt were sharp and painful, and that it symbolized the depression in the eyes of Third Crossing.

The municipality of Westbourne succeeded in carrying its debt, incurred not only for the railway but for other purposes, during these years. But the town of Gladstone, which had gambled for higher status, which had seen itself as a metropolitan centre of a great north western district, went under beneath the load. As early as 1885 the town and municipal councils met to consider the former's financial situation, depressed likewise by debts for both the railway and local improvements.[25] The town petitioned to be taken back into the municipality.[26] But the municipality, which had taken the town's debentures for the fifteen thousand dollar bonus, was unsympathetic. In 1886 it began to press the town for payment; the town council felt able to offer only seventy-five dollars to be applied on the interest of the railway debentures.[27] The relative weight of the town's obligations is shown by the mill rate struck that year: school, four mills; general, two and one-half mills; debentures, three and one-half mills; judicial, one-half mill.[28] This was later raised to five mills for the railway debentures. At the same time it was agreed to call a public meeting of ratepayers to discuss the town's finances.[29] In October, however, the municipality and the agent for its other creditors served a writ on the town.[30] Thereupon the council put its affairs in order as best it could and resigned in a body. Thus the town of Gladstone, driven to the wall by the weight of taxation on depressed property values, ceased to function. The school taxes continued to be collected and the school was kept open.

Hope began to revive when in 1887 the Provincial Government, faced with the financial distress of municipalities throughout the Province, passed an Act[31] empowering the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to set up commissions to enquire into the financial conditions of Emerson, West Lynne, Morris, Portage la Prairie, Gladstone, Neepawa, Minnedosa and Rapid City, and report how the demands of creditors might be met, to the extent of half the in-

debtedness or less.[32] Gladstone, however, failed to take advantage of the provisions of the Act at once;[33] but late in 1888, J. L. Logie and C. P. Brown—still local member though no longer in the Cabinet —met with the town's creditors.[34] A number of public meetings were held at Gladstone to discuss the matter, and the town entered into negotiations with its creditors.[35] During these protracted negotiations, Editors Moodie spoke feelingly of "the blood-bought railway".

This, however, was the climax of the trouble, and the removal of the burden now proceeded steadily. The municipality was now co-operating, offering to pay half the expenses of the commission if the town would pay the other half.[36] And in January, 1889, it agreed to accept a *pro rata* share of whatever the town might be able to bear.[37]

Moreover, there was a new local member, T. L. Morton, in the Provincial Legislature and he made it his first responsibility to obtain relief for both town and municipality from their indebtedness for railway construction. Undoubtedly the former member, Hon. C. P. Brown, would have done so too. But Brown had aroused local opposition, notably that of the Moodie brothers; he had perhaps lost local support through long absence in Winnipeg as a member of the cabinet, and his connection with the granting of swamp lands to W. E. Sanford in the Westbourne Bog; he certainly had acquired political liabilities in his membership of the Norquay government during the struggle during these years over the disallowance by the Dominion Government of railways chartered by Manitoba.

The first challenge to Brown's long supremacy in the constituency came in 1886; up until then he had always been returned by acclamation. In that year an opposition had come into being, partly from the agitation for "provincial rights", of which Peter Moodie had been a stern exponent, partly from local grievances. This opposition nominated T. L. Morton as a supporter of the provincial Liberal leader, Thomas Greenway. It was thus a part of the revolt against the men who had governed Manitoba since 1878, with an increasing difficulty which drove them to rely more and more on those old and unprogressive elements in the province against whom they themselves had revolted in 1874.

At first Brown, though willing to take the measures required by the political usage of the times, was not greatly concerned at the prospect of a contest, as this letter shows:

"Dear Mr. Whaley:

I got your letter of the 18th inst. and I was very glad, you may be sure, to hear from so old a friend. I note what you say about the proposed Ditch along Pine Creek. I have given conditional promises for some works in the County, which I must see carried out before I commit myself to anything further; but I feel very strongly the force of your remarks in regard to the work of which you speak, and if those arguments were not strong enough, the statement that some of the old Settlers would come back and amongst them yourself, would complete the inducement to undertake the work. It is election year and I must handle the whole transaction very carefully, but I will have an examination made of the place you speak of, so that if it is found to be as feasible in construction as it is important in the interests of the people of the locality, it may be constructed at some future time, if we find on checking over that it is not possible to do it this year.

The other small works you speak of will I think be undertaken at once, as well as some other works in different parts of the County and in fact all over the Province. Although this is a dry year, demands are coming from every part of the Province, with greater force, if possible, than during any previous year. To some extent you will understand that I represent 35 Constituencies. [As Minister of Public Works].

I thank you very sincerely for your kind words with reference to myself, which go far in the way of encouragement, at a time when one's best efforts are misunderstood, if not directly depreciated.

[Here follows some reference to railway business].

I hear that my opponent has weakened considerably, altho' I have not been able up to the present moment to give much attention to my own County. From some of the backsets he has received I should say it would take a good deal of pluck not to be discouraged at the want of success he seems to be meeting with.

Give my kindest regards to your family and friends, and with many thanks for your kindness, believe me to be,

Faithfully yours,

C. P. Brown."[38]

The contest, however, proved to be bitter and close. It was accompanied by a dispute over the right to vote of certain half-breeds at Sandy Bay and Manitoba House, alleged by Morton's supporters to be treaty Indians and therefore barred from the franchise.[39] These polls had been added to Westbourne in 1886, by a redistribution act not wholly free of gerrymandering.[40] Behind the bitterness there was also the unrelenting partisanship of Moodie. In a joint meeting at Gladstone, Brown attacked Morton personally, and was given ". . . a Roland for his Oliver". Mr. Joseph Martin of Portage la Prairie, the man who was to raise the Manitoba School question in 1890, supported Morton, while Hon. John Norquay was there to speak on Brown's behalf.[41] There could be no clearer indication of a strenuous contest than the presence of these two leading politicians of the day.

During October and November, Brown's official letter book is filled almost entirely with letters dealing with the interests of the voters in the disputed polls. Surveys of roads, the settlement of certain land claims in the Sandy Bay Reserve, the establishment of a Roman Catholic Mission in the area, the appointment of fishery inspectors, roadwork and ditching at Westbourne, all appear. That the dusky voters, however, were wooed not by Brown alone, is a fair inference from Brown's query: How was it when Mr. Morton was protesting against the enfranchisement of these voters, that he "is taking such a sudden interest in their welfare and striving so hard to secure their votes?"[42] It was, in short, a desperate contest in which Brown, like the tottering Norquay government, was fighting for political life. His position in the cabinet was becoming insecure, as his transference from the Department of Public Works to the office of Provincial Secretary in October, 1886, made clear. For western Manitoba, the Manitoba of the Ontario migration, was rising against Norquay and his policy of co-operating with the federal government of Sir John A. Macdonald. As the new constituencies went over to Greenway and the Liberals, Norquay was forced to depend increasingly on the old constituencies for support. They could do so because the new western settlements were still under-represented in the Provincial Legislature. Thus the election in Westbourne was on the same pattern as the provincial election as a whole.

When the returns came in Brown was re-elected, the Lake Manitoba polls having gone solidly for him, giving him rather more than his majority.

	Brown	Morton
Gladstone	50	37
Palestine	19	49
Westbourne	37	25
Pine Creek	11	00
Tupper	16	42
Sandy Bay	47	00
Manitoba House	32	00

The majority for Brown was sixty-one.[43] These figures reveal why Morton's supporters hailed him in a post-election celebration as "elected by a majority of the white votes". But all this is not to be taken too seriously. Early Manitoban elections were tumultous affairs, in which the rules were very elastic and a high premium was put on political "dodges," in which hard blows were given and taken but after which hands were shaken all round and the whole matter laughed off.

The career of Brown, remarkable for so young a man, was, however, closing. In October, 1886, he had resigned as Minister of Public Works, to resume his old portfolio of Provincial Secretary, thus exchanging positions with Hon. D. H. Wilson. Why this demotion, for such it was, should have occurred is not clear. The *Free Press*, which was bitterly attacking the Norquay government, and was particularly violent against Brown in the Westbourne election, printed a letter from Thomas Greenway stating that Hon. A. A. C. Lariviére had offered him, the leader of the opposition, Brown's position in the cabinet. "We have been desiring to do so for a long time . . . He is now going", Greenway declared Lariviére to have said.[44] In March, 1887, Brown resigned from the Cabinet and Norquay himself took over the portfolio. It looks as though differences on the part of his colleagues, over policy, rather than a mere desire to get rid of Brown, were responsible for his resignation. One can only conjecture, however, in want of evidence, for his letter of resignation affords no clue. *The Commercial,* a non-partisan organ, stated that no definite reason was known, and expressed disappointment as "Mr. Brown has probably as large a personal following as any single member of the Legislature."[45]

It is fairly clear, though it cannot be proved, that Brown was forced out of the Department of Public Works because he would not play politics as ruthlessly as the circumstances of the Norquay Government required. His resignation would seem to have followed

differences with his colleagues over the giving of government contracts for printing without calling for tenders. Brown himself referred to these differences in the Executive Council quite openly before the Legislature in May, 1887.[46] It is at least beyond doubt that Brown had ceased to be in harmony with his leader and his colleagues, and his resignation would seem to be rather to his credit than otherwise.[47]

In any event he escaped the debacle which, later in the year, overtook the Government, and emerged with clean hands. His hold on his old constituency had been shaken, however, and he lost the Conservative nomination to W. McKelvey by two votes.[48] His political career ended, he continued in business though troubled by poor health, until his untimely death at the age of forty-three in 1891. The *Free Press*, which had assailed him so bitterly in 1886, wrote:

> " . . . his is a name very much identified with fifteen years history of Manitoba, having been one of its most active and fertile legislators during that period, a great part of which he was also a member of the Government. The first municipal system was of his designing.
>
> Mr. Brown never thrust himself forward—all the same, he was recognized as a very shrewd and apt politician, but generally speaking he prepared the balls for his associates to fire.
>
> He had naturally a keen intellect, improved by a thorough academic training; and had he been somewhat more obtrusive he would have made a much more prominent mark as a publicist than he did.
>
> As a private citizen he was public-spirited and enterprising. What is now the Manitoba and Northwestern railroad owes its inception and partial construction to him; and he was also founder of the town of Gladstone."[49]

Much of this history is but a commentary on that tribute to his public life; his personality remains elusive, and is to be caught only in the reflection of the warm and wide popularity he enjoyed.

His opponent of 1886, T. L. Morton, again contested the seat and defeated the Government candidate, W. McKelvie, by a majority of sixty-six.[50] He set himself to deal with the relief of the town and municipality from the railway debt. *The Age*, too, continued to argue the case for relief, on the ground that men who had burdened

themselves to build railways, before government aid was given, as it could be now disallowance had ceased with the fall of Norquay Government, should not now have to pay taxes for railways in other parts while paying local taxes for their own.[51] This state of affairs was preventing new settlers from coming in.[52] In December, 1889, the town petitioned the provincial government to appoint a commission under the Act of 1887. This was done, and the findings of the commissioner's report were embodied in two acts. The first, in 1890, declared that the town council had resigned and that the town had defaulted on its obligations. The commission had found that a fair value of taxable property was $80,000.00. School tax requirements amounted to five hundred dollars a year. The Council was re-established and provision made for reaching an agreement with the town's creditors. At the same time the agricultural lands in the town limits of 1882 were returned to the municipality and the town reduced to its present manageable limits.[53] The new council met on the 10th of September, 1890[54] under Mayor J. L. Logie, and, in conjunction with T. L. Morton, worked out with the Municipal Commissioner and the town's creditors a plan of repayment which was embodied in the second Act, 1891. This Act lists as creditors the municipality of Westbourne, the Canadian and American Mortgage and Trust Company, Margaret Inkster of Winnipeg, and Frederick J. Stewart of Toronto. The total indebtedness was $42,906.81. The settlement required the town to pay seventeen thousand dollars over ten years, with interest at three per cent half yearly.[55] This settlement of a little better than thirty-five cents on the dollar is a measure of the extravagance of the boom days and of the depression that followed. Thereafter the once more solvent town went ahead on an even keel.

This, however, was but to scale down the indebtedness of Gladstone, of which the railway bonus of fifteen thousand dollars was but a part. The municipality of Westbourne was still carrying the sixty thousand dollar debt it itself had incurred to bring the railway. Now, in 1890, the municipal council set to work to persuade the Provincial Government that it should assume this railway debt. The Greenway government, returned to power in the election of 1888, had adopted a policy of granting a bonus of fifteen hundred dollars a mile for railway construction. Municipalities were, at the same time, deprived of the power to borrow in order to bonus railway building. The Westbourne Council pointed out that Westbourne had granted a bonus in 1881, when the Provincial Government was

unable to do so for want of means. The government of the day however, had promised, it was alleged, to take over the debt so incurred. It urged therefore that the Provincial Government should assume a portion of the municipality's indebtedness equal to the sum of fifteen hundred dollars for each mile of railway construction in the municipality. Reeve Smalley and Councillor Poole were appointed a Committee to meet the provincial cabinet and urge the municipality's claim.[56] They reported that Premier Greenway was favorably disposed, but wished to deal with the towns in debt first. Mr. Harrower, M.P.P. for Shoal Lake, was opposed to the bonuses being assumed by the government, but both Mr. Mickle, M.P.P. for Birtle, and their own member were strongly in favor of the Council's proposal.[57] Accordingly, the motion was passed a year later and the committee was instructed to press the matter.[58] Mr. Morton was requested to take it up in the approaching session, and did so with success. In this manner the weight of the railway debt was finally lifted, and in 1892 the three municipalities of Westbourne, Shoal Lake and Birtle were reimbursed for the grants made to the Manitoba and North Western Railway. Westbourne received $60,250.00, subject, however, to the claims of municipalities which had been part of Westbourne when the bonus was paid.[59]

Thus the boom was finally liquidated and Third Crossing freed of the burden it had assumed to end its early isolation, to hasten the transition from wilderness to civilisation. Grateful citizens and the municipality and the town presented Mr. Morton with an address of thanks in 1892 for his part in relieving them of the railway indebtedness.[60] To this achievement, symbolic of the ending of frontier days in Third Crossing, he in part owed his re-election by acclamation until 1899.

* * * *

Its first quarter century, then, had seen Third Crossing founded. In those swift years it had known, and survived, both the promise and the disappointment inherent in the hazardous climate of the West, and in a debtor and agrarian economy. It had encountered the irony of staking its future to gain the railway necessary to progress only to find itself reduced to dependence on the metropolitan centres of Winnipeg and the cities of the East. It was discovering the limitations of its natural inheritance from pre-history, the narrowness of the clay lands of the flood plain of the White Mud,

the poverty of the sand of the Delta lands, the constricting wastes of the Big Grass.

Yet the wilderness had been made to yield a living, the empty land had been made home, the Trail made steel. Third Crossing had prospered and it had lived with all the vigor of a young spring shoot. In the very days of settlement its people had gone out to found new settlements. Today Third Crossing is not only a quiet municipal capital, a farming district of steady ways and modest means; it is also a community, as wide as the West, of those who knew Third Crossing and remember.

APPENDIX A

Township 12, Range 8 West (Burnside).

Arnott, David, farmer
Arnott, George, farmer
Baird, Wm., farmer
Bell, Alex., farmer
Bell, Alex., farmer
Bell, Wm., Sr., farmer
Bell, Wm., Jr., farmer
Bell, Wm., T., farmer
Cameron, Arch., farmer
Dunfield, Jas., farmer
Durston, Geo., farmer
Durston, John, farmer
Durston, Wm., farmer
Fawcett, Chas., farmer
Ferris, Angus, farmer
Ferris, Thos. S., farmer
Fraser, Daniel, farmer
Fraser, John., farmer
Fraser, Wm., farmer
Fulton, John, farmer
Graham, Geo., farmer
Graham, Jas. S., farmer
Graham, Mark., farmer
Graham, Wm., farmer
Hatch, Chas., farmer
House, W. T., farmer
Hunt, W. V., Sr., farmer
McEacheran, Arch., farmer
McEacheran, Neil, Postmaster
McGee, Jas., farmer
McGee, Thos., farmer
McKay, Wm., farmer
McKenzie, Adam, farmer
McKerchar, Alex., farmer
McKerchar, Jas., farmer
McLeod, Kenneth, farmer
Riddle, W., farmer
Sinclair, Arch., farmer
Yeoman, H., farmer
Yeoman, G. M., J.P.
Young, John, farmer

Township 12, Range 10 West.

Pogue, Sam, farmer
Pogue, Wm., farmer

Township 13, Range 8 West.

Galloway, John, farmer
Giator, Thos., farmer
McPherson, Thos., farmer
Rypington, John, farmer
Wishart, Wm., farmer
White, D. B., farmer
White, Geo., farmer
White, Geo. A., farmer

Township 13, Range 9 (Westbourne).

Andrews, Chas. Sr., farmer
Andrews, Chas. Jr., farmer
Anderson, Jas., farmer
Anderson, Wm., farmer
Bell, Jas., Hotelkeeper
Boddy, Thos, farmer
Burnell, Hamlin, farmer
Burnell, Henry, farmer
Burnell, Martin, farmer
Chantler, John, farmer
Cones, Rev. J.,
Church of England Minister
Cumming, Wm., farmer
Desmarais, J. B., farmer
Desmarais, J. P., farmer
Evans, Henry, teacher
Forrest, J. T., farmer
Garrioch, Peter, Postmaster and J.P.
Lovell, Robert, farmer
Muir, Holmes, J.P.
Mills, Augustus, D.L.O. Agent
Munro, Colin, farmer
McInes, Alan, farmer
McLeod, Murdoch, farmer
Patterson, Andrew, farmer
Pratt, Walter, farmer
Sanderson, John, farmer
Smalley, E. A., farmer
Taylor, Thos. Jr., farmer
Williamson, J. A. G., farmer

Township 13, Range 10 West.

Clarke, Robt., farmer
Currie, Phillip, farmer
Currie, Wm., farmer
Dobbin, Alex., farmer
Edgar, Alex., farmer
Hannah, John, farmer
Hembroff, Wm. farmer
Lyon, Joseph, farmer
Mawhinny, Isaac, farmer
Moffatt, John, farmer
McDonald, Neil, farmer
McKelvey, John, farmer
McKelvey, Wm., Jr., farmer
McKelvey, Wm., Sr., farmer
McLaughlin, Jas., farmer
McRae, Donald, Jr., farmer
Pogue, Jas., farmer
Robinson, Wm., farmer

Township 13, Range 11 West (Golden Stream).

Blackmore, Frank, farmer
Clayton, Wm., farmer
Drummond, Wm., farmer
Ferguson, Adam, farmer
Ferguson, John, farmer
Gibson, John, farmer
Hall, Robt., farmer
Newman, Thos, farmer
Ross, Thos,. farmer
Ross, Wm., farmer
Whalley, David, farmer
Whalley, Isaac, farmer
Whalley, Matthew, J.P. and farmer
Whalley, W. J., farmer
Wood, Robert, farmer

Township 14, Range 8 West.

Ball, J. E., Storekeeper
Ball, Peter, H., farmer
Barber, Geo. A., miller
Chisholm, A. R., miller
James, Walter J., farmer
Lynch, W., farmer
Morrison, David, farmer
McDonald, Jas., farmer
Ross, Arthur, Wm., farmer
Sisson, Wm., farmer
Smith, Alex., farmer
Steward, David, farmer
Walkley, Arthur, farmer
Walkley, David, farmer
Walkley, Jas., farmer

Township 14, Range 9 West (Totogan)

Ball, J. C., Postmaster
Ball, Josiah J., farmer
Dupré, Henry, farmer
Hart, Henry, farmer
Otton, Frank, farmer
Robin, Jas., farmer
Saché, Frederick H., farmer
Scouten, A. H., farmer
Scouten, Silvey S., farmer
Shannon, Wm., farmer

Township 14, Range 10 West (Woodside).

Cadotte, Pierre, farmer
Cameron, David, farmer
Collins, Thos., Postmaster
Desmarais, Michel, farmer
Forrester, John, farmer
Gordon, Wm., farmer
Handley, Thos., farmer
Irvine, Jas., farmer
Irvine, John, farmer
Little, Joseph, farmer
Morrison, Angus, farmer
Morrison, Donald, farmer
Morrison, John, farmer
Morrison John C., farmer
Morrison, Norman, farmer
McDonald, Angus, farmer
McRae, Alex., farmer
McRae, Donald, Sr., farmer
McRae, Hector, farmer
Percy, Andrew, farmer
Robinson, Isaac, farmer
Sanders, John, Trader
Sinclair, J. N., Trader
Stinson, Wm., farmer

Township 14, Range 11 West (Palestine).

Alcock, Geo., farmer
Alcock, W. H., farmer
Broadfoot, Jas., farmer
Brown, Alex., farmer
Brown, C. P., M.P.P.; resides in Winnipeg
Cleland, John, farmer (Claim never taken up)
Davidson, Isaac, farmer
Davidson, J, A., J. P. Storekeeper
Duggett, Abner, farmer
Ferguson, Alex., farmer
Ferguson, Donald, Postmaster
Ferguson, Duncan, farmer
Ferguson, John, farmer
Fraser, Duncan, farmer
Fraser, Jas., farmer
Fraser, John, farmer
Fraser, Wm., farmer
Glenn, Joseph, farmer
Grantham, Geo., farmer
Grantham, Samuel, farmer
Grantham, Washington, farmer
Hamilton, Jonathan, farmer
Hamilton, Jos. J. H., farmer
Hyndman, David, farmer
Kerr, David, farmer
Leitch, Donald, farmer
Lyons, John J., farmer
Matthews, Alfred, C., farmer
Mearing, Rev., Chas., Church of England minister
Moodie, Peter H., farmer
Mustard, Hugh, farmer
McAchaney, David, farmer
McAchaney, John, farmer
McAskill, Donald, farmer
McDonald, Archibald, farmer
McDonald, Roderick, farmer
McGill, Peter, farmer
McKay, John, farmer
McKechie, John, farmer
McLeod, Alex, farmer
McLeod, John, farmer
McMullen, John, farmer
McPherson, J. B., carpenter
McRae, Geo., farmer
McRae, John, farmer
McRae, Oliver, farmer
McRae, Wm., farmer
Ross, John, farmer
Ross, John, farmer
Ross, Thos., Sr., farmer
Ryan, H. B., farmer
West, Geo., farmer
West, Martin, farmer
West, Thos., Sr., farmer
West, Thos., Jr., farmer

Township 14, Range 12 West (Livingstone).

Bennett, C. P., farmer
Bruce, Allan, farmer
Bruce, Geo., farmer
Bruce, John, farmer
Carmichael, Thos., farmer
Cleland, Peter B., farmer
Collins, T., farmer
Cory, Thos., J. P., farmer
Crombie, J. Gordon, farmer
Ferguson, John, farmer
Ferguson, Peter, farmer
Moodie, John, farmer
Morton, John, farmer (error for Thos. L.)
McConnell, David, farmer
McLean, Donald, farmer
McLean, John, farmer
McLeod, Donald, farmer
McLeod, Malcolm, farmer
Paul, Andrew, farmer
Paul, David, farmer
Paul, Jas. E., farmer
Poole, Henry, farmer
Wickens, E., (error for Chas.)

Township 14, Range 13 West.

*
Halliday, Alex., farmer
McGregor, Gregor S., farmer
McGregor, Peter St. Clair, farmer
Walker, J. S., farmer

*Wm. Ferguson omitted: known to be land owner and householder at this date. The list has other imperfections.

Township 15, Range 9 West.

Allbright, Geo., farmer
Bates, Samuel, farmer
Irvine, Alex,, farmer
Matheson, Hugh, farmer
McDonald, Alex., farmer
McKenzie, John, farmer
Newell, Edward E., painter
Smith, Adam, farmer
Stewart, Donald, farmer

Township 15, Range 10 West.

Bell, Joseph, farmer
Stewart, Alex., farmer

Township 15, Range 11 West.

Aitkins, D. D., carpenter
Alcock, Thos., farmer
Fahrni, Chris., farmer
Paul, Alphonse, farmer

Township 15, Range 12 West.

Newcombe, S. H., miller
Rothe, Geo., farmer

Township 15, Range 14 West (Beautiful Plains).

Applegarth, Wm., farmer
Brown, Wm., K., farmer
Cullun, Thos., farmer
Glenn, Wm., farmer
Hall, Thos., farmer
McEachran, Neill, Jr., farmer
McKenzie, Wm., farmer
Orton, Stephen, farmer
Riddle, Hugh, farmer
Riddle, Robt., farmer
Smith, Robt., farmer
Walker, Hugh, farmer

Township 16, Range 8 West.

Field, Edward, farmer
McKenzie, Norman, farmer
Spence, Nichol, farmer
Struthers, Tacitus, farmer

Township 16, Range 9 West.

Boyd, Samuel, farmer
Matthewson, Alex., farmer

Township 16, Range 10 West.

Fargay, Wm., farmer

Township 16, Range 12 West.

Cartwright, Geo., farmer
Haddock, John, farmer
Price, Thos., farmer

FOOTNOTES

LAND

1. Henry Montgomery, "Prehistoric Man in Manitoba and Saskatchewan", *The American Anthropologist*, X, I, (1908) p. 38.
2. For the information in this paragraph we are indebted to Mr. Chris Vickers of Baldur, Manitoba.
3. See R. W. Murchie and H. C. Grant, *Unused Lands of Manitoba* (Winnipeg, 1926) pp. 129-162 *passim.*
4. Warren Upham, "The Glacial Lake Agassiz", *United States Geological Survey* (Washington, 1895) p. 464.
5. *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, 14 May, 1880.
6. Elliott Coues, *The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson, 1799-1814*, (New York, 1898) p. 1.
7. *The Manitoba Directory, 1876-1877*, p. 23.
8. Coues, *op. cit.*, p. 208; date 4 January, 1803.
9. A. S. Morton, *History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (Toronto, 1938) p. 435.
10. J. J. Hargrave, *Red River* (London, 1871) pp. 167-168.
11. Captain (John) Palliser, *Papers relative to the Exploration of that Part of British North America*, etc. (London, 1859) p. 60.
12. *Daily Free Press*, 22 June, 1876.
13. *Ibid.*, 26 April, 1878.
14. Peter B. Cleland Papers; property of James Adamson, Gladstone, Man.
15. H. Y. Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Expedition, I*, (Toronto, 1859) p. 248.
16. *Daily Free Press*, 19 November, 1880; letter of Thomas Cory.
17. *Weekly Free Press*, 14 December, 1872.

PEOPLE

1. Thomas Cory, "A Short Sketch of the Settlement and Growth of the County of Westbourne" *The Gladstone Age*, 11 May, 1894.
2. *Sessional Papers of Canada, 1872*, 2a.
3. Thomas Cory, "A Short Sketch", etc.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Dr. B. M. Walton, "Sketch of the History of Gladstone", *The Gladstone Age*, 8 February, 1893.
6. *Ibid.*
7. R. B. Hill, *History of Manitoba*, (Toronto ,1891) p. 372.
8. *Daily Free Press*, 25 October, 1880.
9. Mrs. Elizabeth Carmichael Lobb, manuscript account of the settlement of 1871.
10. *Ibid.*
11. We know of no other reference to this name, nor are we sure of the meaning. It may be Chippewa for "Spirit-giver-of-food"; cf "Mekiwin", meaning "gift of food."
12. *The Manitoban*, 30 September, 1871.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Gladstone Age*, 20 November, 1895.
15. *Statutes of Canada*, 1872, chap. 23, section 33.
16. *Ibid.*, section 29.
17. *Ibid.*, section 22.
18. Nellie McLung, *Clearing in the West* (Toronto, 1935) p. 32.
19. Thomas Cory, "A Short Sketch", etc.
20. *The Manitoban*, 30 September, 1871.
21. Mrs. Elizabeth Carmichael Lobb, manuscript account.
22. *Weekly Free Press*, 14 December, 1872.
23. Letter of Mrs. Wm. Ferguson; loaned by Mr. A. E. MacLennan of Gladstone; quoted by permission of Mr. and Mrs. John Ferguson.
24. *Weekly Free Press*, 14 June, 1873.
25. *The Manitoban*, 9 August, 1873.
26. *Ibid.*, 21 January, 1874.
27. R. B. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-367.
28. Dr. B. M. Walton, "Sketch of the History of Gladstone".
29. *Weekly Free Press*, 15 March, 1873.
30. *The Manitoban*, 26 April, 1873.
31. Thomas Cory, "A Short Sketch" etc.
32. Abstract of Orders-in-Council (Manitoba) no. 103, p. 32.
33. *Weekly Free Press*, 22 March, 1873.
34. *Sessional Papers of Canada, 1877*, X, No. 9.
35. *Weekly Free Press*, 5 April, 1873.
36. *Daily Free Press*, 20 July, 1874.

37. *Ibid.*, 7 August, 1874.
38. *Ibid.*, 29 May, 1875.
39. *Ibid.*, 2 June, 1875.
40. *Ibid.*, 15 June, 1875.
41. *Ibid.*, 28 June, 1875.
42. Thomas Cory, "A Short Sketch", etc.
43. *Daily Free Press*, 15 July, 1875.
44. *Ibid.*, 14 August, 1875.
45. *Ibid.*, 18 September, 1875.
46. Mrs. Elizabeth Carmichael Lobb, manuscript account.
47. Dr. B. M. Walton, "Sketch of the History of Gladstone".
48. *Minutes of the Council of Westbourne, I*, pp. 49-50.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.
50. *Daily Free Press*, 8 February, 1878.
51. *Weekly Free Press*, 7 December, 1872.
52. *Daily Free Press*, 8 April, 1876.
53. *Cleland Papers.*
54. *Daily Free Press*, 28 April, 1877.
55. *The Manitoba Directory, 1876-1877*, pp. 23-26.
56. *Daily Free Press*, 26 June, 1878.
57. *Minutes of the Council of Westbourne, I*, p. 8; by-law No. 6.
58. *Manitoba Gazette*, 15 February, 1879.
59. *Daily Free Press*, 7 March, 1878.
60. *Ibid.*, 18 June, 1879.
61. *Census of Canada, 1881.*
62. *Gladstone Age*, 19 April, 1884.

CHURCH AND STATE

1. Thomas Cory, "A Short Sketch," etc.
2. Dr. B. M. Walton, "Sketch of the History of Gladstone".
3. *Weekly Free Press*, 13 September, 1873.
4. Chas. W. Gordon, *The Life of James Robertson* (Toronto, 1909) p. 103. Robertson to Mrs. Robertson, March, 1874.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 102; Robertson to Mrs. Robertson, 20 February, 1874.
6. *Daily Free Press*, 9 July, 1874.
7. *Ibid.*, 27 July, 1877.
8. *Ibid.*, 19 April, 1880.
9. Dr. B. M. Walton, "A Short Sketch of the History of Gladstone".
10. *Daily Free Press*, 16 September, 1880.
11. *Ibid.*, 7 May, 1881; 30 September, 1881; 15 December, 1881.
12. Margaret A. Galloway, *I Lived in Paradise*, (Winnipeg, 1942), p. 204.
13. *Daily Free Press*, 10 July, 1874.
14. *Ibid.*, 3 January, 1877.
15. *Ibid.*, 25 October, 1877.
16. *Ibid.*, 29 June, 1878.
17. *Ibid.*, 22 February, 1881.
18. *Ibid.*, 22 January, 1881.
19. *Ibid.*, 23 June, 1882.
20. *The Manitoba Directory, 1876-1877, and 1877-1878*, p. 25 and 21 respectively.
21. *Daily Free Press*, 6 September, 1881.
22. Dr. B. M. Walton, "Sketch of the History of Gladstone"; R. B. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 658.
23. *Daily Free Press*, 24 January, 1881.
24. Records of Trinity Hall, Winnipeg.
25. *Daily Free Press*, 21 January, 1882.
26. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1871*, chap. 12.
27. *Ibid., 1873*, chap. 22, section 6.
28. *Manitoba Gazette*, 31 December, 1872.
29. *Weekly Free Press*, 31 May, 1873.
30. *Daily Free Press*, 10 December, 1874.
31. *Ibid.*, 21 April, 1875.
32. *Ibid.*, 4 May, 1875.
33. *Ibid.*, 5 May, 1875.
34. *Manitoba Gazette*, 29 January, 1875.
35. *Daily Free Press*, 13 February, 1875.
36. *Weekly Free Press*, April, 1874.
37. *Cleland Papers.*
38. *Minutes of Board of Education*, 2 December, 1875.
39. *Ibid.*, 18 January, 1876.
40. Chas. W. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
41. *Weekly Free Press*, 21 February, 1874.
42. *Manitoba Gazette*, 7 January, 1879.
43. *Ibid.*, 22 April and 8 May, 1880.
44. A. E. MacLennan, "Introduction to History of Gladstone", *The Pioneer* (Gladstone, 1940) Publication of the Young People's Association of the United Church of Gladstone, pp. 73-75.

45. *Daily Free Press*, 10 December, 1879.
46. Thomas Cory, *Commonplace and Account Book;* property of Judge J. G. Cory.
47. A. E. MacLennan, "Introduction to History of Gladstone", pp. 73-75; *Weekly Free Press*, 9 August, 1873.
48. *Daily Free Press*, 25 July, 1879.
49. Field Sketches, Dominions Land Survey (Department of Public Works, Manitoba).
50. *The Manitoban*, 18 April, 1874.
51. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1871*, chap. 2, section 7.
52. *Ibid.*, chap. 34.
53. *Statutes of Canada, 1870*, chap. 33, section 30.
54. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1873*, chap. 10, section 1.
55. *Ibid., 1873-1874*, chap. 10, section 1.
56. *Manitoba Gazette*, 9 June and 9 August, 1874.
57. *Ibid.*, 3 April, 1875.
58. *Ibid.*, 27 March, 1876.
59. *Cleland Papers.*
60. *Manitoba Gazette*, 18 October, 1876.
61. *Ibid.*, 2 August, 1877.
62. *Ibid.*, 18 June, 1879.
63. *Ibid.*, 2 October, 1879.
64. *Ibid.*, 16 November, 1879.
65. *Ibid.*, 2 August, 1877.
66. *Ibid.*, 18 October, 1877.
67. *Ibid.*, 6 June, 1878.
68. *Ibid.*, 2 September, 1879.
69. *Daily Free Press*, 25 January, 1879.
70. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1879*, chap. 21.
71. *Daily Free Press*, 1 December, 1879; Sir John Willison, *Reminiscences Political and Personal* (Toronto, 1919) pp. 14-15.
72. *Weekly Free Press*, 14 December, 1872.
73. *Daily Free Press*, 8 April, 1875.
74. *Ibid.*, 31 May, 1873.
75. *Ibid.*, 15 June, 1876.
76. *Ibid.*, 22 June, 1876.
77. *Ibid.*, 26 June, 1876.
78. *Ibid.*, 9 April, 1875.
79. *Ibid.*, 13 April, 1875.
80. *Manitoba Gazette*, 21 May, 1877.
81. *The Manitoban*, 3 May, 1873; *Statutes of Manitoba, 1873*, chap. 24.
82. *Letters Patent*, 3 November, 1873; Incorporated township 13, range 9, west as a municipality; property of the Provincial Library, given by Miss Lynch.
83. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1875*, chap. 41.
84. *Daily Free Press*, 16 October, 1878.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*, 13 May, 1875.
87. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1875*, chap. 41, sections, 173-178.
88. *Ibid.*, chap. 4.
89. *Daily Free Press*, 7 February, 1877.
90. *Ibid.*, 12 February, 1877.
91. *Ibid.*, 15 February, 1877.
92. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1877*, chap. 6, sections 45-55.
93. *Daily Free Press*, 28 March, 1877.
94. *Ibid.*, 10 March, 1877.
95. *Ibid.*, 11 April, 1877.
96. *Minutes of Council of Westbourne, I*, p. 1.
97. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35; 19 March, 1878.
98. *Daily Free Press*, 18 March, 1878.
99. *Minutes of Council of Westbourne, I*, pp. 2-3.—"Plural" and non-resident voting must account for the number of votes cast.
100. *Ibid., passim.*
101. *Daily Free Press.* 6 July, 1877.
102. *Ibid.*, 31 January, 1877.
103. *Gladstone Age.* 15 January, 1886.
104. *Minutes of Council of Westbourne, I.*
105. *Daily Free Press*, 22 March, 1878.
106. *Ibid.*, 17 May, 1879.
107. *Minutes of Council of Westbourne, I*, p. 125; 6 July, 1880.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
109. *Daily Free Press*, 5 February, 1880; *Statutes of Manitoba, 1880.* chap. 2.
110. *Daily Free Press*, 19 November, 1880.
111. W. E. Sanford, an American-born Canadian, was a capitalist of Hamilton, Ont.; a director of the Manitoba and North Western Railway; a Conservative Senator, 1897.
112. *Minutes of Council of Westbourne, I, passim.*
113. *The Manitoban*, 18 April, 1874.
114. *Daily Free Press*, 25 July, 1879.
115. *Ibid.*, 29 June, 1882.
116. *Minutes of Town of Gladstone, I*, p. 44.
117. *Parliamentary Companion*, 1872, p. 285.
118. *Ibid., 1873*, p. 158.
119. *Daily Free Press*, 27 November, 1874.
120. *Ibid.*, 14 February, 1874.
121. Chas. W. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
122. *Daily Free Press*, 28 February, 1874; *The Manitoban*, 2 February, 1874.
123. *Weekly Free Press*, 31 January, 1874.

124. *Daily Free Press*, 31 January, 1878.
125. R. B. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 398.
126. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1873*, chaps. 5 and 10.
127. *Ibid.*, chap. 8.
128. *The Manitoban*, 5 September, 1874.
129. *Ibid.*, 24 October, 1874.
130. *Daily Free Press*, 30 September, 1874.
131. *Ibid.*, 7 December, 1874.
132. *Ibid.*, 10 December, 1874.
133. *Parliamentary Companion, 1875*, p. 610.
134. *Daily Free Press*, 16 October, 1878.
135. *Ibid.*, 18 June, 1879; see also J. A. L. Holmes, *Factors Affecting Politics in Manitoba, A Study of the Provincial Elections, 1870-1899;* unpublished M.A. thesis of University of Manitoba.

ROAD AND RAIL

1. *The Manitoban*, 30 September, 1871.
2. *Daily Free Press*, 22 January, 1875.
3. *Weekly Free Press*, 5 April, 1873.
4. *Daily Free Press*, 22 January, 1875.
5. *Ibid.*, 12 February, 1877.
6. *Ibid.*, 17 May, 1877.
7. *Ibid.*, 9 April, 1878.
8. *Ibid.*, 3 December, 1878.
9. From a copy kindly furnished by Mr. Wm. Douglas of Winnipeg.
10. *Weekly Free Press*, 9 August, 1873.
11. *Daily Free Press*, 10 April, 1878.
12. *Ibid.*, 8 March, 1877.
13. *Ibid.*, 28 January, 1876.
14. *Ibid.*, 19 May, 1875.
15. Details furnished by Mr. A. G. Williams of Gladstone, one time owner and pilot of "S.S. St. Boniface".
16. *Daily Free Press*, 14 April, 1878.
17. *Ibid.*, 22 May, 1879.
18. *Ibid.*, 14 June, 1880.
19. Statement of Mr. A. G. Williams.
20. Dr. B. M. Walton, "Sketch of History of Gladstone".
21. A. E. MacLennan, "Introduction to History of Gladstone", p. 80.
22. *Daily Free Press*, 29 December, 1880.
23. *Ibid.*, 19 November, 1880.
24. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1880*, chap. 35.
25. *Daily Free Press*, 4 February, 1880.
26. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1881*, chap. 41.
27. *Daily Free Press*, 27 August, 1881.
28. *Ibid.*, 6 September, 1881.
29. *Ibid.*, 12 December, 1881.
30. *Ibid.*, 7 March, 1881.
31. *Minutes of Council of Westbourne, I*, p. 147.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
33. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1880*, chap 1, section 49.
34. *Minutes of Council of Westbourne, I*, pp. 160-161.
35. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1881*, chap. 41.
36. *Minutes of Council of Westbourne, I*, pp. 161-165. By-law No. 46.
37. *Minutes of Council of Gladstone, I*, p. 4, By-law No. 21.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-112. By-law No. 37.
39. *Daily Free Press*, 22 July, 1881.
40. *Ibid.*, 10 November, 1881.
41. *Ibid.*, 29 July, 1882.
42. *Ibid.*, 4 September, 1882.
43. Margaret A. Galloway, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

MAKING A LIVING

1. *Gladstone Age*, 6 September, 1884. A report of crop and general conditions to the south and east of Gladstone by Peter Moodie.
2. *Daily Free Press*, 5 August, 1879.
3. A. E. MacLennan, "Introduction to History of Gladstone", p. 80.
4. *Gladstone Age*, 26 November, 1888.
5. *Ibid.*, 6 September, 1884.
6. *Ibid.*

7. Thomas Cory, "A Short Sketch," etc.
8. *Weekly Free Press*, 14 June, 1873.
9. *Parliamentary Companion, 1887*, p. 324.
10. *Daily Free Press*, 10 October, 1876.
11. *Daily Free Press*, 31 January, 1877.
12. *Ibid.*, 22 October, 1876.
13. *Ibid.*, 8 September, 1876.
14. *Ibid.*, 14 April, 1877.
15. *Ibid.*, 17 May, 1877.
16. *Ibid.*, 11 January, 1882.
17. *Ibid.*, 11 October, 1876.
18. *Ibid.*, 1 November, 1876.
19. *Letter Book of C. P. Brown, 1884-1887*, ff. 87-89; Brown to J. Mason, clerk of the municipality of Westbourne, 16 August, 1884; kindly loaned by Mrs. W. R. Cottingham, née Brown.
20. *Daily Free Press*, 14 November, 1879.
21. Details from *Daily Free Press*, A. E. MacLennan, "Introduction to History of Gladstone," and Women's Institute Papers in Provincial Library of Manitoba.
22. *Daily Free Press*, 3 December, 1881.
23. *Cleland Papers.*

LIVING

1. *Daily Free Press*, 31 May, 1877.
2. *Ibid.*, 27 May, 1881.
3. Dr. B. M. Walton, "Short Sketch of History of Gladstone".
4. Chas. W. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Robertson to Mrs. Robertson, undated, 1874.
5. *Gladstone Age*, 1 July, 1887.
6. *Ibid.*, 5 and 12 July, 1884.
7. *Weekly Free Press*, 27 December, 1873.
8. *Ibid.*, 4 January, 1873.
9. *Ibid.*, 25 January, 1873.
10. *Gladstone Age*, 9 February, 1884.
11. *Daily Free Press*, 2 January, 1878.
12. *Ibid.*, 31 October, 1877.
13. *Ibid.*, 7 January, 1878.
14. *Ibid.*, 26 January, 1877.
15. *Gladstone Age.*, 18 May, 1894.
16. *Daily Free Press*, 24 July, 1879.
17. *Ibid.*, 24 July, 1882.
18. Wm. Douglas, *Free Masonry in Manitoba, 1864-1925*, (Winnipeg, 1925) p. 267.
    We are indebted to Mr. Douglas, not only for his book, but also for much helpful suggestion and advice.
19. *Gladstone Age*, 14 February, 1885.
20. *Ibid.*, 13 April, 1894.
21. *Daily Free Press*, 29 May, 1875.
22. *Ibid.*, 31 May, 1875.
23. *Gladstone Age*, 6 July, 1894.
24. *Ibid.*, 28 August, 1895.
25. *Ibid.*, 7 September, 1894.

BOOM AND SLUMP

1. Chester Martin, "Political History of Manitoba, 1870-1912", *Canada and Its Provinces, 19* (Toronto, 1914) pp. 112-115.
2. *Daily Free Press*, 3 December, 1881.
3. *Ibid.*, 8 February, 1882.
4. *Ibid.*, 29 June, 1882.
5. *Manitoba Gazette*, 8 July, 1882.
6. Thomas Cory, "A Short Sketch," etc.
7. *Gladstone Age*, 30 September, 1889.
8. *Ibid.*, 16 July, 1885.
9. *Ibid.*, 25 October, 1886.

1. *Gladstone Age*, 2 July, 1886.
2. *Ibid.*, 6 August, 1886.
3. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1883*, chap. 59; *Letter Book of C. P. Brown, 1884-1887*, f. 109. Brown to D. Budge, town clerk of Gladstone, 10 September, 1884.
4. *Gladstone Age*, 15 June and 11 December, 1885.
5. *Ibid.*, 5 July, 1886.
6. Statement by individuals with best of reasons for knowing.
7. *Gladstone Age*, 11 and 18 May, 1894.
8. *Ibid.*, 31 July, 1883.
9. *The Commercial*, 6 March, 1883.
10. *Gladstone Age*, 5 January, 1884.
11. *The Commercial*, 13 February, 1888.
12. *Gladstone Age*, 11 and 18 May, 1894.
13. *Ibid.*
14. For details see Margaret A. Galloway, *op cit.*
15. *Gladstone Age*, 21 June, 1884.
16. *The Commercial*, 13 February, 1888.
17. Details from *Gladstone Age.*
18. *Ibid.*, 4 March, 1887.
19. All details from *Gladstone Age.*
20. *Ibid.*, 11 and 18 May, 1894.
21. *Ibid.*, 8 May, 1895.
22. *Ibid.*, 12 February, 1886. The writers are informed by Professor W. M. Whitelaw that this press went on to Battleford, and thence to the Pas, where it was destroyed in a fire.
23. *Ibid.*, 11 and 18 May, 1894.
24. *The Age Press*, 9 March, 1945.
25. *Gladstone Age*, 12 June, 1885.
26. *Ibid.*, 10 July, 1885.
27. *Ibid.*, 14 April, 1886.
28. *Ibid.*, 7 July, 1886.
29. *Ibid.*, 7 September, 1886.
30. *Ibid.*, 25 October, 1886.
31. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1887*, chap. 39.
32. *Gladstone Age*, 18 July, 1887.
33. *Ibid.*, 18 May, 1888.
34. *Ibid.*, 23 December, 1887.
35. *Ibid.*, June to November, 1888.
36. *Minutes of Council of Westbourne, I*, p. 423, 20 November, 1888.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 431.
38. *Letter Book of C. P. Brown, 1884-1887*, ff. 222-223; Brown to M. Whaley, Shellmouth, 27 July, 1886.
39. *Manitoba Free Press*, 15 October, 1886.
40. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1886*, chap. 40. See J. A. L. Holmes, *op. cit.*
41. *Manitoba Free Press*, 15 October, 1886.
42. *Ibid.*, 28 October, 1886.
43. *Parliamentary Companion, 1887*, p. 340.
44. *Manitoba Free Press*, 27 October, 1886. *Letter Book of C. P. Brown, 1884-1887.* f. 294, Brown to Norquay, 9 March, 1887.
45. *The Commercial*, 22 March, 1887.
46. *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 May, 1887. See also A. Begg, *History of the North-West, III* (Toronto, 1895) p. 149. Begg is in error in speaking of Brown as still being in the Executive Council.
47. *Gladstone Age*, 19 June, 1888. The *Age*, of course, was partisan under the Moodie's; their successor stated at the time of Brown's death in 1891 that he might have had the nomination in 1888 had he exerted himself.
48. *Ibid.*, 24 December, 1891.
49. *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 December, 1891.
50. *Parliamentary Companion, 1889*, p. 349, Morton, 168, McKelvie, 126.
51. *Gladstone Age*, 29 March, 1889.
52. *Ibid.*, 29 November, 1889.
53. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1890*, chap. 42.
54. *Minutes of Council of Gladstone, I*, p. 350.
55. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1891*, chap. 19.
56. *Minutes of Council of Westbourne, I*, p. 455, 14 January, 1890.
57. *Ibid.*, 15 May, 1890, p. 460.
58. *Ibid., II*, p. 22; 16 January, 1891.
59. *Statutes of Manitoba, 1892*, chap. 32.
60. Property of Hon. Wm. Morton.