The Making of the Prairie Landscape

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ABSTRACT. The cultural landscape of the Canadian prairies is surprisingly diverse. Created by a complex interaction of cultures, economies and institutions, it evolved largely after 1870, when Canada acquired Rupert's Land. The most important landscape features, ranching, agriculture, and ethnicity, were in place by the early 1930s. The economics of grain transportation determined the spacing of settlements and railway rivalries also guided the geography of the prairies. Government always played a major role in shaping this new landscape, though its presence was less obvious on the ranching frontier than on the more densely settled agricultural frontier, where the survey system and the requirements of the Dominion Lands Act imposed a measure of uniformity. Ethnic signatures were etched into the landscape through settlement patterns and domestic and religious architecture. The prairie landscape still reflects these early processes, and this is likely to be the case into the foreseeable future.

SOMMAIRE. Le paysage culturel des prairies canadiennes offre une surprenante diversité. Créé par une interaction complexe de cultures, d'économies et d'institutions, il a en grande partie évolué depuis 1870, époque de l'acquisition de la Terre de Rupert. Ses traits les plus importants—l'élevage en ranch, l'agriculture et l'ethnicité—étaient en place dès le début des années 1930. L'économie associée au transport des céréales détermina l'espacement des habitations, et les rivalités ferroviaires guidèrent aussi la géographie des prairies. Le gouvernement joua toujours un rôle majeur dans la formation de ce nouveau paysage ; mais sa présence frontalière était moins en évidence dans les ranchs que dans les zones agricoles plus densément peuplées, où l'arpentage et les conditions de la Loi sur les terres fédérales imposaient une certaine uniformité. Les marques ethniques s'inscrivirent dans le paysage par l'intermédiaire des schémas de colonisation ainsi que de l'architecture domestique et religieuse. Le paysage des prairies reflète encore ces anciens processus, et cela devrait continuer dans un avenir prévisible.

Most people who have never visited the Canadian west have images of vast wheat fields extending to a forever retreating horizon. It is a powerful image of a region where topographical uniformity is matched by social homogeneity, a land scenically and socially bereft, the empty space between the shield of Ontario and the mountains of British Columbia. The image may in part be the legacy of imperialistic propaganda, which at the turn of the century promoted the flat fertile lands of the prairie as the "Last Best West" awaiting exploitation by the sons of the British Empire, or it may have sprung from the efforts of writers who strove to capture something of the harsh haunting magnificence of what Rees so aptly called a "New and Naked Land."[1] This search for an overarching image which can capture the essence of the prairies yet still embrace their geographical extent, can unwittingly lead to a simplification of the region's rich topographical variety and a dismissal of its diverse social mosaic, which together create some of the most intriguing and impressive rural landscapes in Canada.

In fact there is considerable variation in the physical geography of the prairies. The continental scale of the region often obscures this diversity as it is seldom evident at a local regional level. An appreciation of this variety can be gleaned from a consideration of prairie landscapes in southern Manitoba alone: the Red River bottomlands, the Carberry Sandhills, the Manitoba escarpment, the Tiger Hills, the Pembina Valley and the Grand Valley of the Assiniboine, and the rugged bush country of the Interlake district. Even on the prairies railways were not pushed over the land with bland disregard for topography. As elsewhere in Canada, terrain had a strong influence on line routing. For instance, tracks often followed the sides of the glacial spillways and river valleys to avoid excessive grades. At Minnedosa, despite the best efforts of engineers and surveyors, the track rose 264 feet in 4.5 miles, making an auxiliary pusher engine necessary for trains to make the westward grade.[2]

Many have struggled to come to terms with the prairies. Their size and lack of a clear cultural impress overwhelmed many early European visitors and immigrants. Rupert Brooke eloquently expressed the European's sense of anomie in this vast new land when he wrote "one can at a pinch do without gods ... but one misses the dead."[3] To Brooke, and to many newcomers, the prairies were too new, too vast, perhaps too raw and harsh, for them to understand. For the first generation of Europeans, in contrast to the Indigenous peoples, there was no sense of the sacred. As Brooke was clearly aware, it takes generations for a people to feel at home in a new land. It requires meanings to be carved into the landscape, icons

to be created and recognized, and myths of place developed. The culture must be moulded by the place and place moulded by the culture.

Even today the prairies defy easy description for the immensely varied ecological niches, and the diversity of European settlement in rural areas has produced a bewildering array of cultural landscapes.[4] Ranching landscapes, dry-farming landscapes, irrigated landscapes, and mixed farming landscapes may also carry the varied signatures of European settlement. Scattered among them are Indian Reserves, National and Provincial Parks, and other federally and provincially managed lands each of which have their own characteristics.

Before European colonization the picture was perhaps less cluttered. Variety was found in ecological diversity. For the Aboriginal peoples these "new" lands—the prairies—were home. Places had meaning and deep connection with the lives of the people and the societies of which they were a part. Their feet trod lightly on the land and even the first Europeans to enter the region viewed evidence of their occupation as episodic and ephemeral. The anthropogenic nature of a fire-induced or fire-extended grassland would not have been immediately apparent to most observers. Their nomadic wanderings in pursuit of the bison and other game were marked only by transitory camps along water courses and by buffalo jumps. Before the first Europeans penetrated into the area in the mid-18th century, the cultural landscapes of the native peoples blended easily into the sweeping grandeur of the prairies.

In the 18th century competition for control of the fur trade between the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), operating out of its Bay-side forts, and the Northwest Company, dispatching its voyageurs out of Montreal, drew the fur traders ever deeper into the western interior.[5] Leapfrogging each other in a desperate quest to intercept the choicest furs as the native middlemen freighted them towards the European buyers, the companies established a network of posts along the rivers which were the lifelines of the trade. While the posts themselves were merely specks in the wilderness, the demands they created for supplies played a crucial role in opening the prairies to agricultural settlement.

Lord Selkirk's wish to provide a haven for his impoverished countrymen came to fruition only because the HBC saw the establishment of a farming community to be in its best interests. For decades the Company had regarded agriculture as antithetical to the efficient prosecution of the fur trade, but by 1812 had reluctantly come to see the creation of a farm settlement at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine as a useful source of supplies and a convenient bastion against the expansion of its rival.

Although the settlement did not fulfil either role effectively, it did mark the first settlement of Europeans in the Canadian west and eventually it did demonstrate the viability of agriculture in what was then still a largely unknown or misunderstood region.[6]

For the Selkirk settlers the most pressing problem was survival in a new and unfamiliar environment. Miles Macdonell, Lord Selkirk's agent charged with allocating land for the settlers, used the river lot as the basic unit of land subdivision, perhaps copying from the Seigniorial system of Quebec, or perhaps simply adopting a pragmatic solution to the problem of securing an equitable division of the resource base. Along the Red River, Macdonell deviated from the Quebec example, widening the lots to accommodate settlers' needs on the inhospitable prairie and running the lots out on the grasslands for a distance of two miles.[7]

The long lot was adopted by the HBC as the only vehicle for settlement in the prairie environment. It was used by its Métis servants who assisted in its spread more than fifty miles westward along the banks of the Assiniboine and south along the Red River, virtually to what would become the United States border. Its practicability for technologically unsophisticated peoples led the Métis to take it with them when they moved westwards under the pressures of an encroaching civilization. Thus the river lot survey appeared at Fish Creek and Batoche in Saskatchewan, on the Seine River in Manitoba, and at the Victoria settlement on the North Saskatchewan in Alberta. Nevertheless, in terms of area the river lots were relatively minor scratchings in the topography of the west, although they were later to play a crucial role in shaping the street patterns of Winnipeg and other centres which arose decades later on the banks of the Red.

When the HBC formally ceded its vast territory of Rupert's Land to Canada in 1870 it was clear to the government of Canada that a number of things had to be set in place: the establishment of law and order, the building of a transcontinental rail link, the confinement of the Native peoples to their reserves, and the survey of the land.

A series of treaties was quickly concluded with the various nations native to the west (the Cree, Ojibway, Saulteaux, Chippawayan, Assiniboines, Dakota, Blackfoot, Blood, Piegan, and Sarcees), by which bewildered and powerless Natives were restricted to a fraction of the land across which they had wandered, on to reserves described by one Métis as "prisons of grass."[8]

The transcontinental rail link was not effected with the same dispatch but the survey had its framework cast by the Dominion Lands Act of

1872.[9] Its intent was clear and its effects indelible on the prairie land-scape: land was to be occupied only by *bona fide* settlers, it was to be allo-cated in the most straightforward and administratively simple fashion, and the needs of corporations which were involved in the process were to be accommodated. To effect this mandate the government elected to use a version of the survey system used across the American west. Disregarding all topographical obstacles, and excepting only Indian reserves and the rare river lot surveys the land was subdivided into townships six miles square, each further subdivided into mile square sections which in turn were quar-tered into the 160 acres then thought to be the optimum size of a farm for a pioneer farmer.[10] To facilitate the building of schools two sections (11 and 29) were set aside as school lands, one and three-quarter sections were ceded to the HBC, and over vast areas of the west all odd-numbered sections were deeded to a variety of railway companies as payment in kind for building the track that was to open up and develop the west. Many of these lands were later acquired by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and the Canadian National Railway (CNR) when other lines were leased or bought.[11]

The result was a framework which established the pattern of settle-ment over the greater part of the Canadian west. The requirements for the granting of homestead lands to prospective settlers—that they reside on the specific quarter section they were claiming for a period of at least three years, erect substantial buildings and make other improvements, and clear and break 30 or more acres of land—ensured the dispersal of settlers on individual homesteads, isolated and separated from the social benefits of close congregation. It did much to set the look of the landscape over almost all of the prairies until the present day, and certainly deepened the sense of isolation and alienation experienced by many immigrants carving out homesteads on the vast sweep of the prairies.

The survey itself was mechanistic. Its lines cut across the land with mathematical precision, oblivious to the demands of topography or vege-tation. Survey lines and the roads which later followed in their train tra-versed swamps or muskeg with the same disregard with which they bisect-ed sloughs, lakes, and rivers, cut through aspen groves and slashed through the boreal forest. Only the curvature of the earth, and the impossibility of reconciling plane and spherical geometry, extracted grudging adjustment of the grid and some deviation from its rigid symmetry. In its scope and inflexibility it was almost inhuman, but its lines of imperial measure deter-mined the size of prairie farms and the placement of the road transporta-tion network. As a framework which was antithetical to the congregation

of people it sometimes did much to determine the failure of settlements established by groups bent on perpetuating a particular religious philosophy for whom close contact was a necessary element in maintaining group cohesion and religious enthusiasm.

Significant settlement of the west was closely tied to the building of the railways. Until the completion of the CPR transcontinental line across the Prairies in the early 1880s, almost all settlers, who still lacked the technological sophistication to launch out on to the open grasslands, were tied to the watercourses, hostage to the need for wood, water, and meadowland. In consequence, movement out on to the prairie was tentative and halting, clinging to the security of the aspen parkland. Even after the CPR was built, for some time settlement on the open prairie was strongly influenced by access to the lifeline of railway communications.

There were exceptions. Patterns of settlement of the Aboriginal peoples were not controlled by the Dominion Lands Act. Indian Reserve lands were held in trust by the federal government, so individuals had no legal basis for owning land within a reserve and band members could locate wherever they wished within the confines of the reserve. This gave the Native communities a distinctive and unstructured appearance heightened by the cultural contrasts in definition and use of family territory around residences which differentiated reserve lands from the surrounding agricultural landscapes. It would be naive, however, to believe that the reserve landscape was immune from governmental influence as the federal government determined many aspects of reserve life under the auspices of the Indian Act. Indeed, the very location and size of the reserves themselves was ultimately determined by the government. It has also been suggested that in some instances church workers may have influenced the location of reserves since they wished to see Aboriginal peoples concentrated around their missions.[12]

In southern Manitoba, as another example, in 1874 Mennonite settlers had located on a special reserve of land in the bush country east of the Red, which the government had set aside for their exclusive settlement. Dissatisfied with the quality of this land they began to drift across to the open grasslands west of the river in 1875, causing the government to allocate a second reserve of land of 19 townships for exclusive settlement by Mennonites.[13] In these two areas these settlers created one of the most distinctive cultural landscapes of western Canada. They were able to move on to the prairie only because they had adaptive strategies and a system of settlement which freed them from dependence upon easy access to wood for fuel, building, and fencing. Their open-field landscape reflected this.

Granted exemption from the obligation to settle on a specific homestead and thus able to create villages, the Mennonites laid out their strassendorf villages along creeks as with Reinland and Altbergthal, or aligned them to the cardinal points of the compass as with Hochfeld and Schoenwiese. Land was pooled and divided into strips allocated by lot after the fashion of the medieval open field system. Stock was herded on village lands thereby eliminating the need for the fencing of fields.[14]

After a few years of settlement, soundly built log houses, built in the traditional Mennonite house-barn style and oriented at right angles to the street, replaced Semlins, the earth-covered dug-outs that provided shelter in the early days. Cottonwoods planted along the length of the village street eventually matured into the shade trees that became emblematic of the Mennonite villages. The unpainted houses and barns, or the choice of plain white and subdued green or blue trim where paint was used, reflected a philosophical aversion to ostentatious display, as did their austere church buildings, at first glance almost indistinguishable from the houses in the village.

Over 90 villages were established on the east and west reserves.[15] Many were short-lived, victims of the government's refusal to permit the Mennonite villages to hold land in common. As each village farmer then held title to a specific quarter section of land he had the option of withdrawing his land from the village system and establishing his farm on his own quarter section. Quarrels between neighbours, religious differences, or the dissatisfaction of progressive farmers with the slow rate of agricultural innovation, could prompt a decision to withdraw from the open field system and pursue farming on the quarter section to which legal title had been granted. When this occurred it meant not merely the loss of one member but the dissolution of the village open field system and, more often than not, the decline of the village. By the 1930s the open field system was dead, a victim of 20th-century agricultural technology and the legal restrictions of the Dominion Lands Act. Today scarcely more than a dozen villages, all on the West Reserve, are readily recognizable as Mennonite strassendorfer.[16] The Mennonite landscape, like that of most other ethnic groups who settled on the prairies, has never been static but is in constant flux. It has evolved, changed with advances in technology and shifts in social mores, eventually, and only grudgingly, adjusting to the pressures of assimilation and acculturation.

Many settlers who were enticed to settle in the Canadian West before the completion of the transcontinental railway did so in the face of the attractions of the American West: free homesteads, better communications,

and a climate generally regarded as less severe south of the border. But the American West held less attraction for those groups who sought to maintain religious and social integrity, since the Canadian government, in a desperate attempt to attract and keep such settlers, offered special exemptions and privileges to discrete social groups who were deemed to be settlers of superior potential, peoples such as the Mennonites in 1874–76, Icelanders in 1875, Mormons in 1887, and Doukhobors in 1899.[17] In contrast, agricultural groups that came later when the frontier was closed received no special treatment from government. The Hutterites, who first arrived in 1918, in order to establish their colonies were obliged to buy land from earlier settlers and in fact, in some cases had restrictions placed upon their land purchases.[18]

The degree to which patterns of settlement were transferred from the area of origin depended upon the social cohesion of the group and the extent to which the morphology of settlement was linked to the perpetuation of a particular way of life. Whereas Mennonites, Mormons, and later, Doukhobors, who saw nucleated settlement as vital to a continuation of religious zeal, transferred their distinctive village formations into the Canadian West, the Icelanders, to whom village settlement meant little in religious or philosophical terms, easily accepted dispersed settlement and made no attempt to circumvent the requirements of the Dominion Lands Act.[19]

Considering that the Dominion Lands Act had been framed with the family farmer in mind, it is ironic that it was the corporate cattlemen and not the homesteading wheat farmers who were among the first to benefit from its provisions. Large-scale ranching was promoted by the federal government as a plank in its National Policy,[20] which sought to develop the resources of the West and the manufactures of central Canada. A comprehensive legislative package was introduced in 1881 which enabled individuals or companies to lease up to 100,000 acres of grazing land for 21 years at an annual rent of 1¢ per year. The response was immediate and overwhelming. In 1882 alone, 154 applications for leases were received and 75 leases were authorized, covering a total of more than four million acres. The estimated number of stock on the range rose from 9,000 to 100,000 head in the five years between 1881 and 1886. These early leases formed a compact block of townships reaching northward from the international boundary to the Bow River. The line of the Whoop-Up Trail ran through the middle of this block and there was little penetration of the grasslands for more than 20 miles east of this axis. Indeed, Mormon homesteaders seeking land in Alberta close to the international boundary line almost

despaired of finding suitable land for settlement, it "all being taken up under grazing leases." In 1887 they were very fortunate to find a cancelled lease which was then open for homesteading, which enabled them to establish the village of Cardston which became a bridgehead for later Mormon settlement in the area.[21]

This creation of a "Big Man's Frontier" in the West, promoted by Senator Cochrane and his colleagues, was potentially a dangerous political departure. Sir John A. Macdonald was undoubtedly swayed by a host of pragmatic considerations. At the time the possibilities for developing arable farming in the region were uncertain and obscured by lingering images of the Great American Desert. Furthermore, the price of wheat remained low and despite the government's best efforts the anticipated influx of settlers remained a dream.[22] On the one hand there was overwhelming evidence that stock-raising could be pursued successfully. Some Canadian ranch cattle were being used to meet treaty obligations but the bulk of contracts for feeding the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) and the Indians were still being filled by Montana-based trading companies. This was uneconomic and politically unacceptable.

On the other hand, what would appear more statesmanlike than to encourage those who had already proved themselves as stockmen in the Eastern Townships of Quebec to establish large ranches on the underused grasslands of the North-West? In the short term, ranching would provide meat for local markets; in the longer term it would provide valuable freight for the trans-continental railway, and promised to further the flourishing trade in live cattle which had developed between eastern Canada and Great Britain.

Thus the growth of the range cattle industry in western Canada took place within a legal framework and was regulated on the spot by agents of the federal government.[23] Holders of grazing leases could rely on the support of the NWMP against the depredations of poachers and the incursions of "nesters." At the same time the Department of Agriculture actively promoted the sale of cattle to Great Britain and established regulatory controls to ensure that steers arrived in Liverpool and London in top condition. This comprehensive involvement of the Dominion government in regulating and promoting the cattle industry was in stark contrast to the situation in the United States where the cattle boom took place outside of any legal or regulatory framework, and where illegal fencing, fraudulent land acquisition, and range wars were spawned from the prescriptive right to "accustomed range."

Nevertheless, the government's unqualified support for the Cattle

Kingdom was short lived. By the mid 1880s the infrastructure for development was in place and the cattle trade on a solid footing. As homesteads flourished in and around the grazing country, the political costs of supporting the cattlemen rose. After inspecting the ranching district, the Deputy Minister of the Interior remarked that "there can be no doubt that when the actual settler desires land for the purpose of making his house on it, it would be impossible, even if it were expedient, to keep him out..."[24] As tension between incoming settlers and ranchers threatened to erupt into violence the government's unequivocal support of the cattle compact weakened.

The contrasts between the carefully managed lease system in Canada and the "Free land" ethos espoused by those who occupied the high plains of the American West was paralleled by far-reaching social differences. Even before the lease legislation was passed, the scattering of small ranchers in southern Alberta were hardly typical frontiersmen. Many were former members of the NWMP, recruited from middle-class backgrounds in eastern Canada. The presence of Englishmen "of good family" was often mentioned by visitors, and the affectations of the English "remittance men" attracted the scorn of egalitarian humorists such as Bob Edwards of the *Calgary Eye-Opener*.[25]

The social landscape of the Canadian ranching frontier was thus radically different from the homesteading—or farming—frontier. Ranching required a larger initial investment than did farming and depended upon the work of hired hands, few, if any, of whom had the means to launch out into similar endeavours. Thus there was a division between the owner and employees which could not be replicated on the farming frontier where operations were smaller in scale and where the opportunities for independent farming made it virtually impossible to retain a stable team of farm labourers. Expatriate English gentry tried to replicate the rural squire–tenant relationship on the farming frontier, at Cannington Manor in Saskatchewan, for example, but were foiled by an inability to secure settlers willing to work for others when they could farm for themselves. Only ranchers under the umbrella of economic success and political power achieved by a handful of major cattle companies could attain a leisured lifestyle. Southern Alberta became the "land of the second son."[26]

Far from seeking release from the restraints of traditional ways, this society sought to recreate and preserve the kind of community in which they had been nurtured, but which was fast disappearing in Britain. Professor L.G. Thomas, himself the son of an English-born rancher, observed: "Perhaps no pioneer community devoted so much time to

amusement."[27] Horse racing and polo were pursued with vigour, while "shooting, fishing, and hunting, just the things which would bring you to the verge of bankruptcy at home, you can enjoy here for practically nothing."[28] Although the owners and managers of foothills ranches were vociferous in their hostility to incoming farm settlers, they welcomed young men and women who had good connections in eastern Canada or Great Britain. "Social contiguity" based upon common origins and shared educational advantages, and fostered by similar political and religious beliefs, meant that established ranchers tolerated newcomers of "the right sort" and even helped them to get started in stock rearing.

The flow of privileged male immigrants to southern Alberta was paralleled by an influx of women who came west to look after their brothers, or to act as governesses, housekeepers, and companions.[29] Mrs. Agnes Bedingfeld, although a truly remarkable woman, was by no means atypical. The widow of a colonel in the Indian Army, she saw that there was little opportunity for a single woman of limited means in England, so she brought her son Frank to Alberta in 1886. She went to work for Fred Stimson at the Bar U Ranch on Pekisco Creek as housekeeper. Frank quickly learned the essentials of ranching, and, when he turned 18, mother and son took out adjacent homesteads along the creek from the big ranch.

Over the next 30 years the Bedingfelds put down deep roots in Alberta. At first Frank continued to work for the Bar U, but gradually he acquired some cattle of his own which he ran with the main herd. The original log cabin was transformed into a comfortable eight-room ranch house, flanked with an attractive veranda and surrounded by a rough lawn and some native shrubs. Upstairs was a dormitory-like "bachelors' hall" to which the Bedingfelds welcomed young men from the neighbourhood. They would drift in from their cramped quarters to enjoy the amenities of a civilized home, some well-cooked meals off fine china, and music, cards, and an opportunity to share the news from around the district and from home. By the turn of the century the Bedingfelds owned 1,440 acres, and controlled a further 40,000 acres through leases. But their ties with England remained very strong: when Frank finally got married, his mother retired to Hertfordshire. Similarly, when war broke out in 1914, Frank pulled every string imaginable to get into uniform. In spite of the fact that he was 47 years old, and that the ranch was producing valuable mounts for the army, he was accepted as an ambulance driver. He served for two years in Belgium and France, and returned to Alberta in poor health in 1919. The family then sold their ranch and moved back to England. Frank Bedingfeld's story is all too typical, for the foundations of the privileged

ranching society were tragically shaken by World War I. Young men returned to the United Kingdom to rejoin their regiments, and the foothills communities sent a disproportionate number to the slaughter of the Western Front.

Both the collective "folk memory" of early ranchers, preserved in letters, diaries, and unpublished memoirs, and the scholarly treatment of this material by Thomas and Breen stresses the continuity and preservation in the Canadian west of many of the attributes of life enjoyed in the "shires" of Victorian Britain. Perhaps it was necessary to draw a stark contrast between the genteel ranching frontier of the Alberta foothills and the "Wild West" of Montana and Wyoming, in order to rectify an important omission in Canadian historiography. Many privileged immigrants quickly learned new skills and adapted to new ways. Adjustments had to be made to a life virtually without servants. Hard and sometimes dangerous manual labour, day in and day out, made the social and sporting occasions, so fondly recalled, all the sweeter. Women might relish "A flannel shirt and liberty," but they had to cope with a lack of inside plumbing, never-ending chores, and the loneliness which greater distances and a sparse population imposed. Although it would never have occurred to the members of the Anglo-Canadian ranching elite to think of themselves as an "ethnic group," they did possess distinct cultural traits, and these traits were no more immune to acculturation than were those of other groups. They underwent profound changes with every year they remained in Alberta.

This process was encouraged by the presence among them of men from all over the North American West. Frank Bedingfeld was taught his business by cowboys from south of the line like Herb Miller, Jim Minesinger, and the famous black cowboy, John Ware. Many of these men established ranches of their own and merged without difficulty into foothills society. Some, like George Lane, rose to become leaders of the Canadian cattle industry. Indeed, Lane's career seems almost too much of a romantic stereotype to be real. He was born in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1856, and followed his father northward to the Montana gold fields as a teenager. He worked as cowboy, teamster, and Indian scout during the 1870s, and, on the recommendation of the Montana Stock Growers' Association, Lane became foreman of the Bar U in 1884. Nearly twenty years later he was in a position to purchase a whole spread in one of the biggest land deals ever witnessed in the region. He went on to become a prime mover in the Western Stock Growers' Association, and, in 1919, he established The Cattlemen's Protective Association of Western Canada. As his political stature rose, so too did his position in the emerging new Canadian society

of the foothills. He was the man chosen to host the young Prince of Wales on his cross-Canada tour in 1919, and the rancher and the Prince remained friends until Lane's death in 1925.

This unique socio-economic milieu did not produce an equally distinct landscape. Indeed, evidence of human occupation in the foothills and grasslands of southern Alberta during the open range period was extremely limited. The legal boundaries of leases were unmarked and herds were separated according to their brands at the annual fall round-up. Only along the edges of streams, often masked by cottonwood and willow, were signs of occupation obvious. Long low ranch houses were surrounded by an assemblage of barns, corrals, and outbuildings. Few, if any, of these homes have survived, although many of the original ranch sites have been continuously occupied. From the 1890s onwards, the original log structures were replaced by more fashionable frame structures.[30]

Virtually the only other landscape elements associated with the ranching period were the shipping points from which the grass-fed cattle started on their long journey east, first to Point Levis on the St. Lawrence, then across the Atlantic to the British markets.[31] These shipping points were the Canadian equivalent of the roaring cow towns of the American Great Plains such as Abilene and Dodge City, and they too enjoyed brief periods of exuberant life before the extension of the railways or changes in shipping patterns left them high and dry. The tiny village of Cayley in the 1890s was briefly the biggest shipping point in the North-West Territories. Four or five corrals covered a considerable area, and could hold 1,000 head of cattle.[32] From these the steers were loaded up four chutes into waiting boxcars. After the fall round-up herds from the foothills ranches were driven to the railhead at Cayley where combined herds of up to 10,000 head were held along Mosquito Creek awaiting their turn to load. Each ranch outfit camped around its chuckwagon, with the annual get-together being the high point on the social calendar, especially after the Cayley hotel opened in 1903.[33]

The open range endured so long as the Canadian government failed to attract sufficient immigrants to effect the agricultural settlement of the West. Until the completion of the rail link between St. Paul, Minnesota, and Winnipeg in 1878 there was no easy access into the West and no access to eastern markets for western produce. The completion of the transcontinental railway in 1885 opened an all-Canadian route to the West but the expected rush of settlers did not materialize, and those who did arrive clung to the base of the parkland crescent—areas where wood, water and hay were readily available—to those districts which were easily

accessible by rail or which had good prospects for the imminent develop-
ment of rail communications.

Many of the homestead entries made between 1883 and 1890 in
Manitoba and adjoining parts of the North-West Territories were made by
speculators who made little contribution to the development or the settle-
ment of the country. From 1874 until 1896 homestead entries averaged
under 3,000 a year. In some years there were as many cancellations as
there were new entries partly because of the provision for relocation if the
initial homestead proved disappointing. At the same time the vacant lands
of the Dakotas were being settled, in large part by emigrant Canadians.
The *Winnipeg Times* lamented that the "trails from Manitoba to the
[United] States were worn bare and barren by the footprints of departing
[Canadian] settlers."[34]

The inability of the Canadian West to attract and hold its own country-
men was a severe disappointment and a source of real concern. There was
little that the government could do to change the environmental and eco-
nomic deterrents to settlement in the West. To many prospective settlers
the memory of the grasshopper plagues of the 1870s was still fresh and the
uncertainty of cereal production was beginning to diminish only with the
introduction of Red Fife wheat in 1885. Furthermore, transportation costs
were high, manufactured goods expensive, wheat prices on the newly
accessible world market were low, the cost of credit was high, and dry
farming techniques were slow to be adopted. The government did little to
overcome these restrictions when, in a quest for loyal, English speaking,
Protestant, or easily assimilated immigrants, it directed its somewhat lack-
lustre immigration campaigns to the British Isles, north-western Europe,
and the United States, areas which had already been thoroughly scoured
for potential agricultural immigrants. The Department of the Interior was
described, a little unfairly, by Clifford Sifton as "a department of delay, a
department of circumlocution, a department in which people could not
get business done, a department which tired men to death who undertook
to get any business transacted with it."[35]

The CPR was also involved in the promotion of immigration and west-
ern settlement, for its road to financial stability lay in the agricultural set-
tlement of the districts where it had selected lands granted to it for build-
ing tracks in the West, the sale of those lands, and the development of
traffic from those areas. Despite an apparently energetic and imaginative
campaign it had little success before 1896, probably because it also direct-
ed its efforts towards the northwestern European market in a time of gen-
eral economic malaise. These immigration policies were geographically

expressed in the rate and character of settlement in the west. Firstly, it meant that large areas of the West remained largely unsettled until the mid-1890s. Secondly, it was English-speaking settlers who predominated in the settled areas in the base of the parkland crescent and along the axis of the Canadian Pacific Railway, firmly establishing the social and linguistic character of early western agricultural society.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the building of the railways from the building of the Canadian West. The railways—the CPR, Canadian Northern, the Grand Trunk Pacific and their subsidiaries—built tracks across the prairies in a frenzied determination to secure economic advantage. The result was an overbuilding of track, which was to become apparent in later years when uneconomic branch lines and spur lines were gradually abandoned.[36]

Paradoxically, the railways may well have served to impede the progress of settlement in the late 1880s and early 1890s. To encourage railway companies to build trackage in the West the federal government made grants of land for each mile of track laid. The CPR, for example, received 12,000 acres per mile for the first 900 miles of the transcontinental railway, 16.666 acres for 450 miles and 9.615 acres for 640 miles. In its own name alone the CPR acquired and retained 19,816,009 acres of Dominion lands; through its subsidiaries it acquired a further 6,239,453 acres for a total of 26,055,462 acres out of the 31,783,654 acres of railway land grants.

These lands were to be selected from areas "fairly fit for settlement" along the route of the transcontinental line and in areas far distant from it, as far north as Edmonton, Alberta, and Dauphin, Manitoba. To reduce their taxation obligations railway companies delayed selection of these lands for as long as possible, locking up from settlement huge tracts of territory until they had completed their selection. By 1896 only two million acres of a possible 28.5 million acres had been selected, hence much of the west was effectively removed from settlement by uncertainty over the exact status of areas where the railways reserved their right to choose land. The CPR, moreover, concentrated its land promotion efforts on its lands in the south. In the northern areas it delayed selection and occupation until "the cultivation and development of government land brought about a sharp appreciation in the value of railway sections."[37] The effect of Railway land policy was to concentrate attention on those lands which could be settled only by settlers with considerable capital and experience, the most elusive type of settler in the 1880s and 1890s.

The CPR had other effects upon the landscape and society of the West.

Few westerners viewed the company in a benevolent light and it was hated for its policies by many. The apocryphal story of the farmer whose wheat crop was hailed out shaking his fist at the heavens and cursing the CPR illustrates well the relationship between the struggling farmer and the company upon which he was dependent. To many settlers the CPR appeared to be mercenary and merciless. Station halts, town sites and rights of way were planned to favour the best interests of the company rather than those of the districts being served. Town sites were placed on CPR-owned land even when existing town sites could easily have served the purpose. Nelsonville, at one time the third largest town in Manitoba, with a full range of social and administrative services, became a ghost town when the CPR terminated its branch line some four miles short of the settlement.[38] A small station halt at the head of rail at Dead Horse Creek, on a CPR section, eventually grew into the thriving regional centre of Morden. Similarly, in Alberta, the town of Vegreville, bypassed by the railway, had to move to the railway line or face extinction. Buildings were skidded across the prairie and the town reassembled. Such examples were legion. One settler boasted of burying his father three times: first in the riverbank for expediency, afterwards moving him to the local settlement's cemetery, then moving and reinterring him when the settlement relocated on to the railway.[39]

The power of the railway corporations was demonstrated by the lack of success of the HBC in establishing settlements on the properties which it had been granted. Unable to influence the routing of lines or the placement of halts, its attempts to create settlements were mostly failures.[40] In Manitoba, for example, on the west bank of the Red River at the international boundary, the HBC surveyed the townsite of West Lynne. The CPR ran its line down the east bank and established its own settlement at Emerson opposite West Lynne, effectively blocking the HBC's endeavour.

A change of government in 1896 and the appointment of Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior in 1897 was a turning point in western settlement. Laurier's Liberal administration was undeniably fortunate that its assumption of power coincided with a world-wide economic upswing, but there can be no doubt that the vigorous policies implemented by Sifton accelerated the rate of western settlement and, more importantly, changed the nature and social composition of the immigration into the West.

Sifton pursued agricultural immigrants with a single-minded determination, redirecting recruitment efforts towards the non-Protestant European peasant heartland. At the same time he still actively sought

Canadian and American farmers who he thought to be "of the finest qual-
ity and the most desirable settlers."[41] He consistently opposed recruitment
of artisans from the cities and towns of Europe, whether British or not,
because of their ambivalence towards farm work and their tendency to
give up on farming and drift into the towns and swell the ranks of the
unemployed.[42] Speculation was discouraged and land was opened for set-
tlement by Sifton's decision to cancel time sales. By forcing the railway
companies to complete their selection of land he opened vast new areas to
homestead settlement within three years.[43] During his tenure as Minister
(1897–1905) the map of the social geography of the prairie West was
redrawn as peasants from multi-ethnic Austria-Hungary joined the stream
of immigrants to Canada. A polyglot crowd of Ukrainians, Poles, Finns,
Magyars, Scandinavians, ethnic Germans, Belgians, French, Jews and oth-
ers, mingled with the North Americans and British seeking free lands
across the West. With only rare exceptions they settled within the frame-
work of the Dominion Lands Act, each family residing upon its own home-
stead, scattered and isolated from each other.

From an administrative perspective the European occupation of land in
western Canada may appear to have been highly structured and exception-
ally orderly. For the most part it was, at least in the view of those charged
with the task of accomplishing the process. All immigrants, regardless of
their nationality, were eligible to select land wherever they wished, pro-
vided that they chose land which had been declared open for settlement,
that is, land not set aside for any special purpose by the government
whether as a railway land grant, Indian Reserve, Timber Reserve or the
like. Officials of the Department of the Interior were stationed through-
out the West to facilitate the land selection process and to channel specif-
ic ethnic groups into districts where the government thought the physical
environment would be to their liking, and perhaps more importantly, the
nature of the land was such as would permit cash-poor settlers to survive
without assistance from the government.

Even English-speaking settlers with capital found homesteading in the
West a stressful process. Without experience of prairie farming and often
without significant agricultural experience at all, many settlers chose their
homesteads on emotional rather than on rational grounds, picking a home-
stead because the topography was reminiscent of "home" or because of the
proximity of friends or relatives.[44] The prairie environment was new,
strange and unexpectedly severe, and it often spawned what appeared to
be bizarre decision-making behaviour. One westerner recalled that "One of
the strangest land seeking phenomena was the way in which experienced

farmers, after trailing over innumerable townships in which there was nothing to offend the plough, would choose some stony lot which, compared to what they might have had, was too poor to raise a disturbance on it."[45]

Many such decisions in settlement were, in fact, not at all irrational. Any settler who was not well endowed with capital had to evaluate land from the perspective of its potential to sustain a family in the short term rather than to offer the promise of economic gain in the long term. Cash-poor settlers sought out land which offered a wide resource base for subsistence agriculture. Wood, water, and meadow were eagerly sought out. Wood was vital for building, fencing and fuel. Settlers from Eastern Europe had often had to pay exorbitant prices for wood in their homeland and were anxious to ensure that their homesteads offered a plentiful supply. This obsession with wood seemed strange even to experienced immigration officials. In 1897 Immigration Commissioner William McCreary confided to the Deputy Minister of the Interior that "The Galicians are a peculiar people; they will not accept as a gift 160 acres of what we should consider the best land in Manitoba, that is first class wheat growing prairie land; what they want is wood, and they care but little whether the land is heavy soil or light gravel; but each man must have some wood on his place."[46]

Even features of the environment ignored or shunned by settlers intent upon an immediate entry into the market economy were highly prized. Marshland provided slough grass, useful for thatching or for fodder, water for cattle and a habitat for game birds. Scrub or bush, in addition to small and occasionally large game, provided fruits, nuts, and berries, as well as the chance to gather mushrooms, giving dietary variety and easily preserved and highly regarded culinary items. In the Interlake district of Manitoba, for example, Ukrainian and Polish settlers gathered three types of mushroom, wild raspberries, strawberries, Saskatoon berries, chokecherries, wild plums, and hazel nuts.[47]

Other facets of the environment which did not concern the wealthier settler greatly interested the peasant immigrant. Heavy clay, sand, stone and the presence of willow and juniper were all useful for construction of houses in the traditional style and enhanced the desirability of a homestead in the eyes of such settlers.[48] In his study of Finnish settlement in Canada Van Cleef remarked that "a little muskeg now and then is not unwelcome to a Finn,"[49] but he might well have included all peasant immigrants in his comment.

Environmental preferences, or the lack of financial reserves, were

important in steering Ukrainian, Polish, and Romanian settlement to the bush country of the aspen parkland belt, where they established bloc settlements running in a discontinuous arc from south-eastern Manitoba, through Saskatchewan, into central Alberta.

For foreign settlers, especially the peasants from Eastern Europe, the entire process of immigration and settlement must have been bewildering and chaotic. Without an understanding of English, often illiterate, or literate only in the Cyrillic script, unfamiliar with the social mores and institutions of the host country, most "foreign" settlers clung to the security of the familiar. With dogged determination they sought out the company of their friends, kin, and countrymen who had preceded them: people who appraised land as they did and who by their very survival and progress had affirmed the validity of their shared perceptions.

Within the ethnic blocs that emerged as a result of chain migration there was surprising geographical diversity based on the grouping of immigrants according to family loyalties, their village, district, and province of origin. Within the Ukrainian settlements, for example, immigrants from the province of Galicia generally settled apart from those from the province of Bukovyna, if indeed they settled together in the same bloc.[50] This preference for those of like background, who shared adherence to the same church, spoke the same language or dialect, practised the same customs, and who held the same weltanschauung, eventually led to a replication in microcosm of the basic social geography of their homeland within many of the "foreign" districts.

In view of the social and economic insecurity of most land seekers it is hardly surprising that there were very few primary decision makers. Analyses of the settlement process of Ukrainians, Icelanders, Mennonites, and Belgians as well as the memoirs of pioneers reveal the intense magnetism of the known and familiar upon newly arrived immigrants who chose destinations on the basis of the presence of relatives or acquaintances. Many were content to remain ignorant of, or shunned, alternative opportunities. In 1898, for example, Cyril Genik, himself a Ukrainian immigrant, then working as an interpreter for the Department of the Interior, made passionate but unsuccessful attempts to persuade his arriving countrymen not to blindly follow their relatives into Manitoba's Interlake, one of the worst districts then open for homesteading. Peasant immigrants, especially, tended to rank social factors above physical ones when evaluating locations for settlement. Colonisation Officers working in the field were frustrated by their inability to persuade many Slavic immigrants to look after their own economic best interests and cut away their cultural

ties. Immigration Commissioner William McCreary wrote of the Ukrainians:

> They are apparently an obstreperous, obstinate, rebellious lot. I am just about sick of these people. They are worse than cattle to handle. You cannot get them, by persuasion or argument to go to a new colony except by force. They all want to go where the others have gone…[51]

This tendency to hive together, by no means confined to the Ukrainians, led to the geographic clustering of immigrants of various ethnic groups in specific localities. Together with the special reserves set aside for cohesive groups such as the Mennonites and Doukhobors a mosaic of ethnically derived landscapes emerged from the frontier of settlement. The geography of this mosaic was complex, shaped by a multiplicity of forces which defy easy description. Nevertheless, some broad formative factors may be identified: chain migration, ethnic stereotyping and the attempts of the federal government to steer immigrants of certain ethnic origins towards specific land types thought to be best suited to their needs, political concerns to prevent the growth of large solid blocks of "foreign" settlement which would be resistant to assimilation, and the environmental preferences of the immigrants themselves.

Within these bloc settlements pioneer settlers created landscapes in the image of those they left behind in their homelands. The design, arrangement, decoration and orientation of dwellings and farm buildings, religious architecture, fence types, agricultural practices, and some crops, were all transferred to the new land. In many of the ethnic bloc settlements the cultural landscape was more reminiscent of that of eastern Europe or Russia than that of Ontario or Great Britain. Writing of her visit to the Ukrainian district of Lamont, Alberta, in 1911 an Ontario journalist observed that:

> When less than five miles of our journey [from the village of Lamont] were covered we entered a district as typically Russian as though we had dropped into Russia itself. Here and there beside the winding trail loomed up groups of buildings, low browed, and heavily thatched. These always faced south. The houses were all of rough logs, rough hewed and chinked with a mortar made of clay and straw. Some were plastered on the exterior, and almost all had been lime washed to a dazzling whiteness.[52]

Survival of folk customs and the material culture of the "foreign" immigrants was fostered by the size of the blocs of ethnic settlement, the degree to which they were isolated from assimilative influences, and the heterogeneous character of many of them. In most, if not all, Ukrainian settlements, the cultural landscape was not merely Slavic or Ukrainian, although it may have been categorized as such by Anglo-Canadian observers. To the pioneers who produced the landscapes, nuances of house design or decor bespoke ethnographic and regional geographic origins just as surely as the design and symbols of their Byzantine domed churches announced their religious affiliation.[53]

The peasant settlers from central Europe played no role in establishing the nascent urban centres of the West. That role was the preserve of the powerful—the railway companies who decided on the routings of tracks and the points where station halts would be made. In some districts it was only after several years or more of settlement that the railway passed through. By that time some tiny small "crossroad" settlements of four farms, one of which may have had a small store or the local post office, may have emerged but seldom anything more. The railway quickly transformed the situation. In the Ukrainian district of Stuartburn in southeastern Manitoba, for example, the railway pushed through in 1906 and a series of halts were established at regular distances along the line. None corresponded in any way with the shadowy economic and social geography that was beginning to emerge from pioneer society at the time. Halts were named by surveyors and construction bosses: Gardenton, Vita, Caliento, Sundown, Menisino, names which eclipsed the toponyms bestowed by those who first settled the area: Sirko, Shevchenko, and Arbakka.[54] Although not Ukrainian in name, these station halts, and others like them in other bloc settlements throughout the West, became socially Ukrainian, as they attracted people from the surrounding area and assumed the role of local service centres.

In the hamlet of Gardenton the *lingua franca* was Ukrainian as spoken in the Kitsman, Zastavna, and Chernowitz districts of northern Bukovyna; the women favoured the traditional Bukovynian costume with an embroidered blouse, long wrapped skirt and ornate head-dress or kerchief (babuska), and the social round was governed as much by the placement of holy days and festivals according to the Julian calendar used by the Orthodox Churches as it was by the timetables and calendars of the Protestant Canadian elite. Within the hamlet domestic architecture bore few clues as to the prevailing culture. The settlement's main street, fronting on to the single line of the Canadian Northern Railway, boasted

half a dozen false-fronted wood frame buildings and a standard design Canadian Northern station. Behind the Main Street lay a cluster of non-descript frame dwellings, most with a distinctive tall *zhuravel'*—well sweep— in the yard alongside stacks of cordwood for winter use. Until 1935 Gardenton had no church. In 1899, only three years after arrival, the settlers in the district had built a log church some three miles west of the point where the railway chose to locate their station. Almost all of those who helped to build this church were Boykos from the villages of Onut and Bridok in the Zastavna district of northern Bukovyna, hence they built their church in the traditional three-chambered Boyko style. The poor state of the roads, which were virtually impassable during the spring thaw, hastened the reorientation of much social activity to points served by the railway, thus the initial site of the "Onutska" church, as it was known, increasingly became less convenient. A new wood frame church, once again built in the Ukrainian style, although larger and showing traces of the incorporation of alien influences, was built in the centre of Gardenton in 1935. It was, and still is, the largest and most imposing building in the set-tlement, for Gardenton, unlike most settlements in the prairies, never received enough grain to warrant the construction of an elevator.

In the surrounding countryside the landscape for many years was a rough, crude, unpolished transplanted version of the landscape of Bukovyna and Galicia.[55] Hacking a farm out of the rough bush country was a painstakingly slow process for peasant settlers who generally lacked cap-ital and were obliged to devote precious time to "working out" or cutting cordwood for sale in order to generate enough cash to buy basic supplies so as to ensure survival through the winter months. Small clearings were scratched out of the woods with tremendous effort: stones had to be moved, broken into movable pieces, or buried; trees felled, the stumps dug out and hauled away; and roots grubbed out by hand, before plough-ing could begin. Even with the entire family involved in the work it was difficult to clear and break more than a few acres each year.

Typical, perhaps, of thousands of Ukrainian, Polish, and Romanian immigrants who took up homesteads in the aspen parkland belt was Iwan Mihaychuk who homesteaded in the Arbakka district of Manitoba in the early years of the century. In 1900, faced with a depressing future for his children, Iwan sold his three-hectare farm in Bridok, Bukovyna, and immi-grated to Canada. He was lured by the promise of a $10-homestead and enthusiastic reports of opportunity in Manitoba received by friends and relatives who had kin already settled in southeastern Manitoba.

During the long journey across Canada, Wesley Speers and Kyrillo

Genik, the Crown agents who accompanied the Mihaychuk's party, attempted to convince Iwan to head out to Yorkton, Saskatchewan, where good land was available for homesteading. In southern Manitoba, they cautioned, all the better lands had been taken. All lands left were of inferior quality. The attraction of friends and kin was a powerful one, however, and on arrival in Winnipeg the Mihaychuks headed south to the Stuartburn district of southeastern Manitoba, where some of their former neighbours and his wife's relatives had homesteaded. There, while searching for a vacant homestead, he rented a cabin and subsisted by digging and selling snakeroot (seneca root), picking nuts and berries and harvesting some vegetables grown in their garden. In 1901 Iwan selected and applied for a homestead, built a small house on it, then abandoned his claim when he realized that the quarter was "stony and low swamp land" which, with only two hectares of dry land, he could not hope to farm successfully.

After spending a winter with relatives the Mihaychuks trekked eastwards and squatted on a quarter section in a township not officially open for settlement. With his wife and eldest children Iwan cleared and broke just under a hectare of land which was planted in vegetables, wheat and barley. To obtain cash to buy oxen Iwan "worked out," cut cordwood on his quarter, and with his sons, picked snakeroot to trade for supplies at the local store.

In 1903 his land was officially opened to settlement and along with a number of other squatters, some of whom were relatives who had come out to join him, Iwan quickly made his entry legal.[56] Although the family now had some degree of security, living conditions were still harsh. Furniture in the small cabin was hand made and minimal. As other Ukrainians entered the district seeking homesteads the Mihaychuks found themselves accommodating them until they could erect their own shelters. Up to 30 people all crowded together on the floor of the small two-room cabin, with hay as a mattress, their own clothes for covers and the Mihaychuk's calf wandering loose among them.

Clearing and breaking a few hectares of land each year the Mihaychuk family were able to obtain the patent to their homestead in 1907. By that time they had fenced their quarter with a three rail wood fence, had 15 hectares under cultivation, mostly in wheat and barley with some vegetables, and had effected improvements valued at $531, including a house, barn, granary, pig house and a well.[57]

As the settlers became better established cropping patterns shifted. Increased acreage of oats denoted the replacement of the ox, the predominant draught animal in the pioneer phase, by horses. Hemp, grown widely

in the early years for its fibre and oil-bearing seeds, diminished in impor-
tance as store-bought cloth replaced hand-woven material and commercial
cooking oil displaced homemade hemp oil in settlers' homes. Sickles and
scythes, employed in the first years by some, became impracticable and
gave way to ox- or horse-drawn machinery as the area under cultivation
expanded. Even before World War I steam-powered equipment made an
appearance followed shortly thereafter by gasoline tractors. In the more
prosperous districts, but not in Gardenton or Arbakka, wheat became suf-
ficiently important in the local economy to warrant the building of an ele-
vator, an emblem of the integration of the local pioneer economy with the
wider regional market.

By 1914 the Mihaychuk family was sufficiently well established to
build a large, two-storey wood-frame house on their property. It bore no
hint of the Ukrainian background of its builder and marked the beginning
of the erosion of the Ukrainian pioneer landscape in the Arbakka district.

Between the southern margins of the bush country of the aspen park-
land belt, where mixed farming prevailed, and the northern limits of the
ranching country on the short-grass prairie of southwestern Saskatchewan
and southern Alberta, lay the prairie landscapes which fascinated scores of
writers who, with varying degrees of success, have striven to capture its
haunting magnificence. Sinclair Ross, Robert Stead, and W.O. Mitchell
have portrayed a land devoid of trees, open, windswept and forbidding, a
land which could shatter dreams and break the hardiest of souls. Yet
despite the dramatic physical contrasts between the open prairie and the
parkland there are many similarities in the cultural landscapes, the process
and the chronology of settlement.

Whereas in the parkland mixed farming prevailed, on the open prairie
wheat was king. The rapid expansion of homestead settlement onto the
open grasslands was dependent upon railway linkages to import the neces-
sities of life and to haul grain to the lakeshore and oceanfront terminals.
Barbed wire, the chilled steel plough and the wind pump all played cru-
cial roles in the European expansion onto the short-grass prairie which
eventually brought the ranching era to an end.

In the parkland it was possible for a peasant settler bent on subsistence
agriculture to begin farming armed with little more than an axe, hoe,
spade, scythe and perhaps $20 or $30 in cash. Needs and costs were
greater on the prairie. Estimates of the costs of prairie settlement vary
considerably, but the capital needed in the late 1880s for a man with a
wife and four children to start farming was placed by pioneers in south-
western Manitoba at a low of 90 to a maximum of $1,000.[58] Settlers on

the grasslands, like their counterparts in the parkland "worked out" to generate capital to effect improvements on their farms. Prairie settlers, in a less physically diverse environment than their parkland counterparts, lacked a similar range of options for generating capital. Consequently, even if initially better provided with capital, they were obliged to seek off-farm work equally frequently, if not more so. Nevertheless, progress was generally more rapid for the grassland settlers. They entered the market economy quickly and did not face the same difficulties of clearing land before it could be broken.

Few settlers on the northern margins of the parkland belt could have hoped to match the progress of settlers from Ontario who settled in the Abernethy district of Saskatchewan. With the critical advantage of having arrived first and with choice of the best lands, they were also favoured by the liberal provisions of the Dominion Lands Act then in force. Until 1884 settlers were allowed to make a pre-emption on a second quarter for $2.50 an acre after receiving the patent to their first homestead, after which they were permitted to make an entry for a second homestead. For some settlers the total cash outlay to acquire three quarters of prime farmland was only $420. Some of the more aggressive settlers in this district used these exceptional circumstances to acquire large holdings and to thereby secure a springboard to launch into large-scale farming within an unusually short period after settlement. W.R. Motherwell from Lanark, Ontario, who settled in the Abernethy district in 1882, was representative of this type of settler.

First taking out a homestead in the Pheasant Hills district, Motherwell first built a modest log house, hauling in the timber from nearby woods. Others, further away, built sod houses, obtaining the building material simply by ploughing the prairie turf. By 1890 Motherwell had broken 100 acres and in the following year he pre-empted a neighbouring quarter.[59] Years of collecting field stones enabled him to have a stonemason erect a stable in 1896 and a large fieldstone house in the following year. He also began a program of tree-planting on his farmstead in order to provide some shade, shelter from the wind and soil conservation. As a consequence, the Motherwell farm, like those of other Ontario settlers, became "an oasis-like haven in an otherwise barren prairie landscape … a concrete example of the Ontarian attempt to transplant a whole system of values, institutions, and even physical environments to the prairie."[60]

Like most successful farmers on the prairie Motherwell diversified his operation so as to be less dependent upon wheat as the primary crop, a crop for which the price was notoriously unstable, and which was subject

to the vagaries of the prairie climate. A bushel of No. 1 Northern, for example, brought 89¢ in 1914, $2.24 in 1918 and $1.07 in 1923.[61] In 1888, Motherwell's frozen wheat crop yielded a paltry 300 bushels, but he was able to cover expenses by selling $200 worth of pork. In 1893, when wheat prices plummeted, he expanded his herd of cattle to 50 head.

By 1912 Motherwell's farm had grown to six quarter-sections, one of the largest farms in the district. The "handsome" stone house was set in "impressively landscaped grounds" which included a lawn tennis court, ornamental flower beds and cropped hedges. In contrast Motherwell's son, who was given a half-section by his father in 1913 ran a more modest holding with a stucco farm house in sharp contrast to his father's ostentatious home just a mile down the road. Unable to acquire land with the ease of his father he concentrated instead upon supplying dairy milk to the local village population. He reflected the reduced ambitions of those who entered farming in the time of decreasing opportunity.

Nevertheless, even at a time of reduced opportunity, literate and English-speaking farmers still had an edge through their adoption of new farming techniques. In the Abernethy area farmers who were successful showed a capacity to adjust to the exigencies of dry-farming by adopting the practise of summer fallowing and other new approaches advocated by the Dominion Experimental Farm, established at Indian Head in 1887. Motherwell's progress was not matched by German settlers who settled the nearby Neudorf district after 1889. By then the liberal homestead regulations had changed and the better lands in the area had been taken by Ontario settlers. In many cases lands entered then abandoned by Ontarians were reoccupied by Germans who also realized their inferior nature after a few years and abandoned them in their turn. The penalties of late arrival, the encounter with more strict regulations, and the diminished choice of homestead land, were compounded by the Germans' unfamiliarity with English and ignorance of the complexities of the Dominion Lands Act.

Given their economic and social handicaps, it is not surprising that Motherwell's German neighbours did not emulate his rapid rise to economic security and political influence. Even English-speaking settlers less advantaged than Motherwell had a tough time of it. The 1890s were particularly hard years for newcomers who had not had a chance to become financially able to withstand the effects of crop failures and depressed wheat prices. In 1895, according to an account in the *Qu'Appelle Progress*, one area bachelor farmer lost his yoke of oxen, suffered the strangulation of his mare and experienced a complete failure of his grain crop. He was

forced to survive on a diet of bread and tea.[62]

The agricultural progress of the west was dependent upon the integration of the region's economy with the international wheat economy. The "grain trade of the western provinces [had] made its first hesitant step" in 1876 with the export of 857.17 bushels of wheat,[63] but was soon to dominate the local and regional landscapes with "King Wheat" building his kingdom and becoming a critical element of Canada's National Policy. Growth of the prairie settlement was fuelled, in part, by the burgeoning demand for wheat and flour in the industrialised nations of the North Atlantic world. The largest market was Great Britain where the food deficit rose consistently through the 19th century until, by 1900, domestic suppliers could furnish only one sixth of total demand. Agricultural progress in the west was thus dependent upon the integration of the region's economy with the international wheat economy. Corporate influence came to bear strongly on the prairie landscape in wheat-growing areas, particularly in the 500 or so small towns and villages which were "the mainstay of prairie farm society."[64] Thus within them a "strong degree of sameness" prevailed, reflective of the penetration of corporate organization into the establishment and management of the prairie urban network. Prairie townscapes were dominated by the railways, which standardized their townsites through the division of land, the layout of streets and the placement of the railway station in relation to the main street. Interlocking directorships and monopolies, between railways, banks, flour milling and grain elevator and lumber companies, together with the dominance of a small number of social institutions—the Woman's Institute, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Masons, Foresters, Oddfellows or Loyal Orange Lodge—injected a degree of uniformity into settlements throughout the wheat belt. In a similar vein, small-scale flour mills, creameries, and other local enterprises also heightened the sense of small-town uniformity. Many of these enterprises, and particularly the flour mills, were lured to settlements by the promise of a fiscal bonus provided the community.[65] Designs for bank branches were often identical, elevators showed little variation in design, the office of the local lumber yard was likely to be one of a growing number of line yards that dominated the retail lumber business on behalf of manufacturers. Agricultural implement agents, Eaton's mail-order catalogue outlets and, in later years, the branches of gasoline stations, all contributed to the corporate uniformity of prairie towns. Within this general uniformity there were differences from place to place as at various times each railway company had its own model of station intended for different town sizes,[66] and the ubiquitous

grain elevators were owned by a multitude of proprietors, and were built in somewhat different styles.

The intertwining of corporate interests is well illustrated by the activities of Toronto investors William Mackenzie and Donald Mann and their Canadian Northern Railway. Along many of the railway's branch lines their company's bank, the Toronto-based Canadian Bank of Commerce, was the only bank in town. Mackenzie and Mann and other CNR directors purchased a British Columbia sawmill, renamed it the Canadian Western Lumber Company, then developed line yards connected with Western Canada Flour Mills, another company which they promoted and which had 96 elevators in 1920–21 and 85 elevators in 84 communities by 1928.[67] They also acquired or established Security Lumber in Saskatchewan, Coast Lumber based in Winnipeg, and Crown Lumber in Alberta. By 1912 Crown Lumber alone controlled 175 lumber yards on the prairies. In Alberta representatives of Western Canada Flour Mills and the Canadian Bank of Commerce were allowed to drive the surveyed routes of proposed branch lines and to have first selection of lots at each town site.[68] These entrepreneurs composed such an efficient cartel that in at least one instance an elevator was built and ready for harvest before the necessary branch-line reached it!

The Canadian Bank of Commerce developed what it saw as a prairie bank style. Along the CNR branch lines the company initially erected small prefabricated wooden "temple" banks but quickly sought to consolidate its position, and image, by replacing them with more imposing buildings designed by the bank's Toronto architects. These were prefabricated wooden versions of the stone or brick bank buildings found in the larger settlements which provided staff quarters upstairs and ample banking space.[69]

Prairie settlements were thus points of convergence for a plethora of more or less interrelated extra-regional interests whose signatures became clearly written in townsite layouts, styles of commercial and domestic architecture, and regional toponymy. Nevertheless, Anglo-Canadian corporations did not achieve complete homogeny. Even the grain distribution system which arose to serve prairie agriculture was no corporate monolith— although many farmers who saw the Grain Exchange as "The house with the closed shutters" believed that the grain trade was a monopoly, that the companies controlling the trade were "the syndicate of syndicates," and worse still were in cahoots with the CPR. In reality, however, the grain trade was a complex mesh of corporate linkages interspersed with the holdings of many individual entrepreneurs, the aim of which was to

integrate the prairies into the "world system"—and make money for those who controlled it.[70] Many of the grain traders succeeded in both these aims, and consequently the Richardsons, the Patersons, the Parrishes, the Heimbeckers, the Bawlfs, and other elevator-owning giants built their mansions along Wellington Crescent in Winnipeg, took their places among society's leaders, and propelled the prairies into the world of commercial agriculture.

Whereas its clientele was multi-ethnic the grain trade was multi-enterprise, and like ranching there was a strong influence from the United States—where the elevator itself had been invented. In 1911, for example, there were 1860 elevators on the prairies owned by some 275 different companies—many of which were owned by men of American origin, such as the Searles, the McCabes, and the Peavey family. Of these numbers, there were over 700 elevators in Manitoba, operated by about 100 different companies such as the Atlas Elevator Co. and the Imperial Elevator and Lumber Co., mostly centred in Winnipeg, the Grain Trade "capital." In many ways Minnesotan William Bettingen symbolized the dominant American presence of the early 1900s. He had operated a line of grain elevators and lumberyards in the northern United States before selling out in 1903 and coming to Canada to organize, along with his German-immigrant brother-in-law, William Leistikow, the Imperial Elevator and Lumber Company. He made this move as he "believed that the greatest opportunity for the grain trade lay in the Canadian west" and certainly for Bettingen and his family this proved to be the case. In 1906, he was to become vice president of both the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange, and the Retail Lumber Dealers' Association. He became the first American-born president of the Winnipeg Grain and Produce Exchange in 1907.

Although Ogilvie Flour Mills (a company once as despised by the farmers as was the CPR) owned over 100 of the prairie elevators in 1911, and other operators (such as the Canadian Elevator Co. with 110 "houses") also had some significant lines, there were many more elevator owners such as the "Ethelburt Business Men Grain Buyers Association," Klassen Brothers and Schellenberg, and "The C.K. Wing and Co." that had only single "houses." The picture in Saskatchewan was equally complex. On the CPR line alone there were 586 elevators out of a provincial total of 904, owned by 103 companies. These ranged in size from the Canadian Elevator Company with 45 elevators, to 63 companies such as "Hogg and Lytle" and "Fred Karlenzig" which owned only one.[71]

Alberta was still relatively underdeveloped in 1911. It had only 260

elevators but reflected a similar picture. The CPR was home to 208 eleva-
tors owned by 61 companies, ranging from the Alberta Pacific Grain
Company with 71 to 37 companies with only one "house." Alberta Pacific
grew to be one of the largest privately owned companies on the Prairies,
boosted to a great extent by its takeover in 1912 by Sir Max Aitken and
R.B. Bennett, KC, MP, along with "a number of English Associates."[72]

In many cases these companies added a distinct spatial element by con-
fining their operations to specific regions or rail company lines. The State
Elevator Company (owned by English-based interests), for example,
restricted its operations to central and southwest Saskatchewan; Gillespie
Grain operated within the Edmonton area; and Young Grain was confined
to southwest Manitoba. Both the Gillespie and Security companies were
owned by families from "south of the border." Similarly the Security
Elevator Company operated along the Grand Trunk Pacific's lines, the
McCabe Elevator Company owned all but one elevator along the Great
Northern-held Brandon, Saskatchewan and Hudson's Bay Railway, and
Ogilvie and Lake of the Woods Milling Company elevators were principal-
ly confined to Canadian Pacific trackage.[73] Even by 1933 when there had
been a major shake out in the prairie grain trade there were still thirty
seven major companies operating in the trade. A further 54 operators still
held elevators in the prairie provinces. Clearly diversity rather than unifor-
mity was the hallmark of the prairie grain trade for the first several
decades of operation.

Within a surprisingly short period prairie farmers of all nationalities
began to organize their own endeavours so as to reduce dependency on
commercial institutions perceived to be either unresponsive to farmers'
needs or downright exploitive. In 1917, for example, a number of
Ukrainian farmer—entrepreneurs established "The Ruthenian Farmer's
Elevator Company" which by 1923 operated 14 elevators, mostly in
Ukrainian districts.[74] Lack of management experience caused difficulties
and their number of elevators gradually declined. In 1928 the business
operated eight, but by 1932 all had been disposed of to other companies.
A similar story could be told for the Doukhobor-owned Christian
Community of Universal Brotherhood Company once head-officed in
Veregin, Saskatchewan. Indeed, this was not atypical of many farmer
elevator companies, and it soon became evident that only a company
centralized in Winnipeg could compete effectively with the more power-
ful line companies which frequently had control of, or were controlled by,
companies in the export field, operating terminal elevators and maintain-
ing commission departments.

Farmer ownership of grain elevators began in the 19th century, often reflecting the spread of social movements such as The Patrons of Industry. It was numerically relatively unimportant, however, and few locally owned farmers' elevators survived the first decade of the twentieth century. However, government-funded experiments such as the Manitoba Elevator Commission ensured the survival of the concept of farmer-ownership and led to the rise of the Grain Growers' Grain Company as an elevator-operating enterprise. The United Grain Growers (UGG), the company that resulted from a 1917 amalgamation of The Grain Growers' Grain Company and the Alberta Farmers' Cooperative Elevator Company, controlled only 8% of the total number of elevators in the early 1920s—but they exerted considerable influence on the prosecution of the trade nonetheless. By the end of the decade the three provincial pools and the UGG had triggered off a round of amalgamations (and some bankruptcies) in the private trade as line elevator companies had to meet their prices and business procedures. However, although this consolidation trend has continued to characterize the industry to the present day, direct farmer-ownership has almost disappeared.

At the end of the 19th century and well into the 20th the infrastructural symbol of the grain trade, and probably of the region as a whole, was the small wooden "crib" line elevator. Today the grain elevator is most likely to be a huge concrete one belonging to one of the six companies that now control over 80% of them. Nevertheless, the grain elevator still has arguably retained its significance as a regional icon.

The heady success of the rapid settlement and development of the prairies experienced in the years prior to the outbreak of war in 1914 could not last forever. A harbinger of things to come was the collapse of the real estate market in Winnipeg in 1913 that saw the ruin of many who envisaged unending riches flowing from the west. The tide of optimism that fuelled so much western development was seen in the still undeveloped lots of unneeded subdivisions in countless small prairie towns such as Rapid City, Manitoba. The full extent of the overdevelopment of the prairies by competing companies and by overly sanguine agriculturalists was not fully revealed until the economic and ecological trauma of the "Dirty Thirties." The dramatic retreat of agriculture from marginal dry land environments was achieved at a terrible human cost as "dried out" wheat farmers hauled their families northwards in their "Bennett buggies" to the last frontier in the Peace River country. This was the era that spawned so much of the imagery of the prairies, where a vertical man confronts a horizontal landscape, where a forbidding economic outlook

complements a socially sterile society set in a harsh unyielding land. Significantly, these rather depressing literary images found in the fiction of prairie writers such as Sinclair Ross, Robert Stead and Frederick Philip Grove are absent from the visual art of William Kuralek whose subjects were the Ukrainian families of the less prosperous parklands. Less integrated into the market economy of the region, the foreign settlers on marginal homesteads were better able to survive the lean years by retrenching into the semi-subsistence economy that many of them were still struggling to escape when the economic downturn put their aspirations out of reach.

It is ironic and unfortunate that the prevailing images of the prairies held by those outside of the region are so often at odds with the reality of prairie history and geography. Ecologically diverse, the prairies were settled by an amazing variety of peoples pursuing a wide range of agricultural options. The corporate and institutional frameworks that moulded this emerging economy and society were similarly varied. In a few decades before the World War I this unusual mix of peoples, institutions, and environments, came together to create a complex mosaic of cultural landscapes, most of which survived until the 1930s, and many of which survive today. More importantly, new mythologies of place were developed and a vibrant regional identity added to the national fabric. In a way that Rupert Brooke could not have foreseen, this vast land acquired the qualities of home for thousands of European agriculturalists and their descendants.

Notes

1. Ronald Rees, *New and Naked Land* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1988). See also, Aubrey Fullerton, "The Lure of the Better West," *The Canadian Magazine* 26 (1905): 126–32; Klaus Peter Stich, "Canada's Century: The Rhetoric of Propaganda," *Prairie Forum* 1 (1976): 19–29.
2. Lawrence A. Stuckey, *Prairie Cinders; Railway Recollections* (Sudbury: Nickel Belt Rails, 1993).
3. Sandra Martin and Roger Mall (eds.), *Rupert Brooke in Canada* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1978), 125–26.
4. W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg (eds.), *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement*, 9 vols. (Macmillan Company of Canada, 1934). See vol. 1, W.A. Mackintosh, *Prairie Settlement*, and vol. 7, C.A. Dawson, *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada*.
5. See Cole Harris (ed.), *Historical Atlas of Canada* vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), Plates 57 and 62.
6. William J. Carlyle, "Rural change in the Prairies," in Guy M. Robinson (ed.), *A Social Geography of Canada* (Toronto and Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1991), 330–31.

7. John Warkentin, "Manitoba Settlement Patterns," in Robert M. Irving (ed.), *Readings in Canadian Geography* (Toronto: Holt Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1968), 57–58.

8. Howard Adams, *Prison of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View* (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1989).

9. Chester Martin, *Dominion Lands Policy*, edited by Lewis H. Thomas, The Carlton Library No. 69 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973); also James M. Richtik, "The Policy Framework for Settling the Canadian West 1870–1880," *Agricultural History* 49 (1975): 613–28.

10. Martin, *Dominion Lands Policy*, 141–42. A series of exotic railway company names graced the prairies during the early years of settlement, including the Manitoba and SouthWestern Colonization Railway, the Great North West Central Railway, and the Brandon, Saskatchewan and Hudson's Bay [*sic*] Railway. The names were often, if not usually, related to myth rather than reality. The latter line, for instance, did reach (and terminate at) Brandon, but never operated in Saskatchewan, and was hundreds of miles away from Hudson Bay.

11. Ibid., 38–80.

12. Claudia Notzke "The Past and the Present: Spatial and Land Use Change on Two Indian Reserves" in L.A. Rosenvall and S.M. Evans (eds.), *Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian West: Regional Perspectives on the Settlement Process* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1987), 100–01.

13. Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada 1786–1920* (Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada, 1974), 209–23; and John Warkentin, "Mennonite Agricultural Settlements of Southern Manitoba," *Geographical Review* 49 (1959): 342–68.

14. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 214; Warkentin, "Manitoba Settlement," 66.

15. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 212.

16. According to Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 227, by 1900 there were not more than 18 complete villages in the West Reserve and less than 25 in the East Reserve. Today there are less than 20 recognizable Mennonite villages, all of which are in the West Reserve. David K. Butterfield and Edward M. Ledohowski, *Architectural Heritage: The MSTW Planning District* (Winnipeg: Historic Resources Branch, Department of Culture Heritage and Recreation, 1984), 15; also Warkentin, "Manitoba Settlement," 64.

17. Under the terms of the Dominion Lands Act the Minister of the Interior was empowered "in the case of settlements being formed of immigrants in communities" (such as those of Mennonites or Icelanders) to waive the requirements of residence and cultivation on each quarter section and could permit settlers to reside in a hamlet or village so as to facilitate the establishment of schools, churches etc. See Kirk N. Lambrecht, *The Administration of Dominion Lands 1870–1930* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1991), 112–13.

18. John Everitt, "Social Space and Group Life-Styles in Rural Manitoba," *The Canadian Geographer* 24, no. 3 (1980): 237–54; Simon Evans "The Hutterites

in Alberta: Past and Present Settlement Patterns" in L.A. Rosenvall and S.M. Evans (eds.), *Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian West: Regional Perspectives on the Settlement Process* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1987), 145–71; Victor Peters, *All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1965), 51–71.

19. B.G. Vanderkill and D.E. Christensen, "The Settlement of New Iceland," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 53 (1963): 350–63.

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21. Donald G. Godfrey and Brigham Y. Card, *The Diary of Charles Ora Card: The Canadian Years 1886–1903* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 51–53, and John C. Lehr, "The Sequence of Mormon Settlement in Alberta," *Alberta Geographer* 10 (1974): 20–29.

22. Brian W. Blouet and Merlin P. Lawson (eds.), *Images of the Plains* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975); and Gary S. Dunbar, "Isotherms and Politics: Perception of the North West in the 1880s," in A.W. Rasporich, *Prairie Perspectives* 2 (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973).

23. Simon M. Evans, "The Origins of Ranching in Western Canada," in L.A. Rosenvall and S.M. Evans (eds.), *Essays on the Historical Geography of the Canadian West* (Calgary: Department of Geography, University of Calgary, 1987).

24. D.H. Breen, *The Canadian Prairie West and Ranching Frontier, 1874–1924* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 56.

25. Hugh Dempsey (ed.), *The Best of Bob Edwards* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1975), 135–57.

26. Patrick A. Dunae, *Gentlemen Emigrants* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981). For an assessment of attitudes and perceptions, see R. Douglas Francis, *Images of the West* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1989).

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29. Susan Jackel, *A Flannel Shirt and Liberty* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982); and Sheilagh Jameson, "Women in the Southern Alberta Ranch Community," in H.C. Klassen (ed.), *The Canadian West* (Calgary: ComPrint, 1977).

30. Lewis G. Thomas, "Ranch Houses of the Alberta Foothills" in Dunae, *Rancher's Legacy*.

31. H.S. Arkill, "The Cattle Industry" in Henry J. Boam (ed.), *Twentieth Century Impressions of Canada* (Montreal: Sells, 1914); and Simon M. Evans, "Canadian Beef for Victorian Britain," *Agricultural History* 53, no. 4 (1979): 748–62.

32. For the changing patterns of major shipping points, see, "Prairie Agriculture," Plate 18, in Donald Kerr and Deryck W. Holdsworth (eds.), *Historical Atlas of Canada III: Addressing the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

33. Iris Keller, "Biggest Shipping Point in N.W.T.," *Canadian Cattlemen* (July 1955): 13 ff.

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39. Personal comment, Vera Pybus, Winnipeg, June 20, 1992.

40. H. John Selwood and Evelyn Baril "The Hudson's Bay Company and Prairie Town Development, 1870–1888," in A.F.J. Artibise (ed.), *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981), 61–94; and H. John Selwood, "The Hudson's Bay Company at Riding Mountain House (Elphinstone)" in Selwood and Lehr (eds.), *Prairie and Northern Perspectives*, 78–85.

41. Clifford Sifton, "The Immigrants Canada Wants," *Maclean's Magazine* (April 1, 1922): 16.

42. Ibid., 16, 33. For further insights into Sifton's attitudes to immigration and immigrants see, Peter H. Bryce, *The Value to Canada of the Continental Immigrant* (n.p.: 1928), 8–10.

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44. See, for example, Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895–1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian-Canadian Research Foundation, 1964), 203; and Micheal Ewanchuk, *Pioneer Settlers: Ukrainians in the Dauphin Area 1896–1926* (published by the author, 1988), 23–29.

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46. Library and Archives Canada (LAC) RG 76, Vol. 144, File 34214, pt. 1, William F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, May 14, 1897.

47. John C. Lehr, "Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians" in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk (eds.), *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 30–52.

48. John C. Lehr, "The Process and Pattern of Ukrainian Rural Settlement in Western Canada 1891–1914" (PhD dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1978), 151–52.

49. Eugene Van Cleef, "Finnish Settlement in Canada," *Geographical Review* 42 (Spring 1952): 253.

50. John C. Lehr, "Kinship and Society in the Ukrainian Pioneer Settlement of the Canadian West," *Canadian Geographer* 29, no. 3 (1985): 207–19.

51. LAC, RG 76, Vol. 144, file 34214, pt. 2, William F. McCreary, Winnipeg, to James A. Smart, Ottawa, May 20, 1898.

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58. *The Nor'West Farmer and Manitoba Miller* 4 (July 1885): 153; 7 (March, 1888), 70–71; 7 (May 1888): 125; and 7 (June, 1888): 156.

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60. *Motherwell Homestead National Historic Site Management Plan* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1981), 12.

61. Kerr and Holdsworth, *Historical Atlas of Canada* vol. 3, plate 19.

62. Dick, *Farmers "Making Good,"* 79.
63. R.T. Naylor, *The Banks and Finance Capital* vol. 1 of *The History of Canadian Business, 1867–1914* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1975), 15.
64. Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 13, 321.
65. John Everitt and Roberta Kempthorne "Prairie 'Custom' Flour Mills," in Selwood and Lehr (eds.), *Reflections from the Prairies*, 41–60; John Everitt and Roberta Kempthorne "Flour Mills in Manitoba," *Manitoba History* 26 (Autumn 1993): 2–14.
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67. John Everitt, "The Early Development of the Flour Milling Industry on the Prairies," *The Journal of Historical Geography* 19, no. 3 (1993): 278–98.
68. Glenbow Archives, Calgary, H.F. Chritchley Papers, Letter from H.F. Chritchley to T.A. Fraser, June 2, 1965. The (American) Piper Douglas consortium had also at one time toured Canadian Northern lines with the expectation of receiving the choicest locations for what became Canadian Elevator Company "houses." Clearly opportunities were not equal for everybody.
69. Holdsworth and Everitt, "Bank Branches," 177–78.
70. Peter Hugill and John Everitt "Macro Landscapes: The Cultural Landscape Revised by World System Theory," in S.T. Wong (ed.), Person, Place and Thing: Interpretive and Empirical Essays in Cultural Geography, Geoscience and Man Series, volume 31 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1992), 177–94.
71. John Everitt and Roberta Kempthorne, "Flour Mills in Manitoba," *Manitoba History* 26 (Autumn 1993): 2–14.
72. John Everitt, "The Line Elevator in Alberta (Part One)," *Alberta History* 40, no. 4 (Autumn 1992): 16–22; *List of Licensed Elevators and Warehouses in the Manitoba Grain Inspection Division 1911–12* (Ottawa: Department of Trade and Commerce, 1912), various pages; *Winnipeg Free Press* (September 2, 1911–2): 1.
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