Motherwell Historic Park

Ian Clarke, Lyle Dick and Sarah Carter
MOTHERWELL HISTORIC PARK

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Cover: W.R. Motherwell in front of his house, ca. 1907. (Motherwell Collection, Parks Canada, Prairie Regional Office.)
MOTHERWELL HISTORIC PARK: STRUCTURAL AND USE HISTORY OF THE LANDSCAPE AND OUTBUILDINGS

Ian Clarke

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ABSTRACT

This is the second in a series of two reports on the structural and utilization history of the landscape, barn and outbuildings of the W.R. Motherwell Farmstead National Historic Park. The initial, interim report was completed in July 1976 to facilitate the interpretive and planning process for the Motherwell site and was, of necessity, based on only partial evidence. This report presumes to supersede the interim report in both comprehensive treatment of thesis and topic, and in accuracy. Nevertheless, the character of the study and the research involved is such that new data will continue to be uncovered for some time and even this report will require periodic updating.

Submitted for publication 1977, by Ian Clarke, Parks Canada, Prairie Region, now Head, Historical Research, Alberta Culture, Edmonton.
In this report, I have relied largely on interviews with those who
knew the Motherwell farm before W.R. Motherwell's death for specific
information on use history and the dating of the farmstead's evolution.
The interviews have yielded a wide cross-section of personalities and
eras. Of course, the core of the material still lies in the Alma
(Motherwell) Mackenzie interviews. The only daughter of W.R.
Motherwell, Mrs. Mackenzie was born in 1892 and lived on the farm until
1913, when she went to Germany for language training. She returned to
Lanark Place after the outbreak of war and taught school in Abernethy
until some time in the 1920s when she finally left the farm for a
teaching post in Regina. In the early 1930s she married a Prince
Edward Islander and moved permanently to the Maritimes. Her narrative
is the most intimate of all the sources in terms of a detailed family
portrait. It is useful for an understanding of the daily routine on
the farm and it provides an indication of certain priorities
established by the family.

But the Mackenzie material is limited in its application. The
perceptions are most often those of childhood, rather than those of a
young adult. Although she was on the farm during her middle and late
twenties, Mrs. Mackenzie's interviews are virtually bereft of specific
information on the vital changes that must have occurred during the
turbulent years between 1914 and 1921, and the gap seems even more
pronounced for the period between 1905 and 1914. These would have been
chaotic and in some cases traumatic years for the young adolescent Alma
Motherwell. Her mother died when she was 13 years old, and within half
a year of this tragedy her father joined the new provincial cabinet,
embarked on a hectic political campaign, and eventually left to take up
temporary residence in Regina. At home Alma was left in the care of
Mrs. Englehart Steuck, a Motherwell neighbour, and the farm was left to
run itself for the next three years. In fact, life on the farm changed
dramatically and the hired men and girls apparently took advantage of
the freedom to participate in somewhat riotous living. Then, in 1908,
Motherwell remarried and life on the farm was oriented toward the
Gillespie approach. Catherine Gillespie brought to the farmstead her
strong missionary evangelism, a strict Calvinist ethic, and a strong
controlling personality. This new life swept upon Alma at 16 and must
have had a profound impact, but it does not figure prominently in her
descriptions of the farm. People and events from different eras are
constantly juxtaposed in the interviews and the period up to the
European trip in 1913 is not at all clear. It is precisely this period
in Alma's life that she almost excludes from her retrospective
narrative of life on Lanark Place. Yet it is this period following the
dramatic events of 1905 that is so vital to our understanding of the
changes in the farmstead and the house.

Not until 1914 does more eyewitness material appear,
notwithstanding the Ralph Steuck interviews. Steuck, who was a year younger than Alma, frequented the farm as a teenager and as a young man. But his principal interest did not lie in farming. He was an athlete and a naturalist rather than a farmer, and his interest in the Motherwell farm revolved principally around the social life of Lanark Place and, later, participation in local political organization. His recollections tend more toward philosophical musings rather than concrete useful data on the landscape or structural development.

Actually one of the most vital sources of information on the structure and operation of the farm is Mr. Major MacFadyen, a Prince Edward Islander who was born in 1895 and came west in 1913-14 to work as a farm-hand, first for the Elmer Shaw family and then the Motherwells. While his memories of the farm suffer from the obvious difficulties of a 60-year absence, his information is the earliest available that can be cautiously accredited with some reliability. Two potential sources that would have predated MacFadyen are now lost. Andrew Sproule, Motherwell's first hired hand, died in 1972, while Scott Milligan, who was already on the farm at the time of MacFadyen's arrival, would be nearly 100 years old if he is still alive. Although he was still living in Prince Edward Island in 1971, it is doubtful that he could now be traced.

The problems inherent in the MacFadyen interviews are compounded by his propensity for story telling and truth stretching. On the other hand, if his information is carefully sifted it can yield some valuable insights into the farm ca. 1914. He is particularly clear on parts of the barn, the men's cottage and implement shed, parts of the landscape and the rear half of the lower floor in the house. However, 60 years, plus the dramatic changes wrought on the farmstead between 1914 and the present, have dimmed and confused his memory on features such as the garden and orchard, the ornamental frontage, the dugout area and the front and upper sections of the main house.

After the MacFadyen material, a gap exists in the interview chronology between 1914 and 1919 when Olive Gallant moved onto the farm as the bride of Mrs. Motherwell's brother, Archie Gillespie. Mrs. Gallant lived on the farm continuously until the death of her first husband in 1937, and later returned to marry the farm manager, Dan Gallant. Gallant had a rather intermittent and sometimes stormy association with Lanark Place. He first worked for Motherwell as a hand in 1922-23 and then succeeded Jack Gillespie as manager in 1933, after an unsuccessful bid to establish his own operation during the unpredictable thirties. Mr. Gallant is lucid, and his information on the landscape, barn and outbuildings is indisputable, particularly since he was responsible for some of the construction in the barn basement and the building of the chicken house. Likewise, Mrs. Gallant, who spent nearly two decades at Lanark Place, inhabiting the Gillespie (men's) cottage and at times the big house, has a wealth of information on the ornamental flora and the shelterbelts of the northeast section of the farmstead. More importantly, her detailed knowledge of the stone house and the so-called Sunshine Cottage in which she lived is our best source of information on the interiors of these two buildings.

Still, the gap between MacFadyen's time and the era when the Gallants were on the farm remains to be bridged. The most probable source of information on the seven years between 1914 and 1921 is the
Gow family of Abernethy. According to the Gallants, the Gows worked on the farm in the years immediately before the Motherwells' exodus to Ottawa. They may have been the first couple to have inhabited the cottage. If so they could surely provide specific information on the transformation of the structure into homelike living quarters.

The end of the Motherwell era is adequately covered by the information provided by Mr. Ted Callow, who succeeded Gallant as manager in 1939 when he and Mrs. Motherwell clashed over the distribution of living quarters. Mr. Callow's main contribution to our understanding of the farmstead is a confirmation that the major structural and planting changes that occurred on the farm were made in the latter 1940s and 1950s after Motherwell's death. In fact, these changes bespeak such an alteration in agricultural philosophy that they can probably be attributed to Richard Motherwell who took control in the early 1950s.

Patricia Motherwell, the widow of the grandson Richard, is the last important oral source on the structural and usage history of Lanark Place. While it is clear from an abbreviated interview with Harry Tatro from Prairie Regional Office that Mrs. Motherwell can provide little if any data on the early history of the farm, she can describe in detail the changes that she and her husband wrought during their tenure. These included major structural changes in the basement of the barn, certain additions to the landscape, and important alterations on the main and second floors of the house. Many of these changes in landscape and structure have been attributed to the evolution of the elder Motherwell's lifestyle, which was presumed to have been reflected in the decidedly affluent look of the farmstead and house, but errors inherent in this assumption clearly emphasize the danger of deductive as opposed to inductive history. In structural histories it is far better to gather the solid historical data before giving way to rampant speculation.

Three illustrations on pp. 80, 88 and 89 in An Age of Barns by E. Sloane (Funk and Wagnalls), copyright 1967 by Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc. are reprinted by permission of the publisher. The drawing of the gambrel type barn and plan of its main floor is reproduced from P. Ennals' article in the Canadian Geographer, Vol. 16, No. 3, 1972, pp. 256-70 by permission of the Canadian Association of Geographers.
INTRODUCTION

In 1943, after the death of W.R. Motherwell, his grandson Richard began the task of buying the 320-acre farm and the farmstead that the elder Motherwell had painstakingly constructed over the preceding six decades. At an asking price of $10,000, the property included two superior wheat-producing quarters and a comfortably landscaped farmstead, but excluded the southern quarters that straddled the picturesque Pheasant Creek coulee. Within the maple shelterbelts of the eight-acre farmstead sat a large L-shaped basement barn, a hired man's cottage, a substantial implement shed, plus the standard complement of ancillary farm structures to house poultry, enclose swine and store grain. On the outer fringe of the farmstead, dominating the road frontage, sat a two-storey cut fieldstone, Italianate-style house. By being no more than 30 feet from the section road leading to the town of Abernethy, the house breaks one of the cardinal rules of farmstead architecture, but it is clear from evidence that during Motherwell's tenure the soft dirt track posed no threat to the tranquillity of the house or the farm it commanded.

Ten years after his grandfather's death in 1943, Edward Richard Motherwell, an Agricultural graduate from the University of Saskatchewan, moved onto the farm hoping to restore its former beauty and make it a paying proposition by introducing swine husbandry on a large scale. But in the midst of his new farming career Motherwell died in the polio epidemic of the early fifties. The farm then passed to his wife Pat, who attempted to manage it with the help of her father-in-law Talmadge and a neighbour, Ralph Steuck; but the scale of the operation was too large for her and she was forced to sell the farmstead and its two producing quarters to the Steuck family who had homesteaded in the area with the elder Motherwell.

Thus the natural course of the Motherwell family farm was interrupted. In Saskatchewan, as in much of the West, pioneer homesteaders usually spent their lifetimes tilling as much acreage as they could manageably possess and constructing houses and farmyards that would both serve their agriculture and provide some comfort amid the austerity of the stark prairie. While the homesteader endured the often intolerable conditions of the empty land, the generations that followed usually inherited productive land, tree-lined farm grounds, substantial farming structures and often impressive housing. Indeed, some farmers' sons inherited properties that were more like country estates than working farms. In the Canadian West these were usually of Ontario stock. Ironically Motherwell's Lanark Place was one of the finest and most widely known of the estate-type farmstead, but after Pat Motherwell's departure in the 1960s the farmstead and buildings were abandoned and it fell into complete disuse. Only the Steuck family's innate sense of its history, their long and generally affectionate association with the Motherwell's, and their Liberal
awareness of the property as a political monument saved it from complete disintegration.

Motherwell's son Talmadge was not of the same ilk as his father. He was a modest farmer. On the occasion of his marriage in 1913, Tal's father divided his holdings with his son and daughter giving Talmadge two north quarters near Abernethy and half his cattle, thereby removing him from the effective line of inheritance. Tal's son Richard, who in many ways was a throwback to his grandfather, became the real heir to the property. In fact, in 1933 Motherwell produced a new will clearly indicating the farm was to be Richard's and that Catherine Motherwell was to abide by these wishes if she survived her husband. But Richard did not inherit the farm. For reasons that are as yet unclear, he was required to purchase the property from his step-grandmother, and the ten-year delay that this caused, plus the fact that he had had no sons at the time of his death, contributed to the ultimate demise of the farmstead in the late fifties and early sixties.3

Richard's wife Pat was responsible for much of the modernization of house features such as the kitchen and upstairs bathroom. Richard had managed before his death to initiate major changes in the barn designed to upgrade the piggery, but these stages in the evolution of the property were inconsistent with the original structure and were left largely unfinished. Therefore they should not be accorded any historical priority. Only a return of the farm to the Motherwell era will have the ring of authenticity.

Of course the Motherwell era spanned more than 60 years in the Canadian West and nearly five of the seven decades that Lanark Place existed as an operational unit. But it is clear from the evidence that during the 1920s and most of the 1930s the farm was more a reflection of the Gillespie brothers' influence than that of Motherwell himself. Despite the control that Motherwell maintained by his continual flow of instructions, written, telegraphed and telephoned, the effectiveness of this long-range contact was greatly reduced when he went to Ottawa as Dominion Minister of Agriculture in 1922. Having initiated the system 18 years earlier after leaving for Regina to serve in the same provincial capacity, Motherwell worked it to perfection after 1908 when he could rely upon his new wife Catherine to carry out his instructions to the letter. But in 1922, with his son working his own farm and his daughter firmly ensconced in Regina as a language teacher, Motherwell took his wife with him to Ottawa. The stream of information continued to flow from Motherwell to his new manager J.B. Gillespie, but it seems never to have been implemented with the same stringent adherence as it had when Catherine Gillespie Motherwell ran the farm.

Between 1922 and 1930, during the first of the King governments, Motherwell had even less opportunity to oversee Lanark Place than he had when in Regina. At least he had been available on weekends in the years between 1905 and 1918 for the work of the provincial Department had not the broad sweeping responsibilities entailed in the administration of its federal counterpart. At the same time, Motherwell was incapable of delegating all of his authority through the bureaucratic chain of command as was the wont of most of his colleagues. The Department papers of the day contain as much correspondence from the Minister as the Deputy Minister; obviously Motherwell spent most of his energies administering the Department and
its broad jurisdictions at the expense of the political machinations of the cabinet room. This same attention to the details of his position and his devotion to the ideals of stewardship which he claimed as a British subject, a Christian and a graduate of the Ontario College of Agriculture, also detracted from the concentrated effort necessary to keep the farm in hand. In many ways, then, the 1920s were an interregnum in the normal course of the farm and by the time Motherwell was able once again to resume his farming career as a mere private member in the Commons, the Depression was hard upon Saskatchewan and the wheat potential had collapsed. The mixed farming approach to which Motherwell had devoted himself throughout the early decades also appears to have collapsed at this inopportune juncture. In the meantime, the farm was kept afloat by the infusion of Motherwell's political salary, just as it had benefited from the extra income ever since 1905 when Motherwell was able to invest some of his new-found cash supply in capital developments such as the barn and the Hart-Parr engine which he used to power his equipment. Consequently, not only was Lanark Place an artificial construct in geographical terms, but also in the sense that it was never truly self-supporting. There were always too many mouths to feed from two and one-half producing quarters, a small farm even for the standards after the turn of the century. Two fine quarters had gone to Talmdge after 1912, and the two southern quarters - Alma's school quarter and the one across the creek - generally straddled the wide Pheasant coulee and were useful only as pasturage.

This is not to say that Motherwell was incapable of efficient and profitable production. In a single year in the early 1900s he was known to have grossed more than $3000 from the sale of bromegrass fodder and seed alone. Still, Motherwell was not content with monoculture in his fields. Only with the demand for unparalleled wheat production during the critical war year of 1917 did Motherwell capitulate over the use of mixed crops to preserve the precarious fertile balance of the soil. He campaigned vigorously for the all-out production of wheat for European allies and contributed like so many of his peers to the ultimate demise of the prairie wheat belt in the thirties. It is not yet known what impact the campaign had upon Lanark Place and there is a temptation to believe that Motherwell ignored his own admonitions. Certainly by the time of the 1946 aerial survey photograph the fields in the farming quarters were intricately divided by hedgerows and ploughing grids denoting a divided field system, extensive rotation and a broad variety of crops. This may have been the result of Motherwell's attempt to retrieve what he could of the land after the price collapse of 1930-31 and the droughts a few years later, but unquestionably Lanark Place survived the Depression where others failed primarily because Motherwell's salary remained constant while monetary value deflated all around him, leaving those with fixed incomes in a superior position.

The keynote of the Motherwell farmstead both physically and economically was artificial sustenance. It was created under the most arduous of conditions and behind the entire operation lay that certain lack of permanence that indicates the touch of the dilettante. No doubt this is extreme; but Motherwell never forsook his experimental dabbling and clung to the old ways as less efficient but more precise - the perfect control for his experimental husbandry. Lanark Place,
then, is both unique as a personal agriculture station and typical as an example of the Ontarian response to the bald prairie.
Lanark Place, as the farmstead was named by Motherwell in 1897, is the response of one man to the prairie landscape north of the Qu'Appelle Valley, and it says as much about his early roots as it does about the impact of his new environment. Born in Perth, Ontario, in 1860, and raised on his father's farm in Lanark County, Motherwell first saw the Northwest plains in the summer of 1881. He had just graduated as an Associate of the Ontario College of Agriculture (OCA) at Guelph after an intensive two-year course. What he found west of Winnipeg was the very antithesis of the verdant woodland overgrowth that had once confronted his father, an Ontarian of Irish descent, who had homesteaded on the rocky land of mixed forest southwest of Ottawa in Lanark County.

The farms and farmsteads of central and eastern Ontario literally had to be carved from the forests, and a wait of four or five years was not uncommon before rotting was complete enough to plough out the last hardwood stumps.¹ The settlers of Lanark County were confronted by the added problem of rock-strewn, difficult soil. Consequently, even after the arduous task of clearing had been completed they were left with relatively unproductive resources.² In the Northwest, on the other hand, the problems of first breaking were confined to the rather straightforward matter of coercing a chilled steel plough through the tough prairie sod. Creating a comfortable farmstead home was the opposite of carving out a forest clearing. In essence, it was a more creative act, which centered on the process of manufacturing a forest grove where none had stood before.

After 15 years in the spartan surroundings of his original homestead, Motherwell began the careful construction of his own prairie grove a few hundred yards removed from his first family home. In 1882 he had returned to the West to claim his own portion of the land that had impressed him with its potential a year before. But even as early as 1882 the land along the Canadian Pacific right-of-way had been taken in homestead forcing the young Ontarian to locate north of the Qu'Appelle Valley. There, on the northeast quarter of Section 14 in Township 20, Range 11 west of the second meridian (NE-14-20-11W2), Motherwell claimed his homestead. In 1883 he made entry, built his log house and broke 28 acres, but it was not until 1884 that with his new wife Adeline, he took up permanent continuous residence and cropped the land he had already broken.³ The land he had claimed was situated less than 70 miles northeast of Regina, on the edge of the middle grass prairie where the average no-frost period extended between 80 and 120 days. Outside the Palliser triangle of the arid southwest, Motherwell's land lay in a region considered to receive four to eight inches less rainfall than was needed to support cereal crops under natural conditions. On the other hand, it was located in a fertile
Motherwell holdings near Abernethy, ca. 1906. (Saskatchewan Archives Board [Regina].)
Township map - Indian Head North, ca. 1905. (Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask.)
Department of the Interior township map, 1883.
(Saskatchewan Archives Board [Regina].)
black loam belt, and the particular soil character of the Abernethy district, as Motherwell's area came to be known, is defined as Indian Head Clay, a fine cereal-producing soil.

By 1888 Motherwell was cropping 65 acres, pole fencing his land and completing the purchase of his preemption quarter directly south of the homestead; however, in planning the direction he wished the farm to take, he concluded that the first homestead locale was a mistake. As an alternative he hoped to acquire another quarter by applying for a second homestead, located on the coulee of Pheasant Creek which passed through the southeast corner of Township 20. Not only did he foresee the expansion of his mixed farming, beef and dairy operation, but he also saw the coulee bluff as the new site for his permanent farm home. Only two pieces of land were both open and accessible to his cereal quarters. Due south lay a school lands quarter that was not yet for sale. East of that a vacant quarter lay tantalizingly inaccessible.

Explaining that the Philip Cameron who had pre-empted this quarter had, in fact, abandoned his homestead in 1885 or 1886, Motherwell asked that he be allowed to take it up in homestead as the northwest quarter of Section 12-20-11W2. Cameron's rather unceremonious departure, however, had thrown the whole question of his unoccupied lands into the bureaucratic mill of the Department of the Interior, and Motherwell was never able to acquire the quarter he seemed so desperately to want.

Denied access to a farmstead site on the edge of a pleasant creek valley, Motherwell was forced to re-evaluate his original homestead quarter. On the coulee rim he could have approximated the serene countryside of Southern Ontario that had been shaped but not finished by man, with long views of sloping green meadows and contrasting grainfields, great strong thrusting elms marking the fence lines... farmsteads holding substantial late nineteenth-century (stone) houses and large weather-beaten barns or stone stables, and the gentle valleys and diminutive creeks pulling all these together in one integrated vista...

Instead he was forced to choose a site on the original windswept northeast quarter of Section 14 in Township 20 on which to locate his new stone stable and house.

The only natural feature of the eight acres which he set aside for his farmstead was a gentle slope falling no more than five feet from northwest to southeast. Motherwell said of the quarter upon which it sat: "though it is a splendid granary section [it] has neither hay, shelter, water or pasture thereon." It could not have been less suitable for a mixed farming system and possessed none of the natural attractiveness of the little valley. Thus, having lost the woodland coulee and the gentle serpentine of its rim, Motherwell was now forced into the prairie pattern of "the formal symmetry of sharply edged shelter belts and geometrical fields." His only option was the artificial creation of his own woodland environment which would produce an isolated micro-climate of dramatic enough proportions to solve the tactical problems of his farming operation and to answer his psychological need for woodland shelter.

The careful construction of Lanark Place can be seen as an expression of adaptive behaviour. In sociological terms it was a
coping mechanism for Motherwell, and a method whereby he could adjust to his scanty resources, solve specific agrarian problems, and attain more generalized goals which revolved around the question of life-style. The eventual construction of a new, garden-like farmstead east of the original site was an adaptive behavioural response to the severe constraints of the open prairie. But even more importantly it was the response of a "people with cultural goals and expectations that [were] generally much greater than those they might [have] achieved with available resources." In other words, not every settler who moved onto the western plains was driven to re-work the prairie landscape into a tree-filled garden. It appears more likely that settlers who migrated to the Northwest from areas radically different in climate and topography were prone to expend some of their energies in an attempt to re-create some familiar aspects of their old surroundings. A cursory look at part of the photographic record indicates that elaborate farmstead construction was not common to all immigrant groups. This may imply that those, like some East European immigrants and most of the American settlers from the Mid-West, who had developed a tolerance to the stark empty spaces of the Prairies were not as inclined as the Ontarians who moved directly from Central Canada to withdraw from the prairie into the luxuriant vegetation of closely planted shelterbelts and shaded lawns.

Essentially there is a double inversion involved in the construction of the elaborate farmstead on the western plains. Those like Motherwell's which hadOntarian antecedents were originally inspired by the gardens of Northern Europe and the north's "one great innovation in the history of gardening....the English landscape garden." While the true birthplace of the western garden was the Mediterranean region where landscaping was based on the establishment of oasis-like groves, in northern Europe where the "lushness of grass and abundance and richness of all verdure was greater," the English garden was based on a "social lawn or glade, ringed by the forest wall." As such, it was like an "inverse oasis, an open space in the continuation of forest." But, to carry the analogy to its logical extent, the Ontarian immigrant farmers had to build the Mediterranean grove first and then, from the grove, cut the interior confines of the English lawn garden. In essence, they were driven by their own pre-conditioning to create an inverse oasis within an oasis - hence the double inversion.

There was a price to be paid for the luxury of living inside such campus-like farmsteads. Like most artificial constructs that fly in the face of natural conditions, they had to be maintained. Their existence was dependent on the life support system each farmer had to provide. Shelterbelts needed pruning, constant cultivation (scuffling) and an established planting schedule. Dugouts had to be kept clear of excess grass and weed growth, working areas free of clutter, ornamental plantings looking ornamental, and fence lines in a state of repair. Without this kind of attention, plantation farmsteads tended to disintegrate within a few short years, as the Lanark Place of the 1960s so vividly illustrated. But the cost of maintenance was dear. Added labour and time lost to production was rarely compensated for in cases like the Motherwell farm despite the logistical benefits that accrued from the impact of oasis agriculture. While Motherwell's farmstead was a reasonable blend of practicality and beauty, the cost
of its maintenance prevented the farm from ever paying off consistently on a cash basis.

In its broadest terms, the erection of sheltered farmsteads on the broad, flat prairie can be seen as an attempt to fill the austere empty spaces in an environment geographically more akin to the great sand deserts than the gentle woodlands of England or the primeval forests of Central Canada. Like the desert, the prairie is "physiologically alien, sensorily austere, esthetically abstract [and] historically inimical." They are both "boundless and empty" spaces. Yet, as if to compensate for their cruel angularity, they both possess their own special drama. On the open prairie the mind is beset by "light and space, the kinesthetic novelty of aridity, [extremes of] temperature, and wind." As in the desert, the prairie sky is "encircling, majestic, and terrible":

In other habitats, the rim of sky above the horizontal is broken or obscured; here together with the overhead portion, it is infinitely vaster than that of rolling countryside and forest lands....In an unobstructed sky the clouds seem more massive....The angularity of [prairie] landforms imparts a monumental architecture to the clouds as well as to the land. But, in the end, the "constancy of sensory experience" on the prairie produces a paradoxical "sensory deprivation." In the terms of esthetics and landscape historian Paul Shepard, this is the "saturation of solitude, the ultimate draft of emptiness, needing courage and sanity to face." This was the trial that virtually every prairie homesteader had to endure.

It took Motherwell two decades to erect the tree walls of his Mediterranean grove. In Ontario the father had been forced to clear forest to make way for lawns. In Saskatchewan the son had first to build walls to provide shelter for the lawns he would plant. In reality, of course, the farmstead was too functional to be considered a formal garden in the sense that a historian like Shepard might use it, despite the beauty of the surroundings and the comfort it offered as a shelter against the vagaries and extremes of the prairie climate. Built on the square, each enclosing and dividing line marked by belts of poplar, willow, ash and maple, the verdant enclosure of Motherwell's new farmstead possessed a sheltering beauty of colour and shade, neither of which the original homestead possessed. Nevertheless, in the vernacular of homestead architecture, the first home was comfortable in its own way and stood by a small grove of planted maple, sufficient to provide loft timbers 20 years later. But in comparison to the splendour of Lanark Place, the homestead was a crude imitation of living space, and it served the family more as a crucible than a cradle, witnessing the death of Motherwell's first two children before they had seen their first year.

Little wonder, then, that Motherwell longed for the comfort of a permanent, more substantial farm home in the lee of the north bank of Pheasant Creek coulee. When he was forced to find an alternative by the refusal of his application for NW 12-20-11W2, Motherwell decided in 1890 to finish his log house with clapboard siding, which probably made the home a healthier place in which to live. The year before this he had cropped 100 acres and had enclosed 75 of these by a pole fence. At the same time he had expanded his mixed farming capacity to 30 head
of cattle that were sheltered by a substantial 60 x 30 foot log stable. In only six years of steady expansion Motherwell had established a quality operation. Yet he was ambitious for more. Prairie vernacular did not suit him well and he seems to have longed for the civilizing impact that a more orthodox Ontarian environment could exert. Accordingly, he soon began the arduous task of collecting building materials that would lend themselves to the construction of structures more appropriate to the architecture of his birthplace. Annually he collected volumes of fieldstone from the Pheasant and Qu'Appelle valleys, piling them not far from the homestead buildings toward the eastern edge of his property where he had determined to build an estate.

Between the substantial improvements of the log house in 1890 and the first construction on the new farmstead in 1896, Motherwell also began to consolidate his hold on the second section line of Township 20. Eventually he would hold six quarters on the line, one south of the creek and five others extending northward to the eventual site of Abernethy. The string was interrupted only by the CPR quarter purchased by Englehart Steuck, the Motherwells' faithful neighbour. All were controlled from the new farmstead on the original quarter, but Motherwell encountered problems just in locating the surveyed road allowance upon which his quarters bordered. As a result his property encroached upon the allowance by eight feet and left his stone house only 30 feet from the road surface. Early surveys by Dominion Land Surveyors in 1882 and subsequent subdivisions in 1883 often produced grid lines that erred by notable distances. These were correctable mistakes, but in the mathematical way of the mass survey they often became ineradicable. The imaginary lines superimposed on the Prairies in the square American survey system, based as it is upon celestial loci, tend to be rigid and inorganic and inimitable, doing violence to the natural topography and its human interpretation. Often the errors injected into the survey by the fallibility of human translation acquired the same kind of rigidity; and when two-storey stone structures are located with reference to the wrong lines the error takes on an added sense of permanence.

Certain signs, other than the construction of a new house and farmstead, indicate that the 1890s was a period of prosperity for the Motherwells. Early in the decade he abandoned the agricultural fair circuit, which he had travelled so successfully, in favour of a larger role in the political, social and religious life of the Abernethy district. The impact of his new involvement is beyond the scope of this paper, but it should be clear that after ten hard years Motherwell was finally able to take time from the task of pioneer farming to play a larger role among his fellow settlers. This new activism, then, is an indication that as early as 1892, he was anxiously preparing to inject what he perceived to be the prime elements of civilization into the Abernethy area. And in Motherwell's mind, "civilization" involved the local establishment of the national two-party political system; the preparation of a strongly fundamental Calvinism through the established presence of the Presbyterian church; and the construction of the comfortable, yet imposing structures of Ontario forest woodland and Upper Canadian architecture.

Chronologically, Motherwell began his new farmstead in 1896, with
the erection of a stone stable roughly at the centre of his designated
eight acres. In 1897 he then used the remaining fieldstone to
construct an impressive two-storey farm home like that of his parents
near Perth, Ontario, replete with gingerbread trim for the eaves and
dormers, and wrought iron cresting for the widow's walk. Ten years
later a superstructure was added to the stable, transforming it into a
basement of a Central Ontario-style barn. It was then joined on the
property by a large implement shed and a two-storey, wood frame hired
man's cottage. In the meantime, the shelterbelts that Motherwell had
begun to plant in 1897 were slowly maturing, and by 1902 they were
supplemented by decorative plantings and elaborate fencing along the
eastern edge of the property. A massive vegetable garden had also been
established south of the house and given its own sheltering row of
trees. Perhaps before 1900 Motherwell finally solved his water
problems by excavating a huge dugout which was capable of providing the
barn and the house with all the necessary pure water, and by the end of
its first decade the farmstead had taken on an aura of complete
self-sufficiency.

Farmsteads in the Northwest

In the 1897 winter issue of The Farmers' Advocate, H.C. Robey
of the Dominion Experimental Farm at Brandon wrote
In making a tour of the prairies, it is surprising to
the casual observer the small number of farmers who have
endeavoured to surround themselves with the beauties of
nature by improving the external appearance of their
home by the systematic laying out of its grounds, and
the planting of hedges and ornamental trees and shrubs,
and arranging flower borders and lawns. We
can...say...by the appearance of [a man's] farm that his
moral, his intellectual, and we may also say his
religious character can be inferred.22
Apparently many of the Ontarian settlers who had begun to people the
20-mile lands on either side of the Canadian Pacific Railroad 15 years
earlier were flirting with agnosticism; and a few who had consistently
refused to plant as much as one tree or a small shrub were certainly
liable to charges of atheism. On the other hand, W.R. Motherwell whose
religious commitment was beyond question, had embarked on a concerted
programme of shelterbelting and beautification in the same year as
Robey's article.

Obviously Robey's picturesque plea for the development of
attractive farm grounds was a somewhat exaggerated illustration of this
particular attitude; yet a broad survey of the available periodical
literature demonstrates that the campaign for farm beautification and
tree planting on the bald prairie took on the fervent proportions of a
crusade. This crusade was supported, if not sponsored, by the federal
government after 1881, when the Department of Agriculture began giving
more priority to agricultural than immigration issues. The Department
instituted an advanced system of experimental farm stations in the
mid-eighties and by the turn of the century their impact stretched
across the country, disseminating the latest information on regional
techniques, exploring the growth capacity of soil varieties and
climatic conditions, and distributing new seed and tree stock to those
farmers like Motherwell who would avail themselves of the generosity.

Similarly, periodicals like The Farmer's Advocate and The
Nor'-West Farmer devoted much of their space to questions of tree
planting, attractive and functional farm layout, and grounds
beautification, accompanying these articles with illustrations of
commodious farm homes and substantial farm buildings. Clearly from a
survey of this contemporary literature, while Motherwell was not unique
among the first settlement wave, he was certainly in the vanguard of
the movement for farmstead beautification. Even the farmstead of
Premier Thomas Greenway in Crystal City, Manitoba, was still in the
early stages of development in the fall of 1896, when Motherwell's
stone stable was being erected. This is not to say, however, that no
farmers had managed to begin extensive farmstead development as early
as the late 1880s. In fact, the Canadian Pacific land sales branch was
able to take full advantage of the few examples that did exist to
propagandize the open land for sale along their right-of-way and used
the grand Ontarian structures as illustrations representing farmers
homes in Western Canada. But the majority of these farmsteads were in
their very early stages, particularly in the Northwest, and the lush
growth shown in the CPR advertisement would not be a common sight for
at least another decade. In any case, the era of stately stone farm
mansions was a brief one, confined to a flurry of excited building
around the turn of the century when large numbers of the surviving
Ontarian families determined to enshrine themselves in fieldstone,
pressed stone, brick and even cement. By 1901, the period of overseas
immigration was well underway, and the few Ontarians to come west after
1900 were generally transients who had found no satisfaction on the
constricting American free land frontier. To the new European
homesteaders, wood frame was generally acceptable as a replacement for
their mud-chinked, thatched-roof cottages; and while it was recognized
that trees served as a useful tool in dry land agriculture, the
Californians were hardly committed to a tree planting programme for the
purposes of re-creating little pieces of Ontario on the western
plains.

By 1905 the Ontarians were a people apart on the Prairies for they
enclosed themselves inside an encircling habitat, constructed within 20
years of first entry at the prodding of the propagandists, the federal
government and, perhaps most importantly, the woodland atavism that
inhabited their own psyches.

The course of individual agricultural settlement in the
Territories, as in parts of Manitoba, tended to be a common experience.
A distinct pattern seems to emerge when an identifiable group like the
Ontarians is singled out. Initially, the homesteaders built their
first crude structures from the most easily available materials such as
sod or poplar logs, which at the same time offered reasonable
protection against the climatic extremes. These structures were then
generally enhanced in some way before the final move to a more
substantial home after the essential farm buildings had been upgraded.
Likewise, the process of farmstead development through the use of
shelterbelts was postponed until the final, permanent move was made.
As such any planting around the original homesteads was usually a token
gesture and the development of utility buildings often took on a haphazard character in anticipation of future consolidations.

In many cases new farmsteads were begun not with new houses, but with improved stables or barns. This was certainly the case on the Motherwell farm and it appears to have been much the same on the John Coxworth farm in Westhall, Manitoba. Ignoring the fact that Coxworth was able to build a full barn by 1899, his Manitoba homestead and Motherwell's in Abernethy probably bore a striking resemblance in 1896. The orientation of the buildings is correct, even to the location of the drive floor access. In the Coxworth farm an earthen ramp is used in a semi-bank style barn. Motherwell, on the other hand, chose to use a board ramp until late in the 1930s.

Through examples such as the Coxworth farm, it can be seen that the Motherwell farmstead was not unique. Indeed, the house that was completed late in 1897 was probably a mediocre example of its type.
Numerous homes in Manitoba and Assiniboia were more substantial and more attractive in terms of layout and exterior design. The town of Arcola, less than 100 miles southeast of the Abernethy area, seems to have been a centre for elaborate cut fieldstone houses, although some, like the John Beggs house, lacked the cleaner lines found at Lanark Place. Beggs was a Nevadan who had come to Morris, Manitoba, in 1878 and then migrated to Arcola in 1882. This cosmopolitan background may have provoked the use of the hipped-gable roof, which was found on some barns but few houses in the Territories.

The M.H. Brice house near Arcola avoided the cottage look of the Beggs residence by using a cleaner roofline more closely approximating the Lanark Place design. The masonry work appears to be a reasonable example of the broken ashlar variety using rough pointed fieldstone and rising in regular courses. The Lanark Place masonry was similar except that the courses rose irregularly giving it more of a rubble appearance. Brice extended the use of double windows to include all fenestration of the home, while Motherwell had only one double window installed at the southeast corner. Both homes, of course, employed rapid growing Virginia creeper to soften the heavy angularity of the front walls, and while its rapid growth characteristics were
ideal for an early show, in later years the creeper often produced moisture retention problems.

The J.P. McLaren residence outside Arcola was the same basic two-storey structure as the Motherwell and Brice homes but had a radically altered roofline. The resultant sun deck was supplemented both by a substantial second-floor balcony serving the upper hallway door, and a veranda on the lower floor that extended across the width of the house. Without the cakebox ornamentations of the house, McLaren's barn was a superior example of its type. The main structure is a simple, gambrel-roofed basement barn, but the addition of two stone foundation lean-to sections on either side greatly expanded the
mixed farming capacity of the farm and gave the barn a Dutch roofline.\textsuperscript{24}

A close scrutiny of the John McEachern residence at Arcola reveals that he was probably more careful than most in ensuring that larger and stronger stonework was used for the corners. Like the other farmsteads in this brief survey, the planting around the McEachern home was not well advanced, or at least not well kept. Arcola farmers could use the excuse that the local terrain was sufficient to serve in lieu of shelterbelts but they had no defence against attacks that they had failed to beautify their property. H.C. Robey might well have feared for their salvation.

Arcola, of course, was not the only centre of farmstead development. The grand stone and brick farmhouses still abound in Southern Saskatchewan, prevailing in areas of pre-1885 settlement and appearing with predictable regularity in districts like Abernethy. Examples from areas in Manitoba and around Moosomin, Indian Head, Sintaluta, Kenlis and Lumsden in Saskatchewan, should serve to illustrate the point that Lanark Place was unique only in that it served as yet another example of the impact that Upper Canadian mores had upon the western landscape.
Another comparative example of homestead development phases similar to that experienced near Abernethy can be found in this farm scene in Southern Manitoba. Again, the farmer has constructed a permanent stone basement barn to accommodate his stock before the replacement of the home, and like Motherwell he appears to have upgraded the original structures in the interim. The Manitoban's access to rail transport, which can be seen in the distance, was a luxury for which Motherwell had to fight long and hard alongside his neighbours against the railroad interests, who resisted early demands for branch line construction.

Farm scene in Southern Manitoba. (*Nor'-West Farmer*, September 1896, p. 211.)

Near Cypress River, Manitoba, the James Davidson farm sported a large stone house and an equally impressive gable-roofed stone basement barn. The barn entryways were protected by the rare veranda-style eaves implying perhaps that the basement had previously been used as a stable. The innovative use of the windmill in the barn indicates the presence of a high water table, and the location of the well in the stable basement avoided problems of winter freeze-up. However, Davidson would have had to take pains to ensure that the well was not contaminated by seepage from the manure floor. At Lanark Place no subterranean water supply existed and windmill technology never became

Farm buildings of James Davidson, five miles northeast of Cypress River, Man. (*Nor'-West Farmer*, 5 Jan. 1898, p. 5.)
part of its development. Also, by 1899 when the photograph of the Davidson farm was taken, Motherwell's first plantings would have been quite visible, while Davidson appears to have neglected this aspect of farmstead development.

A number of examples serve to illustrate that in parts of Manitoba, farmsteads were displaying obvious signs of maturity in structure, layout, fencing and plantings around the turn of the century. There were also many examples of layout that could easily have influenced Motherwell in the final determination of building location at Lanark Place. Although architectural design is widely dissimilar, the layout of George Motheral's farm at Manitou bears a striking resemblance to Motherwell's except for the added structure behind the barn.

Farm house of Frank A. Conner, Portage La Prairie. (Nor'West Farmer, 20 Dec. 1899, p. 956.)

At Killarney, Manitoba, Joseph Hammell apparently took the recommendations on tree planting emanating from the Brandon experimental farm to heart. His young plantation of Manitoba maples promises to shelter the cottage-style house with its hipped-gable roof. But more importantly, they will protect the farmyard that Hammell framed by the simple but effective gable-roofed farm buildings which were perhaps more common in Manitoba than in the Territories.
Stock farm of Joseph Lawrence and Sons, Clearwater, Man. (Nor'West Farmer, 20 Feb. 1899, p. 109.)

Farm buildings of Motheral, Manitou, Man. (Nor'West Farmer, 20 Jan. 1900, p. 72.)

Home of Jos. Hammel, near Killarney, Man. (Nor'West Farmer, 20 Feb. 1900, p. 127.)
At Minnedosa, George Frazer constructed a hipped-gable roof barn atop a stone basement. In close proximity to the barn he built a gable-roofed stone house with a kitchen extension reminiscent of Lanark Place. Building close like this was a common layout fault identified by farm journal editors, and it may have related back to British concepts of the unit farm in which all buildings on the farmstead were inter-connected.

Farm buildings of Geo. Frazer, Minnedosa, Man. (Nor’West Farmer, 20 Nov. 1901, p. 705.)

Certain elements of the structures and layout at Lanark Place were repeated ad nauseum in western adaptations of eastern stone or brick buildings. These included winter kitchen extensions, veranda styles,

Farm home of Alex Delgatty, Gilbert Plains, Man. (Nor’West Farmer, 5 March 1902, p. 197.)

Farm residence of J.W. Newton, Wellwood, Man. (Nor’West Farmer, 20 Dec. 1901, p. 825.)
dormer shapes, chimney work, and in specifically Italianate designs, the ubiquitous widow's walk. At Nesbitt, Manitoba, the home of A.E. Rome showed a distinct propensity for ornamentation. His barn, fences and auxiliary buildings were all cluttered with excessive adornment. Fortunately he allowed the house to stand by itself.

Gingerbread trim for eaves and dormers graced many prairie homes. Few farmers, however, had the bad taste of a Lenore, Manitoba, house builder who mixed gingerbread styles to the point of destroying the integral unity of the house wings.

The same kind of mixing and matching on the larger scale of building additions produced a prairie vernacular architecture. Some of it was particularly pleasing in that it took on a pattern of organic, natural growth. But prairie vernacular as expressed by the Pattison farm outside Newdale, Manitoba, was merely a jumble of buildings so poorly engineered that the poor draughting of the chimney on the summer kitchen had to be compensated for by the extension of a stove pipe. The Pattison agglomeration was an excellent example of the need for shelterbelt camouflage.

As the final example of Manitoba farmsteads, the Robert Greaves layout should be sufficient to set Lanark Place within the ambiance
New stone house on the farm of Wm. Lockhart, Lenore, Man. (Nor'West Farmer, 20 Dec. 1902, p. 115.)

Farm home of W. D. Pattison, Newdale, Man. (Nor'West Farmer, 6 April 1903, p. 333.)

Farm home of R. Greaves, Kenton, Man. (Nor'West Farmer, 21 Nov. 1904, p. 1120.)

established by early settlers of British stock in the Northwest. Near Kenton, Manitoba, Greaves built a simple gable-roofed stone house which like most others was a simple variation on a theme. The buildings on the Greaves farmstead lined up much like Motherwell's, although the stone utility shed had a tendency to intrude upon the living space that served the house, whereas Motherwell avoided this kind of intrusion by the use of an intervening hedged lawn. The gambrel roof, the venting system, eavestroughing and decorative windows are also closely related to the Motherwell barn. Greaves was able, however, to use a gentle swell in the terrain to bank his barn for access to the drive floor and he added stairs to the storage area to give two-way entry. The lack of similar access in the Motherwell barn seems to imply that the storage of grain crops was less important than the animal husbandry functions of the basement floor.
Assiniboia Farmsteads

The farmsteads of Assiniboia, which later became part of Southern Saskatchewan, were even more closely akin to Lanark Place than those of Manitoba. It was Motherwell's generation who filled up the railway belt in Assiniboia as the Canadian Pacific progressed westward during the early eighties, and at least until 1900 the group was homogeneous, internally consistent, and if not Ontarian, usually Anglo-Saxon.

Thirty miles southeast of Abernethy, across the Qu'Appelle Valley, this Pixholme homestead serves as a fair example of contiguous squared timber construction. The house formed one side of the stable yard and may have been reminiscent of Motherwell's homestead, although an 1890 photograph gives no indication that he built his log stable in such close proximity. The Pixholme complex offers excellent examples of thatched-roof stable construction, an interesting pole stacking arrangement and a light but sturdy pole fence that may be an example of the type Motherwell claims to have used.
Improvements made to the original Motherwell log home west of present farmstead, ca. 1890. (Saskatchewan Archives Board [Regina].)

Fifteen miles south of Pixholme, near Grenfell, a more advanced farmstead of the 1886 era could be found in the Hope Farm. In many ways it represented an intermediate stage of farmstead development. Apparently Skrine arrived with enough liquid capital to embark on an advanced building programme or to purchase the property from a development group who speculated on such farmsteads. In either case, the Skrine farm was one of the more advanced models in the Territories during the early 1890s; but by the turn of the century it had been superseded by the grandiose estates of those who had endured their primitive homes with some patience to reap the rewards of luxury at a later date.

The system of erecting new barns before embarking on major house programmes, however, was as common in Assiniboia as it was in Manitoba.

Hope Farm of Mr. Percy Skrine, near Grenfell, 1886. (Public Archives of Canada C 79529.)
In this illustration of the A.B. Potter farm near Whitewood on the CPR, a three-louvered barn graces the same field as the original house, which like Motherwell’s had been upgraded for health and comfort. Potter also used pole fences to protect his fields against errant stock, and the twin pole support posts are an interesting feature that may have been incorporated by Motherwell. Some shelterbelting is in evidence in the 1898 sketch, although the planting at Lanark Place appears to have been done on a more calculated basis.

Farm buildings of A.B. Potter, Montgomery, Assa. (Nor’West Farmer, Oct. 1898, p. 464.)

Meanwhile, around the prosperous Indian Head district, which had the advantage of mainline rail service, homes of some substance were beginning to appear on the barren plains at about the time Motherwell was building his own stone house. Size, complexity of floor plan, and added features such as the glazed veranda, give the William Douglas house a distinct aura of opulence. It is clear from the photograph, however, that houses like this were singularly inappropriate to the open prairie and looked well only when extensive farmstead development radically altered their setting.

Farm residence of Wm. Douglas, near Indian Head, Assa. (Nor’West Farmer, 20 Sept. 1899, p. 675.)

Similarly the A. and G. Mutch farmhouse sat like a grotesque institutional edifice without the benefit of a tree or hedge. Nevertheless, the house was a solid example of brickwork and full use
was made of the steeply pitched hip-roof to introduce large skylights into oversized dormers. The Mutch home was 75 miles west of Abernethy and sat on the edge of a shallow coulee. A fine wire fence had replaced the common poplar poles, but much needed shelterbelting and decorative planting had been totally neglected even as late as 1899. Stone rather than brick was employed in the basement foundations of the first and second Mutch barns and good use was made of the ground features in the construction of the large bank barn. Although the farm buildings were situated close to the house, the shallow gully provided a natural barnyard and conveniently separated the farm functions. It was this hillside shelter and topographical farmyard delineation that probably allowed Mutch to postpone a planting programme indefinitely.

Farm home of A.&G. Mutch, Lumsden, Assa. (Nor'West Farmer, 5 Aug. 1899, p. 849.)

Similarly, the Stephens farm of Indian Head utilized a steep gully in the construction of this classic example of a bank barn. Access to the drive, or threshing floor was conveniently level although the stone basement was a full ten feet high. The natural poplar groves were preserved at the bottom of the gully, while a fine board fence enclosed a well-sheltered barnyard. All structures on the property made use of clapboard siding, including a shanty tool-shed that crowded the basement entrance and resembled the shed erected on the Motherwell farm in the late thirties.

By the turn of the century the farmsteads of Assiniboia were beginning to show the effects of early landscaping efforts. The Glaister house near Prince Albert shows a rare example of the use of Virginia creeper on wood frame, although board siding did not really need the softening impact that vegetation could impart to the heavy lines of large stone houses. It is likely that the vines would
eventually encourage wood rot on the front of this house as they did in the mortar at Lanark Place.

Solid farmstead growth generally denoted a degree of sophistication in the operation and was usually accompanied by similar improvements in the delineation of function and fencing techniques. What once had seemed confused conglomerations of farm buildings began to acquire a more engineered appearance when fences, hedges and shelterbelts eventually began to draw out the internal consistency of once barren farm layouts. Even homesteads that had seen little structural development by 1901 such as the Bates farm at Kenlis eight miles southwest of Abernethy seem much improved by the additions of
shelterbelts. Of course not every farmer in the Territories made use of the material at hand to beautify and protect his grounds. Although this Indian Head farmer had been on his property for only five years at the time of the 1902 photograph of the Holden farm, his failure to utilize the expertise and generosity of the local experimental farm is inexplicable. Had he prepared his farmstead grounds by summerfallow, he could have had shelterbelts and forest groves free of charge.

Farm buildings of R.J. Campbell, Ellisboro, Assa. (Nor'West Farmer, 5 Nov. 1901, p. 685.)

Farm of Geo. W. Bates, Kenlis, Assa. (Nor'West Farmer, 20 Dec. 1901, p. 823.)

Farm of Mr. Holden, near Indian Head, NWT. "Mr. Holden has been 10 years in this country and 5 years on this farm, Aug. 1902." (Public Archives of Canada C 3499.)
For those who took full advantage of the federal government's generosity, the rewards were reaped in terms of more efficient mixed farming operations and homes that had the appearance of genuine country estates. Certainly Lanark Place falls into this category as does the farm of Motherwell's neighbour, P. Ferguson of Kenlis, and that of James Campbell east of Moose Jaw, which bore a striking resemblance to the Motherwell complex.

Farm of P. Ferguson, Kenlis, Assa. (Nor'West Farmer, 5 Feb. 1904, p. 147.)

Compared to others of its type, the Motherwell farmstead was composed of an average house, an excellent set of grounds, a fine L-shaped barn and an uncommonly large hired labourers' cottage. Modern evaluations of the house have exaggerated its importance, and these exaggerations have contributed to the erroneous assumption that the house served as a singular reminder of Motherwell's wealth and prosperity. More accurately, the house and the landscape serve as a tribute to his grinding perseverance and a reminder that he was raised and educated in the woodland of Eastern and Central Ontario.
The Propagandists

The settlers who followed the railway into Assiniboia in the Northwest Territories did not enter a vacuum in which they could only have relied on their own previous examples. Agricultural journals such as *The Nor'-West Farmer* and *The Farmer's Advocate* provided the western homesteader with ample encouragement to build sheltered farmsteads with extensive tree belts, ornamental plantings and conveniently located service structures. Not surprisingly these periodicals also tended to carry a heavy Ontarian bias and catered directly to the Anglo-Saxon migrants who moved west between 1882 and 1900.

By running regular features on topics like arboriculture, forestry and gardening, and tree planting in the West, *The Nor'-West Farmer* and its various competitors contributed greatly to the attitude that to foliate the empty prairie by planting trees at every possible opportunity was part of the "White Man's Burden." Most importantly, of course it was every farmer's duty to create out of his farmstead a treed plantation, within which he could take shelter and through which he could spread the gospel proclaimed by the experimental farms that a woodland environment was available to all.

In its October 1883 issue, *The Nor'-West Farmer* echoed the typical Ontarian response to the open prairie by reprinting a *Moose Jaw News* editorial to the effect that

> There can be no two opinions as to the desirability of cultivating trees on our prairies. From every point of view it is of the highest importance that no time be lost and that the business be carried on, on the largest possible scale. Whether we have regard to the production of fruits or of timber, to the effects upon climate and moisture, to provision of shelter for man and beast, or to the utility of orchards and groves in breaking the sweep of the winds that threaten to carry everything before them, it is clear that we want trees, as many as possible and in the greatest possible variety.\(^{25}\)

Despite the fervent urgency of this prose and the claim that "Ontario trees will grow well in this country, all they want is a fair chance," clearly relatively little was known about the varieties of trees and methods of planting suitable for the continental climate of the central plains.

Not until 1888, when the Dominion Experimental Farm at Indian Head commenced full-scale operations, was concentrated experimental work done on tree species and planting techniques. The general drought of 1886 had been particularly hard on nascent shelterbelts\(^{26}\) and had discouraged farmers from pressing ahead with their own planting programmes. Nevertheless, the drought served to emphasize the special nature of dry land conditions and encouraged western agriculturalists to seek out moisture preservation systems of preparing ground and planting trees, just as it had encouraged the formulation of dry land farming field techniques. A few years of perseverent observation had shown that the only tree found growing naturally on the high prairie with any success was the aspen poplar, and then only when it was protected by underbrush and low foliage:
This protection to the roots by underbrush or foliage prevents the soil from losing too much moisture by evaporation and also prevents rapid changes of temperature from affecting the roots. Consequently, it was felt that similar measures could be adapted for farmstead plantings by allowing potatoes, corn or in extreme cases even weeds to grow around newly transplanted trees to increase their survival rate.

By 1899 The Farmer, as The Nor'-West Farmer was prone to call itself, was advocating the use of hardy Manitoba maple (box elder) and "cheap cottonwood poplar" as starting trees. To accommodate the demand expected from publicity of this kind, the experimental farm at Brandon imported an ample supply of cottonwood seedlings from Dakota, where they were also being distributed in mass planting programmes. It was recommended that a four-foot planting grid be used for the plough line. Roots were to be protected by a well-packed base soil and a constant supply of moisture, and farmers were admonished to take the time to plant a few trees well each year rather than a thousand trees poorly.

By the end of the eighties tree planting, at least in Manitoba, had become a going concern. Not only were the experimental stations at Brandon and Indian Head involved in the early phases of distribution, but, as The Farmer put it, "the tree pedlar is again abroad in the land." Although the developing government distribution system would soon make the tree sellers something of an anachronism, in the meantime they found an active market for their nursery stock. The Winnipeg farm journals, however, saw no good in the itinerant salesmen and warned the public that not only were they eastern-based and ignorant of prairie conditions, but they were little better than charlatans. Their worst vice was the advertising of fruit tree stocks, few of which had any chance of survival in the western climate, to dupe the Ontarian homesteader community into large but useless purchases. It takes little imagination to see within The Farmer a district bias toward Winnipeg nurseries and tree farms, and not without just cause. Apparently many farmers had already lost both money and time on poor nursery stock and inappropriate species.

The prairie homestead was not a place where one could afford to waste cash on worthless tree types, much less waste time on the planting of short-lived shelterbelts originally intended to nurture new grain varieties under difficult prairie conditions. Fortunately, trees were often easy to procure by gathering the maple seeds that collected along the banks of most creeks and streams during September and October. With a proper bed prepared by summer fallowing, ploughing, manuring and furrowing, a belt could be seeded in the fall. Then, with a good straw or manure mulch and a constant supply of water through the next summer, the seedlings would be strong enough to be thinned by the second or third year, or left dense enough to create a maple hedge.

In 1890 the Central Experimental Farm in Ottawa sent one of its last shipments of 130,000 seedlings west to Manitoba and the Territories. Then, through the 1890s, the western branches at Brandon and Indian Head began to take control of the tree programme. Part of the impetus behind their strenuous campaign, which was abetted by The Farmer's Advocate and The Nor'-West Farmer, was an early belief in the power of artificial forestation to alter the climate of
the Great Plains. In 1890 *The Advocate* claimed that "the planting of trees in large numbers would influence the annual rainfall, and make our climate less liable to dry seasons." Despite the fact woodlands were sometimes subjected to droughts, "any thinking man cannot fail to understand that trees must affect the rainfall more or less." Even in Manitoba the evidence was clear to *The Advocate*’s forestry editor that more rain fell annually in the bluff districts than in the open ones. In theory this whole concept centered around the ability of forest growth to send down roots to the deep water table and then to transpire this moisture into the atmosphere. It was obvious that great quantities of water were released this way since "no moisture ever descends to the roots again" after having carried its nourishment treeward. "The moisture or vapour rising cool from the forests comes in contact with the clouds above, and the junction is said to occasion rain nearby." Accordingly, the converse was true on the Prairies, because the atmosphere would be drier than the air above and instead of moisture joining moisture and inducing rain, the dry air would counteract the moisture above and there would be no rainfall.

If the resident experts at *The Advocate* were to be believed, the ecosystem of the Canadian interior was out of phase - the reverse of a proper balance. Fortunately, it was susceptible to change and it had become the duty of every farmer to plant trees to restore the proper climatic balance of the Prairies. This pseudo-scientific rationale became part of the exegesis of farmstead plantations. Farmers were to plant not only shelterbelts and decorative plots but actual groves of poplar or maple. It was assumed that on a two by three foot grid, an acre of land could produce 7200 trees, over 6000 of which could later be thinned out and used for fuel or other purposes. Indeed, the Indian Head Tree Nursery photograph files contain a large number of farmsteads with extensive plantation acreages and plentiful supplies of additional fuel and timber.

Along with the increasing involvement of the western experimental farms in prairie agriculture, the nineties also witnessed the introduction and testing of new tree, hedge and shrub varieties with some success. As early as 1891, on the basis of a two-year study, it was found that a number of imported species might be hardy enough to survive. These included birch, Russian poplars, several willows, cottonwood, mountain ash, American elder, soft maple, white and green ash, Russian olive and Ontario cedar. But the most popular trees remained the Manitoba maple, the native ash, elm and poplar, and the white spruce, although these did not possess the ornamental value of some of the more exotic varieties. The planting of native trees was strongly recommended because the difficult growing conditions often discouraged settlers who had begun "by planting the five hardwoods and evergreen varieties so well known to them in their eastern homes." It was thought better to succeed with maple, ash, Russian poplar and willow, than to fail with the Ontario varieties and discourage all tree planting.

Each year of trial and error on the experimental farms as well as among the homesteaders who, like Motherwell, possessed the training or the aptitude for experimentation and observation, yielded a wider variety of available plantings. These included both utilitarian and ornamental shrubs for hedging as well as the versatile maple which was
Plantation "pruned up and not cultivated", 3 years, 1909. (Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask., no. 365.)

Plantation of Manitoba maple and cottonwood, 2 years, 4x4 grid, 1908. (Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask., no. 951.)
interchangeable as a tree or a hedge. Southernwood, tartarian honeysuckle, and the popular caragana or Siberian tea tree came into common use as did the shrub lilacs and spiraea. However, according to Angus McKay, the Superintendent at Indian Head, Russian willow and maple hedges were absolutely the most superior, and the Ontarian farmsteads abounded in these common species.

By the late 1890s, then, a wealth of horticultural and aboricultural information had been made readily available to the farmers of the Northwest Territories. Armed with this information, much of which they themselves had provided, the Ontarian settlers set about to implement their own particular philosophy and life-style or at least that part of it that could be physically expressed in their surroundings. Having forsaken the fruitless first attempts to create an orchard land of their new homes, they commenced the creation of tree-encased farmsteads reminiscent of the wooded homeland that they had left behind for the free land of the West. Lanark Place serves as a quality example of the numerous farmstead estates the Ontarians built to perpetuate their particular way of life.
LANARK PLACE LANDSCAPE

Unable to make use of the features available on the rim of Pheasant Creek coulee, W.R. Motherwell was confronted with the task of providing his farm and home with the amenities and services necessary to sustain a mixed farming operation, while at the same time providing a comfortable environment within which the inhabitants of Lanark Place could live, work and play. Shelter and water were the two paramount concerns on the new farmstead. In 1897 Motherwell shifted his attention from the care of the animals to provision for his family and by the end of the year a great stone house had given the family presence a decidedly permanent character. The water supply, on the other hand, continued to be a source of annoyance, having to be hauled in water butts on a stone boat from Pheasant Creek, a mile and a half south of the house. A cistern for wash water was also attached to the house to collect runoff and meltwater from the roof and the ice storage cellar; but this system could not support an expanding mixed farming operation and served only to contribute to the crude daily existence that was a result of the incessant battle against a prairie environment. Yet, the purpose of farmstead development was to make something more than the primitive essentials available to the Great Plains farmer, and it was as much a matter of life-style as it was a matter of scientific technique.

Within his eight acres Motherwell intended to provide a guaranteed fresh water supply, a variety of garden produce, a local tree supply, and sheltered glades among the tree belts which would serve as work and recreation areas segregated from the central barnyard which had been created at the centre of the property on the lee side of the barn. These functions, the slope of the land, and the prevailing winds determined the direction that the construction of the farmstead landscape would take. Retaining the grid-like orientation of the township survey, Motherwell organized his farmstead into four distinct sections of slightly varying sizes, with the stable at the approximate centre, and the house dominating the approach road. For the purposes of this study these four segments will be referred to as quadrants and will be identified according to their function or dominant feature such as the house, garden, dugout and barn.

By late 1897 the proud new fieldstone house was ready for occupation and the family transferred their household from the original log home. Two seasons of building in 1896 and 1897 when crops also had to be planted, cultivated, harvested, threshed and sold, probably meant that tree planting was not begun in earnest until the spring of 1898. Following the accepted recommendations for foundation shelterbelts, Motherwell closed off his property with an extensive C-shaped line of trees that extended along the north, west and south sides, with an additional T belt at the north end of the farmstead where the added protection matured extra trees and seedlings. The layout was a classic
example of the standard planting pattern recommended by the experimental farms and the horticultural editors of the farm journals.

There are no remnants of these original plantings still in existence. After the site had been designated a potential historic park in the late 1960s, Parks Canada determined that a maintenance programme should be undertaken and invited the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency (Department of Regional and Economic Expansion) to participate in the project. With the farmstead in an advanced state of neglect, it was decided that the farmstead should be levelled and replanted. Accordingly, the entire site except for the lawn and hedge and the front fence line was bulldozed clean of trees and fences. However the As-Found drawings of the farmstead, compiled in 1968 and 1969 by Thomas White of Regina, have proven useful in the theoretical re-creation of the tree lines and other features at Lanark Place.

The single most important piece of information emanating from the landscape As-Found documents is the stump diameter of all the trees and the tree remnants that had survived the era of neglect. John Stewart, Parks Canada landscape architect, has correlated all the species extant on the property with their diameters (Appendix F). Keeping in mind that different locations within the farmstead were likely to produce a variety of growth rates, these correlations should give a reasonable profile of the planting programme undertaken by Motherwell after 1897. The largest stump diameter found on the farmstead in 1968 was 12 inches. Examples of each variety of Motherwell's shelterbelt trees had reached this size, including Manitoba maple, green ash, acute-leafed willow and white spruce. No stump diameter has been given for the Russian poplar, but because it was interspersed alternately among some of the oldest willow it might have been planted at about the same time.

Leaving the examples of white spruce aside for the moment, the oldest trees on the farmstead coincide conveniently with the two major wind-break lines on northwestern farms. Obviously the two most important tree lines on the property were those that bordered the northern and western edges (0/3-3/3, 3/A-B). These would take the full brunt of the northwest winds that perpetually swept across Motherwell's quarter toward his barn and house. However, the northern shelterbelt was also one of the least dense on the property, composed as it was of two widely separated rows of Manitoba maple planted on a four-foot grid. The photograph of the men's cottage, probably taken during the winter of 1914, illustrates the nature of this planting and its dubious effectiveness during the leafless season (p. 86). But Motherwell was obviously not interested in preventing snow from entering the confines of his farmstead. Rather he hoped to trap all the snow that was available at generally strategic locations to give the grounds a healthy start in the spring with a good supply of meltwater. During the summer, in full leaf, the two maple rows would provide effective shelter against hot summer winds, but in the winter they would barely interrupt the full blast of northern gales, allowing snow to blow across the landscape. Motherwell was not prepared, however, to allow this snow to build up around the house. Accordingly he planted two rows of maple extending in a T south from the thin northern belt toward the centre of the property, passing between the house and the barn (9-10/K-N). The two rows of maple were then supplemented by the addition of two more rows of cottonwood poplar to make the barrier
complete (10/K-N). The northern tip of this thick shelterbelt can be seen in the same photograph of the men's cottage which clearly illustrates its effectiveness in winter and its impenetrability in summer. In fact, by the time the men's cottage was built, between 1908 and 1914, the growth of all the wind-breaks was typical of a relatively mature homestead despite indications that in 1902 none of the trees had been over six feet high.3

The western shelterbelt was the most substantial on the property but it was far from being a solid wall of trees, the like of which could be found at Indian Head. In fact, there were two distinct components to the shelterbelt that served the 700 foot length of the property. The first, or northern, component began like an end lap joint at the western extremity of the two northern maple rows (3-4/K-N). The full length of this first component is uncertain. In 1937-38 when the earth ramp to the barn was constructed, a small dugout was excavated at the end of this section and early plantings may have been destroyed. This lack of economy on the Motherwell farm is unlikely. It is more probable that the section extended south only 150-200 feet where it came to an abrupt halt. This first part of the western shelterbelt was composed of a single outer row and three supplemental inner rows of Manitoba maple, planted on a four-foot grid nearly 30 feet away from the first row. It is fairly clear that this double structure in the northwest corner would have effectively protected the entrance to the drive floor of the barn and the northern working field.

Outside belt looking north (Indian Head), 1908 - maple, willow and cottonwood. (Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask., no. 183.)

Between the first and second components of the western shelterbelt a gap of nearly 200 feet was left unplanted (3-4/G-K). Through the southern portion of this gap, the working vehicle service lane sliced across the entire farmstead and out into Motherwell's fields (3/G-H).
Similarly a lesser lane and gateway was left at the northern end of the gap (2-3/J-K) leading to and from the barn and servicing an experimental plot which appeared later in the history of the farm (1-3/K-O). Yet these driveways required only 20- or 30-foot gaps in the page wire fence that enclosed the farmstead. It seems that the real purpose of the large break in the shelterbelt was to allow the prevailing northwest winds to blow snow directly into the area of the farmstead that would soon contain Motherwell's huge dugout (E/7, E/56, 8/C-D). Guarded by two large mounds of earth, both of which were planted with dense willow groves, the dugout trapped the wind-blown snow throughout the winter and by late March it would be filled with meltwater. Supplemented by the June rains, the dugout would hold an ample supply of water throughout the summer and fall.

The dugout section of the property was surrounded on three sides by the finest of the shelterbelts that Motherwell planted before the turn of the century. The western edge (3-4/A-G), which was in reality the continuation of the entire western shelterbelt, comprised three rows of trees in a tight, four-foot grid. Inside the first row of hardy maple which took the wind's full force, Motherwell began to intersperse other varieties. The two inner rows were composed entirely of willow, which because of their shape allowed snow to spread across the field in front of them, but blocked the heavy upper winds which would have drifted it off the property.

On the south the dugout area was enclosed by a dense,
geometrically staggered, four-foot grid of three mixed rows (A-B/5-9). Again, the outer row used maple as its foundation but in this instance green ash were alternately interspersed between the maples. The central row was composed entirely of Russian poplar, an Asian import that had proven successful in the Prairies, and acute-leafed willows accounted for the inside row, completing the belt.

The third belt of trees that helped to protect the dugout was formed of a loose planting of willow and Russian poplar (10/A-G). In a broad sense it can be seen as the continuation of the belt of trees which extended south from the northern edge of the property and passed between the house and barn, effectively separating the western barn half from the eastern house half. On the other hand, the tree species of the southern section of this dividing belt were radically different from the maple and the cottonwood lying to the north. More importantly the willow and poplar were specifically designed to protect the garden area of the farmstead which lay due east of this specialized shelterbelt and which needed dense foliage to save it from the parching winds of summer.

The last section of the oldest tree belts sat in the middle of the farmstead where it served less as a shelterbelt and more as a decorative partition to separate the house and law from the barnyard (I-J/9-11). Actually, this section of maple and poplar was an extension of the maple belt known as Lovers' Lane that stretched south from the men's cottage. Two arching rows of maple on the house side of the barnyard fence served as a driveway loop joining the two access roads, while the row nearest the fence also camouflaged the wooden privy. Toward the lawn cottonwoods added height and variety and in
later years, possibly 1914, a row of white spruce was added to the belt, giving it a distinct ornamental flavour. Whether the spruce extended north much beyond the house line is not known.

Three final tree rows completed the shelterbelts at Lanark Place, adding a finished look to the front of the property. At the northeast corner two rows of Manitoba maple (12-13/L-O), planted around 1903 formed an arching bower extending nearly 150 feet from the house to the north corner. In a sense it was a later duplication of the Lovers' Lane maple rows that served as a path and driveway to the cottage on the northern edge of the farmstead.

At the other end of the site the shelterbelts around the garden were completed at the same time by the addition of single rows of maple trees (12-13/B-G, ASC/10-12). Except for the orchard which was planted around 1930 (11-12/L-N), these are among the last of the major tree plantings at Lanark Place. Judging from the size of their stumps and their height in the 1922 panoramic photograph of the farmstead, they
Newer maples on northeast edge of the property duplicating the Lover's Lane maples, ca. 1920. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

were also put in around 1903 or 1905, probably at the same time as the two rows of younger maple north of the house. Essentially the garden belts encased the area they served. Undoubtedly they would have contributed to snow collection during the colder months, while offering shade and wind-break during the summer. However, they do not exhibit the same careful engineering that went into the creation of the shelterbelts for the dugout, the working field beside the barn, or the

Spruce and cottonwood at west end of tennis court on the lawn, 1922. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)
area surrounding the house. They serve as dressing for the front of the property. Their function is not utilitarian, but aesthetic and psychological. Since the farmstead was designed as a garden woodland to give oasis-like relief from the stark prairie, no purpose would have been served by leaving 700 feet of frontage open to the intrusion of the angularity of the plains. The farmstead was an enclosing experience. Unnecessary gaps in the enclosure would reduce the quality of the experience. But at the same time, Motherwell designed his farmstead to be seen, and a cursory survey of other farmsteads shows that Lanark Place was uncommonly transparent. Although the house was too close to the road no attempt was made to hide it with high trees which would have buffered it against the road traffic, as infrequent as it may have been. Beside the house, a hedged lawn gave a broad vista of the interior of the farm without laying it completely bare (I-J/11-12); and along the front line of the property the shelterbelts, which were obviously less substantial than the others, gave an impression of the immensity of the farmstead by exposing it up to the medial line of the intersecting maple belts (10/A-0).

At the same time the most visible part of Lanark Place was also the most decorative. All the truly ornamental trees were planted in this area. The lawn, which was used as a recreation area and tennis court, was surrounded by a clipped caragana hedge in the style of a formal European garden. In fact, it was referred to by the family as the outdoor living room⁵ and figured prominently in most of the Motherwells' seasonal entertaining.

East of the lawn a large flower bed contained a broad variety of flowering species (13/I-J), while the larger beds in front of the house seem to have been devoted to a single species (13/J-K), such as geraniums in the early years and petunias after the Motherwell in-laws descended on the farm in the 1920s.⁶
White spruce decorated the strategic corners of the property frontage (13/G-K). Two straddled the entrance of the working vehicle road, one stood at the south corner of the main gateway, another was planted at the northeast corner of the house beds. A row of white spruce was located west of the veranda (near 10/K), and at the open end of the lawn a small grove of ten spruce contributed a variety of shape and colour to the poplar and maple that had been planted over a decade before (near 10/I-J). The photographic evidence indicates that the spruce were a very late planting, and Major McFadyen, a farm-hand at Lanark Place in 1914, claims that it was he who dug the trench and prepared the clay and manure layering to make the ground ready to receive the spruce. By 1922 the trees were showing a healthy, sturdy growth, but there is also some evidence to suggest that earlier plantings of spruce underwent some difficulties. A photograph taken during a Department of Agriculture staff excursion in late July 1914 shows a row of young and ailing spruce trees at the west end of the lawn, just beyond the hedge (near 13/I-J). It may have been too
exposed along this fence line for the tender spruce or the ground may have been unsuitable for the sustained growth; but whatever the reasons for their eventual disappearance, the shelter provided by the poplar-maple belts at the other end of the lawn would have satisfied the general requirements outlined by the prairie horticulturists. Because autumn is a propitious time for transplanting, these spruce or at least their successors may have been moved to properly prepared beds at the opposite end of the lawn late in 1914, while the fence line was given over to shrubs and flowers.

Most, if not all, of the ornamental plantings were confined to the area around the house. A clipped and shaped caragana hedge lined three sides of the formal lawn, while four old elms, one of which failed to survive, decorated the casual lawn west of the house and were supplemented by the additional spruce plantings of 1914 (near 11/K). Two rows of large, widely spaced cottonwoods lined the working driveway south of the caragana hedges (G-I/10-13) and four large cottonwoods helped to frame the house on the north side (K-L/12-13) while at the same time softening the parlour view of the future orchard. At the front of the house, the parlour garden (J-K/13) held a variety of flowers in large earth beds located between the eight-inch curbs, and the lawn and rose bushes indicated by the As-Found drawings appear to have been relatively late additions. The house, then, was seen as a focal point of floral beauty, yet it was the total impact of the farmstead vegetation that made sites like Lanark Place centripetal centres of aesthetic interest on the Saskatchewan plain. Naturally field-work was the raison d'être for these farms, but for the Ontarians, at least, the tree-lined farmsteads were home. Consequently, Lanark Place was seen as an entity unto itself, independent of the field system beyond, and the name referred specifically to only that acreage Motherwell chose to enclose.

From this survey of the shelterbelts it is clear that Motherwell had a profound impact upon his eight-acre landscaped tract in Section 14. He had encased his farmstead in a wall of maple, willow and poplar. He had partitioned the acreage into four specific areas, each with a function completely different from the others. And he had separated the work areas from the living space which he developed around the stone house. Traffic patterns into each area were dictated by the plantings which were also supplemented with page wire fence. Motherwell's control of the climate within the dimension of his farmstead was even more impressive. Winds and snow sifted into the structure only where he allowed for the purpose of trapping the useful moisture that would be released into the ground by the warmth of spring. The major topographic alterations Motherwell wrought in the southern section of the farmstead, the shelterbelts, and the ornamental trees combined to create an oasis where none had stood before. The grasp of the prairie elements on this particular piece of land had been broken. Motherwell had remade his environment and had given his home at least the flavour if not the essence of his old woodland origins. Lanark Place, like innumerable other verdant farmsteads in Southern Saskatchewan, had become a land apart, a territory unto itself.
The Quadrants

As a self-contained unit Lanark Place operated on the basis of a division of function. Each of the four distinct spaces served a basic human need: the shelter or living space was dominated by the house, the food space contained the vegetable garden, the dugout was the central feature of the water space, and the barn dictated the activity of the work space. A reduced version of the farmstead illustrates both the integrity of each space and how it was interrelated with the other.

Each of the spaces shares one or more common features with its adjoining quadrant. The obvious division lines in the farmstead layout are the two axes which intersected between the implement shed and the barn (H/9-10). The northern and southern portions of the site were divided by the working driveway which led ostensibly to the implement shed, but actually gave access through the entire farmstead to the rye and wheat fields beyond (H). The farmstead was then quartered by the interior, or lateral, shelterbelts which crossed from north to south (10): a maple belt extending from the men's cottage to the implement shed driveway, and a willow belt which extended from the southern edge, along the drainage ditch to the implement shed itself. The real anomaly in the system was the barnyard which sat at the centre of the axes and was segregated by a high, imposing board fence. Gates in the fence at the intersections of both driveways (H/9-10 and 9/J-K) provided easy access into and through the barnyard but it effectively interrupted traffic flow into the dugout quadrant. This was apparently not a mistake in design. Motherwell is presumed to have been extremely cautious of the dugout and attempted to prevent easy or regular access. Nevertheless, the dugout was used for recreation at certain points, and while swimming may have been discouraged because of a treacherous bottom, canoeing or punting was allowed. Thus even the barnyard served a strategic function beyond the mere containment of grazing animals. Its positioning was awkward and somewhat
inconvenient, but like every other feature of the farmstead it served
to block, guide and direct traffic flow while providing added
protection for ornamental plantings.

There are, then, within the confines of the farmstead four
distinct areas which provide a convenient organizational tool for
analysis. In the northeast corner the house, or ornamental quadrant,
provided the family with their living space in an area roughly 150 x
350 feet. To the south, the garden quadrant contained the over-sized
kitchen garden and the implement shed in an area of approximately the
same size. The dugout quadrant in the southwest corner stored nearly
all the farmstead's water in an artificial basin which held drainage
from an area 300 x 350 feet. North of the dugout the barn or working
quadrant served Motherwell's mixed farming operation and with
dimensions of 350 x 400 feet, it was the largest of the four.

The clear definition of the function of each plot in the farmstead
was standard farming practice in the oldest regions. Each plan that
received notice in the agricultural periodicals made wide use of
fencing and tree lines to divide the farmstead into useable portions.
Few, however, offered the kind of symmetrical regularity that could be
found at Lanark Place. Often, the classic layouts were so cluttered
with aesthetic design that their role was subverted by their intricacy.
Perhaps the vivid imagination of the young can be forgiven for Percy
Florence's clumsy example of wasted space in this farmstead layout; but
it was encouraging, nevertheless, to see *The Farmer* catering to the
interest of potential farmers, many of whom were already forsaking
their father's homesteads in favour of the rising living standards of
bruneoning prairie cities.

Other examples of agrarian landscapes, like this one published by
*The Farmer's Advocate*, showed a tendency to incorporate

School boy's plan for farmstead by P. Florence, Balmoral, Man.
(*Northwest Farmer*, Oct. 1909.)
inordinately formal garden areas which only served to detract from the operation of the farm. Although the concept of farmstead landscaping among the 1880s pioneers may have received its impetus from the Ontario woodland ethos, even Motherwell, who expressed the Ontarian identity as distinctly as any, was too practical a farmer to give ornament a higher priority than efficiency in his farmstead.

Two Manitoba farmsteads, both radically different from Lanark Place, serve to illustrate this efficiency. The J. Ching farm at Shadeland sacrificed aesthetics for a pronounced spatial efficiency and an economical tree planting schedule. An L-shaped shelterbelt on the northern and western sides of the property provided reasonable protection against the prevailing winds and allowed Ching to include sufficient pasturage for his calf and cattle operations. His garden was small and unlike Motherwell's tended to intrude upon the living space around his crowded house. At the same time, Ching's working yard was easily accessible to all sections of the farm and encouraged a close grouping of the utility buildings, all of which were able to border on the pasturage.
A more impressive and generally more attractive example of Manitoba farmsteads could be found near Shoal Lake on the Joseph Tucker property. In full leaf Tucker's grounds were probably even more impressive than Motherwell's. The working area of the farmstead, including a small pasture, a hog pen and the stable buildings, had its own clearly established space well separated and sheltered from the main road. Like the rest of the farmstead it was protected by the standard northwest shelterbelts, but added substantial plantings provided wide separation for a small garden as well as a buffer zone for the house and lawns. Tucker's use of a segregated corner for the farmstead's living space achieved the same frontal presence as the Motherwell house without being subject to the same intrusion that a roadway might have presented.

![Layout of farm buildings by J. Tucker, Shoal Lake, Man. (Nor'West Farmer, Nov. 1901.)](image)

The question remains how Motherwell responded to the particular conditions he found and created on his farmstead near Abernethy, Assiniboia. Clearly the dugout became a dominant feature, so much so that it was accorded more than a quarter of the total area. The barnyard, dictated by the shape of the barn itself, commanded the centre of the farmstead; and the working field, the largest of the segments, was oriented to the drive floor ramp on the west and the mow access ports on the north (J/6-7, J-K/7-9). House, lawn and woodlot filled the remainder of the space not given over to the garden, which from the beginning provided vitamin-rich foodstuffs for the family, farm-hands, maids, friends and visitors as well as indigent settlers and treaty Indians.11

The House or Ornamental Quadrant (NE)

During the first years of development, after Lanark Place had become the family home in 1897, the ornamental quadrant was not as well defined or segregated as it came to be after 1908. Like the garden, the two tree lines that served to demarcate the living space from the
rest of the farmstead were among the last major plantings to be carried out. Initially the area was protected only by the two widely spaced rows of maple that ran the width of the property on its north side (0/10-12). This determination to complete the major plantings first was certainly not consistent with Motherwell's character. Obviously his primary concern in the first years of the new farmstead was the protection of the livestock, the establishment of his working field, and the development of his dugout water supply. Consequently, the decorative planting and landscaping around the house had to await a more convenient time.

Actually, each development phase of the farm's history was related to the supply of labour and the availability of liquid capital. The year 1907 was a turning point in that Motherwell probably had begun to utilize his salary as Saskatchewan Commissioner of Agriculture to complete his buildings and landscape as he had envisioned them ten years earlier. The barn was raised, the implement shed completed, and shortly thereafter a men's cottage was built to house two labourers, thus separating them from the female staff in the house. At the same time four more belts of trees were added to the farmstead to complete the sectional divisions. In the house quadrant they took the form of two parallel belts of trees running north and south. The central belt was composed of four rows of maple, and the outer belt along the front of the property was composed of two more (9-10/K-N, 12-13/-L-0). The effect of these new plantings was threefold. They created a utility quadrangle north of the house, they separated the barn and working field from the living space, and they added a finishing touch to the roadside thus supplementing the few plantings that Motherwell had already carried out in the immediate region of the house.

On the north side of the new home Motherwell had established an abbreviated row of four poplars (K-11/12-13) to offer its exposed
Four cottonwood at the northeast corner of the house with the utility quadrangle showing the men's cottage in the background, ca. 1918.

(location more protection. At the same time two additional rows of cottonwood were planted well south of the house along either side of the access road that sliced across the centre of the property (G-I/10-13). Also performing a triple function, these poplar created a laneway, marked off the southern extremity of the house quadrant and offered shade to the formal lawn. The lawn was also flanked on the west by yet another row of six poplars all of which showed obvious signs of crowding and poor growth at the time the 1922 panoramic photograph was taken (I-I-J).

By 1943 all of the cottonwood at the front of the property had been lost to disease, age or both. The Russian poplar alternated in the maple shelterbelts is presumed to have thrived among a protected group (A-B/5-9 and 10/A-F); but closely planted poplar merely competed with itself, slowing growth in some instances and killing it in others. Not even the As-Found documents show any record of the existence of poplars near the house. During the pre-Ottawa days before 1921 when Motherwell was named Dominion Minister of Agriculture, the ground around all the cottonwoods was kept completely free of undergrowth by scuffling; but during the Gillespie era between 1921 and 1933 such efficient cultivation may have been neglected as the appearance of the farmstead was allowed to deteriorate. The poplar probably suffered accordingly.

A hardy grove of elm planted at the west of the house fared somewhat better than the poplar and were still standing in 1968 when the site was bulldozed (K/11). Originally, four elms were planted in a square and the grove thus created served to shelter a clothesline while giving shade to a lawn intended as a relaxation area for farm-hands, house workers and family. There is some question, however, about the exact date of the installation of the elms. A close examination of the 1922 panorama shows no identifiable elm tree between the clothesline post and the row of white spruce behind. Yet the As-Found
Looking southwest through two rows of cottonwood flanking service road. Implement shed is visible and dense shelterbelt is maple at north end of garden, 1922. (L/40-P) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

Trees at west end of lawn-tennis court, 1922. Spruce row planted ca. 1914. Note poor growth of crowded poplar and obvious loss of one tree. (L/40-P) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

document shows quite clearly that the elms, three of which had survived the ravages of neglect only to fall before the bulldozers, would have been visible in that space. They were recorded in 1969 as having a 12-inch diameter, as large as any of the older stumps, but the date of their planting is as yet unknown.
Two spruce planted north of the access road are visible above the buggy. The clothesline is set on short six-foot posts. No elms are apparent, 1922. \( \frac{40}{3} \) P

North of the house, the open field that may have served initially as a small plantation woodlot underwent radical alterations around 1930. Three years later, when Dan Gallant arrived to take over the management of the farm after the death of J.B. Gillespie, he found new Saunders apple and Niagara wild plum trees in the orchard standing at a height of no more than four feet. No doubt, the uncommonly free time that Motherwell had after the Liberal defeat in 1930 accounted for his renewed interest in making alterations to the Lanark Place landscape. The orchard, which acquired something of a reputation in the district, was protected by an unattractive ten-foot chicken wire fence that Motherwell erected to preserve the tender fruit tree bark from rabbits and other gnawing rodents.

The same kind of fencing could be found on the opposite side of the house where chicken wire was used at the east end of the formal lawn as a tennis fence. Tennis was a common pastime at Lanark Place as it was on most other Ontarian farmsteads on the Prairies during the early years from 1900 to 1930. This is not to say, however, that elaborate or permanent tennis courts were installed on every estate-style farmstead. At Lanark Place the court was usually marked out on the caragana-enclosed lawn with white ribbon, rather than more permanent lime. Similarly the unsightly tennis fence was not a permanent fixture and was probably rolled out only when necessary. The low fence is probably a good indication that the court lacked the necessary firmness to offer a fine playing surface.

In front of the lawn on the east side of the hedge, and in front of the house, Motherwell located his feature flower beds (13/I-J). There is very little to indicate the location of flower planting before 1918, although a bill from the Steele Briggs Seed Company in May 1907 provides certain information on the annuals that he may have had planted that spring. The order included Best mixed sweet peas, which
Looking northeast across the lawn, ca. 1918. The nature of the fence and the use of ribbon to mark out the tennis court indicate its transitory nature. (L/32) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

were generally planted along the fence near the house (13/J-K), and Giant Tall nasturtiums, scarlet runner, tall morning glory, and mesembryanthemum, which probably found their way into the large beds near the lawn. In June 1908 Mrs. Englehart Steuck, who was attempting to supervise the household in the absence of the widower politician, referred to the row planting done by the hired hand: "I tried to get him to make beds but he said the Boss said rows, and rows it is...." Therefore the beds shown in the 1922 photograph were probably not as fully planted until the war era. If this were indeed the case then the flower planting was probably concentrated at the front of the house where the entire area within the stone curbs up to the front fence was left as two large earth beds for flowering plants and shrubs. These would, no doubt, have included geraniums which under Mrs. Steuck's care had been lost to frost in the spring of 1908, and sweet peas which had proven to be somewhat more frost resistant than the prosaic geraniums. By the late teens these house beds included two apple trees as well as the regular complement of petunias and morning glory which in one photograph had been allowed to spread into an attractive ground cover. Ultimately, however, the ubiquitous petunia took over the front beds and, after the Gillespies moved in permanently, became the dominant flowering annual on the farmstead. The problems Mrs. Steuck had had with the hired hand planting in rows had certainly been solved and through the war years and beyond, the front beds offered a pleasing variety of flowers to follow the spring blossoms of the apple trees. Apparently the front beds were rarely if ever planted the same way two years in a row until the 1920s.

Nevertheless, the flower beds were not always a triumph of display and colour. The 1922 photograph, taken for display purposes, shows an oval lawn bed full of nasturtiums, which will grow under the most appalling conditions, but the house beds that year were abysmal
Note the full front beds and open orchard beyond, ca. 1919. (L35)
(Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

Loam beds with one or two apple trees later replaced by rose bushes, ca. 1920. (L38)
(Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

failures, denoting both a dry year in the district and problems of neglect during the transfer of control from the Motherwells to the Gillespie family after they left for Ottawa.
Nasturtiums dominate the main bed, 1922. \( \left( \frac{L/40-P}{2} \right) \) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

Withering front beds, 1922. \( \left( \frac{L/40-P}{4} \right) \) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

The house beds were more than supplemented by the three flower beds at the east end of the lawn. One large oval bed extended nearly the width of the lawn and at either end a more circular bed added to the symmetry. Like the house beds the oval beds rarely experienced the same planting from one year to the next. During the dry year of 1922 the large bed was given over to hardy nasturtiums and asters, while the two concrete sewer conduit joints, which had been inverted and filled with earth to serve as somewhat crude ornamental flowerpots, were filled with white petunias. As the feature piece which would figure prominently in the panoramic photograph of the farmstead, it seems likely that the beds in the lee of the caragana received more attention than those in front of the house. It was certainly not uncommon for water to be hauled on the stone boat for watering parched gardens, both flower and vegetable.
Banked oval bed dominated by larkspur, with circular bed and concrete tub in background, ca. 1919. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

Asters add their own colour and texture to the nasturtiums in the 1922 planting. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

By the mid 1920s, Barbara Gillespie, the wife of Mrs. Motherwell's brother Jack who had taken control of the farm in 1921, was applying her gardening skills to the main bed, which had taken on a more calculated rockery planting look. Petunias, zinnias and a variety of pansies joined other more esoteric species in the later plantings as Mrs. Gillespie took on the gardening on the farmstead, a duty which she
Rustic concrete tubs, 1922. \( \frac{L/40 - p}{3} \) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

View of main bed from southeast during Barbara Gillespie's tenure, ca. 1922. \( \frac{L}{37} \) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

Maintained until the mid-forties. \(^{21}\) Ironically, as the farm deteriorated after 1921, the grounds around the house which became Mrs. Gillespie's special purview, improved with age and her special care. In later years the garden flowers were joined by lilac hedges as a decoration for the fading farmstead, although according to Mrs. Gallant who lived on the farm from 1921 to 1937, there were no lilacs on the farm during that time. A variety of other shrubs followed the ornamental fence line complementing the ever-present sweet pea vines immediately in front of the house.
The fence itself served to delineate the ornamental quadrant by running the length of the frontage beginning at the northeast corner and running south to the implement shed road where it joined the page wire and cedar post fence that by 1922 had been submerged in a dense fence line caragana hedge. During the early years the fence, which was probably constructed after the turn of the century, remained in a reasonable state of repair and added an opulent air to the frontage. But by the 1920s the fence had sagged badly, ruining the straight lines that denoted good maintenance. At the same time, it was less likely to have fresh coats of whitewash and the farmstead began to acquire a distinctly eroded appearance. The farm never truly recovered from this disintegrating process, so that by the time of Motherwell's death in 1943 it appears to have been in a general state of disrepair.

Looking south along the front fence line 1922. Note how post and beam fence ends at the southern limit of the quadrant. $\frac{L/40-P}{5}$

The front fence in good repair, ca. 1911. $\frac{L}{41}$ (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)
Some details from the 1922 panorama serve to illustrate the materials and construction of the cedar post and woven wire fence which Motherwell used to decorate the front of the property. The gates have long since disappeared, but Parks Canada staff saved the rest of the original front fencing from the road upgrading which took place in September 1976.

The disappearance of the driveway gates is probably attributable to the later stages of deterioration and Richard Motherwell's attempt to modernize his operation. Many of the changes had a distinct 1950s air including the kitchen and, most particularly, the new bathroom in the house. Nothing was more typical of this era than the use of wagon
Close-up of front walk-way, gate latch and gate posts, 1922.
\[ \frac{L}{40-P} \] (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

This ca. 1911 snapshot shows the gate pattern in fine detail when the fence was in excellent condition. \( \frac{L}{48} \) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

wheels as gates or gate entrance decorations in mock ranch-style ornament. Consequently, the wire gates disappeared in favour of crude wagon wheel driveway gates and a lattice-work house gate. Close scrutiny reveals that the original iron and wire drive gates remained in place as late as 1968 but they had been rendered inoperative when the supports posts were replaced. Even in 1922 these drive gates were
suffering from constant use and a general lack of maintenance. A
detail of the gate and post illustrates the hinge attachment and the
standard shape of the gate posts for both driveways and the garden
gate. The rugged use of these gates is indicated by the brace and
misshapen decorative struts of the gate's inner sections. It seems
unlikely that any time was devoted to the process of restoring the
gates to their original clean lines, even for the posed 1922 panorama
for which obvious last minute tidying had been done to the more
prominent features of the farmstead. A close examination of the
decorative fence line, from the front yard to the northeast corner of
the farmstead, shows clearly that the usually untended grass in front
had been clipped and trimmed but only to the extent that it would
affect the photograph. Despite the apparent decline in the general
Close-up of the main driveway gate hinge, 1922. (\(\frac{L}{40-P}\)) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

The post and beam woven wire fence demonstrates the ornamental quadrant, 1922. Note the careful fencing of grainfield. (\(\frac{L}{40-P}\)) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

appearance of the farm, however, it remained a showpiece and a superb example of the evolving life-style of at least one of the Ontarian families who had invested so much time in the construction of these farmsteads.

Almost the entirety of the house quadrant was devoted to living rather than working space. Only the clothesline among the elms and the potato patch in the open field north of the summer kitchen.
(L-M/11-12) indicate any chores were performed here. Even the orchard that appeared in the north field around 1930 was more a hobby than a producing endeavour. Unfortunately, no hard evidence has been uncovered to substantiate earlier claims that this area may have served as a woodlot or plantation for the nurturing of new seedlings or the production of fuel woods. What may have been waste space, then, served at least to give the quadrant an open airiness within the confines of the maple shelterbelt. In this sense the house quadrant served its purposes admirably. Recreation was provided by the tennis court and relaxation by the shaded lawns. Certain aesthetic qualities were expressed in the hedges, shrubs, flowers and fences that adorned the quadrant, and all of the family's entertaining took place within its general boundaries. Even the shelterbelts appear to have been designed as much for decoration as for protection, and two of the later maple plantings served to provide arching lanes as driveway and walkway summer and winter.

Along the front of the property the section road served only a few farms and was used more as a country lane than a busy access route. It remained a low-grade dirt and gumbo track and for most of the period there were no recognizable ditches along the Motherwell fence line. Consequently the existing culverts for the entrance and service lanes were probably an addition of the late forties when steep ditching was carried out with the use of elevating graders. During most of Motherwell's tenure, then, the presence of the house almost on the road allowance was of no critical importance. Only when the telephone lines were erected inside the property line causing some tree pruning did he begin to feel the impact of the original surveying errors. By the 1930s the mature growth of the maple belts and the white spruce had begun to suffer from the intrusion of the wires and even Motherwell could not override the power of the telephone organization, so the trees were pruned and the wires remained.

Inside the confines of his own property Motherwell experienced no such challenges to his authority. Even from long range, first in Regina and then in Ottawa, his word on the daily operation of the farmstead and fields was inviolable. But it was the hourly regimen, winter and summer, which he established when he was home that maintained his authority and his imprint on the management of the farm. The house quadrant was a fitting setting for the operation headquarters. From his small office on the first floor of the house, Motherwell directed the operations of the farm and farmstead, and his control radiated out from this quadrant to the other three inside the shelterbelts and to the fields beyond. The ornamental quadrant was the estate of the country squire. The rest of the landscape was devoted to the practical problems of farming.

The Garden Quadrant (SE)

The southeast quadrant was the most logical locale for Motherwell's truck garden. As the lowest part of the property it collected most of the surplus water. It received the full protection of the major shelterbelts against the drying and freezing winds. Yet, because of thin maple plantings on its south and east sides it was also
The garden quadrant.

the sunniest of the quadrants. These elements combined with the naturally productive soil yielded abundant vegetables for the family plus an extra supply of potatoes for needy neighbours and the local Reservations.

According to the small pictorial record and all eyewitness recollections, the garden was always planted in rows extending north and south along the length of the plot. This layout was not at all common in the Northwest. In fact, it was generally assumed that east to west planting was more beneficial under prairie conditions. Latitudinal vegetable rows planted in ascending order could receive full benefit from the sun while shielding the soil against its parching action; but longitudinal rows left the soil susceptible to accelerated evaporation. Only extraordinary care could counteract this effect and Motherwell diligently kept the garden well cultivated, leaving half of it fallow each season.

Actually, the overriding factor determining the direction of the plantings in the Lanark Place garden was its length and width configuration. Among the quadrangles on the farmstead the space donated to the garden formed a rectangle of cultivable terrain approximately 250 x 125 feet, the length of which ran along the eastern edge of the farmstead. Garden soil was supposed to be well manured and "deeply stirred, a condition that could be achieved only by the use of a plough." Therefore the garden's "form should be long in proportion to its width so as to avoid too much turning of the plough." As long as Motherwell could provide adequate water when it became necessary, it proved more logical for him to plant his vegetable rows north and south.

The drainage ditch which ran along the western edge of the garden, between the first willow planting and the middle row of alternating willow and poplar (10/A-G), may have served the purpose of irrigating the garden. However, it is more likely that water was taken into the garden on the stone boat that had been used to haul water from Pheasant
Creek before the creation of the dugout. The ditch, which ran past the
west end of the implement shed and 300 feet south into the fields,
served to drain the barnyard area. Rather than intersecting access to
the garden, it essentially bypassed the garden and served to water only
the deep roots of the shelterbelts straddling it. None of the early
farm-hands remember the ditch being used to irrigate the garden with
the rich barnyard effluent and one early neighbour believes that its
main purpose was to prevent the roots of the inner tree belts from
tapping the garden's natural water supply.

Within this closely confined space, then, Motherwell, and those
who managed the farm during his protracted absences, grew an assortment
of standard farm produce, despite the probable absence of irrigation
facilities. In 1907 a seed shipment from the Steele Briggs Seed
Company gives some indication of his vegetable plantings for that year.
Among an assortment of food and flower seeds the order included seed
for scarlet runner beans, Red Wethersfield and Ey Elat onions, and
snowball cauliflower. Presumably the latter were started in the
hotbed behind the implement shed, as were other vegetable and flower
varieties that needed an early beginning under artificial conditions to
avoid the late killing frosts. Hotbeds were recommended as
indispensable to all farms by most of the periodical literature, and
the south side of the Motherwell implement shed proved to be an ideal
locale (10/G). It was probably the warmest part of the farmstead,
winter and summer, and protected by the shed and the contiguous poplar
willow belts to the west and the maple shelterbelt to the east it
produced an excellent greenhouse effect that was amplified by the
glazed sash of the hotbed. Hotbeds were commonly dug below ground
level and filled with a manure and leaf mould compost. By preventing
the mixture from exceeding 80°F, radishes, lettuce, cabbage,
cauliflower, tomatoes and other vegetables could be started before the
snow had left the ground without fear of burning them out.26
Nothing has indicated how extensively the hotbed was used but the size
of the frame behind the shed should indicate the extent of early spring
seeding at Lanark Place when Archaeology explores the area.

In the history of the Motherwell garden four particular vegetables
acquired a certain prominence. Potatoes, of course, were the staple
crop and annual surpluses saw a wide distribution. The McDonald
rhubarb, which was planted in garden-length rows, grew so large that
Motherwell would playfully offer leaves as sunshade parasols for the
ladies who visited the farm.27 Some of those who worked the farm
managed to take cuttings from the healthy rhubarb, transplanting it to
city gardens in Regina.28 Motherwell's daughter claims that he was
also well known in the neighbourhood for his hybridized Squaw sweet
corn29 and his bleached celery.30 Some prairie gardeners had
little success with the trenching of celery, preferring instead to
transplant it late in the season into a cellar where, covered with soil
or ashes, it would bleach out.31 Motherwell, however, relied on
meticulous trenching and banking to produce the bleached celery he
served as a table delicacy. As the growing season progressed, the
trench was gradually filled, and late in the season, when watering
could be cut back, the celery was banked to produce a long tasty white
stalk.

Literature on other vegetable varieties suitable for prairie
gardens was available in abundance. Superintendents Beford and MacKay
of the Brandon and Indian Head experimental farms published the annual results of their vegetable testing programmes, while farmers constantly proffered advice from their own experiences through letters to the farm journals. During the 1890s innumerable varieties were being tried, disregarded and replaced. In the June 1895 issue of *The Nor'-West Farmer*, Brandon's Bedford published a simple, orthodox list of vegetables each farmer might try. Asparagus beds or rows, he claimed, would last 20 years as long as they were covered with manure each fall and not uncovered until the beginning of May. He also advocated the planting of Tottle's Improved or Victoria rhubarb, indicating perhaps that Motherwell's McDonald rhubarb did not enjoy a widespread popularity or that it was introduced to prairie gardens after 1895. Like the asparagus, Bedford felt the rhubarb should be heavily mulched during the winter months. He also indicated that spinach should be mown in the fall, mulched to survive the winter and early frosts, and thinned to provide a first picking as early as June 1, at least under the conditions found in Western Manitoba. In this instance Bedford recommended the Norfolk, Savoy Leafed, and the Long Standing varieties. Like spinach, lettuce could be sown in the fall to produce a June 1st picking, and like radishes, which were best suited to a black loamy soil, it could be sown at intervals to ensure a season-long supply. Similarly "any variety of peas" could be "sown at regular intervals for months." More specifically Bedford had found that Sunol peas produced the earliest, and Horsford's Market Garden the bulkiest pea crop.

Both Bedford and a Yorkton farmer, A. Hutchinson, who addressed his recommendations to the drier conditions of the Territories, agreed that Red Wethersfield onions were a satisfactory prairie variety; but unlike Motherwell, who used Red Wethersfield, Hutchinson believed that Yellow Danvers onions were best of all. None of the cabbage varieties that Bedford endorsed was likely to satisfy Hutchinson who advocated the planting of Early Jersey Wakefield, Extra Early Express and for a later, larger crop, Early Dwarf Flat Dutch. On the other hand unanimous consent was reached on the Snowball variety of
cauliflower, which Motherwell also planted in the 1907 season. Likewise, Squaw corn was felt to be most suited to its native prairie conditions although the two writers mentioned nothing about its hybridizing qualities that Motherwell had exploited. Bedford had also advocated the use of Mitchell's Early variety corn, but Hutchinson claimed that Squaw corn matured two weeks earlier, the reverse of the Brandon results. Despite these differences it was agreed that corn should be planted later than most vegetables and that it should occupy a warm sunny portion of the garden as befitted its more southern nature. A superb, albeit recent, photograph of the Motherwell garden seems to indicate that corn and perhaps sunflowers did, indeed, dominate the warm end of the garden in the immediate lee of the northern shelterbelt, where temperatures were usually higher than the rest of the garden.

Like the varieties of corn it was seen that tomatoes could be successfully grown on the Prairies as long as they had a sunny exposure and were not put out too soon. Hutchinson proved to be more optimistic about the tomato potential than Bedford, who saw them as too tropical a fruit for this latitude. Early Ruby was also the hardiest tomato strain and to Hutchinson even the green fruit of normally grown vines was ideal for pickling or preserves, while vines begun inside and placed outside after June 1 could easily produce mature fruit which then would ripen to perfection in the house if the season was short. Cucumbers could be held in the hotbed until the same late transplanting date, and according to Hutchinson the Early Russian variety provided a fast crop, while Long Green production was heavier.

A southeastern view of the Motherwell garden, ca. 1930. (Matherwell Photograph Collection.)

Hutchinson failed to comment on good potato varieties for the Yorkton district, but in Brandon Bedford had experienced good success with Early Ohio potatoes as long as they were ploughed in on every third furrow and the practice of hilling was ignored. Hilling or drilling up above the surface removed the seed potatoes too far from the emergency supply of subsurface moisture. While the failure to hill would make harvesting somewhat more difficult, the wide spacing of potato rows generally advocated for the prairies more than
compensated for this short-coming by allowing a team to work between them.

Near the implement shed at the corner formed by the willow-poplar belts (F-G/9-10), Motherwell took advantage of the superb shelter to develop a plot devoted to wild fruit. There he transplanted saskatoons, red, white and black currants and gooseberry bushes from Pheasant Creek. Across the ditch on the west side of the shelterbelt he also planted a small eight-bush row of choke cherries taken from the creek and although they were somewhat more exposed to the northwest winds, they received the same benefit of the rich seepage from the barn drainage. While this row of choke cherries was actually located within the dugout quadrant to the west, by purpose and function it really belonged to the garden and was perceived that way by the people who lived on the farm. Because of the problems encountered in adapting domestic fruits to the harsh climate, it was common to utilize the natural wild fruits of the prairie. However, it was generally felt that "they will never take the place of tame fruit," and in 1930 when he began his orchard north of the house, Motherwell was able to "have them replaced by something better." The obvious delight which Alma Motherwell took in the easy access to the wild fruit bushes indicates that they were sufficient for the children's tastes, particularly when supplemented by a month-long supply of strawberries "so big that they were served in a soup plate," and they provided the farm with a healthy variety of fruit. Clearly, the broadest of the family's needs was met by the produce which emanated from the garden quadrant. Careful husbandry could overcome the loss of soil moisture due to increased evaporation, but this in itself indicated that the garden, like the rest of the farmstead, was operated on a scale that necessitated the involvement of specialized labour. On a general level it was commonly advocated that kitchen gardens should be located in close proximity to the house to encourage the family and the farm wife to spend free time controlling the weeds in the garden. At the same time, easy access was supposed to facilitate the transfer of vegetables from field to table. All of these rules were broken by the location of the Motherwell garden. It was separated from the house not only by the ornamental lawn, but by the implement shed and a dense shelterbelt as well. It is not likely that either of Motherwell's wives played the role of farm wife by grubbing among the rows in this uncommonly large vegetable plot. Once again, the system Motherwell had instituted necessitated a supply of farm labour which it was also forced to support. It might be theorized that the farm became a self-defeating proposition at the point that the new farmstead became operational. In a sense he seems to have organized his farm exactly between the economies of scale represented by the true family farm on the one hand and the factory farm on the other.

Storage facilities for the farm were located solely in the garden quadrant's implement shed which was hidden among the dense shelterbelts but had direct access to all working parts of the farm via the working driveway. No outside storage in the natural shelter of the trees was permitted. All working and drive vehicles and equipment were broken down and put away when out of use. In this sense the landscape was kept clean and uncluttered. It was allowed to project its own identity as an enclosure within which the neat working structures of
Looking southwest across the working driveway toward the maple belt and the implement shed, 1922. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

The implement shed, 1922. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

shed, barn and cottage could sit with an unforced easiness. Only the pretty fieldstone of the house and the formality of the hedged lawn presented a real intrusion in Motherwell's farm landscape.

Actually the implement shed backed onto the garden quadrant, and other than acting as part of the northern shelterbelt and as a reflector for the hotbed, did not serve it at all. The root cellar was located in the basement of the house and there is no record that vegetables were ever stored in the implement shed. Only the "Planet Jr., No. 12 Double Wheel Hoe, Cultivator and Plow," and other
tools used for garden work found their place in the shed, although access was always gained from the main working driveway as no entry existed to the shed from the garden side. Nestled as it was among the maple, the poplar and the willow, the shed serviced the centre of the farmstead including the barnyard, the working field on the other side of the barn and the fields beyond the farmstead via the extension of the main drive past the barn and through the western fence line.

Outside the garden and the trees that protected it, a six-strand page wire and cedar post fence firmly established the boundaries of the quadrant. Motherwell had permitted the western ornamental fence to extend south only to the point where decoration left off and work began. A close look at the 1922 panorama reveals that south of the white spruce and poplar grove on the garden side of the driveway, the woven wire fence left off abruptly and the functional page wire fence began. In Motherwell's mind at least, the real division line between the house and garden quadrants was not the driveway but the fine line that separated the driveway cottonwoods from the maple shelterbelt behind. The only token he was willing to offer this southern section of the farmstead frontage was a 250-foot caragana hedge which he planted directly upon the fence line from the poplars almost to the end of the property (13/G-C). From the 1922 photograph it would appear that this caragana was a later edition than, for example, the hedge surrounding the lawn; but because of the nature of caragana growth and pruning techniques, a visual survey is not sufficient to determine its true age with any accuracy.

Apparently no other caragana hedges graced the farmstead either for the purposes of decoration, camouflage, or hedgerowing, although Motherwell made extensive use of this particular shrub to divide and shelterbelt his farming quarters. Tree belts and page wire fence served this purpose on all other sections of the farmstead, and where tree lines were neither practical nor convenient, fencing served to complete segregation of the area in question. The garden of course was completely surrounded by trees and was fenced on three of its sides. More than any other quadrant it was firmly enclosed, isolated even from visual access, and entered only by purposive action. It appears that this was an aesthetic rather than a practical decision. The house area was devoted to beauty, the working field remained a prairie grass pasture and the dugout quadrant with its contours, trees and small lake was probably the most scenic of the four. The garden was never anything more than a garden. Turned, ploughed, manured, planted, weeded and harvested, its aesthetic value was only that found in the symmetry of vegetable rows in full foliage. It was virtually closed off and thus became an enclosure within the enclosure of the farmstead proper. The only other feature of comparable isolation was the barnyard, another unattractive feature of farm living. At Lanark Place it was completely closed from view, not by trees but by a high board fence which had to serve the added function of containment.

Only the centre of the farmstead frontage, therefore, was open to view. From just north of the house to south of the service lane (13/G-L), no shelterbelt obstructed the roadside view of the house lawn, and poplar-lined driveway. The remainder of the farmstead was sealed off from easy view, including the picturesque dugout quadrant which was separated from the rest of the farm because of its purpose, and because of the egocentric demands the central dugout placed so totally upon its surrounding terrain.
The Dugout Quadrant (SW)

Motherwell was possibly a true leader and innovator in the development of dugout technology in Southern Saskatchewan. In many ways he was forced into this position by the nature of his land and the fact that early in the history of his farm he had been denied the opportunity to locate his farmstead headquarters on the banks of Pheasant Creek. The farmstead was viable only if it was serviced by an adequate and easily accessible source of water for use in the barn and house. Yet the land immediately north of Pheasant Creek was without the benefit of subterranean water supplies. Windmill technology was of little use and farmers in the area were confined to the use of lakes and rivers, which were not widespread, small tributary creeks and streams, which often ran dry by mid-summer, and the casual water that collected in prairie sloughs, which proved just as unreliable and often went stagnant. In many prairie locales, including the Abernethy district, the answer to these problems was the use of great dugouts to collect and control water supply.

In addressing himself to the issue of providing Lanark Place with an ample supply of dugout water, Motherwell was confronted with three major problems: collection, storage and distribution. Part of his solution entailed devoting fully 30 per cent of his farmstead to the purpose of water supply. This section of the farmstead also became the site of the most careful shelterbelt planting, with the largest variety of trees. By altering the geoclimate of this small two and one-half acre section of his farmstead, Motherwell made the dugout his most impressive effort to modify the environment.

The exact date of construction of the dugout is unknown. It is reasonably certain, however, that it was part of the projected plan for Lanark Place which Motherwell had conceived in the mid-nineties. While water continued to be hauled from Pheasant Creek aboard the horse-drawn stone boat, the excavation of the dugout was probably carried out before the turn of the century. Only the presence of an adequate, readily available water supply made the development of a farmstead on the scale of Lanark Place a viable proposition. It was the lack of water on the northwest quarter of Section 14 that had prompted Motherwell to look for a piece of land on the banks of the creek as early as 1888. He was not likely to delay the establishment of a new water source after having determined to make the best of the land which he already possessed.

A horse-drawn scraper was used to dig the water hole itself and was probably used to dish the entire quadrant to concentrate all available moisture in the kidney-shaped hole at the centre (E/7). The earth that was removed was piled to form flanking hills on the northwest and southeast sides of the dugout. The largest of these were 7-8 feet above ground level and 10-15 feet above normal water level (C-D/7-8). The mounds were then planted with acute leafed willow, to complete the snow catching features of the area immediately surrounding the water hole.

To ensure that sufficient snow passed into the dugout quadrant where it could be trapped for spring, the north end of the quadrant was left treeless along the extension of the page wire fence. Due northwest of the dugout a gap in the outside shelterbelt was also left
The dugout quadrant.

open for over 150 feet (3/G-K), guaranteeing that the winter north-westerlies would be allowed to carry snow into, but not out of, the quadrant. Heavy belts of willow, maple, green ash and Russian poplar on the western and southern edges (A-B/5-9) combined with the three-row belt astride the drainage ditch (10/A-G) to entrap the snow in the vortex that probably occurred around the dugout and willow-covered mounds.

The Motherwell dugout was an efficient conservator of water. Subterranean drainage through the clay bed** was slow and water lost to seepage would have been negligible. At the same time the tree configuration, which had retained so much heat in the garden quadrant, was the exact reverse around the dugout. Heavy shelterbelts on the east, south and west provided an adequate shade barrier, while the north end was left completely open allowing circulation in the quadrant to cool temperatures below the super-heated garden. Thus, normal spring meltwater supplemented by the common June rains and occasional prairie thunderstorms would produce a year-round supply of water within the confines of the farmstead.47

The wells on the Motherwell property were fed solely by the dugout (F/8-9). There is no record of attempts to drill for water at Lanark Place until the 1960s when six separate attempts, at depths up to 700 feet, met with no success. Motherwell's dugout bypassed this kind of futility by feeding his well system through a sand and gravel vein which filtered and purified the water as it percolated through from dugout to well at a rate fast enough to refill the well within two hours.48 This system of filtration which Motherwell's daughter credited to her father's ingenuity is still used in dugout technology when water is needed for domestic purposes.49 At present there are two wells in the dugout quadrant, one of which was probably added in a later era. Near the dugout edge a well-pump with a wooden casing and a corrugated metal sheath has been pulled nearly out of the ground. The other well, the recommended 50 feet30 from the dugout edge, once protected by part of the barnyard fence31 and with a solid, well-preserved concrete casing, is most likely the site of the original well.32 It would have been accessible at all times except for the
most extreme flooding in the dugout quadrant. It was easily available for watering stock in the barnyard and it could be used by all members of the farm family without fear of the dangers that dugouts tended to pose for young farm children.

This apprehension of imminent danger inherent in the structure of steep-sided dugouts contributed to Motherwell's desire to segregate the quadrant from the rest of the farmstead. On some farms such as the A.R. Fenwick layout near Lorlie, six miles south of Lanark Place, the dugout was installed completely outside the confines of the farmstead where it served a rather limited function and suffered from an inefficient use of sheltering trees. Just the opposite was the case for the Motherwell dugout. It was the only section of the farmstead that was completely fenced off by page wire fencing. At the northeast corner of the quadrant where it met the barnyard which encompassed the well (8/G-H), the high board fence met the page wire to complete the barrier. As can be seen in the foreground of the photograph a gate allowed traffic into the dugout area. According to Major McFadyen the dugout was off limits as a leisure area, but the Motherwell children claim to have boated on the slough-sized
lake.\textsuperscript{55} Motherwell probably refused to allow such adventures until his son and daughter had reached their late teens, thus avoiding a tragedy that was all too common on Saskatchewan farms and occurs with some frequency even today.

Only two vantage points offered a view of the picturesque dugout quadrant while the shelterbelts were in full leaf. The quadrant's open end faced the working field north of the barn, although the particularly verdant growth around the water tended to obscure even this vista. The other vantage point from which the dugout was somewhat visible was the widow's walk on top of the house. However, a photograph taken from the roof around 1930 shows how effectively the dugout was screened. As the deterioration of the farmstead progressed...
the effect was accentuated. By 1946, when the first aerial photograph of the farm was taken, the poor drainage of the dugout quadrant had produced an overgrowth of willow and grasses completing the isolation.

Motherwell's water collection and storage system proved that barring the worst form of disaster, Lanark Place was indeed self-sufficient, and that with some supportive input the natural order of prairie conditions could be rearranged to produce an alternative system. His method of cleansing and distributing the water thus stored was so effective that it would still be in use over half a century later, needing only to be supplemented by soft rainwater for the purposes of washing and bathing. In reality the dugout was the feature piece of the landscape. It entailed the greatest engineering and served as a tribute to Motherwell's ability to manipulate his surroundings. Only the garden, which trapped all the heat available by means of its gentle southeast slope and its tree lines, showed the same capacity as the water system in the southwest quadrant for creative forethought.

The Barn Quadrant (NW)

More than any of the other three quadrants, the working field in the northwest corner of the farmstead retained its original character as a piece of prairie landscape. Only the maple shelterbelts on the north and the west mitigated the impact of cold and drying winds, while a slight depression in the centre of the field may have collected enough moisture to soften the grass. It may have been used as an occasional pasturage, although the farm's main pasture lay west of the dugout quadrant outside the farmstead proper. At the same time the working quadrant, dominated from the beginning by the barn it served, also experienced the most dramatic changes over the lengthy evolution of the farm between 1897 and 1955. Initially, only the stone basement stable sat within the quadrant that was soon demarcated by young maple
plantings. By 1907 the stable had become a full-fledged barn and before 1910 the barn was joined by a substantial two-storey, wood frame, winterized cottage for the hired men (0/9-10). Near the cottage a low cookhouse was established for the threshermen. In 1935 a chicken house was erected on the north side of the quadrant and was joined by two wood and a single metal granary as well as a concrete pad in the northwestern maple grove which had been converted by fences into a hogpen.

The major physical alteration to the quadrant landscape occurred in the late thirties when a massive excavation of earth was piled against the west side of the barn to replace the board ramp to the drive floor. The hole thus created south of the maple grove was enclosed by additional maple plantings (3-4/I-J) and became the second dugout on the property and was probably devoted exclusively to the watering of stock. Aside from certain alterations in fence lines, the final major change occurred in the 1950s when, as part of Richard Motherwell's programme to streamline his operation, the men's cottage (renovated as the Gillespie or Sunshine Cottage in the 1920s) was sold, lifted from its foundations and moved to the southern outskirts of the town of Abernethy. Consequently the working quadrant as it was found in 1968 bore little relation to the area as it appeared during the first four decades of the farmstead's history.

The open working field, like the open orchard area across the Lovers' Lane shelterbelt to the east, indicated the long-range planning Motherwell applied to the layout of the farmstead. According to the farm plans that appeared in the periodical literature, broad, open, undesignated spaces had no place on the efficient farm. In this sense both the orchard area and the broad working field were luxuries that few could afford. At Lanark Place the development of the orchard was held in abeyance for more than 30 years before Motherwell could finally satisfy his desire to raise what was really a hobby variety of fruit trees. On the other side of the maple lane more than an acre of open field between the trees and the barn was set aside in order that the work normally accompanying a mixed farming operation could be carried out in relative comfort, considering that on many farms this work was performed in the open fields for want of adequate space inside the farmstead near the barn. In eastern barns the size of Motherwell's or larger, threshing was often carried out on the drive or threshing floor; but at Lanark Place all evidence indicates that despite the facility of a large board ramp, these operations were never performed in the barn. Only small, specialized tasks such as the hand flailing of bromegrass seed for the purposes of some of Motherwell's experimental plantings occurred on the main floor. The preparation of grain and fodder for storage was generally carried out in the sheltered field, after which it was moved into the grain bins below the loft and the barn mows on the main floor, the basement being left to Motherwell's stock.

By function and design the barn was the dominant influence over most of the area and until the first utility buildings were added in the 1930s, the activities in the quadrant were always related to one of the barn functions. The major exception to this rule, and it was a qualified exception, was the territory near the men's cottage that had been erected around 1908 among the maples where the dividing line of trees between the house and barn quadrants met the northern shelterbelt. In fact, the cottage was in many ways an anomaly in the
systematic division of the farmstead. Buried among the trees, and commanding only the picturesque pathway which led from the cottage to the front driveway (9-10/K-N), the two-storey labourers' house belonged at once to the house and to the barn quadrants. As a labourers' cottage it served the barn and working fields where the men who lived there spent each working day. On the other hand, the men and women whose specific purpose it was to care for the Lanark Place grounds lived not in the cottage but in the main house, creating a distinct separation of labour on the farm and isolating the men's cottage from the affairs of the house. During the winter months, however, this separation broke down. Despite the presence of heat and cooking facilities, the hired men moved into the stone house when the winter struck.60

Within the landscape, the anomaly of the men's cottage was perpetuated by the shelterbelt and the fence pattern. Provided with its own avenue to the main drive, the cottage sat outside the ornamental quadrant at the northwest extremity of the shelterbelts that defined it. At the same time the cottage was segregated from the working field which it faced by an extension of the six-strand page wire fence that stretched across the field toward the barn (9/K-0). At

A close-up of the men's cottage from the southwest, ca. 1914. Note the caboose beside the cottage, and the fence. (U/3) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

one stage in the farm's development this fence line, which effectively closed off the working field from the rest of the farm, sat inside the maple shelterbelts (N/4-9). This may indicate that the field served to graze a larger number of Motherwell's animals than was earlier assumed, and the interior fence line was erected to protect the nascent tree rows which would have been particularly susceptible to winter grazing damage. The As-Found information indicates, however, that at some point when the maples were well established the interior fence was moved beyond the trees or simply removed to expand the capacity of the field (0/3-9). Indeed, this may have occurred when the major fencing
changes were made to provide for hogpens in the northwest corner (3-5/K-0) during the same period that the chicken shed and granaries appeared on the field in the mid-thirties, while it may have been changed as early as 1918 when the cottage itself was transformed.

The hogpen fencing was perhaps the most substantial on the farmstead. Heavy cedar posts and cross beams were employed for strength and strung with lattice wire fencing, and in the area around the concrete-based feed trough the pen was reinforced by pole and wire fence construction. Access to the area was gained by a pipe frame and wire gate, similar to the front gates although less decorative and located at the south end of the east side fence line (K/4-5). Essentially there were two sections to the hogpen, both of approximately equal size. The main section to the south, which contained the entrance gate and the hog trough (3-5/K-M), was divided into two or three distinct areas, the most important of which was separated by the reinforced wire, post and pole corral-style fence. The northern segment of the hog area was left undivided, except by the maple belts among which it sat (3-4/M-0). This larger area may have served as a rooting ground where the hogs would have been allowed to roam more freely, while the segmented pen to the south served the more specialized functions of feeding and breeding.

Looking north along the eastern fence line of the hogpen, ca. 1945. Note the concrete base for the trough. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

Like the dugout quadrant, then, fences played a large role in delineating the extent of the barn quadrant's working field, and segregated it physically if not visually from the rest of the farm. At the same time the fences of both the working field and the dugout quadrant (G-I/3-9) also served to create the core area barnyard at the centre of the farm which was devoted to the use of the animals that
Looking northeast across the working field from the hog pen, ca. 1945. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

were sheltered in the stone stable basement of Motherwell's L-shaped barn. There is a convenience in attaching this animal service core to the barn quadrant, particularly since it was closely related to the functions performed in and around the barn. But it also possessed its own unique identity. It was unmistakably walled off from other parts of the farmstead by the high board barnyard fence at the centre of the property, and segregated by the page wire fences that formed an 80-foot corridor leading from the barnyard to the western field outside the farmstead. This corridor, which formed an elongated extension of the barnyard proper, served to give field access to the farm machinery stored in the implement shed, as well as giving Motherwell's stock access to the pasturage and water hole that lay west of the farmstead. After 1937, after the small dugout was excavated during the erection of the earth ramp to the drive floor of the barn, it also allowed the cattle into their own water supply inside the farmstead.

There is no doubt that the barnyard and driveway were work areas. Bereft of trees or grass, they were strictly utilitarian and mercifully shielded by the barnyard board fence. The yard itself extended from the southwest corner of the barn south 150 feet to encompass the dugout well (J/7), east toward the garden (F/8-9), and then north to the northeast corner of the barn west of the decorative maple grove (J/9), where the farmstead's wood pile was located. On the east side of the yard a gate in the board fence gave access to the working driveway, and the western edge of the yard appears to have been open to the continuation of the driveway, at least to the outer limits of the farmstead where a pipe and wire gate in the outer fence probably prevented stock from wandering into the grain field, except when they were being taken to the pasturage beyond.

The last feature of major importance in the barn quadrant is the path that led from the barn's earth ramp north past the small dugout and out into the field (J-K/2-5). Actually the lane may have originally served to bring loaded wagons into the working field even
The barn and barnyard from the southeast, ca. 1930. Note the wood pile on the right and the haystack piled near the barn ramp. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

A detail of the board and post barnyard fence between the implement shed and the barn with the gate for the driveway, 1922. \( \frac{L}{40 - p} \frac{U}{25} \) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

though the way in which the path circumvents the 1937 dugout indicates that it might date from this later period. The aerial survey photograph taken in 1946 shows a well-beaten path from the fence up to the new earthen ramp and into the barn. In this sense the addition of the ramp in the 1930s may have been a part of the farm's new look,
indicating some use of the barn for vehicular storage and perhaps grain or fodder processing. It is reasonably certain that his small lane was also used to service a sheltered plot that sat outside the western edge of the barn quadrant surrounded by a caragana hedgerow (1-2/K-N). Although this plot was not part of the experience of any of the hands who lived on the farm before 1941, Ted Callow does remember one behind the cottage. There is a temptation to attribute this confusion to faltering memories, since such a carefully delineated plot would have been entirely consistent with Motherwell's experimental approach to farming. At the same time the hedges are remarkably similar to those Motherwell planted as shelterbelts in his fields beyond the farmstead. It is not inconceivable, of course, that this extension of the
farmstead may have served as an added area for the hog run, although there is really no explanation for its nearly triangular shape except perhaps that the truncated section would have been available for grain cultivation.

Thus the barn quadrant contained the greatest variety of features and functions, and as early as the end of the first World War it was beginning to evolve past its original design. In the immediate post-war period the Gow family, now living in Abernethy, moved onto the farm and took up residence in what had been the men's cottage. It began a new era in the history of the farm in which the hired hands were not rootless young men, liable to contribute a certain instability to the Presbyterian sobriety of farm life at Lanark Place, but family men who contributed to the familial nature of the operation. The men's cottage became Sunshine Cottage and took on a distinct orientation toward the house quadrant despite the fact that it had become a service centre for the threshing crews who appeared each autumn and were fed from the cookhouse caboose which was situated on its west side. When Archie and Olive Gillespie moved in with their family in 1921 the transformation was completed, particularly since Archie's brother John was also on the verge of taking over the stone house for the next 12 years. Those who lived in the cottage, as Motherwell in-laws, no longer spent their waking hours in field and barn. Olive Gallant and her children spent most of their time in and around the main house, while her husband Archie worked the entire farm alongside his brother who had been named farm manager during Motherwell's long absence in Ottawa. After undergoing major structural changes, the cottage, which was by then separated from the working field by the mature maple belt in which it sat, became an integral part of the house quadrant, at least until it was vacated in the late 1930s as the vitality of the farm disappeared along with Motherwell's health.

The Farmstead Landscape: Conclusion

Taken as a whole Lanark Place shows an attractive and effective use of shelterbelting to produce an efficient farmstead headquarters for yet another of many such Saskatchewan farms. At the same time it provided an attractive oasis-like space in which to live and work. A close perusal of the internal system of the farmstead reveals an intricate division of function. The house and its quadrant were clearly devoted to the quality of day-to-day life. Aside from housework, the only labour that occurred in this segment was that necessitated by the upkeep of the grounds. Even this task had a leisurely character to it and around 1914 it was performed by Rudd Motherwell, a nephew, who had come west to work for his uncle, only to return to Ontario after performing his tour of duty.

South of the beautified house grounds, the garden served an area of communal work where every member of Lanark Place's small society harvested vegetables and wild fruits for the kitchen. Through the use of three maple shelterbelts the garden was hidden but accessible, unlike the dugout.

By a relatively complex pattern of contour and tree lines the
dugout quadrant was established as a catch basin within which all of the farmstead's water supply could be collected and stored, and from which it could be distributed, without added intervention, over extended periods. Deus ex machina, Motherwell had interrupted the normal course of prairie geography, set a new process in motion, and stepped aside to allow it to work. In this way, the dugout became an isolated almost mystic recess in the farmstead, an effect that was heightened by the dense overgrowth that covered much of the quadrant by the mid-forties.

North of the dugout quadrant lay the largest of the farm's sections comprising over three of the eight acres or nearly 40 per cent of the total area set aside for the farmstead landscape. Above all, Lanark Place was a working farmstead as attested by the fact that Motherwell spent little time in the house quadrant when he was home from Regina or Ottawa. Unhesitatingly he donned his overalls and left the house to work in the barn or his fields. Logiclly the greatest space would be devoted to the area where the real work of his mixed farming was carried out. Amply sheltered at the northwest corner but with wide openings into the grain fields to allow for the breadth of his horse-drawn equipment, the field was ideal for threshing, chopping and occasionally storing Motherwell's crops. The working field clearly displayed the evolution of the operation as utility buildings were added and sections were partitioned. At the same time, except for the orchard plantings of 1930, the rest of the farmstead remained relatively static, subject only to the growth and death cycles of the vegetation and the creeping deterioration of the structures.

The farmstead layout at Lanark Place was not above criticism. The orientation of the barn dictated that a sheltered barnyard would inevitably have to straddle the centre of the property and encroach upon the living space. It was generally felt that barns and accompanying grounds should be a minimum of 100 feet from the house and in most cases more universally it was felt that "the barn should be located so the prevailing winds will not carry the stable odours toward the house, and the general slope of the land should be from the house toward the barn rather than the opposite." At Lanark Place, while it was true that the barn was 150 feet from the house, much of the barnyard was considerably closer, and the prevailing winds were perilously close to blowing both odours and flies directly toward the living space. After 1897, however, the location of the stone stable and the decidedly permanent stone house made these few problems in the layout irrevocable. Only the garden, which was widely separated from the summer kitchen in the northwest corner of the house, could have been relocated in the open orchard area. As it was, the orchard-to-be served as a potato patch in the early years, but after the shelterbelting had been completed this section could no longer be expanded for Motherwell's gardening purposes, and large-scale kitchen gardening was maintained in the 1.2-acre plot south of the house and lawn.

In the end, of course, the mixed farming Ontario barn, upon which the farmstead centred, never really fulfilled the function for which it and the farm had been intended. It was clear from the beginning that Motherwell had no intention of becoming a single cash crop farmer. The prizes he took at the local agricultural fairs during the 1880s were more for his cattle and vegetable crops than for the grains he was
harvesting in his fields. It was with mixed farming in mind that he laid out his new farmstead in the mid-1890s, but a mixed farming style farmstead was destined to have problems at Lanark Place. Motherwell had already involved himself so deeply into the political life of Southern Saskatchewan that his agricultural input had suffered and he no longer had time to enter his produce in local competitions. Then, when wheat came to dominate all western agriculture east of the foothills, even by paying his extraordinary operational costs out of his ministerial salaries, he could not prevent his farm from becoming obsolete — an obsolescence expressed in the farm's habitual failure to produce. Even the barn, which was capable of handling a reasonable-sized herd of dairy cattle, was so fragmented into different animal areas as to nullify an economic concentration on any one breed. Clearly the most important animals on the farm were the draught and driving horses. A few dairy and beef cows, sheep, poultry and pigs supplemented the diet of the family but provided little income and made mock of the concept that Lanark Place functioned as an efficient mixed farming operation. Attractive the farmstead was, productive it was not.
THE FARM BUILDINGS OF LANARK PLACE

The landscaping of Lanark Place and the concomitant desire to forest the hostile barren prairie may help identify the impact of the Ontarian fragment which migrated en masse to the West in the last two decades of the 19th century; but it is Motherwell's house and barn that provide the tangible evidence of the Ontarian antecedents of the farm. The house, of course, is an impressive feature on the flat Saskatchewan plain and relates closely to the house in which Motherwell had been raised. But in terms of the development of the farming operation the three other buildings that stood on the property were more important. The men's cottage housed the farm labour; the implement shed sheltered the farm machinery and equipment; and until 1935 the barn served all other aspects of agriculture at Lanark Place, a fact justifying both its size and the elaborate nature of its layout.

The Barn

The barn was built in two stages and its stone basement was used as a stable for ten years before the barn superstructure was added in 1907. Actually it was Motherwell's second stable, preceded by the log stable that served the original homestead. By the early 1890s, however, Motherwell had embarked on the arduous task of collecting glacial fieldstone from the Pheasant Creek and Qu'Appelle valleys to stockpile a supply for his future building needs. Then, in 1896, after more than a decade of hard work and despite the difficult grain marketing practices in the West before 1902, Motherwell's financial position was sufficient to enable him to hire a stonemason for the purpose of erecting the first of the stone structures that would grace his new farmstead on the southeastern edge of NW 14. In the spring of 1896 Adam Cantelon, a mason from Lorlie, won the tender for a 9 x 35 x 76 foot stone stable which Motherwell had advertised in late March. By August the *Qu'Appelle Vidette* was able to report that Motherwell's stone barn was nearing completion, and by September the stonework was far enough advanced on the stable that Cantelon could move on to another contract.

Anticipating perhaps an earlier completion of the projected barn that was really possible, Motherwell had the stable temporarily roofed with logs, which were probably poplar poles. Although his daughter recalled that sod had been used to cover the log roof, it is just as likely that straw was employed to give a warm, reasonably durable and easily replaced cover instead. The original shape of the structure as it was built in 1896 remains in some doubt. Certainly the
tender calling for a rectangular stable is clear. However, at some point between March 1896 and September 1907, either the plans or the building were converted from a simple rectangle to an L shape with the intention of providing more space and versatility for Motherwell's mixed farming operation.

The Engineering and Architecture section of Parks Canada, Prairie Region, believes that the eastern extension of the stable or barn was a late addition and was probably related to the additional work done on the stone house summer kitchen. In both cases they have assumed that the similar stonework of the additions is of different enough character and quality to indicate that it was done at a later date than the main building. It is also assumed that because the plans of the Motherwell house, published in The Nor'-West Farmer in May 1900, stated that the summer kitchen was originally a wooden structure, the stonework must have occurred after the turn of the century. Similarly the foundation depth of the summer kitchen was the same precarious three feet as the barn footings. Thus, the possibility remains that before the 1907 barn raising, Motherwell utilized his remaining supply of fieldstone to renovate both the back section of his house and his stable.

The one thing the E and A theory lacks, however, is the hard evidence necessary to make it convincing. While references to the barn raising of 1907 are sparse, there are no indications among them that the stable had to be expanded before the superstructure was added. Surely, somewhere among the newspaper accounts of progress on the barn, the Motherwell Papers, or the personal recollections of Alma Motherwell and Ralph Steuck, a young man who frequented the farm, a reference to the expansion of the stable would have appeared. Yet, there is nothing to indicate that the form of the stable was altered before it became the basement of the barn. Secondly, it is clear that neither the specifications for the stable as set out in the advertised tender, nor the house plan that found its way into The Nor'-West Farmer were strictly adhered to in the actual construction. In fact, the whole concept of a prairie vernacular architecture is contingent upon just this kind of improvisation. On the frontier, or
at least upon the vast and open prairie, certain licence was taken with architectural concepts and construction techniques to create desired effects, to allow for personal tastes, or most frequently, to allow for material or labour shortages.

In the case of the Motherwell stable it is certainly possible that when Adam Cantelon arrived at the site in the summer of 1896 he found that Motherwell had collected and split enough fieldstone to build both his fine Ontario-style house and a more extensive stable than was originally planned, but with the same basic 20-inch stone wall. This leads then, to the most conclusive piece of evidence that the stable was built in the present form of the barn basement. All the exterior walls of the basement are 20 inches thick. The interior wall separating the western horse and cattle section from the eastern section where the pigs and the chickens were kept is only 18 inches. While the interior wall is also a support wall, had it been the original outside wall of a rectangular stable, it probably would have matched the other walls in style and size. If any of the walls were added later in this period of farmstead development it should have been this interior wall in anticipation of the future stresses that would be exerted by a lofty barn.

Actually there are innumerable possibilities for speculation concerning the historical development of the stone stable between 1896 and 1907. None of them are conclusive or ultimately convincing and a final decision will have to await the results of archaeological investigations at Lanark Place scheduled for the summer of 1977. Not only have the changes wrought by Richard Motherwell during his short tenure in the early fifties tended to obscure the earlier format of the barn layout, but the historical record clearly indicates that the lengthy and varied career of the stable and barn is laden with anomalous changes that only the men involved in making them could fully explain.

The three possible configurations are easy enough to visualize. The first, which carries most of the weight of historical extrapolation, is the full basement layout in which all present outside walls were built in 1896 as they now stand, except for certain modifications to doors and windows as the interior structure evolved.
Yet, it is precisely these changes to certain of the wall features that point directly to a phased development of the stable as Motherwell developed his mixed stock operation and had to delineate specific interior areas by function and animal type.

The second possibility is that the original structure was, in fact, a rectangle approximately 76 feet long and 35 feet wide as advertised in the 1896 tender, and that it was built on an east/west axis allowing for maximum lighting and winter heating along its southern exposure. This would contradict the Engineering and Architecture (Prairie) contention that the interior wall was once an exterior wall, and as a theory it requires that one-half of the southern wall was demolished when the addition was constructed. However, this northern section most closely approximates the originally tendered dimensions. With a length of 77 feet 6 inches and a width of 35 feet 2 1/2 inches it differs from the Motherwell proposal by a total of only 1 foot 8 1/2 inches.9 Secondly, the north wall was

The only photograph of the northwest showing the board ramp, ca. 1914. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)
originally built with at least two and possibly three single doorways, facilitating access to all quarters of the basement. One of these, the centre door at almost the exact mid-point of the wall was later walled in with fieldstone and converted to a window. This door would have

![Rectangular stable, ca. 1896, east-west axis.](image)

been entirely consistent with a full wall along the north side but not with a perpendicular wall ending precisely at the door. None of the available examples of barn structure and none of the doors on the Motherwell barn itself abut on a corner. Accordingly the ultimate demise of the door may have been related not to a change in the wall which it graced, but to an interior change when a partition wall dividing the eastern section from the stable area was added. This new

![Detail of the barn, ca. 1914, showing the centre door which was converted to a window during the evolution of the structure.](image)
18-inch wall had doors at either end, one of which was proximal to the altered doorway, and an unsashed pass through at the centre, indicating that it would not have been an exterior wall at any time. Rather, it was probably erected to ensure that the separation of function within the barn was complete, and as a consequence the central exterior door was closed off, because leaving it gave almost equal exterior access to the horse and cattle stable as well as the new hen and pig section. The largest drawback to the theory that the original stone stable formed an east/west rectangle is that it is contingent upon the possibility that when the changes were made, the western half of the south wall had to be torn down to allow the stable to extend the full length of its north/south axis. This may stretch the credibility of the theory but it is not inconceivable that the rubble thus created was used for the interior partition.

The third possibility still remains that the rectangular structure constructed in 1896 was indeed located on a north/south axis and eventually became the horse and cattle stable area. This theory, in effect, must ignore the obvious structural changes that have occurred in exterior doors and windows, and probably has to rely upon the use of the incongruous 18-inch section as one of its external walls; but the permanent roof of the stable which also comprised the barn floor and was installed in 1907 supports the theory that the western section was the original structure. Along the basement ceiling in the stable area parallel 8 x 8 inch fir beams extended the length of the north/south axis while another set of parallel 8 x 8 inch beams ran east and west over the piggery. Throughout the barn 2 x 8 inch joists were laid across these main beams plus other supplemental 7 x 8 inch timbers and laminated beams to support the subfloor above.

Rectangular stable, ca. 1896, north-south axis.

Schema of the stable ceiling joists; rough spacing and layout (White 1970).
The piggery joists which were toed to each other and to the 2 x 7 inch plates on the stone wall were far less substantial than those over the stable. Awkwardly and unevenly spaced, the work in this area appears to have been more carelessly done than the joistwork over the stable where from the crook of the L shape to the southern end of the barn, the joists were spaced more closely together with a 16 rather than a 24-inch average. This close spacing of the southern extension joists has an easy explanation. While the rest of the barn floor was to be devoted to hay mows and a small drive floor, the southern extension was to contain granary storage on the barn floor and would have to support a loft at the same time. Closer joists were probably installed for the purpose of handling the extra stress. Thus the emphasis within the barn itself was upon the north/south axis and by 1907, at least, the east/west axis, if it had existed, had been fragmented beyond recognition. As the barn and basement is now configured this segment possesses the greatest internal consistency. It is not yet known when the cement stable floor was laid, but it was probably done long before the dirt floor of the piggery was overlaid in the 1950s by Richard Motherwell. Even before the convenience of the concrete floor this section would have become the prime centre of barn activity with horse stalls in the south end and cattle stalls in the north. The area was served by two broad access doors at either end which made for easy entry of the animals, and facilitated cleaning of the stalls and central gutter. At the north end the stable opened into the working field which was occasionally used for pasturage, and at the south end it opened onto the barnyard and the driveway which led to the fields and the pasturage west of the complex. In this sense it was the final orientation of the stable that rationalized the central layout of the farmstead.

Still, the possibility that the east/west axis served as the original stable is compelling and, despite certain obvious difficulties, attractive. The only theory that rivals it is the full basement concept in which the basic shell was constructed, temporarily roofed, and gradually modified to suit the farm as it grew up around its central feature, the potential barn. Indeed, the partition wall, if it was a later addition to the stable may even have been erected a year after the basement walls when Cantelon returned to Lanark Place as the stonemason for Motherwell's house. This may have been a permanent solution to the problem of separating stock like sheep, pigs and poultry from the cattle and horses who were in turn segregated from each other by the arrangement of the stalls in their stable.

Despite the theoretical difficulties that surround the structural history of the stable, by the summer of 1907 Motherwell had resolved most of the practical issues entailed in the completion of his barn. The only problem that Motherwell appears to have been unable to resolve satisfactorily was the location of the main doors and drive floor to the hay mows on the barn floor. Obviously the board ramp could not extend out into the L shape of the barn and thereby reduce the protected area of the barnyard where the animals could air in relative comfort. It could not lead into ends of the barn extensions because the farmstead layout precluded an adequate approach for the working teams without encroaching on the driveway or the living space near the house. By leading into the northern wall of the barn the lengthy ramp would have segmented the otherwise effective utility area of the
None of these barn faces would have provided a suitable space for the length of ramp necessary for a nine-foot basement, ca. 1930. (\(\frac{U}{25}\)) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

Off the north wall the ramp would have truncated valuable working space in the open field. The steep board ramp extended from the west wall instead, ca. 1914. (\(\frac{U}{10}\)) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

working field. The final alternative lay in a western approach to the barn where the turning radius was cramped but sufficient, where direct access from the fields could be had through the western fence, and where a ramp would provide the least interference in otherwise useful space. But in the Canadian West, subject as it is to the prevalence of harsh westerly winds, main entrances to any farm building were not supposed to be located on northern or western walls. While the entrance to the implement shed faced north and was susceptible to winter winds, it was partially protected by the barn. The drive floor
of the barn, nine feet above the rest of the farmstead and due west of a break in the western shelterbelt, received almost no protection. Structurally, it was one of the few inconveniences on a farm where planning had kept such difficulties to a minimum by reducing the number of buildings to the barest essentials.

For nearly a decade the stable, and the house that followed it a year later, were the only buildings on the property. Over this period the stable could have served as a storage area for grain, fodder, and implements before the auxiliary buildings were added. Motherwell, however, appears to have been quite rigid about his decisions on separation of function. Hay may very well have been stacked outside as it often was in later years when even the barn did not provide enough storage space. Grains, however, would just as likely have found a place in small granaries located on the farming quarters. It is known for instance that such a granary could be found on the pasturage quarter across Pheasant Creek by the early 1890s. As for the implements that Motherwell had acquired by 1896, while it is true they would have suffered somewhat by having to winter outside, it was more important that they be serviced, greased and painted each season than have complete shelter from the elements. Only an overweening sense of pride would have driven Motherwell to risk crowding his animals with his equipment, depending, of course, on the number of animals that remained to be housed by the late nineties.

With the ultimate addition of the stone partition wall and with the possible renovations necessary to upgrade the stable before or during 1907, the structure was designed to house a variety of stock. Not until the barn was raised, however, did Motherwell's animal husbandry operation acquire an efficiency commensurate with his role as an agricultural leader or equivalent to the level reached by many Ontarian immigrants after the turn of the century. Although the solid evidence on the division of function in the barn dates from 1914, it can be assumed that it was practised at Lanark Place at least from 1907. The open space known as the piggery in the eastern section of the barn closest to the house was actually divided into three separate areas. The southern half was segregated by a high, chicken wire fence, outfitted with nesting boxes and roosts, and used as a hen house until 1935 when a new one was built north of the barn by Dan Gallant at Mrs. Motherwell's request. The specialized construction in this part

Possible configuration, ca. 1907.
of the barn was probably largely due to Catherine Motherwell's attempt to rejuvenate the poultry operation.\textsuperscript{13}

The other side of the piggery was divided into two pens, perhaps by two wooden stalls that straddled the doorway leading to the working field. Although The Nov'-West Farmer recommended that "a large barn should be divided into compartments for each variety of stock, not mixing up horses, cattle, pigs and poultry,"\textsuperscript{14} Motherwell did locate his young cattle in the northeast corner of the piggery and his swine herd in the northwest pen near the partition wall.\textsuperscript{15} It was not until the thirties that he achieved a true separation of species by locating them in different sections of the farmstead. Oddly, it would have seemed more logical had the pigs and young cattle been housed in each other's pens considering that the stable calving pens were situated just on the other side of the partition wall. Nevertheless, it was common in western barns to find a variety of farm animals housed under the same roof, particularly before extensive utility building development had occurred on most farmsteads. In a first prize stock barn shown at the Pilot Mound Exhibition in 1900, the hogpens were located in close proximity to the young cattle, while in the Kavanagh feed barn, three large hogpens (p) were located near the row of double cow stalls (o) in the centre of the cow stable (l). Only the horses

![Diagram of a stock barn](image)

Plans of a stock barn awarded first prize at the Pilot Mound Exhibition. (Nov'-West Farmer, 20 Nov. 1900, p. 980.)

were afforded the luxury of complete separation in the stable (a) at the opposite end of the barn. J.G. Kavanagh, who submitted the sketch of his feed barn to The Farmer, also suggested that chickens could be kept over the feed floor (f), although in view of the poor reputation of chicken house floors for cleanliness this was a dubious recommendation at best. Thus, while logic might have located the young cattle area in the Motherwell barn next to the calving pens, there were precedents for the Motherwell arrangement as it was recalled by Dan Gallant\textsuperscript{16} who first saw the farm in 1922.

On the other side of the partition wall that segregated the utility animal room, the stable extended the entire length of the west arm of the barn and was accessible through two wide drive doors located at either end, which seem newer than the east door.\textsuperscript{17} The inside dimensions of the stable were 64 x 37 feet and according to one article
in *The Nor'-West Farmer*, a stable this size should have been able to accommodate about 10 horses and 40 fair-sized cattle. Clearly this estimate was somewhat optimistic, as the following diagram from *The Farmer's Advocate* illustrates. Remarkably similar to the Motherwell stable except in its overall length, the *Advocate's Barn basement* as it may have appeared before calving pens were installed.
stable contained even more stalls. Even assuming they were double stalls the structure could only have held 12 horses, 18 cows and a few calves. In the Motherwell stable every stall but one was double size giving his structure a capacity of 12 horses and perhaps 15 cows. In the example, the division of stock was achieved by the use of roller doors, but Motherwell employed a less definitive division line between his horses and cattle, probably because of the constantly changing numbers. On the west wall a feed bin separated the cattle from the horse stalls while on the east wall the same sections were separated by the stairs that led to the main floor. This provides a small clue that the major developments of the stable as the most prominent feature of the stone basement can be traced to the era of the barn raising in 1907 since both the feed bin chutes and the stairwell relate to the development of a storage barn superstructure.

Ground floor plan of a horse and cattle stable. Note the animal locations, the position of the feed alleys, the upper ramp and the interior roller doors. (Farmers' Advocate, 20 April 1898, p. 173.)

The designation of horse and cattle stalls was clearly distinguishable since the top of the horse stalls rose to the ceiling like blinders at the manger end of stalls, while the cattle stalls were level from the central post to manger, although provision was made so that more height could be added with ease. At least two of the cow stall mangers were distinguished by triangular trusses extending up to the 2 x 8 joist above, a feature that was absent in the cow stall near the feed bin, possibly because it usually quartered horses, more often than cattle.
Motherwell barn basement with the calving pens.


Cattle stall on the west side of stable, 1969. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)
The feed alleys extending along the walls of the stable were narrow and somewhat inconvenient considering the extension of the mangers into which fodder was placed. Working width was slightly more than three feet allowing very little room for vigorous activity, although the aisles were conveniently served by gravity drop feed chutes between the horse and cattle areas. Conversely the service aisle along the centre of the stable was slightly more than ten feet wide, and although it contained no central gutter for liquid manure, the liberal use of straw would probably have facilitated the cleaning of the stalls and stable along this wide corridor.

Southeast aisle serving horse stalls. Note the blocked window and the closely spaced joists, 1969. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

Looking north toward the cattle section of the stable, 1969. Note the harness hooks on the horse stalls. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)
At some point in the development of the stable two calving pens were located in the northeast corner. Unlike the other stalls which ranged from 7 1/2 to 9 feet, the calving pens were nearly 10 x 12 feet with mangers butting directly against the partition wall which separated them from the piggery. The side boards of these pens bear a close resemblance to that of the rest of the stable, but the manger, the location of the partition wall door and the existence of a pass-through window all indicate a certain lack of planning and a carelessness of construction not consistent with the rest of the stable. The calving pens were a secondary addition to the stable and relate to the period in which the centre door of the north wall was converted into a window, thus closing off an inconvenient access route through the calving pens. The door may have originally serviced the feed alley that before the construction of the calving pens probably extended the full length of the stable.

The calving pens, indicated by the dotted lines, may have been installed at the same time as the conversion of the exterior door to a window, pre-1914.

One of two calving pens with a simple manger, 1969. Note the passage to the hog pen has been sealed. The door with a window is at the left. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)
The stable, of course, was the heart of Motherwell's mixed farming operation and it dictated that the barn he would ultimately build above it would be an Ontario basement barn. In the words of a professor of animal husbandry at the Minnesota State Experimental Station as quoted by *The Nor'-West Farmer*:

> Viewed from the standpoint of economy in labour it is always considered better to have buildings of a character that will enable the food to be thrown from above downward. In other words it will be better to have basement barns.

Yet the mixed farming operation he had so often touted publicly, never really achieved its earlier promise on his own farm. In fact, there appears to have been a distinct preference for horse stock at Lanark Place and until the late 1930s the horse took precedence over both steam and gasoline as the prime source of motive power. Ultimately Motherwell kept relatively few cattle on his farm, pasturing some beef and some dairy cows to meet the family's needs while providing enough surplus for entertainment or charitable distribution. Consequently the horses often took up space in the cow stalls, particularly after 1912 when Motherwell lost most of his herd to disease.

If the layout of the stable as it was found in 1968 is the same as the one Motherwell installed around 1907, he may have been creating his own problems in stable organization. According to K.J.T. Ekblaw, whose *Farm Structures* was published in 1914 and became a standard work of its day, in a general purpose barn like Motherwell's the horse and the cow stalls should have been located on opposite sides of the building, "on account of the difference in the amount of space required."

Motherwell's original stable, however, was nearly symmetrical with stalls of approximately the same size, two of which were almost certainly remodelled to serve a specialized function like calving. Across the aisle a five-foot stall made use of the space remaining at the north-end wall, and beside the calving pens a 9 1/2-foot stall was built to take advantage of the waste space left after renovations. The remaining nine double stalls in the stable including the three cow stalls were approximately 8 1/2 feet wide, a recommended width for horses but unnecessarily wasteful for double cattle stalls.

Between the four cattle stalls and the three horse stalls on the west wall, a feed area serviced a hay chute leading from the storage area on the main floor of the barn. In later years it appears to have become a catch-all for odd pieces of equipment, but it is unlikely that Motherwell would have allowed the same kind of clutter to accumulate in a working area. The feed chute on the west and the stairs on the east side of the stable gave it its direct link to the barn floor above. While the stone structure served as a stable for more than ten years, obviously Motherwell intended it to serve as a basement for the Central Ontario barn which he some day hoped to complete. Like the house, the stonework, completed under the direction of Adam Cantelon, was composed of rough pointed, rubble-sized fieldstone, but because of the shallow barn foundations, the masonry walls suffered from excessive settlement. In 1933 concrete buttresses were added at Motherwell's request to prevent the superstructure from collapsing over the crumbling walls.

The barn superstructure was raised in the fall of 1907, two years
The feed chute between the horse and cattle stalls on the west wall of the stable, 1969. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

Pre-1914 renovations indicated by dotted lines.

This buttress, installed around 1933 supports the northeast corner of the barn, 1976. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)
after Motherwell's appointment as Saskatchewan's Commissioner of Agriculture, and after two years in which Motherwell could have accumulated the cash necessary for the carloads of sawn fir timbers and lumber from Northwestern Ontario and British Columbia. In fact, it was in the winter of 1906-7 that Motherwell ordered the wood through a local Abernethy lumber merchant, W.H. Pray; but shipment delays caused by car shortages meant that the barn could not be begun until the summer of 1907, particularly since Motherwell had chosen to holiday in British Columbia even though the shiploads from Rat Portage (Ontario) and Sapperton (B.C.) had finally arrived in the late spring. Nevertheless, by the end of September despite the quirks and idiosyncrasies of the carpenters who produced the frame, the barn had been erected. Its storage bins, mows, and lofts now combined with the basement stable below to give Motherwell's mixed farming operation at least the potential of becoming a self-sufficient unit within the tree-lined confines of his farmstead.

In a short but informative article on "Nineteenth Century Barns in Southern Ontario," Peter Ennals has done a useful job in categorizing a number of the barn types that originated in or migrated to Southern Ontario. None of Ennals' analysis covers Lanark County where Motherwell was raised; but the influences around the Guelph area where he took his agricultural education are clearly evident. There the Central Ontario barn was found in abundance. Usually 40-50 feet wide and 60-100 feet long this particular style of barn was characterized by a stone foundation wall about 10 feet high upon which was erected a wooden structure with either a gable or a gambrel roof. In Ennals' terms, the Central Ontario barn is a two-storey structure comprising

- a lower stable area and an upper space which combines crop storage, implement storage and working space.
- Access to the ground floor is provided by doorways leading to the farmyard, and entry to the upper level is by means of an earthen ramp leading to a large door in the long side.

Ennals goes on to say that in Ontario this kind of barn was often called a bank barn, particularly if it was set directly into a hillside so that entry to the main floor could be gained directly from the top slope. In the Northwest, however, bank barns per se came under a good deal of criticism. Territorial farmers were extremely suspect of the dampness that bank or earthen ramp barns attracted on the banked wall. Within the anti-bank barn propaganda even hints of western chauvinism could be detected:

The big bank barn, with all its merits and defects, is an old Ontario idea, and many people here [Manitou] hold on to it. I don't want any beast of mine shut in along the back wall by one of these broad bank barns. It is too damp, too far from the sun, and the profit from housing any kind of beast there will always be limited.

Even more scholarly attempts to encourage western farmers to adopt good building practices recommended the avoidance of bank barn structures, particularly in districts where soil types were similar to those found north of the Qu'Appelle Valley:

Until quite recently it has been the prevailing
practice, especially with farmers who have come from Eastern Canada, to select, if possible, the face of a side-hill, and to excavate so that the stable doors would open on a level with the surface,...This has been found to be a mistake, especially in the clay districts....On clay soil it is next to impossible to secure a perfectly dry stable and yard on the face of a side hill,...there is a constant soakage from the face of a clay slope...that tends to keep the stable damp and the yards soft and muddy during a large part of the fall and spring months...The wall will be damp and cold...and the floor will be colder than if separated by two or three feet of relatively dry earth.\(^2\)

Apparently Motherwell was cognizant of such arguments and despite the fact that he did not possess a bank into which he could build his barn, neither did he choose to construct an earthen ramp to the main floor drive doors. Instead he installed a substantial board ramp on the west wall with additional storage underneath, where a ventilated air flow kept the stone wall dry. This did not mean that he was completely oppose...
It would appear from the only available photograph that the Motherwell ramp, unlike that of other farmers who at least began with a small earthen hill and stone wall like the F.B. Miller barn of Solsgirth, Manitoba, extended all the way to the ground without benefit of an earth bank and was probably some 50-60 feet long to make the grade more manageable for his teams.

According to Ennals, the barn floor of the Central Ontario barn, like Motherwell's, was composed of three separate areas: the drive floor extending into the barn from the main doors; the granary, set at right angles to the drive floor; and the mows, devoted to the storage of hay, straw, unthreshed grain and other crops. To avoid wasting space the area above the granary section would also be devoted to fodder storage and was called the loft.32 Except for the variations dictated by the uncommon L shape of Motherwell's barn, it serves as a classic example of Ennals' Central Ontario barn.

It is the Central Ontario pattern that Motherwell employed in 1907
End elevation of the new barn erected by F. B. Miller and Sons, Solsgirth, Man. (*Northwest Farmer*, 20 April, 1900, p. 277.)

Classic Central Ontario barn (Ennals 1972; 257). (*Canadian Geographer.*)

Motherwell barn, main floor plan (after K. Elder).

Central Ontario barn (Ennals 1972: 257). (*Canadian Geographer.*)
when the fir timber arrived by rail and the carpenters and neighbours combined to raise his barn. Even for so important an event, Motherwell was forced by the constant delays in the carpentry to attend to the business of the Department of Agriculture in Regina rather than preside over the barn raising. Doubtless, the ubiquitous Steuck family, led by the barrel-stomached patriarch, Englehart, who moved with the same authority as the team of oxen he chose to drive, supervised and co-ordinated the barn raising bee for their neighbour.

The basement barn that appeared after the erection of the stable superstructure continues to dominate the Lanark Place landscape. Such

Lanark Place from the southeast, May 1976. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

barns were in evidence, but not common, around Lanark County where Motherwell was raised. On the other hand, they abounded in Central and north Central Ontario and near Guelph where Motherwell spent an intensive two years of training at the Ontario Agricultural College. Despite this abundance, the erection of L-shaped barns as original structures was a rarity in the east. Like the evolution of farm structures on the Prairies, barns in Ontario tended to develop from the basic rectangular form into elaborate L- and U-shaped barns in which gambrel or lean-to roofs were often grafted onto gable roofs denoting the change in barn styles that had occurred from one generation to the next. Motherwell, on the other hand, because he had satisfied himself with the use of a simple pole-roofed stone stable, was able to erect a completed barn in 1907 as a tour de force of unified design. It was one of a few of its type and it was almost unique in that the gambrel roof of the two wings met in a clean cambered joint at the northeast corner. At the end of this decade of patience, the proceeds from an expanding production along with the capital available from Motherwell's ministerial salary were invested in the timber for the barn, an implement shed designed to keep the drive floor free of the clutter of farm machinery, and a men's cottage to house the hired labour who would be needed to manage the new mixed farming system encouraged by the expanded storage capacity of the barn.
The prime purpose of the barn was storage, and although lumber frame hay barns offered more extensive storage space under a vaulted ceiling frame, in 1907 Motherwell opted for the more conventional timber frame barn. It was common in Ontario and on the Prairies and would have been familiar to the carpenter and neighbourhood help. The basic structure was composed of sturdy 8 x 8 inch timbers, which were formed into a complex series of bents, laid out on the ground by the carpenters, raised by the neighbourhood crew onto 8 x 2 inch sills on the stone stable walls, and supported by further 8 x 8 inch posts and
beams within the stable itself. While all bents, at least for gambrel-roofed barns, display the basic H-beam frame structure, Motherwell's appears to have been a slightly more complex form of its type which combined the general outside bent with an added inner
Centre bent in Motherwell barn (after K. Elder).

support for strength. This may be explained by the fact that in a
two-wing L-shaped barn, there are, in fact, only two end walls where
internal stresses ultimately meet. In this sense the carpentry showed
some expertise and a survey of other local barns around Abernethy
carrying the Ferguson imprint should indicate just how widespread the
use of this articulated bent became. Its strength was undisputed. It

Motherwell

Typical
is commonly held that when the tornado of 1915 hit the district, the only two barns to withstand it without appreciable damage were the round barn on the Steuck property and the Motherwell barn.\(^{34}\)

According to E. Sloane's *An Age of Barns*, while the gambrel roof originated in New England in the mid-18th century and denoted a distinct northwestern European influence,\(^ {35}\) it found greater popularity than gable roofs on the windy prairies because of its aerodynamic design. In some cases the eaves of the gambrel were dropped almost to the ground as farmers experimented with different techniques to defend against the foundation-shaking prairie wind-storms. Neither the basement character of the Motherwell barn, nor the complex roof configuration at the elbow of the two wings would permit this kind of experimentation, and it is probably more a tribute to the carpentry than the design that the barn was left untouched in 1915 when others were blown literally hundreds of feet from their foundations.

Within the safety of the new storage structure Motherwell was now able to keep all his grain and fodder under cover. To the right of the drive floor in the south wing, a series of bins and grain stores formed the granary while the entire length of the northern section was devoted to hay mows. Access to the granary could be had from the drive floor itself or from the hay door in the southern wall. Ken Elder of the Ottawa office believes that the open area south of the grain storage room, shown in the photograph of the hay door,\(^ {36}\) was at one time partitioned into at least eight separate bins. While more intensive architectural and archaeological investigations may support this theory, there is no photographic, documentary or oral evidence to indicate that this was so.

It would be interesting to know whether Motherwell allowed the few sheep that he kept on the farm to take shelter on the main floor of the barn during particularly severe winters. There appears to have been no specifically designated area for them in the stable below, although in reasonable weather they may have used the wood ramp. Between the two granaries the corridor to the south-wing hay door was blocked by double doors and could have been closed off from animal intrusions. It is known for certain that pigs were allowed to roam on the barn floor reaching it by the stairway in the stable and later by a small ramp

Sloane 1967: 89. (Harper & Row.)
Looking across the drive floor toward the grainery, 1969. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

South end of the south wing. No bin walls are visible, 1969. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

constructed in the piggery specifically for that purpose.\textsuperscript{37} The most conclusive piece of evidence for the presence of sheep at higher elevations, however, lies in the much-told tale by Major McPadyen that one of his most promising amorous adventures with a Motherwell servant-girl was unceremoniously interrupted by the clumsiness of a ram or ewe that had chosen that particular moment to crash down upon the entwined young farm workers from above. Whether it fell from the ramp, the hay door or down the stairs is still unknown.\textsuperscript{38}

Unlike drive floors in rectangular barns the drive floor in the Motherwell barn did not give full access to all the hay mows. In fact, the reinforced flooring extended only to the eastern edge of the granary as if it were servicing a rectangular barn. In this way it had
access to the granaries for the storage of heavy grain loads, leaving
light but bulky fodder storage to the wall hatches which allowed hay to
be blown into the mows from outside. Although it is not known whether
the present flooring of the barn was original, none of the interviewees
could remember a reflooring programme; however, the changes of the
fifties may have extended to the main floor. Nevertheless, the entire
flooring, which was laid upon 2 x 8 inch joists, is now composed of two
layers of 1 x 8 inch floor boards running north/south in the western
section, and east/west in the eastern wing where the main mows were
located. To support working vehicles the clearly delineated drive
floor extended 40 feet from the main door in a strip 12 feet wide
beneath which the two layers of 1 x 8 inch were supplemented by an
additional layer of 2 x 7 inch flooring. Aside from the 6 x 6 inch
posts which served as stall stanchions in the stable below, there were
no additional 8 x 8 inch pylons supporting the drive floor.

To the left of the barn's drive floor lay the complex area that
was formed by the elbow of the L, in which the symmetry of the bays
formed by the timber bents disappeared. High above the floor the
cantilevered section of the barn roof formed an almost ideal
ventilation chimney. There Motherwell located the central of his three
ventilating cupolas, the style of which was not unlike one of the
Connecticut valley styles of barn cupolas identified by E.
Sloane.\textsuperscript{39} Despite the presence of these ventilators, no other
specific provisions for assisting the air-flow ventilation of the barn
or stable were made in the structure even though the technological
information for such processes was available at least as early as 1889.
In that year F.H. King of the Wisconsin Agricultural Station
promulgated his system of pipe and flue ventilation for agricultural
buildings.\textsuperscript{40} This development post-dated the period of
Motherwell's formal agricultural education, however, and it was not
until he had begun the construction of his new farm structure in the
late 1890s that the King system became widely publicized in farm
journals and agricultural colleges in Canada.
Central cupola on Motherwell barn, ca. 1914. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

Three Connecticut Valley ventilator styles (Sloane 1967). (Harper & Row.)

The Agricultural College at Guelph was no exception, and in 1902 it produced a bulletin devoted to the "Ventilation of Farm Stables and Dwellings" which stressed King's work. Offering a number of alternatives to stable and barn ventilation, the Bulletin illustrated the use of shuttered tile vents installed at the top of the stable wall to clear the area of aqueous vapours and carbonic acid gas produced in the breath of the animals under shelter. Of course the larger structure of the standard basement barn with stable and storage lofts would necessitate a more extensive ventilation system, and for economy and efficiency both the stable and barn could utilize the natural flow of air toward the cupola ventilator. A simple system of pipes and vents with appropriate airflow openings and an adequate draughting effect produced by the chimney cupola would then be able to ventilate the stable and the barn.

The Motherwell complex possessed neither fresh air vents at the top of the stable wall, nor pipe systems to the three ventilator outlets atop the barn roof. However, the same structural arrangement that left the major entrancesways open to the freezing winds of the winter also produced a flow-through ventilation for the stable and barn, while leaving the piggery closed off by the partition wall and a
main entrance on the east wall which appears to have seen little use even during the early years. With a full complement of animals and natural venting through doors, windows and top ventilators, the barn should have been able to support an efficient operation. Without a heating system, the body heat of the animals should have kept stable temperatures between 40 and 50 degrees during the winter. Yet the animal population of the farm never appears to have reached its full potential. Horses remained the mainstay, even though Motherwell once lost his teams to glanders, and the cattle operation was virtually irrecoverable after the tuberculosis disaster of 1912. Still, it is impossible to say whether the lack of a sophisticated ventilation system for the stable and the barn contributed to these losses.

Above the stable the barn was partitioned into three basic areas for storage apart from the drive floor, which unlike the pure Central Ontario barn, was not used for chores. Between the granary in one wing and the hay mows in the other the barn elbow space was broken up by the extraordinary timber bent formations and partitioned off for the storage of crushed feed grains and various fodder crops. Above the granary, of course, in the style of the Central Ontario and other barns a loft was built of a single layer of 1 x 8 inch tongue and groove fir floor boards, indicating that it was less likely to have to bear as much weight as the main hay mows. But the lofting of which Motherwell was most proud, was that created from the "timber grown on the farm since it was first settled" over the main drive floor and over a
Two methods of providing ventilation for the stable basement (Reynolds 1902: 10, 12).

Bay and loft timbers left of drive floors, 1969. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

Sketch of the loft and old timbers. (K. Elder.)
small bay to the left of the doors. The poles forming these crude lofts are presumed to be the maple which Motherwell first planted near the original homestead, west of the present site. Although the old log house had been left to decay, Motherwell found that it had become a hazard because of the attraction it possessed for the children of the neighbourhood, and he decided to demolish the structure. The fate of the small grove of trees may help to date its demolition to the period of the barn's construction, since the timber from the grove held such nostalgia for Motherwell that he perpetuated it in the lofts that can still be found inside the barn. Perhaps these rustic storage floors served in lieu of the granary loft that may have awaited construction at a date later than 1907, particularly since Motherwell was prepared to build his entire farm in stages.

As might be expected the elbow of the barn is the site of the most complex framing for the superstructure and of the most unique of the bents which made the right-angle transition from one wing to the other. Whatever skill was displayed in the construction of these complex bents, the carpentry of George Ferguson and his assistants must again come into question in this section of the barn, where at some stage two log trusses were added to the superstructure between the loft-end-bent and one of the lateral elbow bents. Presumably their purpose was to prevent the two from sagging together and thus collapsing the cantilevered corner of the barn roof. Only an engineering report, of course, would confirm the exact function of these logs and whether they have been hewn and positioned in such a fashion as to prevent an inward collapse. It is also possible that they were used for unloading from the drive floor over which they were positioned; but the angle at which they sat from one cross-piece to the other makes this unlikely, or at least somewhat dangerous.

Apart from these structural difficulties and the crude homestead timber lofting, the barn served as a fine addition to the stable below and formed the central feature of Motherwell's mixed farming operation in 1907. The granaries, when they were added, obviated the presence of individual granary buildings within the farmstead until the 1930s or 1940s, and the hay mows were large enough within the eastern wing to store most of Motherwell's fodder crop.46

Below the storage floor, in the basement that had first served as
a stable and then became the barn's archetypical feature, all of the animals of the farm were housed at least until 1935 when the chicken house was erected in the working field. Ventilated by the pressure system established by the constant eight mile per hour northwest wind, the stable's most important function was to house the working Clydesdales and the trusted driving horses, often numbering between one and two dozen. The Clydesdales, of course, did spartan service in the
grain fields and around the farmstead throughout the early stages of the power age until the late 1930s when Motherwell finally consented to gasoline mechanization. The driving horses, though no more pampered than the others, were considered to be closer members of the farm family and often during the cold and dangerous winter months they were relied upon to bring the family members home when driving by sight had become impossible.

Ultimately considered less important than the horses, shorthorn and Aberdeen Angus cattle were also stabled in the barn basement but were segregated from the horses that dominated the south end and from the chickens and pigs that were kept in the dirt-floored east wing together with the young cattle. Both horses and cattle faced into mangers that were located along the feed aisles on the outside walls and which were supplied from the barn floor through two central chutes. With the exception of the concrete floor in the stable, the barn was built with few frills and exhibited little of the intricacy that publicized barn plans showed, and it appears to have been functional and uncomplicated. The feed system in the stable and the omnibus quality of the piggery were typical of this simplicity. Generally, the barn was a thoughtful and efficient response to the conditions and materials of the prairies, which were supplemented by the use of fir from British Columbia and Northwestern Ontario that became affordable after Motherwell began to receive the supplemental ministerial salary in 1905.

There is an interesting paradox involved in the development of Motherwell's farming operation after 1905. The very position which allowed him to invest the cash necessary to build up his farm also kept him away from it to such an extent that he had to manage it by mail, telegraph, and telephone from his offices in Regina and Ottawa. In this sense there never was a point at which the farm reached and maintained a peak of efficiency and repair. Not until at least 1909 did the barn receive its first coat of paint, which was a combination of red, white and black. But this first coat of paint may also have been the barn's last. The deterioration of the farmstead was essentially an on-going process that had begun with the erection of the first stable wall in 1896. Supported on three-foot foundations the walls probably began to settle and crack within the first year, as did the summer kitchen of the house almost as soon as it had been added. There was actually no time at which the farmstead was in perfect peak condition, and the 1922 panorama photograph, which is presumed to show Lanark Place in its prime, was obviously staged for the purpose. Behind the impressive tree growth at the centre of the property and the closely trimmed hedge lay a barn that was crumbling at its base, whose doors and gates were patched and boarded, and the paint of which was cracked, peeling and fading into non-existence. In fact the barn paint was probably renewed only with the intervention of Parks Canada in the early 1970s. In many ways the only building on the property, including the house, which showed improvement between the turn of the century and the middle of the depression when the farm was entering its final decline, was the labourer's cottage. The implement shed, the kitchen caboose and the wooden privy were the only other buildings to grace the farmstead until 1935.
There is some doubt about the date of construction of both the men's cottage and the implement shed. In fact, none of the documentary evidence gives a clear indication when either was built and none of those who knew the farm in the early period are able to recall even the vaguest references to their first appearance on the farm. Only Alma Motherwell and Ralph Steuck have offered estimates about the period in which the implement shed was built, but even this information is conflicting and unreliable. According to Motherwell's daughter the shed was built between 1903 and 1905, in which case it would have antedated the barn. However, the lumber used for the implement shed, "the 6" x 6" columns and beams, the saddle brackets, windows and the overhead door rollers are identical or similar" to that of the barn. Both buildings were floored and sided with the same high-grade fir. Since it is known that the shipment of fir from B.C. and Ontario did not arrive until 1907, it is improbable that the implement shed was constructed before this date. Some credence might be given to the theory that the shed was erected before work on the barn began, but this is unlikely because Motherwell spent most of the summer of 1907 holidaying in British Columbia. Although he was unable to be present during the finishing work on the barn because of commitments to his department, it is not likely that he would purposefully have left the details of his implement shed to his hired personnel unless most of the work had been completed beforehand. The most plausible explanation is that the implement shed was built some time in 1908 as was the men's cottage across the farmstead in order to complete the essential farm structures and to provide accommodation for the farm-hands away from the hired girls and the
younger members of the Motherwell family.\textsuperscript{55} Certainly this would coincide with Ralph Steuck’s estimate that the implement shed was built after the barn some time between 1907 and 1910.

The problem remains, however, where Motherwell stored his equipment before 1908. He was fastidious, almost fanatical, about the condition of his equipment, and it was never allowed to stand outside unattended.\textsuperscript{56} At the same time, he became just as rigid about forbidding the storage of equipment on the barn floor. It was recognized as poor practice to leave equipment and machinery in the same area as animals where it could not be properly cleaned or serviced and where the animals were susceptible to injury.\textsuperscript{57} This is not to say that implements were not commonly housed in barns. On the contrary, many of the plans exhibited in the periodicals of the day included provision inside specific barn partitions for the storage of farm machinery, especially in the larger buildings. On the other hand, the implement shed could also be attached to the barn as in this example of a basic L-shaped barn with a store room attached, from The Farmer’s Advocate of May 5, 1897 (page 200). But Motherwell chose to remove his implement shed from the barn completely, giving it its own space on the working driveway among the garden shelterbelts. But what course did he take before the erection of the shed, unless he utilized the dirt-floored piggery section of the stable solely for the storage of machinery, safely separated from the animals by the partition wall? It would have been completely out of character for him to have left his equipment outside, considering that at the end of each season it was dismantled, serviced, repainted, and, where applicable, stored away. The piggery is really the only logical alternative for vehicular storage after the Motherwells had abandoned the original homestead buildings.

The implement shed is a simple gabled structure with attached lean-to’s at either end, east and west. The roller doors face north
but the interior of the shed was protected from the ferocious winter winds by sitting in the lee of the barn and the shelterbelts near the west side of the lawn. Unlike most of the implement sheds appearing in *The Nor'-West Farmer, The Farmer's Advocate* or structural advertising books like *Radford's Practical Barn Plans*, the Motherwell shed is more reminiscent of a style of tobacco barn found by E.A. Sloane in the Maryland region of the eastern seaboard.

Implement shed, barnyard fence and cottonwoods from 1922 panorama. (L/40-P) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

The back (garden side) of the Motherwell implement shed. A view from the southeast, 1976. (L/30) (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)
There are five clearly definable areas in the implement shed, one each in the lean-to ends, two in the central gabled section and an upper room under the gabled roof lighted by a window in the east end. Only one other window, in the south wall facing the garden, served to light the lower section of the shed, and although this lack of glazing would reduce the need for heat, the shed was both a working and a storage area and more windows would no doubt have made servicing the vehicles and implements easier and more comfortable.

On the main floor the four sections are separated by 1 x 8 inch fir boards on 2 x 4 inch joists. The eastern lean-to contained shelves denoting small-parts storage, and the adjoining section in the main room, where the window was located contained workbenches along the south wall and beneath the stairs along the lean-to partition, providing ample room for machines and small equipment repair. The remaining space was reserved strictly for storage, including the loft above the two central equipment bays, which was used for the storage of smaller machinery and parts. The grain chute leading from the loft into the eastern section of the main shed is a later addition to the building and was probably used to send crushed grain from the loft where the crusher was operated into wagons below the hatch. Before 1941 this operation was always carried out in the barn, but Dan Gallant distinctly remembers that on one of his infrequent visits to the farm after 1941, he saw Talmadge Motherwell crushing grain in the implement shed loft and that power for the crusher was provided from outside. Alma Mackenzie claimed that in the early years a set of scales could be found in the loft and the proximity to the garden may indicate that these scales were used to weigh the annual produce. Yet the inconvenience of locating this kind of equipment in an upper loft, except for storage, makes it unlikely that the room was used for the actual weighing itself.

Below the loft the plethora of machinery, implements, wagons and
Work bench on east wall of east room in main section of implement shed. Light comes from lone main floor window, 1969. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

Implement shed loft looking toward gable window. Note the crushed grain chute, a late addition, 1969. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

buggies that served a mixed farming operation in Southern Saskatchewan around the turn of the century were stored in precise order. They were not merely put away here during the rains of June and the long months of winter but every night of the year and each time they sat idle. Thus the organization of the implement shed must have been pre-planned and inviolable. Anything less would have led to chaos and confusion under a system in which the shed was in constant use. There is no available plan for the Motherwell machine and tool shed layout and those who worked the farm in the twenties and thirties are somewhat
vague about its organization, despite its probable consistency. Nevertheless, two comparative layouts of implement sheds given in Ekblaw's *Farm Structures* illustrate the potential mapping of the floor plan.

![Diagram of 26' x 40' implement shed](image1)

Ekblaw 1914: 129.

![Diagram of 18' x 56' implement shed](image2)

Ekblaw 1914: 127.

Similar in size to Ekblaw's second structure, Motherwell's implement shed was roughly 52 x 22 feet, dimensions that would have enabled him to store between one and two dozen pieces of farm equipment. Three of the four lower compartments were earthen floored while the section in the western lean-to was floored with 1 x 8 inch tongue and groove fir. Although a *Nor'-West Farmer* article of September 1905 recommended that the ground on which implement
sheds were built should be 8-12 inches above the surrounding ground with a dry earth floor for the machinery, the floor of the Motherwell shed was only five inches higher by the time the As-Found measurements were taken. Nevertheless, the floor was in excellent condition and showed no signs that water had ever been a problem.

Aside from a few 6 x 6 inches posts and beams, the 1 x 8 inch walls and partitions were attached to basic 2 x 4 inch joists, which were doubled to form 4 x 4 inch posts in areas of added stress. The whole rested on double 2 x 4 inch plates which had been blocked out on the levelled clay to form the rectangular foundations. The largest of the roller doors, which were common on the Prairies by 1905, led into the eastern lean-to, indicating that it may have housed the widest machinery such as the binder, wagons, or perhaps the mower. The eastern half of the main shed lost space to the loft stairs and to the L-shaped workbench on the southeast corner. The smaller equipment was likely kept in this segment to facilitate movement up to the loft and around the workbench. Much space was saved on the lower floor at each seasonal change by transporting the smaller pieces such as the winter cutter up into the loft. Likewise, the children's cart which provided Alma and her brother with such delight would have been stored there during the snowy winter months.

The western section of the main shed creates something of an anomaly in the structure, at least as it was found by the investigative team in 1969-70. The As-Found photograph taken looking north through the dilapidated doorway shows the addition of 1 x 6 inch boards as if to block the entry or to use this area as an animal pen as it might have been during the 1950s when the barn piggery was being renovated. This crude partition wall did not likely exist in the early period. Likewise the door servicing this segment of the implement shed was found not to be on rollers, but hinged to swing outward from the strong central 6 x 6 inch column. It is the only hinged door of the four and is inconsistent with original implement storage function of this section, at least according to the recommendations of contemporary
West bay of the main section of the implement shed. Obviously the doorway has been altered for storage or other purposes, 1969. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

writers. This is not to say that hinged doors do not appear on machine shed plans from this period. However, according to Ekblaw they should have been used for access to workshop, not implement, areas, and according to Dan Gallant this was probably the section where the surrey and the phaeton buggy were stored. The rollers on this door would probably have resembled the rollers that can be seen on the westernmost door (far right) which are, by all accounts, original and are similar to the equipment on the barn.

The implement shed as seen across driveway from the north, 1969. (near L. 24) (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)
The dearth of photographs of the implement shed has complicated the study of its developmental history. In fact, until the detailed recording of the structure by Thomas White and his crew six years ago, the shed appeared in only two of the family photographs which have thus far been located. One is the photograph of the planted garden taken in the late forties or early fifties which appeared earlier in this study. It shows the shed in a deteriorated condition and provides no details on the hotbed Motherwell was supposed to have installed behind the shed on the south, or sun side. The other photograph showing a detail of the implement shed is the 1922 panorama, in which the lawn/tennis court is the central feature and the implement shed is obscured among the maples and poplars which figure so prominently in the photograph.

Detail of the west end of the implement shed and barnyard fence, 1922. (L/40-P) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

Commanding the south side of the working driveway with access to the barnyard, the grain fields and the working field, the implement shed's affinity with the barn was maintained by the red paint on the 1 x 6 inch siding, the white trim on the corner posts and the natural cedar roofing. Although it is not clear from the implement shed photographs where the drain pipes directed the runoff, it is unlikely that the configuration reproduced in the current restoration is correct. Certainly the drain pipes down the centre of the shed, front and back are not present in the earlier photographs.

As the farm life at Lanark Place evolved so too did the storage in the implement shed. Machines and tools aged, broke down or grew obsolescent and were replaced. One of the major problems of any farm was always the disposal of equipment that had fallen into disuse. The only real solution was to bury it around the farmstead, so as not to interfere with the cultivation of the fields. Motherwell had two machinery graveyards around Lanark Place, one just outside the
The front of the implement shed partially restored, with improper drain pipe, 1976.  

The garden side of the implement shed seen from the south with the second erroneous drain pipe, 1976.  

shelterbelt and fence at the southwest corner, the other on the west side of the barn. When Dan Gallant built the earth ramp to the drive floor of the barn around 1939, he was instructed by Motherwell to bury every piece of abandoned machinery he could find cluttering the landscape. In this way, the implement shed, which could so easily have become the collection centre for an unmanageable pile of technological garbage, was kept free for the storage of new pieces like the 1926 Whippet and the Ford Motherwell ran during the thirties, and the Case tractor which he finally purchased in 1939. Mr. Gallant stated that the cars were kept in the north bay of the implement shed but the shed is oriented east and west, so it is likely that he meant the west bay which would have been the specialized section with the wooden floorboards. In any case, the telltale oil traces on the boards
or in the earth floor of the other bays should give a clearer indication.

If any building on the farm typified Motherwell's approach to farming, business, and life-style in general, it must surely have been the implement shed. It housed every piece of equipment that served the farm, a survey of which would have illustrated Motherwell's devotion to animal power. He firmly believed that on his own farm, at least, the best way was also the most rustic. Steam and, more often, gasoline power came onto the farm during threshing time when Tal Motherwell or the Steuck brothers would appear with a crew to handle the annual crop. But not until 1939 did a gasoline tractor find itself housed in the implement shed, and Catherine Motherwell became much more adept at handling the new machine than her husband. In this sense, it is probably more likely that excessive wear rather than obsolescence was responsible for sending most of Motherwell's machines to their respective graveyards.

Lanark Place was a farm that demanded order and tight organization. It was built because of the drive, ambition and energy of its creator. The purposive approach to farm life which he brought west from the Agricultural College and his Irish-Ontario background, carried over into the dictatorial approach that he took to running his farm as it evolved from a livelihood into an operation. The order imposed upon the layout of his simple implement shed and the autocratic way in which he enforced the rules that he had established regarding the farm equipment typified this approach, even if he was ultimately unsuccessful in his bid to manage the farm from afar.
The Men's Cottage (Gillespie Cottage, Sunshine Cottage) and the Caboose

Around 1908, after two years of the disorder and chaos caused by Motherwell's departure to Regina following the death of his wife in 1905, a men's cottage was erected on the northern edge of the farmstead to remove the hired labourers from the proximity of the house. Thereby, it was hoped, a particular order would be imposed upon the farmstead personnel who had been added upon the full expansion of the farm and Motherwell's sudden political successes. In 1897, during the construction of the stone house, Motherwell had hired Andy Sproule as his first regular farm-hand. Sproule and his family resided not at Lanark Place but in the town of Abernethy, which was beginning to emerge as a town site two miles north of Lanark Place, and was later consolidated after the Canadian Pacific branch line passed through in the early 1900s. After 1905, however, Sproule moved on to other pursuits, and two men were engaged to work the farm, thus initiating the utilization of transient farm labour at Lanark Place.

One of these transients was a young Maritimer from Prince Edward Island named Scott Milligan, who, according to Major McFadyen, was largely responsible for the misconduct on the farmstead that may have led to the construction of the men's cottage. Despite the implications of this decision, Motherwell was not an elitist. He was almost certainly a paternalist but he was not prone to marking class distinctions. In the Motherwell household everyone sat down to the same table, and when he was home during the winter months, space was made in the house to accommodate all who lived and worked on the farm, including at least two hands and two servant-girls.

There was, of course, another possible reason for the erection of the second set of living quarters on the farmstead so soon after the destruction of the old homestead cabin which had fallen into a state of neglect. In 1906 Motherwell remarried and in so doing opened his farm to an entirely new family operation. Catherine Gillespie, his second wife, was the daughter of John Gillespie who had homesteaded a few miles west of Lanark Place. More importantly she was the sister of George, Archie, Jack and Janet Gillespie. Jack ran a general store in Abernethy, and at one time managed the hotel which Motherwell funded but which also burnt to the ground in 1909 only a few months after the fire insurance had lapsed. Archie worked the family farm and others in the neighbourhood. George had been to the Klondike and appeared at Lanark Place only intermittently. Janet participated to some extent in Catherine's missionary work with the treaty Indians of the area, but never married and never left her sister's side. Shortly after the marriage of school principal Catherine Gillespie to Motherwell the cabinet minister, the Gillespie family descended upon Lanark Place and George and Archie Gillespie joined the list of hired men who lived in the men's cottage.

This era also saw the introduction of large threshing crews onto the farm to handle the Motherwell crop. By 1908 it was no longer a one-day affair. The crew, which often arrived at the end of the fall, stayed on for the few days' work to thresh the yield from Motherwell's farming quarters. They had to sleep and eat in some form of accommodation and the new cottage fulfilled all the requirements. In
conjunction with a threshing crew's caboose, which eventually became a permanent fixture a few yards to the south of the cottage, an entire threshing crew could be fed and sheltered on the edge of the working field where most of the threshing was done.

There were, then, three plausible reasons for the construction of a second house on the grounds of Lanark Place, even though on many farms even larger than Motherwell's this would have seemed somewhat pretentious. But the nature of Lanark Place had changed in 1905. Motherwell's vistas had broadened to the larger stage of institutional and administrative agriculture, and within three short years the farm had become a private experimental station, an illustration display piece for his ideas on agriculture, a haven for the Gillespie family, and a distribution centre for local charities including impoverished homesteaders, bewildered immigrants, and neglected treaty Indians.

The men's cottage no longer sits on the northern border of Lanark Place. Instead, it sits on the southern limits of the town of

The Gillespie cottage, now the Barnsley house on the south side of Abernethy, 1976. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)
Abernethy where it was moved after it was abandoned and sold in the late 1940s. Certain alterations have been made – the veranda of the 1920s has been cut in half, the siding has been replaced or covered with false brick asphalt tile – but the basic structure remains.

The earliest photograph of the men's cottage shows a simple two-storey gable-roofed structure and beside it, to the south, another smaller and lower building which bears a close resemblance to the curved-roof caboose that still sits on the farmstead. This would be entirely consistent with the description of the cottage as Dan Gallant knew it in the 1920s and 1930s and it would support the idea that the men's cottage was closely allied with the increasing presence of threshing crews on the farm after 1908-9. Thus, although the caboose was really an adjunct to the cottage as early as the pre-war era when the first photograph was taken, it really qualifies as the fourth farm building on the farmstead and since it still exists in reasonable condition it supports the proposal that the cottage be brought back to Lanark Place from Abernethy.

The cookhouse caboose, 1976. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

From the early photograph it seems clear that the cottage and the caboose were painted the same colours as the barn and the implement shed, and the four together formed a pleasing complement of buildings to support the large stone house at the front of the property. In 1914, the cottage was still occupied by Scott Milligan and Major McFadyen, both Prince Edward Island transient labourers. Milligan was a transient despite a remarkable record of longevity, particularly in view of his earlier misadventures and his reputed antagonism toward the Motherwells' fundamentalist Presbyterianism. At the same time the cottage was often frequented by Archie Gillespie (still a bachelor at the time) and probably his brother George, when he was at the farm. It is unknown whether the concrete foundation and dirt-floored cellar were part of the original structure but the first configuration of the main floor consisted of three separate rooms: a kitchen, a
sitting room and a bedroom. Up the stairs that were located at the south end of the cottage, the upper floor was even simpler. A single large room served as a dormitory, containing three double beds which could accommodate at least six extra workers during the fall threshing season. It is possible but unlikely that the side gable and window shown in the present structure were there in the original cottage. The window is unlike any other in the structure and gives the distinct impression of a later addition. On the other hand, the front porch, also visible in this photograph, was most certainly an addition to the building when it was renovated in the post-war period to make it more acceptable as a family living quarters. The Gow family of Abernethy may have been the first such group to inhabit the cottage, but it was Olive and Archie Gillespie and their children Basil and Jack who lived there from 1921 until 1937 when Archie died in the cottage, after which Olive Gallant left the farmstead. Originally part of a tri-partitioned veranda, the remaining section served as the eastern sewing room for Olive (Gillespie) Gallant while its left-hand position formed half of the corner sun porch which faced southeast when the house was on the farm. The south room of the new veranda was used as an extra bedroom, taking advantage of the warmth on the sun side of the house and the shelter given it by the cottage against the brutal north winds.

Apart from these veranda additions, the largest single adaptation of the men's cottage as it was being transformed into the Gillespie, or Sunshine, Cottage was the western extension that included a roofline modification. It shows up most clearly in a rare photographic double exposure of the north side of the cottage during the late twenties, illustrating both the outer fence line and the northern maple shelterbelt. At a shallower angle than the original steeply pitched
A later view of the Gillespie cottage from the southwest, ca. 1939.  \(\frac{U}{1}\) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

J.B. and Barbara Gillespie at the northwest corner of the cottage they never used, ca. 1928.  \(\frac{U}{17}\) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

gable roof, the lean-to roof of the addition covered the new kitchen on the west side of the structure, almost doubling the floor space on the ground level. To accommodate the stove, a new chimney had to be installed at the southern edge of the roof on the western half at a point where the two rooflines met. This chimney was later removed when the cottage was taken into Abernethy, but the main chimney at the top of the north gable, which serviced the Quebec heater in the sitting room, still remains. When Archie and Olive Gillespie moved into the cottage in 1921, the partition wall between the bed and sitting rooms of the old layout was removed, producing a single large sitting room with a dining area at its southern end and a large picture window.
facing north beyond the shelterbelt into the grain field. Despite the chill of the uninterrupted northern blasts, Olive Gallant maintains that the Quebec heater was more than sufficient to heat the main floor as well as the upstairs bedroom when the stairway door was left open.

The upstairs dormitory room was left unpartitioned probably because the cottage continued to act as the service centre for the threshing crews who would sleep upstairs and eat in the caboose beside the cottage. The Gillespie children spent much of their time in the stone house during these periods and possibly the whole family moved over there during harvest and threshing season. In fact, this era of the Motherwell farm coincides with the great days of the thresherman. At the end of the 19th century the specialized equipment and the labour-intensive character of the work gave rise to a new breed of farm labourer, who canvassed the countryside looking for crops to process behind the great steam traction engines that came to be known as "Dreadnaughts of the Plains." In train, the engine would haul behind it the equipment that it would power including the threshing machines themselves, which eventually became as common as combines on prairie farmsteads. The machine now on the Motherwell site has been identified as the one used on the farm during the twenties, and it could be the threshing machine that Tal Motherwell ran when he organized his own crew during this period.

There was another article of equipment that travelled in the train, and because it usually brought up the rear it came to be known throughout the Prairies as a caboose. Its purpose was to feed and shelter the crew, and as such it had a counterpart in the chuck-wagon which served the same purpose on the American cattle range.

As apparently happened on a number of prairie farms during the era of the threshermen, one of these cabooses eventually found a permanent site on the Motherwells' farmstead as early as the pre-war era. The present caboose-like structure that sits in the northwest corner of the site has been described by Thomas White as "generally dilapidated and of recent date," but he is probably only half right. As dilapidated as it might be there is no reason to believe that this caboose is not the original that was first situated a few yards south
of the men's cottage. Seven feet wide, 14 feet long, and slightly over 6 feet high at the sides, the caboose had a curved plywood roof that gave somewhat more comfortable space in the centre. It now sits firmly implanted in the ground on three 4 x 6 inch ground beams with a concrete sill beneath the two-foot east door which probably faced west when it sat by the cottage. Like the other auxiliary buildings the caboose was built of fir, and the floor, like that of the implement shed, was composed of 1 x 6 inch tongue and groove boards, indicating that it may have been replaced when the caboose was first removed from its wheels. The shape of the ground beams beneath the flooring indicates that the caboose was portable and, like a stone boat, could be hauled into nearby fields whenever it was convenient. With sled runner bevels at each end the beams would have facilitated the hauling of the building over short distances, depending of course, on its stability and its resistance to stress. Archaeology may discover the exact location of the caboose in the early years, but if it did in fact sit on the surface, this kind of evidence may now be irretrievable because of the ploughing of the site under Parks authorization in 1969.

The walls of the caboose are in poor condition and on either side there are openings that have appeared either purposefully or through decay. It is certainly possible that one of the openings was a window and that another acted as a pass through from the cook to the thresherman. Obviously the flue on the roof was used as a chimney for a cook stove, since all the extra cooking was done here when there was too little space inside the Motherwell home.

Like the stone house, the cottage and the caboose produce an impressive sense that Lanark Place was devoted to life-style and work, which in Motherwell's mind, were virtually inseparable ideas. The children, naturally, performed the chores that are the interminable lot of all farm children. The women performed kitchen work and cared for the children. Mrs. Motherwell managed to spend the free time afforded by the use of servants to continue her interests in the Presbyterian mission to the Indians. But the men worked. In the summer they were in the barn at five, the fields after breakfast until noon, and then after lunch until supper. There was more barn work before retiring and if the field-work failed to occupy the entire day, the men were required to work on the farmstead, planting, replanting and cultivating
among the shelterbelts. In essence the workday at Lanark Place as on other farmsteads was 16 hours long. Although it was somewhat shorter during the winter, the animals needed more attention than during the warmer months and the long hours generally continued all year long. Motherwell asked no man who worked for him to do anything he could not or would not do himself. Those who worked at Lanark Place were not subjected to a mean, crude, brutish environment in which to work. On the contrary, the thrust of the farmstead was toward some form of sophistication in lifestyle. The grace of the stone is unquestionable and the evolution of the cottage clearly points to a determined effort to create a reasonably comfortable milieu for those who lived and worked on the farm.

After the death of Archie Gillespie in 1937, the Gillespie cottage fell into general disuse. Olive, his wife, fled the memories of the farm, although her sons stayed on with the Motherwells. The vacant cottage really marked the beginning of the end for Lanark Place. J.B. Gillespie, who had taken over control of the farm and the grandhouse in 1922, had died in 1933. Two new managers operated the farm between 1933 and 1941, but neither Dan Gallant nor Ted Gallow ever lived in the cottage and when Catherine Motherwell attempted to move Gallant over to the cottage from the main house he left the farm completely. The rigid rules had disappeared and the family had disintegrated. The farm was decaying with age. In 1941, while Tal came to run the farmstead, Walter Brock, a neighbour, took over the management of the farmlands from Ted Gallow when he left to work his own land. Brock worked for wages and lived with his family in the Gillespie cottage; but the relationship was not a close or lasting one. The Brocks left the farm in 1943 or 1944 after Motherwell's death and the usefulness of the cottage at Lanark Place came to an end. It was later moved off the farm, while the caboose, which had also lost its prime function, was moved to a new site on the farm in the late thirties or early forties. A later attempt to revivify the farm in the 1950s was a failure but even had it succeeded, the farm would never have achieved the potential
that it possessed in the World War I years.

The Chicken House

When asked about the appearance of the chicken house on the farmstead, Alma Mackenzie replied that she did not remember the building specifically but could attribute it to the influence of her stepmother, dating its construction in 1914, a period when she was away from the farm studying languages in Germany. She was correct in giving Catherine Motherwell the credit for bringing poultry back to the farm on a large scale, but the poultry shed was built in another era when she was also absent from the farm. In 1932 Alma Motherwell married a Prince Edward Islander and moved with him to the Maritimes. Three years later Catherine Motherwell instructed Dan Gallant to erect a new building for poultry in order to move the hen-house out of the piggery section of the barn basement.

The poultry house after 41 years, 1976. (U) (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

The first new building on the farmstead since the pre-war era, the chicken house was a simple yet effective shanty-roofed shed, located north of the barn in the working field with the tall glazed side facing south for the maximum hours of sunshine. Studs, rafters and plates were all 2 x 4 inch fir, the siding was 1 x 6 inch tongue and groove, and the front wall was given an additional insulating layer of 1 x 6 inch below the windows.

The dimensions of the house were approximately 19 x 24 feet, and the shanty roof resulted from the angle between an eight-foot front wall and a five-foot rear wall. Two regular house doors were situated at either end of the shed and beside them, at ground level, two hatchways allowed the poultry its own access to these new, exclusive
quarters. The floor, now badly cracked like that of the summer kitchen, was poured concrete. Portability, then, as one of the advantages of small poultry houses, was automatically denied the structure. At the same time, however, concrete was recognized as being the cleanest flooring, superior to earth or wooden floors, particularly if dust-baths were artifically provided.81

Dan Gallant with Plymouth Rocks at the east end of the poultry house, ca. 1935. (U14) (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

During Motherwell's tenure as Minister of Agriculture for Saskatchewan, a pamphlet was issued by his department on the "Housing and Feeding [of] Poultry." Nearly two decades before Motherwell chose to follow the advice which it offered, the pamphlet stated

Notwithstanding the fact that lumber is rather high in price, our bright, dry climate, and the absence of rats and other vermin, makes possible the use of cheaply built houses with earth floors which would not be satisfactory where dampness and vermin have to be reckoned with...The simplest form of house is the "shanty roofed" type...[with cedar] shingles.82

Despite the fact that he authorized the construction of his wife's new chicken house on the driest part of the property and minimized the expenses by keeping its size within reason, even at the height of the Depression Motherwell rejected the dirt-floor type and had concrete flooring installed.

In the period before World War I a combination of the gable and shanty, or shed roof had come into vogue. It was claimed by Ekblaw that the combined roof had the advantage of both forms in that it could be used on a wide span using a steep pitch for the cedar shingling with the advantage of lower siding costs.83 But the most common form was the shed roof like Motherwell's, with only one slope, to the north. The advantages of the shanty with a single slope roof
were that all the water would run off at the rear, and it would "not absorb so much heat from the sun during the summer." But, at the same time "the single pitch roof could be used only where the span of the roof is less than 14 feet," in order to prevent sagging. Accordingly, the span of the Motherwell poultry house was only 12 feet, and the shanty-roof style was ideally suited to the extreme conditions of the continental climate.

A combination roof style for poultry houses. (Farmers' Advocate, 20 June, 1898, p. 243.)

The paramount considerations in poultry houses which emerged from late 19th century studies at American and Canadian Experimental Stations were sufficient sunlight, full ventilation and impeccable cleanliness. According to Ekblaw, in 1914 the open front in the long house was rapidly making headway as a favourite type of construction for fulfilling these needs. "The open front house," he claimed, "with certain modifications [was] used successfully even in Canada, in regions where the temperature falls to 40 degrees below zero." Yet this was precisely the structural feature in which the Motherwell shed was deficient. It possessed the concrete floor for cleanliness, the shanty roof for capturing winter sunlight, and a single louver for ventilation. But it was almost devoid of adequate window space for either full ventilation or full sunlight. According to Radford, Chicago's resident agricultural architecture expert, by placing roosts at the back of the shed a natural convection ventilation would be established because of the air warmed by the heat of the chickens' bodies. Cold air would then "come in from the front to gradually take its place." It was imperative, then, to have an abundance of window space to feed the system with fresh air and to keep it circulating through the top ventilator. Consequently, the window system that Ekblaw recommended was a combination of muslin or cheesecloth curtains with glass windows at a ratio of 2 square feet per 20 square feet of floor space. This would offer completely adequate air flow while providing healthful and productive sunlight, too much of which could never be provided in a poultry house.

According to Ekblaw's formula, then, Dan Gallant should have installed windows totalling at least 14 square feet. This would have been amply provided by the four windows in front of what Ekblaw calls "A Poultry House for the Average Farm," but it was not met by the too-small sashes that Gallant finally installed. They failed to
provide recommended levels of sunlight and probably restricted a proper flow of air despite the use of wire mesh screens as a replacement for the cloth screens that had experienced such success in earlier experimental work.

The windows of the Motherwell poultry house clearly fall short of the recommended specifications. (U) (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

The interior of the hen-house should have been equipped with one or two feeders, a dust-bath for the control of lice, and roosts and nests set back to near the lower wall. The roosts should have been no more than two feet for heavy birds or four feet for light ones to avoid falling injuries, and they should have been set at one level to prevent competitive crowding at the top roosts. Finally, the dropping boards should have been located just below the roosts and made easily removable to facilitate the cleaning of manure, which was reputed to make excellent compost mixtures.

It was into this setting that the Plymouth Rock chickens were moved from the barn in 1935:

The Barred variety is the most popular of this breed. They are strong, vigorous birds, of good size, good winter layers, and their flesh is first-rate for market. The cock should be of good sound even colour, poised on short, rich yellow legs, with a good depth of breast. Some birds have a tendency to be too long in the leg. These should be avoided, as dealers do not wish to pay for leg, as also should coarse yellow skinned birds and those having coppery coloured hackle and back as much as possible, very few birds being without this hue altogether. Short single comb, red lobes and wattles with yellow beak. The hen should be compact, with a
good even barring, bright eye and longish face. All birds with short, stout sleepy looking heads should be avoided as not likely to be good layers.\textsuperscript{94}

It is not known how long the new interest in poultry lasted or whether it survived Motherwell himself; but the structure was maintained in good repair, and in the early 1940s a toolshed was built at the east end of the chicken shed with the same shanty roofline to maintain a certain unity of structure. Neither the door nor the eaves of the new toolshed matched the chicken house and the dirt floor has since produced a noticeable list in the structure, but the corner posts, siding and cedar shingles make it a reasonable match. The interior space of the toolshed is limited but adequate, particularly for the implements that would have been used around the poultry house. Almost certainly the storage capacity of the shed would have been enhanced by the shelving units that would have been installed as appears clear in a photograph from the As-Found record.

Poultry house and new toolshed seen from the southwest, ca. 1942. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

Poultry house and toolshed seen from the southeast, 1976. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)
The poultry shed, and the more recent toolshed standing beside it, are buildings from the latter days of Lanark Place. After 1935, with the Liberals back in power under Mackenzie King, Motherwell was once again vitally involved in life at Ottawa, albeit this time as a private member. His place at the cabinet table had been taken by Jimmy Gardner, a Motherwell neighbour of 29 years. Once again Catherine Motherwell prepared to manage the farm as she had between 1908 and 1918. But much had changed in the interim. Alma, her stepdaughter, no longer lived in the province. Jack Gillespie, her brother, was dead. Tal had been alienated by the Gillespie takeover of the twenties and the family had begun to crumble. Nevertheless, Catherine was prepared to take the initiative on the farm and in 1935 it resulted in a new poultry complex; but in 1939 it cost her one of the best managers the farm had seen. The farms of the two eras were unrecognizable and the new emphasis on swine and poultry in this period was evidence of Motherwell's attempt to counteract the pervasive impact of the Depression economy.

The Dry Toilet

One of the most undesirable, and certainly the most disgusting and insanitary [sic], features of perhaps 95 per cent of the farms in America is the privy as it is ordinarily found, bare, unprotected, a breeding place
for flies, and a source of danger from all kinds of transmissible diseases. Much has been written about the sanitary privy, and many have been the schemes for devising one, but the best is only a makeshift, and possesses...the inherently bad defects of all privies.\(^9\)

Shocked that Parks would be interested in restoring the Motherwell farmstead details including the wooden privy near the barn, Pat Motherwell claimed that her happiest day on the farm came in the mid-fifties, when the new bathroom in the stone house was ready for use and the wooden privy by the barn was abandoned for good. While the dry earth privy has been the source of much agrarian and backwoods humour, and is looked upon with some nostalgia by many (most of whom would no longer be captive users), the facility more often produces the same sense of odium as was evoked in personalities as separate as Ekblaw and Pat Motherwell.\(^9\) Nevertheless, the privy, as Ekblaw managed to demonstrate, was clearly a part of agrarian life not just on the plains but throughout the continent.

The dry toilet seen from the southeast, 1969.\(\frac{U}{22}\) (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

Of course, the best known style of privy is that of crescent moon fame which achieved so much notoriety in Appalachia, where it appears to have been worn on the farmstead landscape as a badge of honour. In the Canadian Northwest, privies received neither the same prominent position on the house lot nor the application of distinctive decorations. In fact, the privies were considered simply another of the standard complement of outbuildings that sat on any farmstead. In this sense, the Motherwell privy relates more to the other utility buildings on the property than it does to any particular genre of dry pit toilets. Roughly four feet by five feet, and eight feet high at
the peak of the gable, the privy was firmly established on 2 x 4 inch plates set into the ground. The wood frame was made of 2 x 4 inch joists and rafters covered by 1 x 6 inch fir shiplap siding outside and 1 x 6 inch tongue and groove boards inside. Covering the roof shiplap, like the rest of the buildings, 6 x 18 inch cedar shingles effectively completed the waterproofing.

The door of the privy faced east toward the house. It was composed of eight 1 x 4 inch fir boards and was nearly six feet high, extending to the edge of the pitched roof. Outfitted with an iron handle and inner flip latch, the door was braced by two 1 x 6 inch hinge braces and a bevelled 1 x 3 inch inner handhold. It opened inward, reducing the chances of damage to the door jambs and the possibility of acute embarrassment in the high prairie windstorms. At the same time the inward swing of the door reduced the intrusion that the privy made upon the property which it serviced.

Inside the privy a removable double latrine box sat on a packed earth floor over the pit that, according to the evidence, served the farmstead from its beginning. Four feet long and 1 foot 3 inches wide the box was composed of a 2 x 2 inch frame with 1 x 4 inch and 1 x 8 inch siding. Each port could be closed by a bevelled cover of 1-inch fir with a 3/4-inch wooden handle. There is no evidence that the two sides of the latrine were ever partitioned although a closer investigation of the dilapidated structure now sitting on the property may reveal traces of old division boards.

Thomas White, who carried out the As-Found investigation in 1969-70, claimed that the privy he found on site dated from the era before World War I and was therefore likely to be the original. While it would appear that White was wrong about the dating of the caboose, there is nothing in the record to indicate that the dry toilet was ever moved to or from its present site, or that it was ever rebuilt. In 1914, according to Major McFadyen, it sat where it does now, but at that time it was completely hidden by the maple shelterbelt west of the lawn, and the barnyard fence beside which it sat. It served the male residents of the farmstead, particularly during the
early period when the rules of decorum that had been established by
Motherwell and his wife were ironclad. There was another toilet on the
second floor of the house, sanitized by the addition of lime, which the
men rarely, if ever, were allowed to use until the late twenties and
thirties when the changes wrought by the Gillespies' life-style had
their fullest impact upon life at the farm.

Needless to say the permanent nature of both the indoor and
outdoor dry closets necessitated that they be cleaned with what the
farm-hands must have felt was an inordinate frequency. The septic tank
technology which was readily available to Motherwell was never employed
at Lanark Place. This would have made the indoor toilet more efficient
and more widely available, reducing the importance of the wooden privy;
but the ultimate installation of a water supply and sewage system had
to await the attempted modernization of the farmstead by Richard and
Pat Motherwell. Certainly Motherwell would have been aware of the
large demand that such a system would place upon the farmstead's water
supply. He would also have been swayed by the consideration that
establishing the septic field in a clay soil would have necessitated
the use of almost twice as much drainage tile as would be required for
the same amount of effluent flowing into open, porous soils. 99
Finally, it was also felt that in extreme northern climes the sewage in
the tile distribution system might freeze, rendering it inoperative, or
worse, produce an overflow from the tank itself. Ekblaw maintained,
however, that "experience has shown this objection to be unfounded, the
gases arising from the sewage generating sufficient heat to...prevent
freezing." 100

Whatever the reason, the Motherwell plumbing system remained in
its native state from 1896 until the 1950s. Like modern work gangs
whose first task is always to establish a temporary latrine system, the
workers who descended on Lanark Place in 1896 to erect the stone stable
may, indeed, have located the privy as their first act, giving it a
certain pre-eminence in the schema of the farmstead layout. With this
kind of seniority the privy ranks artifactualy among the most
important features of the farmscape at Lanark Place. Certainly it
ranks ahead of the other utility buildings except perhaps the caboose
which followed it by only a decade. The chicken house is almost 40
years younger, and the granaries that now sit in the working field
north of the barn even newer.

The privy makes its own mute statement about the Motherwell
approach. He used archaic methods of farming, counting on the care and
skill required to produce closely controlled crops for sale and
experiment. The plumbing system on the farm was just as archaic. If Motherwell did, in fact, make certain changes in his house to accommodate the necessary pretensions of public life and a public career, why then would he not also accommodate these pretensions with sophisticated toilet facilities? The privy is not an insignificant or trifling detail on a planner's map. It is a comment on the simplicity of Motherwell's basic, grass roots approach to the life-style he expressed in the farm he built.

The Granaries

By 1946, when the first official aerial photographs of the Abernethy district were taken, two granaries had appeared in the working field northwest of the barn. One, a portable wooden grain store that had doubtless sat in one of Motherwell's fields, had probably been brought into the barn quadrant in the late 1930s or early 1940s as the Depression began to lift and production improved. It can be found amid the jumble of Motherwell's threshing machinery and tractor, where it still sits on a permanent concrete floor, reinforced by three steel cable cross-pieces which would have protected the structure during transit, keeping the walls braced against the weight of the grain.

As the operation at Lanark Place continued to change after Motherwell's death in 1943, a second granary was moved onto the property immediately north of the first. In the 1946 aerial photograph the round corrugated steel granary appears as a white circle in the middle of the working field.
Threshing in the working field near the first granary outside the barn. Looking west, ca. 1940. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

Aerial photograph of Lanark Place, May 1946. (Original photograph supplied by the Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources.)

The third in the present trio of granaries on the farmstead appeared some time after 1946 and varies in structure from the first primarily by the absence of the concrete floor. To compensate for the resultant loss of strength, 6 x 6 inch beams were used for the foundation upon which the diagonally pieced 1 x 8 inch tongue and grooved flooring sat. The 1965 aerial photograph of the farmstead shows the present configuration of these granaries, but if the earlier
overhead shot is studied it can be seen that certain structural features of the landscape have disappeared. West of the barn five low rectangular forms, and near the east fence of the work field a small shed, have been left unexplained and will probably remain a mystery.

Aerial survey photograph of Lanark Place, October 1965. (Original photograph supplied by the Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources.)

While questions of grain storage had produced a fair amount of technologically advanced design for the best kinds of building by the turn of the century, such structures remained simple and generally undistinguished on Canadian prairie farms. Again, the Motherwell granaries illustrate not an advanced and modern approach to

Moving a portable granary, Warman, Sask. (Public Archives of Canada PA 21643.)
agricultural advances, but a plain, straightforward and inexpensive approach to dry-land farming. For the most part these structures, one of which can be attributed to the Motherwell period, take no innovative approach to the general problem of grain storage, and possess no mechanical frills that would have lightened the burdens involved in the movement of grain.

Still, the most important considerations in the construction of granaries were strength and durability. According to Ekblaw, a modified principle of hydrostatics applies to the storage of grain and the relative fluidity of the material. Consequently considerable lateral pressure is exerted on granary walls as well as the floor. The "total lateral pressure on the wall of an oats bin 12 feet high and 16 feet long would be about 20,000 pounds... ." Since grain was the raison d'être of most Southern Saskatchewan farms, great care was taken in the construction of the ubiquitous gable-roofed granary. The shrinkage of flooring always resulted in grain loss beneath. Building on or too close to damp ground rotted flooring and produced moldy grain. In the poorly constructed granary, floor joists broke or walls caved, nullifying much of a year's work. 

Even as early as the turn of the century concrete was becoming a common material in farm building, and Ekblaw saw it as imperative in granary construction to form a firm, waterproof and easily cleaned cement and concrete floor. He also recommended that the floor be sloped to facilitate the emptying of grain: "A slope of 2 1/2 feet in 8 is sufficient to permit all the grain in a bin to slide out into... conveyors which carry the grain to the... wagons... without any hand labour being involved." But the granaries that accumulated on the Motherwell farm after 1940 were small and almost inconsequential in comparison to the bin storage in his barn or in the standard published plans. Neither Ekblaw nor the 1909 edition of Radford's Practical Barn Plans offers a layout for a granary smaller than could be driven into with a wagon.

Brought in from the fields where they had originally sat, the three granaries served only as an interim measure to handle extra grain on the farmstead at a time when cash for buildings was simply unavailable to the Motherwell family. Only the first of the granaries, closest to the barn, achieved the permanence that concrete flooring could provide. Twelve feet wide, 16 feet long, and nearly 14 feet high at the peak of the gable roof, the cement-floored granary was also the largest and, because of the steel cables, probably the strongest. The frame was composed of 2 x 6 inch joists for additional lateral strength, and normal 2 x 4 inch rafters where stress was not a factor. On the east wall of the granary all of the joists were doubled to 4 x 6 inch and one had been trebled to the point that it was really a 6 x 6 inch post. Since the entrance door was located in the west wall, the opposite side of the granary with the double joists likely received the brunt of the loads it held.

The roof of the first granary also had the wider eaves of the two wooden buildings and was probably the most effectively waterproofed. Composed of 1 x 8 inch fir and 6 x 18 inch cedar shingles, the roof rested on 2 x 6 inch plates as did the shed itself. The siding was 1 x 6 inch fir reinforced in six separate places, front, back and sides by pieces of 2 x 6 inch fir which were spiked into the inner studs. Two of these braces which ran the length of the structure one to two feet
The first and largest of the outside granaries and the only one with a cement floor. View from the southwest, 1976. (\textsuperscript{U/4}) (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

above ground level were used only to reinforce the siding. The other four,\textsuperscript{105} as can be seen by the black bolts which appear in the photograph, were also used to anchor the interior steel cables.

The large granary seen from the northeast. Note the braces and cable bolts, 1976. (\textsuperscript{U/11}) (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

There is no indication on the As-Found renderings of this granary that it was divided into bins. The granary was normally filled through
the hinged hatches in the gable ends, while the sliding chute on the east wall may have been used for unloading the top portion of a full granary. Behind the seven-foot door, which opened outwards to facilitate unloading, a series of 1 x 12's acted as a dam at the bottom of the opening. In the centre of one of the sections a small hatch could be opened to produce a free flow of grain.

The round corrugated metal structure was the second granary to appear on the farm before 1946. Unlike its predecessor it could be filled to the top, and because of its form and material there was little need to worry about stresses on the walls or the impervious floor if, indeed, the granary had a floor of its own. The conical top of the metal granary was strengthened by crimps that radiated like the spokes of a wheel from the central ventilation flue. The two access points in the granary both faced east into the working part of the field and sat one below the other. The solid filler hatch butted against the top rim of the cylinder while the spill chute extended from the centre of the curved wall to the ground. Apart from the defects in the roof, which appears to have suffered from the moves and beatings it would have been subject to over the years, only two other openings existed in the structure. On the northeast side two semicircular hatches have been sealed off. Whether or not they can be opened has not been determined but they seem to serve no useful purpose.

Thomas White, in his As-Found survey, saw fit not to mention or photograph the metal granary, perhaps because he felt that it did not belong on a farm layout in which all the other structures were wood framed, fir sided and cedar shingled. Yet among the five buildings that now sit in the working field it was the wooden granary, in the
The metal granary from the northeast, 1976. ([U]_16) (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

Working field utility buildings grouped from the northeast, 1976. ([U]_16) (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

centre of the picture, and not the metal one that was the last to join the group, some time after 1946.

Like the first, this last granary was constructed of 2 x 6 inch side joists, 2 x 4 inch rafters, 1 x 6 inch shiplap siding and cedar shingles. Unlike the first, the smaller wooden granary was only 14 feet long, 12 feet wide, and slightly more than 12 feet high at the peak of the gable roof. The roof was 1 x 6 inch fir, the end joists were only 2 x 4 inch, and there were no double reinforced joists at any point in the frame. Two pieces of 2 x 6 inch fir were used on each side for reinforcement, and although they were bolted to the frame with cable hooks, White found no interior cables to bolster the walls as he
The second wooden granary to be added to the working field in the 1940s, 1976. (\(\text{U}^\frac{3}{5}\)) (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

had in the first granary.

Of course, the most radical difference between the two granaries was the absence of the concrete floor in the second. Instead, the floor was composed of 1 x 8 inch tongue and groove boards laid diagonally across the 6 x 6 inch beams below. The four beams had been set into the ground so that the floor of the granary was given no airing space, and they acted more like foundations than struts and were not forced to bear the full weight of the granary floor. The ground beams which paralleled the long sides were two feet longer than the granary. Although they were not bevelled at the end they may have acted as sleds. It is more likely, however, that the beams were placed in the ground and the granary brought in to sit on them.

Only the gable end of this last granary had grain hatches, the sides being left free of doors or openings. Both hatches opened outward on hinges, but since the door of the granary faced east into the field the western hatch was probably used most often. Despite the smaller overall capacity of this granary, its doorway at 3 feet 10 inches was fully a foot larger than that of the major granary. Its grain chute hatch was also somewhat more sophisticated, not necessarily in structural design but in the use of 5/8-inch tough laminated plywood in the construction of the removable hatch and frame in which it moved. A 1/4-inch plywood layer was also laid in front of the door of the granary which would have made collecting the grain that was allowed to spill out of the hatch a great deal easier.

It can be seen, then, that each of the granaries differed more or less from the others. Each offered its own advantages of strength, convenience or durability. This use of three such differing structures was consistent with Motherwell's naturally inquisitive approach to farming methods and although only the first granary near the barn was on the farmstead grounds at the time of his death, all three were probably in the fields during his tenure as master of Lanark Place.

The location of the three granaries lacks both an appreciation of the esthetic qualities of the barn quadrant's working field, and a certain sense of organizational know-how. Only the metal granary is
convenient in its present locale. It fills from the east and empties in the same direction. The grain chute does not sit behind a swing door, so that it matters little which side of the granary receives the high side of the grain. The second wooden granary could be filled from the east, but since the doorway is also on that side it should be filled from the western or windward side. This would present problems only on wet or snowy days in which case it would be unlikely that grain would be moved for storage anyway. It is the first granary, set on its concrete foundation floor, that makes the least sense. Although it could be filled by hatches on the north, east and south, grain had to be taken out via the door on the west side, which would be particularly inconvenient and likely to allow snow to blow in during the winter months when grain would be hauled for crushing to make feed or up to Abernethy for sale.

Finally, there is nothing aesthetically pleasing about the manner in which these grain storage buildings have been inserted into the landscape of Lanark Place. Until around 1940 they had sat in the fields where they belonged, and considering the desire to re-create the farm to an earlier historical era they should be removed to a field buffer zone where they could illustrate their original purpose and intended function.
CONCLUSION

The Motherwell farmstead was not unique. It is presumptuous to assume that Motherwell would have been one of only a few western farmers to apply the techniques of scientific agriculture to the planning of his farm grounds and buildings; it would be incongruous to think that he would have been one of a few to beautify his farmstead with trees and shrubs when contrary evidence is so obvious to the interested observer passing through Southern Saskatchewan. Every agricultural agency, including the federal and provincial departments of agriculture, colleges of agriculture, agricultural implement dealers, seed wholesalers, and agricultural journals, endlessly promoted the planned and beautified farmstead. Despite the present controversy over the use of planted trees as a dry-land farming technique, shelterbelts and beautified landscapes became articles of faith on the Prairies. Some advocates even went so far as to think it unchristian, or at best, irreligious to live on a treeless farmstead, or to live too long in the original sod or log house without making the effort to build bigger and better quarters for the produce, the animals and the family of the farm. The pressure that this incessant propaganda campaign attempted to put upon those who would not comply was irresistible. Examples of farmsteads left barren and exposed to the elements, however prosperous, were held up to ridicule, displayed in the periodicals with appropriate gasps of horror, indignation or contempt. They were even kept on file for use at appropriate intervals, in the arsenals of government agencies like the Federal Nursery Station at Indian Head, whose sole purpose was the forestation of the western plains.

Motherwell did not simply fall into line under the pressure of the scientific beautification movement, he personified it. This is the context within which Lanark Place fits. Even a cursory survey of the purveyors of the movement reveals that their ethos was Central Canadian. The federal Department of Agriculture in Ottawa generated the system of experimental farms that propagated the gospel of good farming practice. These were reinforced and supplemented by the territorial and provincial departments of agriculture of governments that were dominated by the political activism of the Ontario immigrants who came west between 1870 and 1910. Even the popularizers, the periodical farm press, despite the occasional pique at eastern ignorance of western conditions, had had a Central Canadian genesis. Since the vast majority of individual settlement before the rush of 1900 was also Ontarian, the impact of the campaign was overwhelming. In essence it was saying that the West was exploitable but inhospitable, even hostile. Only by intervening directly in the natural course of prairie conditions could the settler survive the immense austerity of the plains. More particularly, only by holding out the promise that the prairie could be remade into livable, almost
comfortable surroundings would the best kind of settlers be attracted. These, of course, were the second and third generation Anglo-Saxon Protestant Ontarians who had been raised in the farm-scarred forest lands of Upper Canada. Central Canadian colonial imperialism in the Northwest would be effective only if colonists could be attracted to the area in sufficient enough quantities to control the political and economic machinery of the system. In Manitoba the solution had been easy enough. The early years of military occupation had been quickly superseded by the appearance of the entrepreneurial settler. Ontarian immigration centred upon the three most likely boom sites of Emerson, Selkirk and Winnipeg, and then swarmed to Winnipeg when the city fathers built the first railway bridge across the Red River. The Northwest Territories did not possess the same kind of urban potential for speculative profit. The defunct Bell Farm near Indian Head is a testimonial to the foolishness of the early attempts to use bonanza farm production in the hope of windfall gain. Speculation on the open Prairies was not the purview of the individual man on the make, or of syndicate-backed farming operations - at least until world markets opened to Canadian grains. Rather, it belonged to the land companies, large and small, based on the prototype real estate arm of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which by 1884 had sold nearly 2,000,000 acres of its main line grant to frontier land companies, including one which it happened to control.\footnote{1} It was mandatory, then, for the railways and the land companies to propagandize in order to encourage settlement - an approach which dovetailed with those presented by the other agencies of Central Canadian domination, including the federal government and the farm press, during the early years of settlement between 1870 and 1900.

It was, however, the lure of the $10, 160-acre homestead that brought the major wave of Ontarian settlers west after 1870, when the federal government was enabled to establish a "Dominion lands" policy by retaining control of the Crown lands and natural resources in Manitoba and the Territories. The first Dominion Lands Bill of 1872 set in motion the bureaucratic machinery\footnote{2} that would handle the theoretical distribution of the free land; but it was the Dominion land surveyors who went west and actually claimed the land in the name of the Queen. In this case the drama of the cross and the flag had been replaced by the pragmatism of the geodetic survey pin. Not quite in the van, Motherwell had followed the survey only to find the main line land belts already appropriated. By turning north he joined other Ontarians who were pushing the land frontier north and south of the track, although not yet beyond the lengthy arm of the Canadian Pacific. Within this broad band of settlement where the Ontarians had managed to claim the prime land with relatively free access to rail, the landscape abounds with Ontario-style stone houses, large two- and three-storey stylish wood frame farmhouses, and extensive, often overgrown farmsteads largely hidden from view by the dense shelterbelts. Once replete with ornamental lawns, gardens and trees, at least around the farm home, the beautified farmstead has become a thing of the past. No longer are the scions of the original homesteaders prepared to sacrifice productive time or efficiency to the elaborate planting of lanes, driveways, beds, and lawns. The tennis court has long since departed from the Saskatchewan farmstead and the local tennis association is no longer the mainstay of small town social circles.
Lanark Place, then, is representative of an era as well as a people. Built at the peak of Ontarian domination in the West, these farmsteads with their elaborate houses, broad encompassing shelterbelts, and usually moderate attempts at ornamentation, were the products of successful, perseverant pioneers. By the late 1890s they had served their apprenticeship as the homestead and moved on to something better. While it is hard to envisage a mentality in which the beauty of a grove of trees would not be preferred to the barrenness of the open plain, it was particularly the Ontarians, bred in the dense woodlands of Central Canada, who devoted themselves to the erection of tree-enclosed farmsteads. They, more than the others who followed, were committed to revamping the environment in which they had chosen to settle.

By virtue of the need to create a water supply where none had previously existed, Lanark Place serves as a prime example of these manipulative responses to Great Plains geography. The long rows of shelterbelting planted in various densities and breadths, blocked, diverted and funnelled the northwest winds, away from, around and into the farmstead. Snow was allowed to flow evenly across the northern half of the layout, was kept out of the garden which lay at the low end of the farmstead, and was held within the area devoted to water collection by a variety of willow, Russian poplar, ash, and maple plantings. Rain, of course, fell where it might; but again, any precipitation falling near the dugout was trapped in the vortex-like contours Motherwell had created in his sculpting of the landscape. Groundwater was channelled around the main buildings, and drainage from the barn and barnyard was channelled through a ditch out of the farmstead and into the open fields beyond. This pattern protected the fresh clean water that filtered through a sand and gravel vein leading from the dugout to the well. Near the house a supplementary cistern system collected roof water and runoff from melting ice to provide the family with utility water.

In the garden, heat from the sun, particularly important for spring planting and fall harvest, was held in the garden by dense maple and willow plantings. In the barnyard the sun's heat was trapped year-round by the natural shelter of the barn and the high barnyard fence. Conversely, the dugout area was kept cool by the vegetation that had been allowed to spread in dense patches thus preventing excessive loss from evaporation. Similarly, shady nooks near the house were provided for the family and workers by elm, poplar and maple plantings along cool lanes and sunshielded lawns. The real impact of these massive tree plantings can only be appreciated when it is understood that the root systems and aspiration of subterranean water through the leaves has lowered the water table around the farmstead an estimated three to four feet. The implications this has for the whole concept of farmstead development revolve around the premise that this kind of renovation of the natural environment had disrupted the ecological system upon which it sits to the point that it would take decades to return to normal. But the ravages that hit Lanark Place after its early heyday illustrate very clearly the artificial origins of such constructs. Without constant maintenance and support their tendency is to revert to the natural prairie. In fact, the essential nature of the farm and farmstead is in itself organic. The shelterbelts, which are the prime component, cannot escape the limitations of their own life
cycle, although these limits can be extended depending on the longevity of the selected species. But even the buildings themselves were organic and subject to weathering and decay as much as the vegetation.

A farmstead tree plantation showing growth in five years, 1908. (Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask., no. 937.)

Motherwell's Lanark Place, despite the use of hired help to maintain the farmstead, was as susceptible as any to the savaging of time. Only during the early years of the home, when the foundations were new, the paint fresh, and the trees in their early stages of growth, were these farmsteads appealing or attractive. Constant and costly maintenance programmes, which always collapsed in hard times, were absolutely necessary to keep places like the D.C. Stafford farm of Weyburn, Saskatchewan, in top condition. A close inspection would reveal that even Lanark Place which had come to acquire a show-place reputation was deteriorating rapidly by 1922 when the display photograph was taken. Thus the era of the grand Ontarian farmstead was limited to the period that followed the turn of the century by two distinctive phenomena: the tendency of the first generation of Ontarian settlers to build them, and their own proclivity to disintegrate.

Not all of the Ontarian pioneers built major farmstead developments, and not all of those that did, built large stone houses from which to manage them. Wood frame houses were most common and many of them reached huge proportions, surpassing even the homes of their fellow settlers who had collected enough fieldstone or bought enough pressed stone to build more monumental dwellings. It is a statement about the character of W.R. Motherwell that he not only chose to work in stone but that he collected or split every piece that went into his farm buildings. It is the Ontarian stone house, often Italianate in design, that despite settlement in the foundations or crumbling mortar,
D.C. Spafford farm, Weyburn. Planted in 1907 and 1909. Maple, ash, cottonwood and willow, 1924. (Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask., 17492.)

has survived as an artifact of the era. Actually, the greatest enemy these relics have are the grandsons and granddaughters of the men who built them. Though they might weaken and sag, erosion has had little appreciable impact upon the great houses. They fall not to erosion but to demolition, in order that they might be replaced by prefabricated, aluminium-sided bungalows.\(^3\)

More than most, the house at Lanark Place was susceptible to demolition. In a small way Pat Motherwell's renovations could be attributed to this approach. But the circumstances surrounding the ultimate disposition of the house ironically also led to its preservation. It was the abandonment of the farmstead when the land was sold to Hugh Steuck rather than its later occupation that led to its survival. The longstanding relationship between the Steuck and Motherwell families, dating at least from 1883, assured that the farmstead would be treated with some sensitivity, and much of the impetus for its present designation as an historic site came from their recognition of its potential. But the importance attached to the house served a more useful purpose than its restoration. Because of the protection given the house, the other more fragile farm structures have also been preserved. A 1972 Parks Canada stabilization programme put the barn and implement shed into the best condition they had seen since their construction. Unfortunately, too much attention was given to the chicken house, a later addition to the property, at the expense of structures that were probably on the farm before 1910. Both the caboose and the dry toilet shed were allowed to deteriorate without stabilization because they appeared to have been lesser structures. They were, however, vitally important to the farming operation and represent a particular aspect of agricultural life and work as it was when these farmsteads were at their peak.

The ancillary buildings together with the great barn and the awesome landscape make up the farmstead. The house in many ways was an entity unto itself. Even Motherwell, when he was home, spent most of his waking hours in the fields, the barn, the threshing field or the
The house may have dominated the front side of the property and its main door may have served as the formal entrance, but life inside the house was oriented toward the farmstead. The most important door in the house was the backdoor that led out of the summer kitchen to the informal lawn, from which all corners of the farm were accessible. It was, in fact, the summer kitchen that formed the link between the farm and the house, a connection that is only reinforced by the fact that the summer kitchen walls suffered from the same shallow foundation as the barn and showed the same early signs of deterioration. Only the uncommon proximity of the stone farmhouse to the road allowance gives it the pre-eminence that it presently enjoys. The fish-eye distortion of the proportions of the house in the 1922 panorama have created the myth that the house, not the barn, dominates the landscape. But to anyone who has seen the farmstead, the great barn supersedes everything else on the property.

Not surprisingly, the barn, like the house, finds its antecedents firmly in Southern Ontario. It is a Central Ontario basement barn, according to Ennals, and although his study on barns in that province appears to have neglected eastern and north central Ontario, it is fairly clear that this particular barn type was not built with the same kind of frequency in Lanark County that it enjoyed farther west. Still, the basement was the predominant feature of most barns even in Eastern Ontario, as can be seen from a sample of barns taken from Carleton and Lanark counties in August 1976 (Appendix D). Despite this single example of a gambrel-roofed, log basement, L-shaped barn, it is likely that Motherwell's barn was a product not of his home surroundings as was the house, but of his formal agricultural training in Guelph during the two years preceding his migration west.

Despite its apparent potential, the Motherwell barn was a simple structure in contrast to the complexity of those advertised in The Nor'-West Farmer and The Farmer's Advocate. No sophisticated guttering, ventilation or feeding techniques were employed in the stable area of the basement, and the piggery where the swine, young cattle and poultry were housed, had a primitive earth floor that was not converted to concrete until Richard Motherwell initiated his hog business in 1953. Rather than using the more advanced and space-saving method of lumber framing, the barn superstructure and gambrel roof were based on the standard timber bent, and nearly all of the wood used in
the construction of the barn and every ancillary building had to be imported from Ontario or British Columbia. As such, the Motherwell buildings made no innovative contribution to the development of prairie rural architecture. They were an Ontarian's response to the agriculture of the Great Plains which in the final analysis was inappropriate to the conditions as they existed. The farmstead was Ontario, the wheat fields were Saskatchewan. The Motherwell mixed farming operation experienced only qualified successes so that in the end, the attempt to re-create a piece of his original home had to be artificially supported by political salaries and whatever cash crop he could garner from his fields.

But there was beauty. As a strict denial of the stark aesthetics of prairie skies and horizons, the farmstead provided its residents with a life-style far removed from the dehumanizing austerity of mean agrarian shacks. If the prairie homestead was a figurative wilderness into which the immigrant Ontarians had been sent, then the construction of the landscaped farmstead was a return to the garden. It was this supreme effort to attain a comfortable, almost luxurious self-containment, not by grace but by good and hard works. Each treed farmstead contains at least part of this elemental approach to agrarian life and Lanark Place more than most. It was a creation of and in turn gave rise to its own particular society. This is where the unique identity of the Motherwell farmstead lies. Not in its beauty, because there were others more beautiful, or in its sophistication, because there were others far more successful, but in the familial society that found shelter within its borders and worked to sustain it.

Farm of Wm. Patterson, Sept. 1912. (Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask., 14329.)

Every farm and farmstead really derives its identity and its
history from its inhabitants. It is the course of the human history that ultimately determines the structural and usage history of the physical plant, even though certain issues like available materials, soil types, and native plant species are predetermined. Lanark Place was certainly no exception to this rule. Indeed, it is a superb example. As the fates and fortunes of the family ebbed and flowed and even altered course, so too did the condition of the farm. In this sense there are a number of distinct phases in the history of the farmstead, all of them attached to changes in the micro-society that it enclosed.

The first phase, naturally, was the homestead era, when the farmstead concept was being developed. As has been seen, the present locale was a poor second in Motherwell's mind, but one which he was forced to use upon being refused access to a more picturesque site. The development of the farmstead in the first instance related closely to the period when Motherwell was taking a leading role in the agricultural and political affairs of his fellow Ontarian settlers. This is not to say that Motherwell neglected or was unsympathetic to the question of ethnic diversity or European immigration. However, his campaigning, his agrarian activism, and ultimately his administrative duties kept him deeply enmeshed in the leading Anglo-Saxon Protestant community of the Northwest Territories. When this phase is strictly related to farm and family developments it can be dated from approximately 1895-96 to 1905. Between these years the foundation structures were raised and the basic tree belts were planted. The incomplete construction and the adolescent tree lines gave the farmstead a fresh, almost embryonic appeal. But by the end of this period, before Motherwell's new plantings had begun to nature, and before the major structures were completed, the optimism that the family must have carried into the new century had been shattered. In 1905 Adeline Rogers Motherwell died of the ravages of asthma. Her husband, who had shown promise as a leading mixed farming producer in agricultural fairs during the late eighties and early nineties, effectively put an end to this part of the farm's history by accepting a cabinet post in the new Saskatchewan government. When the children were placed in the care of neighbourhood friends, the order of the family farm disintegrated and for three years it was more the preserve of the hired men and servant-girls than of the Motherwells. True, the barn was completed, the implement shed built, the men's cottage erected and the shelterbelts had begun to exert their profound influence on the climate of the farmstead, but much of the work was counter-productive. The barn was left unpainted, its foundations began to shift, the board ramp which serviced the drive was unsafe, particularly in bad weather, and the poor ventilation contributed to the poor health of his stock. The most extensive changes in the life of the farm lay ahead, however, as Lanark Place rose and fell from one era to the next.

In 1908 Motherwell remarried. His new bride, Catherine Gillespie, brought with her to the farm a crisp new efficiency of operation, a sense of place for everything and everyone on the farm, and a horde of relatives. Although it took more than a decade to achieve, after the first stage of the Gillespie presence between 1908 and 1922 when Catherine managed Lanark Place for her husband during his prolonged absences, the farm eventually fell under the Gillespie onslaught. For nearly two more decades, when the greatest decay set in, it could no
longer be properly called the Motherwell farm. It belonged to Motherwell, the minister of agriculture, but it deteriorated under the Gillespie management.

The farm really reached its peak during the first period of Gillespie occupation when Motherwell was in Regina and close enough to maintain a degree of control over the daily operation. Only Aunt Janet Gillespie had become a permanent resident in-law. Hired-hands still came under Motherwell's sway; and Alma Motherwell, except for two years in Germany, maintained at least part of the continuity of the original family. Photographs from this era show a steadily maturing, efficiently maintained farm, although not without certain signs of deterioration. But by 1928, well into the second era of Gillespie occupation, the farm had entered a new and unwelcome phase of decay and decline. All buildings were badly in need of a coat of paint and broken windows were allowed to remain unrepaired. Alma Motherwell was in Regina, her brother Tal was more involved in his own property on Motherwell's original northern quarters, and both Motherwell and his wife lived in Ottawa through the twenties during his tenure as Dominion minister of agriculture.

Only during the three and one half years between his resignation from the provincial government and his move to Ottawa in 1922 did Motherwell devote himself fully to the work of the fields and farmstead at Lanark Place. By 1922 when the panorama photograph was taken, the farmstead could still be tidied enough to serve as a new minister's showpiece. At the end of the decade that was no longer true. Between 1922 and 1933 Jack Gillespie managed the farm and lived in the stone house. His brother Archie, who outlived him, resided in the cottage until his death in 1937. Within this period two major events in the history of the farmstead structure typified what had happened to Lanark Place by the time the Depression had struck in Southern Saskatchewan. Because of the expansive clay upon which they sat, the inadequate

Lanark Place, ca. 1914. (Saskatchewan Archives Board [Regina].)
three-foot barn foundations had moved to such an extent that the walls had begun to deteriorate at an increasingly rapid rate. In 1933 Motherwell finally surrendered to the inevitable and authorized the addition of three concrete buttresses to stabilize the structure. Thus the prime structure on the property also came to exemplify the extent to which the farm had collapsed.

Motherwell barn from southwest showing two of the three buttresses, 1976. (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.)

The second major event in the deterioration of the property was the loss of all the decorative cottonwood poplars that complemented the front of the property. Along the working access road, behind the lawn and on the north side of the house all cottonwoods were lost and no evidence of their existence remained to be recorded by the As-Found team. Whether these trees died of old age (they could not have been more than 40 years old), or disease, or whether they were removed because their root suckers had begun to invade lawns and driveways is uncertain; but without the cottonwoods the nature of the landscape was drastically altered and much of the decorative impact lost.

Through the Depression, Motherwell was at home more than he had been in a decade. The Liberals had fallen from grace and he had been stripped of his departmental administrative duties. Nevertheless, as a private member, he still felt the need to retain a manager, and when Jack Gillespie died in 1933 he hired Dan Gallant. Gallant, who had worked the farm briefly during the early 1920s soon became a part of the new look that Motherwell wished to superimpose on his farmstead. An orchard had already been planted north of the house and by 1933 the fruit trees were waist high. Gallant then added to the renovations by constructing the poultry house in the working field in 1935. Wheat and other grains had been king on the farm since the intensification of wartime production in 1917. The Depression, however, dictated a return to small mixed farming operations if only for self-preservation, and the chicken house was later joined by a granary for the storage of feed grains and unsold surplusses. Near these structural additions part of
the northwest shelterbelting was converted to a hogpen as Motherwell made an obvious effort to upgrade his animal operation. But in the end it was too late to salvage the farm, even with the help of reputed hands like Gallant and Ted Callow who succeeded him in 1939.

The ultimate fate of Lanark Place had almost been fore-ordained in 1913 when Motherwell split his farmlands and his stock and moved his son Talmadge to another farm on the two quarters near Abernethy. This effectively removed him from the line of inheritance and by the early forties, after the Gillespie men had disappeared, no one was prepared to take up the farm in the family line. Upon Motherwell's death in 1943, the real heir to the land, Richard Motherwell, was blocked from taking title by his stepgrandmother's asking price of $10,000. In the interim, while Richard was attempting to accumulate the cash, Catherine Motherwell attempted to keep the farm going with outside help, but as the 1946 aerial photograph indicates (p. 156), the farm had become a parody of its former self. Age had eaten away at the short-lived maples, and lack of cultivation had modified the dugout shelterbelts beyond recognition. Clearly the farmstead had ceased to be a monument to the Ontarian approach to life on the Prairies, and without adequate care the land was beginning to revert to its natural state, leaving only the symmetry of its lines behind as scars upon the landscape.

Lanark Place, as all other farmsteads, was a living, organic structure that had to be fed and nurtured to survive. Susceptible to all environmental influences, it evolved according to the treatment it received from the people who worked it. In 1910 it was an anachronistic testimony to the Ontarian who had built it in the image of another place. The day of the Ontarians had already ended, and the mosaic of prairie settlement had begun to take form. The farmstead illustrates the first step in this process when the first homogeneous band of hopeful settlers arrived, expanded and built a new society from old memories. Like the stone houses and the basement barns, the impact that this society had on the Canadian West is heavy and solid, but somewhat decayed. It is gradually fading into non-existence. Lanark Place can commemorate it.
Tree Planting

The packages of tree seedlings which have recently been distributed from the Central Experimental Farm at Ottawa, have been accompanied by the following circular:

A package containing one hundred forest tree seedlings has been mailed you this day, and your attention is specially called to the following instructions: When the trees are received, unpack at once and wet the roots. If unable to plant immediately, store them in a cool cellar or heel them in out of doors, covering them completely with moist earth. Situation - When selecting a site for planting, if possible choose a loamy and friable soil on a northern slope. A piece that has been summer fallowed is preferable. Avoid southern exposures, as trees in such situations are liable to be injured by alternate freezing and thawing in the spring and by the hot winds in summer. Preparation of soil - Work the ground twelve to fifteen inches deep and pulverize thoroughly, mark out rows four feet apart, running north and south. Planting - Cut back to the living wood any tops that may be withered or otherwise injured. Do not expose the roots to the sun or wind for a minute, as the tender seedlings are quickly injured by such exposure. A good plan is to carry the seedlings to the field in a pail of water, from which they are planted. Set deep, four feet apart each way, putting the Box Elders and Cottonwoods in the outside rows. If the soil is dry pour water in the holes when half filled. Press the earth firmly about the roots in all cases and leave the tree in a slight basin, with the top soil loosely laid on; it should be kept in this loose condition by frequent stirrings during the growing season. Where practicable plant corn in the interspaces of the north and south rows, and leave the stalks standing over winter. The corn will serve as a summer shade and assist in collecting snow through the winter. Cultivate at least once a week during the growing season, afterwards sufficiently often to keep the weeds down. This treatment should be continued annually until the trees are large enough to shade the ground. Mulch heavily each year, in the fall with straw, manure, or prairie hay, which is removed in the spring when cultivation begins. You will be expected to take such notes during the growing period, as will enable you to make a report at the close of the season on the behavior of each variety, giving soil and exposure. Reports will be expected whether favorable or unfavorable.
APPENDIX B.  THE FARMERS’ ADVOCATE, MAY 1891, p. 187

Instructions for Planting
(by John Craig, horticulturist at Central Experimental Farm, Ottawa, Ont.)

When the trees are received, unpack at once, and wet the roots. If unable to plant immediately, store them in a cool cellar, or bury out of doors, covering them completely with moist earth.

SITUATION: When selecting a site for planting if possible choose a loamy and friable soil on a northern slope - a piece that has been summerfallowed is preferable. Avoid southern exposures, as trees in such situations are liable to be injured by alternate freezing and thawing in the spring, and by hot winds in summer. (Observe the situation in which trees are found naturally in Manitoba, and particularly the Northwest - generally a northern exposure.)

PREPARATION OF SOIL: Work the ground twelve to fifteen inches deep, and pulverize thoroughly; mark out rows three and a-half or four feet apart, running north and south.

PLANTING: Cut back to the living wood any tops that may be withered or otherwise injured. Do not expose the roots to the sun or wind for a moment, as the tender seedlings are quickly injured by such exposure. A good plan is to carry the seedlings to the field in a pail of water, from which they are planted; set deep, four feet apart each, putting the stronger growing varieties, as Box Elder and Cottonwoods, in the outside rows. If the soil is dry, pour water in the holes when half filled. Press the earth firmly about the roots in all cases, and leave the tree in a slight basin with the surface soil loosely laid on. It should be kept in this loose condition by frequent stirring during the growing season. Where practicable, plant corn in the interspaces of the north and south rows, and leave the stalks standing over winter. The corn will serve as a summer shade, and assist in collecting snow through the winter.

EVERGREENS: Special care must be taken that the roots of these do not become dried. They will also require partial shade during the first season.

CULTIVATE at least once a week throughout the growing season; afterwards sufficiently often to keep the weeds down. This treatment should be continued annually until the trees are large enough to shade the ground. Mulch each year in the fall with straw, manure, or prairie hay, which is to be removed in the spring when cultivation begins.
You will please take such notes during the growing period as will enable you to make a report at the close of the season on the behavior of each variety, giving soil and exposure. Reports will be expected whether favorable or unfavorable.

Notes on Varieties

WHITE ASH (*Fraxinus americana*) - Prefers a moist soil, but does well on dry ground, making a large tree, and is one of the most valuable timbers we have. It is a fairly rapid grower when cultivated, though not as quick growing as the next, it makes a larger tree. Seed ripens in the fall, can be sown at once, or kept in a damp place over winter and planted in spring.

GREEN ASH (*Fraxinus vividis*) - This makes a smaller tree than the last, but is a more rapid grower when young. It is found farther north and west than the white ash. Seed of the Manitoba form of this has been distributed the past winter. It is found well adapted to cultivation in prairie regions.

BOX ELDER - Ash leaved maple, Manitoba maple (*Acer negundo aceroides*) - This variously named tree has been sent out as Box Elder. It is extremely variable in hardiness, chiefly dependent on the locality from which it is derived. The Manitoba form is preferable to any other for the use of northwest planters. While the wood is not specially valuable in the manufactures, yet its rapid growth, extreme hardiness, and ability to stand neglect and abuse renders it at once the most valuable tree for beginners in prairie forestry. Seed ripens in the fall, and germinates best when sown immediately. It may be propagated from cuttings set out in the fall.

SOFT MAPLE - Silver leaf or River maple (*Acer Dasycarpum*) - A rapid grower, found naturally on river bottoms through the west. Planted in groves it makes fuel and shelter very quickly, but does not in the west make a long lived tree; planted singly it is apt to be broken by windstorms. The seed ripens, according to location, in May and June, and should be planted at once. The young seedlings will appear as quickly as corn, and need shading.

SYCAMORE - Plane tree, Buttonwood (*Platamus occidentalis*) - This has been sent out with the special purpose of determining its usefulness under northwest prairie conditions. It has a wide range of distribution in the Atlantic and Western States. It is one of the finest shade trees for street planting. The wood is valuable in cabinet work. The seed is collected and sown in the spring, and also may be propagated from cuttings set out in the fall.

AMERICAN ELM (*Ulmus americana*) - Specially valuable for avenue and road-side planting, and as a pasture shade tree. The value of the wood for manufacturing is well known. The seeds ripen in May, usually before the trees come into full leaf. Sow at once on gathering. The seed may be planted in corn hills to good advantage.
MANITOBA ELM - This, though botanically the same as the last, has been collected and distributed, to demonstrate the superior hardiness of the native over the eastern or southern grown tree. It would be well to plant alongside each other for closer comparison.

BLACK CHERRY (Prunus serotina) - A valuable tree which in rich soil attains a height of fifty or sixty feet. It usually grows straight to about one-fourth of its height, when it forms a fine head. A wood much in demand for cabinet work. A tree that succeeds generally, and one that it will pay to grow. Seed collected and sown in the fall, or kept over winter in damp sand.

BLACK WALNUT (Juglans nigra) - Wherever this tree succeeds it should be cultivated from the standpoint of profit. The supply is becoming more scanty each year, with corresponding increase in price. It thrives best on moist bottom soil with clean cultivation. It is best to plant the nuts where the tree is to remain; the growth by this method is rapid and unchecked. It is important to collect the nuts from trees growing as far north as they can be found. The trees sent out have been selected with this principle in view.

HONEY LOCUST (Gleditschia triacanthos) - This tree does not sprout as does the yellow locust, nor is it attacked by borers in the same way. The wood is close grained, making durable fence posts and rails. It is variable as to thorns, some being very prickly, others being entirely thornless. The seeds should be collected in the fall, kept dry over winter, and scalded before planting. Those that swell will germinate readily. The seedlings are tender the first year, but afterwards are fairly hardy.

WHITE BIRCH (Betula alba) - Makes a medium sized tree, growing rapidly on the poorest soils. The seed ripens in September and October, and can be sown in the fall or kept dry over winter. Soak before planting in the spring, and cover lightly.

CANOE BIRCH - Paper birch (Betula papyrifera) - Forms of this extend to the northern limit of deciduous trees. It attains a large size, and is ornamental. The seed ripens with the last, and is treated in the same manner.

AMERICAN MOUNTAIN ASH (Pyrus americana) - One of our hardiest ornamental trees. It succeeds admirably on dry soils and in most trying situations. The seeds, like hawthorn, are slow to germinate, usually not appearing till the second year. When grown in a large way, germination may be hastened by rotting them in heaps.

COTTONWOOD (Populus monolifera) - Prominent among varieties of the poplar, suitable for planting on the prairies, is the cottonwood. As a rapidly growing tree, easily raised from cuttings, which can be cheaply obtained, there are few trees that will make as much wood and shelter in a given time. In selecting cuttings choose clean two-year-old wood, or well-ripened one-year, cut from ten to twelve inches long. If this is done in the fall they may be planted, setting down to the last bud in the soil, which should be well loosened. Roots
will soon form, and a growth of three or four feet is quite common the first season. In setting large plantations in well-prepared ground, the cuttings can be set expeditiously by ploughing them in every third furrow.

**RIGI PINE** (*Pinus sylvestris rigaensis*) - This has been introduced into the Western States as an east European form of the Scotch pine, and superior to it as a timber and ornamental tree. It has given evidence of hardiness and adaptability to prairie conditions wherever I have seen it growing.

**NORWAY SPRUCE** (*abies excelsa*) - More rapid in growth than the white spruce, but not so long-lived in this climate. Its value for the extreme northwest is problematical, but its great vigor and thriftiness renders it worthy of trial.

**ARBOR VITAE** (*Thuja occidentalis*) - Though growing naturally in most situations, this tree succeeds well on high land, transplanted specimens often outstripping in growth those that have not been removed. Through the eastern provinces it makes one of the best hedges and wind breaks. A slight winter protection when the trees are young will help them to become established, and in a measure acclimated to the vicissitudes of the northwestern climate.
APPENDIX C. CONTEMPORARY PHOTOGRAPHS OF POPULAR TREE VARIETIES IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES CA. 1900

Green ash nursery seedlings. (Forestry Branch Bulletin.)

American elm as an avenue tree. (Forestry Branch Bulletin.)
American elm plantation. (Forestry Branch Bulletin.)

Maple hedge from seed, 1902. (Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask.)
Maple plantation with proper spacing for growth and ground cover control, 13 years. (*Forestry Branch Bulletin.*)

Branchy maple - too wide, 1903. (*Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask.*)
Acute-leafed willow, tree base 17 years, 1908. (Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask.)

Willow windbreak, 12 years. (Forestry Branch Bulletin.)
Willow from cuttings, two years.
(Forestry Branch Bulletin.)

Cottonwood, 1903. (Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask.)
Cottonwood, 12 years old. (Forestry Branch Bulletin No. 1.)

Russian poplar, n.d. (Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask.)
Russian poplar, nine years - sun scald.
(Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency
Tree Nursery, Indian Head, Sask.)

White spruce, natural growth.
(Forestry Branch Bulletin.)

White spruce windbreak. (Forestry
Branch Bulletin.)
White spruce ornamental grove. (Forestry Branch Bulletin.)
APPENDIX D. BARNS IN CARLETON AND LANARK COUNTIES
(1976 - Department of Indian and Northern Affairs)

Carleton County - Highway 16 South of Ottawa
Lanark County - Smiths Falls, Perth, Lanark
APPENDIX E. HISTORICAL ADDITIONS TO LANARK PLACE
APPENDIX F. MOTHERWELL HOMESTEAD PLANT LIST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Botanic Name</th>
<th>Common Name</th>
<th>Caliper</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Spacing</th>
<th>Condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caragana arborescens</td>
<td>Siberian tea shrub</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>240 ft</td>
<td></td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acer negundo</td>
<td>Manitoba maple</td>
<td>5 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>260 ft</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ulmus americana</td>
<td>American elm</td>
<td>2 in.</td>
<td>2 Rows</td>
<td>20 ft</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salix alba</td>
<td>Acute-leafed willow</td>
<td>8 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>260 ft</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Populus nigra</td>
<td>Russian poplar</td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>260 ft</td>
<td>5 ft</td>
<td>Stumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. alba</td>
<td>Acute-leafed willow</td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>270 ft</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prunus virginitiana</td>
<td>Choke cherry</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. negundo</td>
<td>Manitoba maple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Volunteer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraxinus pennsylvanica</td>
<td>Green ash</td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>235 ft</td>
<td>4 ft</td>
<td>Volunteer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Populus nigra</td>
<td>Russian poplar</td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>235 ft</td>
<td>4 ft</td>
<td>Dying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. alba</td>
<td>Acute-leafed willow</td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>235 ft</td>
<td></td>
<td>Volunteer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. negundo</td>
<td>Manitoba maple</td>
<td>1-2 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1-2 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1-2 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. alba</td>
<td>Acute-leafed willow</td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>190 ft</td>
<td>4 ft</td>
<td>Dying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. negundo</td>
<td>Manitoba maple</td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>220 ft</td>
<td>4 ft</td>
<td>Dying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>70 ft</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>180 ft</td>
<td>4 ft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>160 ft</td>
<td>4 ft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>160 ft</td>
<td>4 ft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>500 ft</td>
<td>4 ft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malus</td>
<td>Sounder's apple</td>
<td>10 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>405 ft</td>
<td>4 ft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prunus</td>
<td>Niagara wild plum</td>
<td>2 Rows</td>
<td>100 ft</td>
<td>5 ft</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. negundo</td>
<td>Manitoba maple</td>
<td>5 in.</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>140 ft</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lonicera tatarica</td>
<td>Honey suckle</td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Clump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picea glauca</td>
<td>White spruce</td>
<td></td>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Specimen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. americana</td>
<td>American elm</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>140 ft</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. negundo</td>
<td>Manitoba maple</td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>4 Rows</td>
<td>180 ft</td>
<td>4 ft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. arborescens</td>
<td>Siberian tea shrub</td>
<td>1 Row</td>
<td>245 ft</td>
<td>4 ft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syringa villosa</td>
<td>Villosa lilac</td>
<td></td>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. glauca</td>
<td>White spruce</td>
<td>12 in.</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. negundo</td>
<td>Manitoba maple</td>
<td>3 in.</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Volunteer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ENDNOTES

Introduction
1 Interview with Mrs. Pat Motherwell, 22 October 1976. The two southerly quarters had been willed to his daughter E. Alma Mackenzie.
2 For a brief but incisive article on the issue of second generations see E. Anderson, "The Cornbelt Farmer and the Cornbelt Landscape," Landscape, Vol. 6 (Spring, 1957), pp. 3-4.
3 Pat Motherwell Interview, 22 October 1976.

Lanark Place and Ontarian Farmsteads in the Northwest: A Woodland Response to the Great Plains
2 Elizabeth Motherwell to W.R. Motherwell (hereafter cited as WRM), 18 December 1888. In reply to one of her son's infrequent letters, Elizabeth Motherwell admonished him for complaining of a paltry 300-bushel yield, when her husband had been able to garner only a third of that amount from his land in Lanark County.
3 Archives of Saskatchewan (hereafter cited as AS), Department of the Interior, Homestead File No. 215741, "Statement by WRM, August 1889, re NE14-20-11W2."
5 AS, Department of the Interior, Homestead File No. 76071, WRM to Dominion Lands Agent, 18 January 1888.
7 AS, Department of the Interior, Homestead File No. 76071, WRM to Dominion Lands Agent, 18 January 1888.
11 Paul Shepard, Man in the Landscape, p. 43.
12 Ibid., p. 44.
13 Ibid., p. 88.
14 Ibid., p. 117.
15 Extracts from the Motherwell family Bible in Mrs. Norman Sanby to P.B. Lesaux, February 1969, Parks Branch, Motherwell Research Files, "Photo copies." A girl, Annie, was born to the Motherwells on May 31, 1886, but died less than half a year later on November 18. On March 31, 1888 an unnamed boy was born but he lived only four days.


17 Saskatchewan, Department of Agriculture, Lands Branch Files, "Motherwell;" and Glenbow Archives, BN.C212J, Canadian Pacific Railway Company Land Sales Records. According to File 85 in the AS, Motherwell Papers, Motherwell owned or had an interest in a number of other properties, possibly through his involvement with the Saskatchewan Land Company. These included Sec. 13-27-1W3; Sec. 7-22-17W2; Sec. 13-27-1W3; land in the Eagle Lake District; Lot 15, Block 4 in the Village of Qu'Appelle; land at Loon Creek; and Sec. 27-32-22 S3. This land is not mentioned in Motherwell's 1933 will and he may have divested himself of the property early in his political career.

18 Saskatchewan, Department of Mines and Resources, R.A. Gibson, Director Lands Branch to WRM, 27 December 1938.

19 See for example, AS, Department of the Interior, File I 52, J. Bougeois and Canada, Department of the Interior, "Descriptions of the Townships of the North-West Territories," 1886.

20 Paul Shepard, Man in the Landscape, pp. 234-35.

21 It was a prosperity arising from the accessible abundance of resource material, not necessarily available cash flow. An interesting treatment of the impact that the presence of an exploitable abundance can have upon the character of a people can be found in D.N. Potter, People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

22 Farmer's Advocate, 5 Feb. 1897, p. 61.


25 Nor'-West Farmer, October 1883, p. 247.

26 Ibid., March 1888, p. 64.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., April 1889, p. 92.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., July 1889, p. 179.

31 Ibid., October 1889, p. 272. The trees were packaged in lots of 100 and accompanied by instructions for a four-foot grid. The farmers who received these test packages were supposed to keep a journal on their progress for the experimental stations. At the same time Ottawa sent over 50,000 trees to Indian Head and more than 30,000 to Brandon to supplement their seeding programmes. Farmer's Advocate, October 1891, pp. 394-95 and Nor'-West Farmer, May 1890, p. 483. Appendix A is the text of the pamphlet.

32 Farmer's Advocate, October 1890, p. 338.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

36 Ibid., December 189, p. 480.

37 Farmer's Advocate, 20 June 1896, p. 244.

38 Nor'-West Farmer, April 1897, p. 128.

Lanark Place Landscape

1 Mackenzie Interview, D-8. The interviews with Motherwell's daughter were conducted and collected by John Taylor (P.E.I.) and R. Dixon (Ottawa) at the request of William Naftel, author of "Lanark Place, Abernethy: Structural History," Manuscript Report Series No. 164 (Ottawa: Parks Canada). Four separate transcripts resulted from the interviews and are designated A, B, C and D. They are paginated in two ways but the A-1, A-2 .... A-15 system will be utilized for the purposes of this report, and the series of interviews will be referred to as Mackenzie Interviews, with accompanying letter-page references.

2 For a brief but salient discussion of these points see John D. Stewart, "Report on the Landscape of Lanark Place," Manuscript on file, Engineering and Architecture, Prairie Regional Office, Parks Canada, 1972.

3 AS, Motherwell Papers, No. 162, F.H. Auld (Motherwell neighbour and later Deputy Minister of Agriculture) to J.G. Raynor, 13 June 1916.

4 Interview with Dan and Olive Gallant, Ted Gallow and Major McFadyen, Lanark Place, 21 Sept. 1976 (hereafter known as Lanark Place Interview, 21 Sept. 1976). Mr. McFadyen had a distinct recollection of planting the spruce and the special pains which he was ordered to take in preparing the ground.

5 Interview with E. Alma Mackenzie, A.

6 Lanark Place Interview, 21 Sept. 1976, Mrs. Gallant.

7 Lanark Place Interview, 21 Sept. 1976, M. McFadyen.


9 Nor'-West Farmer, 20 April 1901, p. 241.

10 Interview with Major McFadyen, 25 June 1976 conducted by I. Clarke and Dr. S. Carrington.

11 Mackenzie Interview, A; and Lanark Place Interview, 21 Sept. 1976, Ted Callow.

12 Interview with Mrs. P. Motherwell, 8 Jan. 1977.

13 Major McFadyen claims that Motherwell's nephew Rudd carried out all the farmstead chores during the time he was on the farm. Lanark Place Interview, 21 Sept. 1976. Pat Motherwell, on the other hand, is completely unfamiliar with the appearance of such a person on the farm. Interview with Pat Motherwell, 8 Jan. 1977.

14 AS, Motherwell Papers, File No. 83, Mrs. E. Steuck to WRM, 8 June 1908.

15 Major McFadyen claims that the area was planted with trees on a grid wide enough to permit easy scuffling when he knew it in 1914. However, the area may have been left open after the Lovers' Lane maple belt was planted, while Motherwell awaited the opportunity

16 Lanark Place Interview, 21 Sept. 1976 (Dan Gallant and Ted Gallow).

17 Interview with Mr. Ralph Steuck, 8 June 1976. Mr. Steuck claimed that most farmsteads in the area had a lawn that served as a tennis court.

18 AS, Motherwell Papers, File No. 83, bill from Steele Briggs Seed Company, 2 May 1907.

19 AS, Motherwell Papers, File No. 83, Mrs. E. Steuck to WRM, 8 June 1908.

20 Ibid.


23 Nor'-West Farmer, 8 April 1901, p. 210. Angus McKay of Indian Head responded to this article with advice on summerfallow gardens in Territories.

24 Nor'-West Farmer, April 1895, p. 71.

25 AS, Motherwell Papers, File No. 83, Steele Briggs Seed Company to WRM, 22 April 1907.

26 Nor'-West Farmer, April 1898, p. 175. The compost mixture was usually allowed to superheat initially in order to burst weed seeds that infested the manure.

27 Alma Mackenzie to H. Tatro, 17 March 1968.

28 Lanark Place Interview, 21 Sept. 1976 (Dan Gallant and Ted Gallow).

29 Alma Mackenzie to H. Tatro, 17 March 1968.


31 Nor'-West Farmer, 20 Dec. 1900, p. 1002.

32 This from a Yorkton Assiniboia farmer in Nor'-West Farmer, Feb. 1898, p. 63.

33 Nor'-West Farmer, June 1895, p. 104.

34 Ibid., February 1898.

35 Ibid.

36 A. Mackenzie to H. Tatro, 17 March 1968.

37 See Site Map and Plant List compiled by John Stewart from Site Survey and Historic Records, 1971.

38 A. Mackenzie to H. Tatro, 17 March 1968.


40 A. Mackenzie to H. Tatro, 17 March 1968.

41 Nor'-West Farmer, February 1898, p. 62.


43 W. Naftel, Lanark Place, Abernethy, Saskatchewan, Structural History, Manuscript Report Series No. 164 (Ottawa: Parks Canada), p. 36.


45 After Thomas White's As-Found map and John Stewart's adaptation. According to Pat Motherwell, her husband Richard had the major dugout enlarged by the PFRA and its heavy machinery at some point between 1945 and 1953. Only an archaeological investigation and the PFRA contract, if it still exists, will indicate the extent of the most recent excavation. Interview with Mrs. P. Motherwell, 8 Jan. 1977.
Engineering reports on the house and barn foundations by B.B. Torchinsky and Associates in Parks Branch, File C8440/M2, Torchinsky to McKim, 10 Dec. 1968.

During the winter he spent at Lanark Place, Major McFadyen took a horse and sled through the ice while collecting water for farm purposes. He claims to have hidden the fact from his employer fearing Motherwell's wrath over his attempt to shortcut his work load. Lanark Place Interview, 24 Aug. 1976, McFadyen.

Mackenzie Interview, A-21.

Saskatchewan, Department of Natural Resources and Industrial Development, Water Rights Branch, Bulletin No. 1, "Instructions for the Development of Dugouts Domestic Dams and Irrigation Projects (Regina: King's Printer, 1948).

Ibid., p. 5.

See John Stewart, "Plant List Site Plan."

Concrete reinforcement was introduced to Lanark Place at least as early as 1924 when the coal access to the house cellar and the lower window walls were rebuilt.

This is one of a series of photographs from the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Agency, Tree Nursery at Indian Head, with the kind permission of Mr. Ken Thompson. They will be identified as PFRA with their serial number.


Mackenzie Interview.


"A south-eastern slope warms up quicker in the morning than any other and enjoys a more even temperature during the day ...." Nor'-West Farmer, 5 April 1899, p. 224.

See the Thomas White As-Found site plan.

McFadyen Interview, 25 June 1976 and Lanark Place Interviews, 24 Aug. and 1 Sept. 1976, McFadyen. Mr. McFadyen claims that as a callow youth just out from Prince Edward Island, he managed only to beat himself about the head with the flail when required to hand thresh the bromegrass.


Apparently from 1930 to 1935, the period of Liberal opposition in Ottawa, Motherwell was able to indulge in a reorientation of the farmstead operation, which included the new chicken house in the barn quadrant and the orchard planting in the house quadrant, but it also may have included the development of the hogpen amongst the northwest maples.

Lanark Place Interview, 1 Sept. 1976 (Dan and Olive Gallant).

Lanark Place Interview, 1 Sept. 1976, McFadyen.

K.J.T. Ekblaw, Farm Structures, p. 70 ff. See also H.C. Ramsower, Equipment for the Farm and Farmstead (New York: Ginn, 1917).

Alma Mackenzie complained that the house was constantly plagued with barnyard flies from spring until fall. Mackenzie Interview, p. B-11.

The Farm Buildings of Lanark Place

1 Motherwell Interview, 8 Jan. 1977, "Dickie" Motherwell.
2 Qu'Appelle Vidette, 26 March 1896.
3 Ibid., 10 Sept. 1896.
4 Mackenzie Interview, p. C-5.
5 Nor'-West Farmer, February 1895, p. 23. The article claimed that even large stables often used straw, although where heavier rains occurred, as in the Red River valley, straw proved too leaky and damp.
6 Although the main, western section of the barn approximates the original specifications of the tender, it is not exactly 76 feet long or 35 feet wide. Also, recent Engineering and Architecture probing has shown that the 1900 Nor'-West Farmer plans were not followed to the letter and that certain design adjustments were made.
7 Twenty-inch stone walls may have been a standard measurement for western stables and basements. Nor'-West Farmer, 20 Feb. 1920.
8 This rather obvious clue to the origins of the barn basement was pointed out by Ken Elder of Engineering and Architecture, Ottawa, using the White As-Found drawings.
9 The dimensions of the western section which lies on the north/south axis are 40 feet 4 1/4 inches x 69 1/4 feet 3/4 inches, a total discrepancy of 11 feet 11 1/2 inches with a maximum of 6 feet 7 1/4 inches and a minimum of 5 feet 4 1/4 inches.
10 Telephone Interview with Mrs. P. Motherwell (Calgary), 23 Oct. 1976.
11 Nor'-West Farmer, 20 Sept. 1905, p. 1198. "To say that the greatest factor in the care of farm machinery is to house it when not in use is a wrong insertion [sic]. Housing machinery is not as important a factor in its upkeep as is the tightening of nuts, oiling of bearings and the general careful manipulation of all parts when the implement is in use. But the point is this: a farmer who houses his machinery when it is idle shows by so doing that he is a tidy thrifty farmer, not only regarding his machinery but everything else about the place...It is generally found that, where a farmer is interested enough in his machinery to house it, he is also interested enough in it to care for it otherwise...Whether the machinery is to go under cover or not, it should be cleaned and thoroughly oiled at the end of the season. The wearing parts especially should be well greased with tallow or axle grease. There is no question that it pays to keep the farm machinery well painted."
12 Lanark Place Interview, 24 Aug. 1976, Dan Gallant.
13 Mackenzie Interview.
14 Nor'-West Farmer, April 1894, p. 110.
15 Lanark Place Interview, 24 Aug. 1976 (Gallant, Callow and McFadyen).
16 Lanark Place Interview, 24 Aug. 1976, Dan Gallant. Gallant's opinion was confirmed by Ted Callow, but Mr. McFadyen was vague about the internal organization of the barn.
17 The drive doors are straddled by rectangular windows with no intervening stonework, a convenient method of installing these new features. Compare with the eastern drive door and windows.
18 Nor'-West Farmer, April 1894, p. 110.
19 Nor'-West Farmer, March 1894, p. 78.
20 Lanark Place Interview, 24 Aug. 1976, McFadyen.
21 K.J.T. Ekblaw, Farm Structures p. 257.
Ekblaw would have criticized this apparent waste of space and would have objected to the presence of sheep and swine in the same building as horses and cattle.

Dimension stone, which is stone cut to uniform size to lay it in parallel courses, is rarely found on the Prairies, although when time and money did permit it made an attractive symmetrical pattern.

K.J.T. Ekblaw, Farm Structures, pp. 20-21. Dimension stone, which is stone cut to uniform size to lay it in parallel courses, is rarely found on the Prairies, although when time and money did permit it made an attractive symmetrical pattern.


AS, Motherwell Papers, File No. 83, W.H. Pray to WRM, 8 April 1907.


Nor'-West Farmer, December 1897, p. 422.

K.J.T. Ekblaw, Farm Structures, pp. 280-84.


barns roof were ever painted, particularly since cedar weathers well and does not need paint for protection. The fir siding was painted red, and the window trim including the diamond-latticed windows and the 1907 date on either end of the barn wings was white. According to Ekblaw (1914, p. 57), the most common Reds were red lead, vermilion, Indiana, Chinese and Venetian red, while Blacks were lampblack, vegetable black, ivory black and bone-block. White lead or zinc oxide formed the base of most white paints.

50 Mackenzie Interview.
53 Qu'Appelle Vidette, 17 July 1907.
55 According to Major McFadyen, who learned of this era from his working partner, Scott Milligan, life on the farm, after the death of the first Mrs. Motherwell and at a time when Motherwell himself was in Regina for much of the year, was somewhat riotous despite the watchful eye of Mrs. Steuck. Motherwell's son was brought into Regina to live with his father, while Alma went to the Steuck farm. During the three years before Motherwell's second marriage, the farm acquired a rather questionable reputation throughout the neighbourhood. Lanark Place Interview, September 1976, McFadyen.
57 See particularly Nor'-West Farmer, April 1894, p. 110.
60 Mackenzie Interview.
61 Nor'-West Farmer, 20 Sept. 1905, p. 1198.
62 Ibid.
63 Ekblaw gives as much space to the spreader as he does to the mower in his sheds (see following), but the Motherwell hired men between 1914 and 1941 indicate that the only kind of spreader at Lanark Place was provided by manpower aboard the manure wagon.
64 Telephone Interview with Dan and Olive Gallant, 9 Dec. 1976.
65 Neither Dan Gallant nor Ted Callow, who left the farm to start his own in 1941, recall that the shed was ever trussed on the outside by 2 x 4 inch support poles to prevent a sagging eavesline from dropping further. It would, then, have been a relatively sudden deterioration.
66 The orientation of Lanark Place, which really lies on a north/south rather than an east/west axis, leads to continual confusion over the directions on the farmstead. This problem is compounded by the mapping of the farmstead which always places north to the right-hand side rather than the top of the page. Oddly, this confusion is common to those who worked on the farm as well as to those who are currently studying it, and this fact has made the collection of oral data even more difficult.
Motherwell was always loath to mechanize. He was reputed never to have ridden the farm's binder completely around his fields, preferring instead to walk behind, leaving the luxury of the ride to his hired-hand.

Interview with Andy Sproule, 2 pp. Sproule later returned to work briefly with Motherwell in the post-war era.

Gallant Phone Interview, 9 Dec. 1976.


The earliest certain date for the introduction of structural concrete on the farm is 1924. Possibly many of the renovations remembered so clearly by Mrs. Gallant date from this period and the cellar could have been installed then.

Gallant Phone Interview, 9 Dec. 1976.

Gallant Interview, 24 June 1976.

This, more than any of the alterations led to the earlier confusion of the Interim Report (July 1976) that claimed the cottage had been rebuilt. The lower additions transformed the entire perspective of the cottage making the original core structure look shorter and squatter than it does in the pre-war photograph.

Gallant Phone Interview, 9 Dec. 1976.

From the "As-Found" drawings by Thomas White, Sheet 48.

Unfortunately the 1946 aerial photograph gives no indication of the later location of the caboose.


Gallow Interview, 24 June 1976.

Mackenzie Interview.


K.J.T. Ekblaw, Farm Structures, p. 193.

Ibid., p. 192.

Ibid., p. 193.

Ibid., p. 186.

W.A. Radford, Radford's Practical Barn Plans, pp. 245-46.

K.J.T. Ekblaw, Farm Structures, pp. 189-90.

Ibid., p. 154.

W.A. Radford, Practical Barn Plans, p. 245.

K.J.T. Ekblaw, Farm Structures, p. 191.

For a detailed description see Nor'-West Farmer, 20 Dec. 1901, p. 294.


Nor'-West Farmer, 20 March 1901.

K.J.T. Ekblaw, Farm Structures, p. 536.

Major McFadyen seems to have preferred the cow stalls as an alternative, which is more than understandable considering the number of days below zero during Saskatchewan winters.

The present collapsed state of the structure is probably the result of an act of vandalism.
99  K.J.T. Ekblaw, Farm Structures, p. 341.
100 Ibid., p. 342.
101 K.J.T. Ekblaw, Farm Structures, pp. 118-19.
102 Ibid., p. 120.
103 Steuck Interview, 12 June 1976.
104 Only in the early days of the farm had it been worked on a cash-producing basis, and most of this went back into the land and buildings. It was really Motherwell's ministerial salary that kept the farm and its people afloat between 1905 and 1930. Ten years as a private member of the Commons helped, but when he retired in 1940 Motherwell ended the days of farm subsidy for Lanark Place.
105 On either side one of the braces had to be cut to accommodate the door on the one hand and the grain chute on the other. In both cases although there are two pieces of wood they have been considered as one brace.
106 The bottom of the lowest chute is 6 feet x 3 inches from the ground.

Conclusion
2  Ibid., p. 141.
3  Near Wolseley, Saskatchewan, the former estate of Senator G. Perley was once dominated by a gargantuan, castle-like stone house. Because it was too difficult to maintain, Perley's family eventually tore it down stone by stone and replaced it with a wood-frame, plywood bungalow.
4  See the photographs in "A Farm Started in '82" in Nor'-West Farmer, 20 Nov. 1928, p. 7.
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Isabel Cummings, by W. Naftel, Ottawa, 6 June 1968.


Dan and Olive Gallant, E. Callow and M. McFadyen
Interview with I. Clarke, Lanark Place, 21 Sept. 1976.

Mrs. Alma (Motherwell) Mackenzie
Correspondence with H. Tatro, Calgary, 6 and 17 March 1968.
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Interview with H. Tatro, Calgary, 3 Feb. 1968.
Interview with I. Clarke, Calgary, 8 Jan. 1977.

Andrew Sproule, by T. White, Balcarres(?), 1969(?).

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Interview with I. Clarke and S. Carrington, Abernethy, 8 June 1976.
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W.R. MOTHERWELL'S STONE HOUSE: A STRUCTURAL HISTORY

Lyle Dick

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ABSTRACT

When the farmstead of the W.R. Motherwell National Historic Site was first acquired by the Canadian government in the mid-sixties, a number of early studies were undertaken by Parks Canada staff with a view towards the eventual opening of the site. Chief among these was William Naftel's 1969 report, "Lanark Place, Abernethy, Saskatchewan, Structural History," which consisted of an analytic overview of the stylistic antecedents of Motherwell's house, a materials history of its rooms, and ancillary information on the outbuildings and landscape. The report provided a useful introduction to the site, although it was not written as a basis for its restoration. For sources Naftel drew heavily on a series of letters and written reminiscences by the late Mrs. Alma Mackenzie, W.R. Motherwell's daughter, but he did not have the benefit of subsequent interviews, archaeological and architectural investigation, and local newspapers that have emerged in the last few years. This paper is an updated structural history which builds on Naftel's report, but is addressed to the major questions that have emerged pertaining to restoration. It also attempts to provide a more comprehensive treatment of the origins and extent of the genre of Western Canadian stone houses Lanark Place exemplifies.

Submitted for publication 1978, by Lyle Dick, Historical Research Section, Prairie Region, Parks Canada, Winnipeg.
MOTHERWELL HOUSE, 1897-1917

The old stone houses dotted across the expanse of southeastern Saskatchewan remind us of a not-so-distant past when a different way of life prevailed. Abandoned in most cases, they show the signs of neglect and decay. Silence now echoes through their empty chambers, but these structures were often the centre of a vibrant society when social and domestic activity was usually tinged with familial overtones. Such a community existed at Lanark Place, the farm home of W.R. Motherwell, near Abernethy, Saskatchewan. Representative of the Ontarian homesteaders who first settled in this region in the 1880s, Motherwell built a house and established a society on his farmstead that he hoped would last for generations. The house survives; the society, a victim of its own internal weaknesses, dwindled and disappeared. Lanark Place now offers an opportunity to commemorate the early Ontarian settlers at the peak of their confidence and power, before subsequent immigration eroded their hegemony.

One of the basic human needs is shelter. Given the choice, the form that this shelter takes can be a very personal statement. In the case of an historic site, the design, furnishings and decoration of a house may reveal a great deal of the society which it contained. Moreover, buildings change as the needs of their inhabitants change. During its eight decades, W.R. Motherwell's stone house has undergone a variety of alterations that reflect changes in the composition of the family unit, the size and function of the farm, career changes and the natural ebb and flow of generations. It also provides evidence, in microcosm, of the evolution of Ontarian immigrant society from the settlement period to the modern age.

After graduating from the Ontario Agricultural College in 1881, the 21-year-old Motherwell first came west that summer, surveying land in Manitoba and working during harvest season to Portage la Prairie. The following year he took the railway to its Western terminus at Brandon, travelled by oxcart to Fort Qu'Appelle and then chose a site north of the Qu'Appelle Valley in the Pheasant Hills district, in Township 20, Range 11, west of the 2nd meridian. The following spring he made entry to his homestead on the northeast quarter of Section 14.1

One of Motherwell's first concerns was to put a roof over his head. Like his fellow settlers, who arrived from the East with little apart from a few possessions, Motherwell built a very modest homestead, designed to fulfill the minimum requirements of shelter, while he concentrated on the initial tasks of breaking sod and cropping his land. His first residence was a log house, which he built in 1883 and faced with clapboard siding seven years later. In keeping with the simplicity necessitated by his situation, he covered the floors with rough boards and whitewashed the interior walls. In 1884 he married his first wife, Adeline Rodgers, and they lived alone in the
small house until joined by a servant girl at some point during or
before 1890. Tragically, two early children had died in infancy, but
with the birth of a son, Talmadge, in 1890 and a daughter, Alma, in
1892, the basic family unit was complete.

The size, structure and layout of Motherwell's first prairie home
was typical of most early log and sod dwellings. Measuring 18 x
24 feet its layout was simple but functional. There were three rooms:
a large room serving the triple function of living, dining and food
preparation, and two small bedrooms. A few sparse items of furniture
complemented the ascetic nature of the structure. The erection of
a simple log stable, also in 1883, measuring 20 x 60 feet, concluded
the early phase of construction at the farmstead.

The years that followed were ones of hard work but relative
prosperity for the Motherwells. After a steady expansion of croplands
on his homestead quarter, Motherwell completed the purchase of his
pre-emption in 1890 and could begin to think of building a more
permanent estate. He had already begun to collect fieldstones from the
Pheasant Creek Coulee and neighbouring fields in the 1880s. In keeping
with his prudent Presbyterian nature, he first used the stones to
provide improved shelter for his livestock. After charting out an
8.3-acre plot for his new farmstead, 100 yards east of the initial
homestead buildings, he hired Adam Cantelon, a stonemason from Indian
Head, to build a large, L-shaped stable in the centre of the new site.

By 1897, the family had begun to outgrow the log and clapboard
house. Motherwell's two children, Tal and Alma, were seven and five
and needed their own quarters. The Motherwells also supported at least
one hired girl at this time, indicated by an 1890 photograph of the log
house in Naftel's report. Moreover, if Motherwell had not yet secured
the services of a full-time hired man, his grandiose plans for
farmstead development demanded an immediate injection of manpower for
groundskeeping alone. By 1896, he had commenced cropping the northeast
quarter of Section 11 in Township 20 and had acquired some 30 head of
cattle. With three quarters under cultivation and a much expanded
herd, it was evident that Motherwell would need permanent farm help and
that his employees might eventually have to be housed.

The pioneer settlers' progression from modest shelter to the
status of grand country houses was a common theme in Western Canadian
fiction of the early 20th century.

...the provision of shelter on the prairies was
equivalent to proclaiming one's social status: the settler
could initially build a sod hut at no expense, progress to
a lumber shack with lean-to additions at a cost of perhaps
forty dollars and finally, should he prove to be a
financial success, announce his wealth with the building
of a "New House."7

Quite apart from the demonstrated need for more space, Motherwell, like
so many of his contemporaries from Ontario, was also preoccupied with
the idea of building an estate that would afford a sense of personal
satisfaction, while symbolizing his success to others. Lanark Place,
as he called his new farmstead after the Ontarian county of his birth,
was the result. His elaborate system of planting shelterbelts and
interior farmstead trees and shrubs was as much an attempt to imitate
the woodland environment of his youth as the erection of an
Ontarian-styled farmhouse was an attempt to replicate the culture and
values of that society. The farmstead was like a small parcel of rural Ontario transplanted to the middle of the lone and level prairie.

In the spring of 1897, Motherwell called for tenders for the building of his house, to be submitted by May 13. While a news story stated that the builders, Fraser and Cameron, of Indian Head, had the contract for the Motherwell house, apparently their involvement was limited to the drawing up of plans. The contract was eventually carried out by P. Kerr of the same town. It was to be a stone house, and the mason who had erected Motherwell's stable the year before, Adam Cantelon, was hired to do the exterior work on the new building. As William Naftel notes in his structural history, it is not certain whether Cantelon worked directly for Kerr or for Motherwell himself. Assisted by Motherwell and his farm hand, Andy Sproule, the mason cut and shaped the stones, hoisted them into place with a block and tackle, and carefully arranged them according to shape and colour. A variety of techniques was used to split the stones, but the mallet and wedge were generally sufficient.

Construction proceeded through the summer of 1897 until August, when Cantelon suffered a broken leg in a fall from the second floor. Despite the inevitable hiatus in the building of the house, it was sufficiently ready by New Year's Day 1898 to enable Motherwell to host a rather large dinner gathering of 25 couples. It is not known when the exterior and interior finishing was completed, but it is reasonable to assume that work ceased some time in 1898. Motherwell's daughter, in an interview, expressed her belief that the stonework was finished by another mason. The interior woodwork was performed by Conrad Krug, a German immigrant-carpenter from Lorlie, Saskatchewan.

Materials for the interior and exterior finish work were obtained from suppliers in both Eastern and Western Canada. The door casings or architraves are an extremely common type and probably were ordered from a local lumber supplier. Alma MacKenzie, Motherwell's daughter, claimed that the kitchen had a maple floor that had been ordered from the East. Extraordinary features such as the lobby fireplace and its accompanying base burner could have been mail-ordered from a supplier in Winnipeg. William Naftel has noted the possibility that the iron cresting of the widow's walk was made in the region. Assorted gingerbread detailing (i.e. scrollwork and brackets) was probably either produced locally by Abernethy carpenters or obtained from one of the Indian Head builders. Moreover, the coloured glass door at the front entrance, which appears in the 1900 Nor'-West Farmer illustrations, may have been ordered from Fraser and Cameron who advertised their speciality of "fancy sash and colored glass windows and doors." It is unlikely that the galvanized metal ceiling of the lobby was available locally, although it could have been obtained from suppliers in Winnipeg or eastern North America.

Motherwell may have waited a year or more before installing the panelled wainscotting in the front hall and lobby and baseboards in the other rooms. A contemporary manual on farm building techniques advised that these moldings should be installed a year late, "since the joists may shrink somewhat and drop the floor without dropping the mold, leaving an unsightly crack." Important details regarding the building of Motherwell's house are
revealed in an article in the May 5, 1900 issue of the *Nor'-West Farmer*. The cost of construction was $3000, "exclusive of the hauling of stone, sand, lumber, digging the cellar, and many other things the owner does for himself." According to the article, the main section of the structure measured 32 x 28 feet, with a rear wing of 19 x 20 feet and a wood annex 20 x 13 feet. It was roofed with Eastlake steel shingles, "which, though double the price of cedar, throw very clean water, that is carried into a stone built cistern in the cellar."

Inside the stone walls the frame was strapped and lathed over 2 x 4 inch studding rather than wider timbers, to provide a greater air space—a sound building technique.

On the whole it was a well-built house, a testament to Motherwell's methodical approach. In 1900, two years after completion, the only apparent structural problem was the heaving of the cellar floor with corresponding cracking and leakage in the cistern room beneath the winter kitchen. Motherwell attributed this problem to the presence of three exterior walls in the room and a lighter partition along the fourth, precipitating greater settling along the edges of the heavier walls.

The house was built with a full basement underpinning the entire superstructure apart from the summer kitchen. Access to the basement was provided via two staircases, one under the main staircase leading to the second floor and another beneath a trapdoor in the verandah floor. The furnace was placed near the centre of the cellar, to the west of the central staircase. Exterior finishing of the house was completed with the painting of the trim and other features. Black paint was applied to the ironwork at the top while the gingerbread rear dormer, attic dormers, balcony/porch, eaves and ornamental brackets were painted, alternately, in red oxide and white, as indicated in a photograph ca. 1904, the earliest extant photograph of the house (Fig. 1).

![Figure 1. Earliest extant photograph of the Motherwell house, ca. 1904. (Motherwell Photograph Collection, Prairie Regional Office, Parks Canada.)](image-url)
Apart from the boarding up of the windows and the removal of surface embellishment such as the roof cresting, the exterior of Motherwell's house has evidently changed little during its 80 years. Two features have, however, been lost. In the historic period, there were awnings over the two east-facing windows on the main floor. These awnings appear in the photographs of the front of the house taken about 1907 and were removed around 1946-47 (Fig. 2). Moreover, the front side of the building which was devoid of vegetative growth in the oldest extant photograph of the Motherwell house (ca. 1904) appears virtually covered with Virginia Creeper in pre-World War I photographs. The vines were supported by a wire mesh held together by wooden frames and were extended to virtually engulf the balcony/porch projection.

![Figure 2. W.R. Motherwell in front of his house, ca. 1907. Note the arbors have been installed over the east-facing windows on the ground floor.](image)

There is, unfortunately, no way of determining the exact origin of the house design. Yet, a rough sketch of a house in Motherwell's notebook drawn at the Ontario Agricultural College at Guelph affords a glimpse of an image of a house the young student was about to carry with him to the West - two-storied, hip-roofed and block-shaped, with a central door flanked by windows on either side. Motherwell had thus sketched the essentials of the heavy structure he would build 16 years later. Apparently his archetypal house lay etched in his
unconscious until his economic success enabled him to give it concrete form (Fig. 3).

![Ea of a hou]

Figure 3. Motherwell's sketch of a house. (Archives of Saskatchewan, W.R. Motherwell Notebook, Second Year, Spring Term, April 4, 1881, fol. 439.)

The central Qu'Appelle region was prosperous in the late 1890s. In his structural history, William Naftel attributed the rash of house building in the area to the prevailing boom in wheat prices. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the wheat boom capped a process of economic consolidation that had begun when the region was settled 10 or 15 years later. When the Ontarian farmers had accumulated
sufficient cash to build their country estates, rambling stone houses cropped up in a variety of centres: Abernethy, Saltoun, Kenlis, Balcarres, Wide Awake, Sintaluta, and farther south around Arcola. 29

In general terms, Motherwell’s house design was a style derived from Italian rural villas called Italianate that was current in the northeastern United States and Ontario in the 1860s. 30 The town of Perth, in Lanark County, Ontario, abounds in such examples. For purposes of comparison, two houses from Barbara Humphreys’ architectural study of the Rideau Corridor 31 seem particularly appropriate. The Shaw house, built in Perth in the early 1850s, displays the essential block-shaped, hip-roofed design of the Lanark Place house. While considerably larger, it is graced with a similar central porch projection and symmetrically placed chimneys, while small dormer windows correspond closely to Motherwell’s attic window dormers. The Allan house, while differing in other respects, demonstrates the use of paired ornamental brackets that Motherwell emulated in his own house.

A particularly striking comparison is to be found in a photograph of a stone farmhouse at Dundurn near Waterford, Ontario (Greenhill 1974; Fig. 7). The essential features of this dwelling, including a central balcony/porch projection surmounted by a gable, rear annex with side-facing verandah, and bracketed eaves, all correspond to the Motherwell design, as revealed in a photograph ca. 1911 (Fig. 6). In explaining the rationale for such a design, Greenhill cited a description given by the Canada Farmer for a farmhouse in 1865:

the monotony of the front is relieved by projecting the hall two feet forward of the main building. This is carried up and finished with a gable.... The exterior is simply designed; there is no attempt to make it all corners and gables, it is simply a straight forward square house. 32

This account aptly described the Italianate farmhouse at Dundurn, but it is equally appropriate when applied to the Motherwell house.

Actually, the Italianate did not represent the revival of a single style but was based on a number of sources: the Italianate Renaissance and Baroque, rural peasant vernacular, and even Norman Romanesque. The one feature common to the Italianate styles was roundness of arches in windows, doors and surface embellishment.33 Yet, in North America other basic essentials came to be associated with this style, including a block shape, symmetrically placed chimneys, and a low pitched hip roof with a flat central peak. This last feature enabled the structure to be surmounted by a raft of surface projections, most commonly a cupola, but often a metal cresting. Juxtaposed beside a 1911 photograph of Motherwell’s dwelling, a front elevation of an Italianate house demonstrates the basic similarity of design34 (Figs. 4 and 5).

The style proved to be popular with Ontarian settlers in the Canadian Northwest. It was commonly found in commercial store fronts, municipal buildings and dwellings in the small communities that sprang up in southwestern Manitoba and southeastern Saskatchewan between 1870 and 1910. An architectural historian has interpreted the basic
Figure 4. An Italianate house design from an 1860s plan book. (Cummings and Miller 1978, Plate 50, Fig. 2.)

Figure 5. The Motherwell house at the peak of its evolution, ca. 1911. Note the essential similarity of design with the 1868 plan (Fig. 4). (Motherwell Photograph Collection, Prairie Regional Office, Parks Canada.)
Figure 6. The Motherwell house ca. 1911. (Motherwell Photograph Collection, Prairie Regional Office, Parks Canada.)

Figure 7. Dundurn farm house, near Waterford, Ontario. (Greenhill 1974, plate 86, by permission of Oberon Press.)
elements of the prairie version in iconographic terms:

Solid, self-assured and dignified, these Italianate styled houses seemed to express very clearly, the character of their owners - usually wealthy businessmen.35

For Motherwell, and his many counterparts who built rural houses of similar design, the Italianate was an expression of confidence and success in their farming operations. Moreover, it was eminently practical. The square shape was well suited for economic heating, an important consideration in the severe northwest winters.36

Finally, the untrammelled lines of the basic structure provided builders with the latitude they desired to embellish with whatever detailing they found pleasing to the eye.

It was this eclectic tendency that had characterized High Victorian building in the 1860s. The addition of details, Gothic or otherwise, that evoked a nostalgic image of the past, was the essence of what was known as picturesqueness.37 The emphasis was on the creation of an irregularity that defied the rigid lines of the revival of pure styles in the Early Victorian period. Notwithstanding a time lag of 30 years, the Motherwell house was designed in this context of eclecticism. On the one hand, the square shape of the main section, its hip roof and ornamental brackets38 were essentially Italianate. But in the vein of High Victorian picturesqueness, the house was graced at the rear with a slope-roofed kitchen addition, of which the chief feature was a gingerbread Gothic dormer surmounted by a finial. At the front the addition of a balcony/porch projection with picturesque Eastlake39 embellishment contributed to the effect, as did the substitution of iron cresting for the usual cupola along the peak of the roof. Finally, with the exception of the upstairs window encased by the Gothic dormer, the house's windows were not fully arched in the Italianate manner, but were gently curved along the top. The overall impact was that of a mid-19th century Upper Canadian farmhouse. The chief difference lay in materials. The typical Ontarian farmhouse of the period was made of brick, but most of the prairie Italianate farmhouses of the period were made of fieldstone or wood. In most cases the rigors of economy dictated a return to the most basic design, bereft of surface embellishment save for the most essential features. No quantitative study exists that would establish the extent of stone house building vis a vis construction with other materials in Assiniboia and southeastern Saskatchewan in the settlement period. Nor has a comprehensive comparison been made of the relative prevalence of the hip-roofed Italianate or the gabled Gothic designs. At the same time, two studies by Parks Canada historians,40 coupled with the results of a survey of block-shaped stone houses in the Qu'Appelle Basin and Arcola areas,41 lead to the conclusion that Motherwell's house was not in any sense unique. For example, in Sintaluta, Saskatchewan, only about 15 miles from Abernethy, there are a number of Italianate stone houses bearing a close resemblance to the Lanark Place residence. Both illustrated examples (Figs. 10-11) bear the essential features of Motherwell's house, from ornamental brackets to the iron cresting or widow's walk. At the same time, whatever Motherwell's house lacked in originality it made up in individuality, as evidenced in the picturesque embellishment of a Gothic dormer and Eastlake-design balcony/porch. Yet his was not the rugged individualism of the frontier so much as it was the representation of a general trend
Figure 8. The Eastlake style (Whiffen 1969). (Printed with the permission of Mr. Morley Baer, Berkeley, California.)

Figure 9. A detail of Fig. 5 illustrating the Eastlake derivation of the balcony/porch design.
Figure 10. Italianate stone house, Sintaluta, Saskatchewan. (Prairie Regional Office, Parks Canada, 1976.)

Figure 11. Another Italianate stone house at Sintaluta. Metal roof cresting, symmetrically placed chimneys and ornamental brackets demonstrate an essential similarity of design to Motherwell's house. (Prairie Regional Office, Parks Canada, 1978.)
towards self-expression in house building that prevailed throughout North America in the High and Late Victorian periods.  

If Motherwell's house was not a prototype of its genre, it was at least one of the more elegant residences in the Pheasant Hills district in which he lived. His neighbours sought to emulate him not only in farming operations, but in farmhouse design, with varying degrees of success. Conrad Steuck, who had emigrated from Ontario with W.R. Motherwell in the 1880s, was so impressed with the Lanark Place house design, that he modelled his own dwelling after it. The David Bates residence at Kenlis, built in 1906, some five miles south of Motherwell's house, resembled Motherwell's house so closely that it too might have been an imitation of its counterpart, although if this were the case, it was a much more rudimentary rendition.

Figure 12. David Bates' house, Kenlis, Saskatchewan, five miles south of Motherwell's house. (Prairie Regional Office, Parks Canada, 1978.)

The original plans of Motherwell's house have not, unfortunately, survived. His daughter, Alma MacKenzie, believed that he could not have afforded the services of an architect, although it is reasonably certain that he engaged the Indian Head firm of Fraser and Cameron to draw up plans and specifications. In February 1898, Fraser and Cameron advertised themselves as a "house building and furnishing company," but they also boasted a collection of over 1200 plans from which local residents could choose their home designs. Their
stated fee for providing plans, specifications, details and inspection of the building was three per cent of the total cost in addition to travelling expenses. Considering that Motherwell's neighbour, James Morrison, had paid $100 for plans for his $2800 stone residences,\(^\text{47}\) it seems reasonable that Motherwell would pay a similar fee. Most probably he selected a plan from Fraser and Cameron's assortment of planbooks, but had them modify certain details to reflect his own idiosyncracies. According to his daughter, Motherwell had "his own distinctive ideas of construction,"\(^\text{48}\) the best example of which can be seen in the large rounded arch he designed between the central hallway and the winter kitchen.\(^\text{49}\)

An indication of the initial layout and function of the respective rooms is given in an article in the May 5, 1900 issue of the *Nor'-West Farmer*, which included floor plans for the ground and second floors, and two exterior elevations of the house. The floor plans were reproduced by the Stovel Company of Winnipeg as a representation of the interior of Motherwell's house, but it is not certain they were a completely accurate portrayal of the interior layout as it appeared in 1898 or 1900. There are three possibilities regarding the origin of the illustrations: (i) they were based on the original plans; (ii) they were based on plans from a contemporary plan book and modified in accordance with sketches or comments made by the *Nor'-West Farmer* reporter; (iii) they were based entirely on photographs or sketches taken of the interior and exterior by the reporter.

Whatever the origins of the plans, they do not reflect certain changes to the structure that probably were made at the very beginning. The partition between the office and the room designated a dining room,
as it exists today, runs over a foot to the west of the configuration indicated in the illustrated floor plan, thereby encroaching on the office window. Moreover, the summer kitchen appears in the illustrations as a wood shed with narrow wooden walls. In an interview with Parks Canada staff, Motherwell's daughter Alma stated she did not remember the summer kitchen as other than faced with stone and was of the opinion that the stonework for this section was added soon after the main house was built.50

An examination of contemporary interior layouts of other farm dwellings provides a context for the Motherwell house vis a vis standard features in this period. Only a year after its construction, the Farmers' Advocate published a sample layout entitled "A Convenient and Inexpensive Farmhouse."51 Printed in response to a request by a Manitoba farmer that it give plans for a good farmhouse, not too large or expensive and costing about $1000, the Advocate's layout may be taken as the base essentials of what was considered an adequate farmhouse. A two-storey home, the house comprised four rooms on the ground floor - a parlor, dining room, kitchen, and a shed or summer kitchen. Four bedrooms were located upstairs accompanied by a sewing nook and a tiny room to be used either for a toilet or storage.

The main floor layout was typical of the period. Reflecting the importance of the household activities, the kitchen was the largest room in the house, and because of the heat generated by the massive wood-burning stoves, it was complemented by a shed, or summer kitchen, to be used for cooking and related tasks during the hot months. The Advocate also advised its readers that the main kitchen may be used for dining room in the summer while the cooking stove is in the summer kitchen. The actual dining room located off the parlour could be used for a dining room in winter, and back parlor or bedroom in summer, and might be connected with the parlor by large folding doors.

The Farmers' Advocate example demonstrated considerable functional similarity to the Motherwell house. The standard parlor was complemented by an adjacent room that in summer could be used as a back parlor but served as a dining room in winter. This configuration, coupled with the recommended double folding doors, corresponded exactly to the description of room function given by Motherwell's daughter regarding the front and back parlors at Lanark Place. The use of a summer kitchen also conformed to the Motherwell experience.

Other contemporary farmhouse plans almost invariably made provision for parlors, dining rooms,52 and, in the case of larger farmhouses, separate accommodation for hired men, usually with a separate staircase at the back. The farm residence of J.W. Brown of Portage la Prairie, illustrated in a 1902 issue of the Nor'-West Farmer, demonstrates the extent to which some of the Ontario-born farmers separated their families from their hired employees. The men's bedroom at the rear of the house was not connected with the rest of the upstairs area but was accessible only by a staircase to the kitchen.

The terminology used to describe the various rooms in the stone house supports the thesis that Lanark Place represented an attempt to impose a Victorian Ontario sophistication upon its bucolic surroundings. A stone's throw from the barn, one could sip tea in the drawing room,53 read novels in the library or play Presbyterian hymns on the parlor organ.54 If there were evidence of a frontier
mentality in Motherwell's politics, his manner of accommodation did not reflect it. For an Ontarian settler, imbued with the values and aspirations of his forefathers, the highest goal towards which he might strive was to emulate the respectability of his counterparts in Eastern Ontario.

The *Nor'-West Farmer* floor plan of Motherwell's house included, on the ground floor, a dining room, parlor, office, back parlor, kitchen and summer kitchen. Upstairs there were six bedrooms and a small balcony over the front porch. Two staircases gave access from the ground to second floors, one leading into the front hallway and the other to the kitchen. A verandah graced the south-facing kitchen door. The addition of special features such as balconies and porches demonstrated that Motherwell's was not the house of an ordinary farmer but a person of a fairly high socio-economic position. Other houses considered palatial in the period boasted similar features, such as the brick-veneered example illustrated in the September 5, 1900 issue of the *Nor'-West Farmer*. Estimated by the writer to cost between $3000 and $3600, this house was comparable in size and investment to the Motherwell home.

The size, layout and orientation of the various rooms at Lanark Place reveals a great deal of the attitudes and way of life of Victorian Ontario settlers on the Prairies. Architecturally there was a distinct separation of the formal living space from the rear kitchen and pantry areas. On the exterior, this took the form of a separate annex; inside the house Motherwell's creation of a long rounded arch between the kitchen and rear hallway made this division complete. Moreover, the building of tiny living quarters for farm employees in the rear wing, coupled with the presence of two staircases ("the front stair was for dramatic descent to meet family and guests; the back stair for servants carrying shop buckets and dirty laundry"), pointed to a sharp delineation of social position and class.

### Heating System

Motherwell began with a central heating system, which has endured to the present. During Motherwell's lifetime, the furnace was fueled with coal, but in the 1950s it was converted to oil. It was supplemented by heat from the fireplace, an auxiliary coal burner, and a Franklin stove, which was installed in the northeast corner of the back parlor in 1943. There may have been other heating stoves, but these were not recalled by Motherwell's daughter Alma who lived in the house for 24 of its 25 years of existence.

A study of the central heating system by the Engineering and Architectural Division has revealed certain deficiencies in its operation. Inexplicably, Motherwell failed to provide Alma's upstairs bedroom (room 23) with a warm air vent. Obviously a makeshift arrangement was found, but the question of how he heated the room remains a mystery; a logical solution would have been to install a small heating stove. Sometime after the house was constructed, two holes were cut into the east wall of the bedroom at the top of the floor boards. Presumably, Motherwell intended ducts to link with the flue in the south wall of the adjoining bedroom (room 22), but the
holes seem to be too low for a warm airduct. Another possibility is that the door to the bedroom was left open in winter to be heated by advection from the hallway, but this would seem remote for it would have negated any privacy, especially in a house that was often crowded with servant girls, hired men and guests. If a stove were used to heat this room it is not known how long it was in operation. Eventually the room was connected with the central heating system via a metal duct that ran up the northeast corner of the office on the main floor (room 13) and through to adjoining closets of the children's bedrooms (rooms 27 and 23), culminating in warm air registers on either side.

In another departure from the central heating system, Motherwell heated his hired man's room by installing a register in the centre of the floor to receive warm air from the kitchen below. Although this arrangement appears to have worked satisfactorily, the absence of conventional heating arrangements in the other rooms must result from either a serious error in design or tampering with the original layout.

Ground Floor: Room by Room Historical Analysis

To assist in their identification the rooms will, where possible, be referred to by the numbers assigned them in the original As-Found Report in 1968.

Room 11: The Front Hall

The late Victorians and Edwardians were aware of the importance of front halls to the efficient functioning of their houses. Providing access to both the formal and family-oriented rooms, and commonly the upstairs through a staircase entrance, the halls served as central arteries. Homeowners were therefore anxious to appoint them with some care. A contemporary article on interior decoration advised

If we are on hospitable thoughts intent we will strive to give this, of all parts of the house, a cheerful and friendly expression. First impressions are apt to be deep and lasting, and the most genial host may be glad to have had his cordial greetings echoed by appropriate surroundings.

On entering the front door of the Motherwell house, the visitor would immediately grasp that he was in the house of a man of some stature. The generous use of wood panelling, in the wainscotting, architraves, and staircase railing after 1911, would have conveyed richness and warmth. To this extent, Motherwell had decorated his hall in keeping with the current established standards of interior design. Thirty years before the building of the stone house, Charles Eastlake, the famous arbiter of taste, had written

There can be little doubt that the most agreeable wall-lining which could be devised for such a place [the front hall] is marble, and next to that real wainscotting.
The social divisions symbolized by the division of the house into front and rear wings were sustained by the presence of a front hall that effectively channelled visitors and employees to the appropriate room while averting unwanted intrusions upon the others. This orientation had the effect of preserving privacy and the specialized function of each space. By this arrangement social peers of the homeowner could visit in the formal spaces of the home, while social inferiors remained in the hall, or were directed elsewhere and kept from intruding upon the family or its guests.59

In like manner, Motherwell's house possessed a rear hall, separated from the kitchen by an arch, which gave access to the back parlor or formal dining room, the sitting room, the office, and the cellar.

Moreover, the hall's furnishings reinforced the prevailing function of "a space which was neither wholly interior nor exterior but a sheltered testing zone which some passed through with ease and others never went beyond."60 In conformity to the established practice,61 Motherwell and his family furnished the front entrance with furniture intended to be attractive rather than comfortable. After 1911 they placed opposite the front door two high-backed cane chairs, whose severity would not have encouraged callers to dawdle on their way out.62

Room 12: The Lobby or Sitting Room

"The library is frequently, not as its name implies, solely a place for books, but a quiet room where one can be most at home when not at home."63 South of the vestibule was the lobby. Actually, this room was known by several names in the course of its evolution. Originally labelled a dining room in the 1900 illustrations, it was known to historical interviewees variously as the library64 and the sitting room.65 Motherwell's second wife Catherine, whom he married in 1908, called this room the lobby66 because of the political lobbying that took place there after Motherwell's appointment to the first Saskatchewan cabinet in 1905. It was here that Motherwell and Peter Dayman, a farmer from nearby Kenlis, had signed the notices for the founding meeting of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association in 1901. This meeting proved to be the genesis of the farmers' cooperative movement on the Prairies, which assumed permanent form with the founding of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association in 1903, and the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and The United Farmers of Alberta in 1905. Ultimately it led to the agrarian challenge of the two-party system at the end of the First World War.

Basing their reasoning on the 1900 *Nor'-West Farmer* illustrations and traces of what appears to have been hinges for a swinging door in the frame of the door leading to the kitchen, Parks Canada's Engineering and Architecture Division are of the opinion that room 12 was originally used as a dining room. If this were the case, it would seem unlikely that it continued in this capacity for very long. Despite her long tenure at Lanark Place, Alma MacKenzie never suggested that room 12 was used for any purpose other than as a sitting
room. Moreover, she identified the room depicted in the *Nor'-West Farmer* plans as the back parlor as a family dining room.67

Significant structural alterations to room 12 and the front entrance hall were made in 1911. Relying again on the *Nor'-West Farmer* plans as at least a representation of the initial configuration, the original staircase ran straight up from the front hall, separated from it by a door at the bottom of the stairs. From the front hall or vestibule one entered room 12 (the lobby) on the left and room 16 on the right through single doors. The renovations included the removal of the northeast portion of the lobby's north wall, and the replacement of the bottom five steps of the staircase with radiating steps curving to face south into the lobby. A railing was inserted across the east face of the new staircase and woodwork installed along the top and western edge of the new lobby entrance, creating a large arch. At the same time the warm air register in the floor was patched over and a new register installed in the base of the wainscoting to the west of the new staircase entrance.

The awkwardness of the former arrangement of the front hall, which necessitated the opening of a door to get into the hallway and another door to go upstairs, suggests that Motherwell, or more likely his wife Catherine, may have been chiefly concerned with easing traffic flow from the ground to the second floor. At the same time his appointment to the provincial cabinet in 1905 and his subsequent remarriage in 1908 brought many more visitors to Lanark Place. The changes made to the front hallway provided extra space for hanging coats and enlarged the entranceway averting a bottleneck of callers at the front door.

Other changes that probably also occurred at this time included the expansion of the front hall parlor entrance from single to double doors and the installation of a solid wood door at the front entranceway.68 Certainly the latter could not have taken place before 1911, as a photograph of the eastern side of the house ca. 1911 shows the coloured glass door. It would seem logical that these changes occurred when the other renovations to the front hall were being made. By that time, Motherwell's ministerial salary as Saskatchewan Commissioner of Agriculture allowed him to pour considerably more money into renovating and furnishing his house.

Room 12 appears to have served the combined functions of sitting and reading room for the family (as evidenced by the use of the desk from the Territorial Legislature and a library table), and a reception room, lobby, and place for business and politics with visitors. Its double window, the largest in the house, faced south and was supplemented by an eastern window, making it an ideal reading room. A 1911 photograph shows Catherine Motherwell reading in the southeast corner. Coupled with the wainscoting, the installation of a fireplace gave the room an immediate feeling of warmth, although the fireplace cannot have thrown much heat. Alma Mackenzie claimed that it was used only during the spring and fall.69 During the winter auxiliary heat was provided by a base burner that used coal and was fitted into the bottom of the fireplace. Architectural investigation reveals that the base burner was probably an afterthought, inasmuch as the brickwork angled at the back of the draught chamber was done solely to accommodate the fireplace. This fact led Engineering and Architecture to conclude that the installation of the base burner may
have been related to a change in room function. It is perhaps more probable that as soon as it became evident that the fireplace was not providing sufficient heat, the alterations were made for the supplementary heater.

The sole source of information on interior furnishings in the early period is also Alma Mackenzie. Unfortunately, the Mackenzie material does not indicate the time frame for which her account of furnishings is operative. Some of the information she provided undoubtedly pertains to the later period, as in the case of the grandfather's clock, which she placed in the southeast corner of the lobby. We know that this clock was not presented to W.R. Motherwell until his retirement from provincial politics in 1918. At the same time, the absence of comment on any changes in furnishings in the room suggests that the arrangement she gives was probably fairly static in the period.

In a floor layout prepared with David Taylor, Superintendent of Fort Amherst National Historic Park, in June 1968, Mrs. Mackenzie placed a leather sofa along the lobby's north wall between the staircase and the door leading towards the kitchen, and matching leather chairs on either side of the fireplace. Above the sofa was a framed photograph of the first Saskatchewan cabinet, including W.R. Motherwell as Commissioner of Agriculture. Mrs. Mackenzie placed the small desk that had originally resided in the Territorial
administration building at Battleford on the east wall, against the window. On the same wall, north of the window, was "Father's oil painting." It is not certain whether she meant this was a picture painted by her father or one portraying him as the subject.

Much information respecting the lobby's furnishings may be derived from a pre-World War I photograph of Catherine Motherwell sitting in the southeast corner of the room. The picture shows the library table mentioned in various interviews in the foreground. Lace curtains border the top and sides of both windows, and suspended next to the glass is a partially rolled up roller blind. On the ledge of the south-facing double window is a small Boston fern in a brass or copper legged pot, while a ceramic pot hangs from the top of the window frame. A portrait of W.R. Motherwell's father, John, hangs on the east wall in the corner. It seems probable that there were always some plants sitting on either of the window ledges of the lobby. Mrs. Lizzie Morris, who was the hired girl at Lanark Place from 1932 to 1934, stated that Catherine Motherwell used to put geraniums, and sometimes petunias, in both windows. Her description corresponds closely to the one given by Alma Mackenzie. Mrs. Morris also remembered there was a large fern in a fern stand placed near the window. Among the ornamental details provided by Mrs. Mackenzie was a reference to a display of Indian beadwork on the west wall, including gun shields, moccasins and a papoose cradle. The fireplace mantle was adorned with assorted items including a stuffed owl and pheasant, flanked by two cameo-like earthen pitchers.

Room 13: The Office

The tiny room to the west of the lobby was Motherwell's office. Here he kept his farm accounts, hired and fired employees and discussed private business matters with visitors. The 1900 illustration of the floor plan from the Nor'-West Farmer (Fig. 16) shows a different configuration than exists today. Specifically the room is smaller, its east wall moved a foot to the west. This change has had the effect of placing the wall on a line encroaching on the western part of the window, necessitating a jog in the wall. Moreover, while the original illustration indicates what would appear to be a pass through between the office and the lobby, at present the two rooms are connected by a door beside the fireplace. For a number of reasons, it is considered probable that the office/lobby door was installed right at the beginning. To begin with there is no evidence that the wainscoting was ever altered on either side of the door. Secondly, there are no apparent traces on the floor around the door to suggest that there had formerly been a wall. With respect to the configuration of the wall, it seems probable that it was built in its present location. If the galvanized metal ceiling of the lobby is the original, its installation would have necessitated the adjustment of the wall separating the lobby and office to the present configuration. The smaller lobby indicated in the Nor'-West Farmer could not have accommodated this ceiling. Final resolution of these questions will have to await the results of historical conservation analysis now being carried out to determine the originality of the floor and ceiling.

The office furnishings were strictly utilitarian. The chief
feature was a large roll-down desk that was placed against the east wall, and serviced by a wooden, leather-seated arm chair. A wooden two-drawer filing cabinet was placed to the north of the desk. Behind the door, in the northeast corner of the room, was a coat rack and, possibly, an umbrella stand. In 1910, a year after the local telephone line went through, Motherwell installed his first telephone, a candlestick type on the office window. Motherwell possibly housed his ten-volume set of *Modern Eloquence*, which he purchased from a Chicago publishing house for $38 in 1906, in the office.

Figure 15. Baby sitting on the office chair, n.d. Figures 14 and 15 are the only extant photographs of the house interior in the historic period. (Motherwell Photograph Collection, Prairie Regional Office, Parks Canada.)

While there is no evidence of the room's having had a bookcase, Margretta Evans Lindsay remembered it as filled with books in the 1918-21 period.

Room 16: The Front Parlor

We call the parlor a formal apartment, for it is generally kept for special occasions and visits of ceremony, and becomes a sort of showroom, in which the most treasured works of art are placed on exhibition.

The front parlor (room 16) was a room that was not part of everyday life, but was used, in the manner of Victorian and Edwardian households, for the formal reception of guests. The original *Nor'-West Farmer* illustrations indicate a seven-foot-wide archway between the parlor and the adjacent room to the west, the back parlor. According to Alma Mackenzie, these rooms were separated by folding
doors. Evidently she was not referring to the first period, as architectural investigation has established that the earliest configuration was a round arch, inasmuch as the original layer of paint shows the outline of the curve. Interestingly, *Nor'-West Farmer* illustrations show a solid line across the archway, suggesting either that a curtain or similar divider was used between the rooms or that Motherwell originally intended to install a square arch but changed his mind at the outset.

Given the trajectory of the arch traces, the most probable configuration was a full or Roman arch. The top of the curve would have been a few inches below the cornice, with the springing well below eye level.76 The only other possibility would have been a three-centred arch with different radii for the cresting and sides, but due to the lowness of the springing, this kind of arch would have provided poor head clearance and reduced the visual unity of the two rooms.

The restoration architect and draughtsman have identified at least three physical changes to the wall separating the front and back parlors.77 By employing their findings in conjunction with historical evidence, a probable scenario may be re-constructed. The parlor and back parlors were originally intended to serve the dual function implied by their names - a formal reception area for guests, and, at the back, a kind of family room.78 Given that room 12, in the southeast corner of the house, was in fact originally used as a
dining room, a change in the function of that room could be related to changes in the north rooms. Engineering and Architecture maintains that the first alteration involved the squaring off of the original rounded arch. This new version would permit the installation of the folding doors of velour draperies referred to by Alma Mackenzie and suggests that the conversion of room 15 to a family dining room may have taken place at this time. Folding doors would effectively separate the rooms for ordinary meals, but would still allow a table to straddle both rooms for extra large gatherings, another practice referred to by Mrs. Mackenzie.

Apart from the occasional use of room 15 as a dining room on formal occasions, apparently the Motherwells usually sat down to dinner in the winter kitchen. In the sundry interviews conducted with persons other than Mrs. Mackenzie, beginning with Major McFadyen's reminiscences of the farm as it was in 1914, there is not a single reference to the use of room 15 for dining. This omission probably reflects the social divisions that precluded the employees' entry into the formal dining room. On the other hand, Motherwell's renewed capacity for political entertaining after his remarriage to Catherine Gillespie in 1908 undoubtedly entailed an increased utilization of the relatively limited reception space. On May 2, 1908 he wrote to Roderick Mackenzie, his presumed hired man, asking him to pick up the three-piece matched set of leather furniture he was having shipped to Abernethy. Motherwell asked that the lounge be placed in the parlor "where the piano used to sit - that is just to the right of the parlor door as you enter from the kitchen." This last reference is somewhat confusing inasmuch as the only known location of the piano was
Figure 18. The 1900 floor plan illustrations of Motherwell's house. (Nor'-West Farmer, 5 May 1900.)

on the other side of the arch, on the south wall of the front parlor. Possibly this is the positioning to which Motherwell was referring, as the black leather set was identified by the respective interviewees as front parlor furniture. In any case, its bulkiness would have augered against an extension of the dining table into the front room.

In the early 1930s, rooms 15 and 16 were converted to use as a bed/sitting suite for Motherwell and his wife. Apart from the installation of a chemical toilet, the only physical change made to these rooms was the cutting of three large holes in the north wall on either side of the arch. At least one of these holes may relate to Alma Mackenzie's bedroom. The third and last of the major structural alterations was the infilling of the archway with a plywood wall and concomitant installation of a doorway on its south side. This change was made in connection with the conversion of room 16 to a kitchen by Motherwell's grandson Richard and his wife Patricia in 1952.

In the floor plans she prepared for Parks Canada, Mrs. Mackenzie gave no indication of the furnishings in the front parlor. Fortunately, however, Reg Dixon's conceptual drawing of the room, which he prepared in consultation with Mrs. Mackenzie, gives a fairly accurate representation of the furnished room in the historic period. Closely corresponding to the furniture arrangements in the recollections of other interviewees, the Dixon sketch shows two of the black leather chairs positioned in the northwest and northeast corners
Figure 19. Floor plans of the Motherwell house as it appeared in 1969. Note the changes in the configuration of the office wall, the front entrance hall, the summer kitchen's walls and the upstairs north bedrooms (rooms 24 and 25). (As-Found Report, 1969.)

of the room, separated by a parlor table. This table was purchased with 12 dining chairs from Wright Brothers in Regina in 1907. Hidden from view, along the south wall of the parlor, was the piano. Mrs. Mackenzie wrote:

On Sunday evenings we gathered around the old Doherty organ or later the Mason and Risch piano and sang hymns.

It is not certain where the push-pedal organ was situated, but generally the custom was to place organs in parlors.

As seen through the arch in the Dixon sketch, the furnishing of room 15 corresponds closely with Mrs. Mackenzie's floor plan. She placed a dining table in the centre of the room with a sideboard along the west wall. Portraits of both paternal grandparents hung on the north wall on either side of the window. One of these was the picture of John Motherwell that appears in the southeast corner of room 12 (the lobby) in the photograph ca. 1911. It possibly was moved when the grandfather clock was placed there in 1918. The parlor windows were framed by brown plush curtains, drawn back with strips of the same material.
Figure 20. Original configuration of the front staircase. Note the doorway on the right at the bottom of the stairs leading into the lobby. (Drawing courtesy Engineering and Architecture Division, Prairie Regional Office, Parks Canada.)

Figure 21. Current configuration of the front staircase. A railing has been inserted along the east face, the steps angled to the south, and the lobby entranceway expanded into an arch. (Prairie Regional Office, Parks Canada, 1977.)
Figure 22. Probable original configuration of the rear staircase leading down to the kitchen. (Drawing courtesy Engineering and Architecture Division, Prairie Regional Office, Parks Canada.)

Figure 23. Present configuration of the rear staircase. Note that the hired men's room has been expanded to encompass the hall area formerly overlooking the staircase railing. (Drawing courtesy Engineering and Architecture Division, Prairie Regional Office, Parks Canada.)
Rooms 17 and 18: The Winter and Summer Kitchens

In keeping with their traditional role as centres of farm domestic life, the kitchen and its counterpart, the summer kitchen to the north, were the largest rooms in the house, measuring 14 feet 16 inches x 17 feet 8 inches and 20 feet x 13 feet, respectively. The winter kitchen was dominated by a large stove placed along the west wall about a foot from the wall to the east of the window. In the earlier period, this stove was moved into the summer kitchen for the warm months, but by the early thirties, the addition of another stove obviated the need to move it. While documentary evidence is lacking, it is virtually certain that the stove initially sat in a different location in the kitchen. The original location of the sink and pump, in the southwest corner of the room, would not have left sufficient room for the stove on the west side of the room. Most probably the stove sat along the north wall, between the entrance to the back stairs and the door to the summer kitchen. This arrangement would have provided sufficient space and would have put the stove in a handy location to the woodbox under the rear staircase. At the same time, such a positioning of the stove would have precluded the use of a large table in the kitchen. The moving of the stove may relate to the conversion of room 11 from a dining room to the "lobby."

Few physical changes were made to the kitchen during Motherwell's lifetime. These were probably related to its use as a dining room. The moving of the sink and pump to the north wall and the stove to the west side opened up sufficient floor space in the middle of the room to insert a large dining room table. It is uncertain when this change took place but a logical time would have been in the few years immediately following Motherwell's second marriage. Major McFadyen, who lived and worked on the farm in 1914, identified room 17 as the dining room as did all the interviewees with later recollections. The presence of increasing numbers of guests necessitated greater floor space for the dining room and back parlor. When fully extended in room 17, the table could spill into the central hallway under the large rounded arch.

Other details vis a vis furnishings in the period included the placement of a sideboard along the south wall beneath the window, and the hanging of a portrait of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the northeast corner, facing west. During the winter months, a cream separator was also placed in that corner. Major McFadyen remembered the kitchen floor was painted grey at this time, although there would appear to be no physical evidence of this as yet.

From May to October preparation of food was carried out in the summer kitchen, which may have been a wooden shed originally but was later replaced with stone to match the rest of the house. The use of summer kitchens was common in warm weather to prevent overheating of the house by the stove. At Lanark Place, this room was served by a very large stove that sat along the east wall flanked by a woodbox to the south and a pantry to the north. Its flue passed through the stone wall on the south to link up with the same conduit that served the stove in the winter kitchen. Between the windows on the north side was a cabinet or sideboard, and a large table sat in the centre of the room. A bench for the hired men to use while washing after coming in from work was placed along the west wall. The cream separator sat in the northwest corner. Apart from food preparation and eating,
preparation and eating, functions performed in the summer kitchen included cream separating, butter churning, serving, washing and ironing. The room was rudely finished with a concrete floor and whitewashed walls. Mrs. Mackenzie remembered there was a hatch in the roof that could be raised to let the heat out on very warm days. Between the ceiling and the sloped roof was an attic where storm windows were stored.

The door on the south wall of the winter kitchen led directly onto a roof verandah, which was screened at some time during Alma Mackenzie's residency. Apparently, the verandah was not used by the family but it provided a place for the hired men to smoke after meals. On the east side a trapdoor lifted up from the verandah floor, through which vegetables would be passed to the cellar below. The trapdoor was also used to move ice into the basement for preservation of perishables.

Second Floor

The original layout of the second floor of Motherwell's house had four bedrooms in the main section and two others in the rear annex, all served by a long central hallway. A door at the eastern end of the hall led out onto a covered balcony, the upper extension of the front porch.

Room 22: The Master Bedroom

From 1897 to 1922 Motherwell's bedroom was the chamber in the southeast corner of the second floor. Measuring 11 feet 6 inches x 13 feet it was the largest of the upstairs rooms. According to Alma Mackenzie, this room was furnished with a dresser and rounded mirror inserted diagonally across the southeast corner, a brass bed with headboard extending out from the west wall and a wash-stand along the north wall. There was a small carpet beside the bed. A deep walk-in closet was built in the northwest corner of the bedroom. Engineering and Architecture questions the placement of the bed on the west side because wear marks in the floor suggest that the bed, and not the dresser, was placed diagonally out from the southeast corner. Of course, the furniture was probably moved around from time to time, and it may be difficult to determine its original placement. Analysis of varnish layers by the Conservation Division may yet resolve this question.

Room 23: Alma's Bedroom

Immediately to the west of the master bedroom was Alma's room. Although the positioning changed it was usually furnished with a bed along the east wall, a wash-stand on the west and a dresser angled from the southwest corner. At some point, however, a bed was placed along the west side. A small hooked rug lay in the centre of the room. The
window was adorned with tied-back muslin curtains and a cushioned seat on the ledge. After Alma’s departure from the farm in 1922, the room was occupied by her Aunt Janet, a sister of Catherine Mackenzie.

Rooms 24 and 25: The Guest Rooms

The 1900 *Nor'-West Farmer* illustrations show a solid partition dividing the two bedrooms on the north side. Almost certainly there was no permanent partition built when the house was erected, as a continuous flooring was built between the two rooms. Architectural investigation has created doubts that these rooms were ever separated by more than a temporary divider, although at some point an arch was created, possibly to facilitate the installation of a curtain rod for a more convenient closing off of the rooms. Unfortunately, there is little historical evidence regarding the use of these rooms in the earliest period. Major McFadyen, who was there in 1914, believed that the two hired girls, Nellie and Maggie, slept in room 24. However, Miss Nellie Reid has indicated that her room was room 27, in the back part of the upstairs.

If rooms 24 and 25 were always interconnected, the possibility exists that they served in the early period as guest rooms, at least for part of the time. This, at least, was their function by 1918. If, on the other hand, they were separated by a simple wood divider in the early years, their use as guest rooms would not have commenced until the installation of the archway. The arch would enable room 25 to serve as a complementary sitting room to the bed chamber, room 24, and most probably was constructed in the years following Motherwell’s remarriage in 1908. His appointment to the Saskatchewan cabinet in 1905 had greatly increased the potential for visitors at the farm, but having also been widowed that year, he had lacked a hostess to receive company. It seems reasonable to suppose that the alterations to the two north bedrooms occurred around 1913, when Tal’s departure enabled the Motherwells to forfeit a bedroom.

The furnishings of room 25 in the early period comprised a bed on the west wall with a bed table beside it to the north. The curtains of the east-facing windows were short and simple. By the 1920s, a clothes closet with a mirrored door was built into the north-facing window. Room 24 was furnished with a bed in the northwest corner, a clothes closet in the southwest corner, and according to Alma Mackenzie, a dresser along the partition on the east side.

The Rear Annex: Accommodations for Farm Employees

As was common with the larger farmhouses of Western Canada at the turn of the century, the accommodations for farm employees at Lanark Place were physically separated from the family's bedrooms, situated as they were in the rear wing. The hired help had their own staircase, which led directly into the kitchen. At the same time the rear wing was still accessible via the long central upstairs hallway.
Room 27: Tal's Bedroom (Later the Hired Girl's Room)

The small bedroom over the kitchen with rounded, south-facing windows was the room of Motherwell's son Tal. Evidently he occupied this room from the time the house was built in 1897 until his marriage in 1913, when he was 23. In the historic period, its furniture comprised a bed placed against the east wall, a chair along the north wall, and a dresser on the west. After Tal's marriage and removal, room 27 housed the hired girl or two Catherine Motherwell engaged to do housework and cooking, usually Indian girls from the File Hills reservation where she had been school principal.

Room 28: Hired Men's Room

The room at the extreme rear of the house with west-facing window probably was the sleeping quarters for Motherwell's hired men right from the outset. The earliest date for which there is a record of its occupants, which emerged in the Major McFadyen interview, is 1914. McFadyen and the other hired man, Scott Mulligan, slept there for the year they were on the farm. Later, this room housed Dan Gallant, Motherwell's hired man from 1922 to 1924.

It would seem unlikely that two men would fit in the original dimensions of the room, which measured only 7 1/2 feet x 8 feet. They might have used bunk beds, but none of the interviewees referred to such accommodations. As it appears now, room 28 has been enlarged from the original configuration. The change essentially involved the moving of the room's north wall to the edge of the rear staircase and the creation of a new doorway in the northeast corner, facing east. To retain the light that the hallway's west-facing window formerly cast over the open railing of the rear staircase, a diagonal jog in the wall was cut from the new wall to the south edge of the window, much in the fashion that the wall of the office had been adjusted downstairs.

The most plausible time for the enlargement of room 28 was around 1913. Motherwell's marriage to Catherine Gillespie, and concomitant arrival of her sister Janet and two Indian servant girls where there had formerly been at most one, necessarily made greater demands on the house vis a vis night accommodation. These demands would have been mitigated to some extent by Tal's marriage and removal and Alma's temporary departure for Germany in 1913.

To some extent the building of the hired men's cottage around 1908 may have relieved the pressure of housing Motherwell's hired men during the summer months and the threshing crews at harvest time. At the same time, there is no evidence that it was used during the winter before 1918 when Nina Gow moved in to board the farm hands. Hence, throughout 1808 to 1918 there was a continued need for living space for at least two hired men and usually two hired girls during the winter.

The room was furnished with a bed along the south wall, a wash-stand on the west wall beside the window and a curtained-off clothes closet on the north wall. All the upstairs bedrooms had matching sets of wash-basins, pitchers and chamber-pots. Traces of a board bearing hooks for hanging clothes were in evidence along the north wall when the extant recording investigation was undertaken.
The Chemical Toilet

Between 1914 and 1920 a flimsy partition was erected in the upstairs hallway across from room 27 to house a chemical toilet. This makeshift arrangement served the building's inhabitants until Pat Motherwell installed a modern bathroom in the rear part of room 26.

The Attic

The attic of the hip-roofed main section was accessible via a small staircase leading from the second floor hall to the west of Alma's bedroom. It receives light from the rounded dormer windows on the east and west sides of the roof. Clothes trunks and other possessions were stored here in the historic period.

The Basement

Very few details regarding the use of the various rooms in the cellar has emerged in the series of historical interviews conducted for the Motherwell project. At the same time, we do know the general function of these rooms. Rooms 2 and 5 in the southeast and northeast corners, respectively, were used for the storage of vegetables and potatoes. Room 3, on the south side beneath the main floor office, was used for storing coal for the furnace and other stoves in the house. Room 4, on the opposite side underneath the back parlor, was used after 1918 to house the Delco electric generator. Room 6, east of the furnace, housed the cistern. On its west side bottles of preserved fruits and relishes were shelved. Room 7, on the western edge of the basement was used for storing ice. According to Alma Mackenzie the ice was cut at Pheasant Creek, packed in straw, passed through the trapdoor in the floor of the rear verandah, and boarded up for preservation of perishables. Melt water was allowed to flow towards the cistern.

Conclusion

The dominant influence of structural changes and interior furnishings in the pre-World War I period was Catherine Motherwell. A formidable personality, Catherine placed her stamp even on everyday farm operations, as she served as overseer while her husband was tending to his duties as provincial Minister of Agriculture in Regina. Her influence was felt in the appearance of her relatives on the farm, initially her sister Janet, but later her brother Jack and his wife Barbara in 1921. Moreover, Catherine was responsible for bringing at least one, and usually two, hired girls to the farm.
During the war two hired men, Major McFadyen and Scott Mulligan, both from Prince Edward Island, lived on the farm. As was noted earlier, they inhabited the very rear bedroom, room 28. In 1915 J.D. McFarlane, a graduate of the new College of Agriculture at Saskatoon, came to Lanark Place as farm manager. He also lived in the stone house, the probable new occupant of room 28. W.R. Motherwell returned to the farm on weekends and holidays.
In 1918 the Motherwells took under their wing three-year-old Margretta Evans, the daughter of an Abernethy bank manager. Her mother had died of influenza and her father was momentarily incapacitated with tuberculosis. Margretta lived with the Motherwells for the duration of their full-time residency at Lanark Place and then moved with them to Ottawa in early 1922. Now known by her married name, Margretta Evans Lindsay possesses a fund of knowledge of the stone house's interior in the 1918-21 period. This period is significant because it represented the last time W.R. Motherwell lived continuously on his farm until his retirement from politics in 1939. In December 1918, after resigning from the provincial cabinet, Motherwell returned to Abernethy where he resided until his election to Parliament three years later.

Major structural changes that took place at this time were the installation of a Delco generator, the complete wiring of the house and the replacement of all existing oil lamps with electric light fixtures. Working from May to September 1918, George Cow, whom Motherwell had hired as a gardener, and Reverend Dewey of Balcarres, performed the wiring. In the envisaged restoration of the house to the pre-World War I period, the existing light fixtures would therefore be replaced by oil lamps.

In addition to the structural renovations a number of changes in furnishings were evident by 1918. In the lobby, before the fireplace, Catherine had placed a cane-backed oak settee with spiralled posts and two or three rawhide, light tan cushions. It may have been the same leather sofa that Alma Mackenzie remembered having sat against the north wall in the early period. Moreover, the library table had been moved back to sit behind the settee. Two large cane-backed arm chairs matching the settee sat in the southeast corner of the room and on the east side of the fireplace. A piano stood against the west wall and a small table was placed in the northeast corner of the room by the front door. Beside it, to the south, the territorial legislature desk remained in its former position, against the east wall. Also unchanged was the placement of Indian beadwork on the west wall above the piano. Margretta Lindsay identified several items from this collection, including beaded leggings with a buckskin fringe, an all-beaded blouse or jacket, a rattle, two hammers, and possibly a rifle carrier.

Overall, the room appears not to have changed significantly in function from the earlier period.

Supplementing our knowledge of the front hall's furnishings, Mrs. Lindsay recalled that in the 1918-21 period the Motherwells strung a heavy plush green curtain along a brass rod across the east face of the staircase. In winter, when the opening of the front door sent a gust of wind into the vestibule, the curtain stopped the cold air from travelling up the stairs. Ranged in front of the staircase railing and
curtain were two highbacked chairs made of caned material slung between twisted wooden uprights.

The front parlor, from 1918 to 1921, was furnished for the most part as it had been in 1911. Still in use were two of the black leather chairs mentioned by Alma Mackenzie and a rocker. An oval table was placed under the east window. Green plush drapes, probably matching the staircase curtain, hung at the sides of the windows and were also hung across the archway, providing a divider between the front and back parlors. Mrs. Lindsay associated Motherwell's stuffed mink and pheasant with the parlor and believed that a picture of fruit now in the possession of Parks Canada's curatorial unit was hung on one of its walls. On the whole, the parlor's formal, somewhat austere atmosphere remained unchanged from 1911.

As was previously the case, the kitchen was dominated by the big wood stove just in front of the west wall and the dining table, which took up most of the floor space in the eastern half of the room. At this time the stove was still being moved into the summer kitchen for the summer months. A buffet graced the south wall, and on the opposite side, to the left of the doorway leading to the summer kitchen, was a Quebec heater. The sink had by this time been moved from the north wall to the southwest corner of the room.

The most important feature Mrs. Lindsay recalled about the upstairs area was that rooms 25 and 26 were connected by an arch and separated only by a green velour curtain. She slept in the rear part (room 26) with Janet Gillespie, Catherine's sister. This evidence confirms that the upstairs arch was installed no later than 1918, although it may have been put in much earlier.

In 1921 Motherwell was elected to the House of Commons as member for Regina and that winter moved to Ottawa to take the post of Dominion Minister of Agriculture. He was accompanied by his wife and their ward Margretta Evans. Motherwell's appointment effectively removed him from the farm and he was obliged to appoint a permanent farm manager, Catherine's brother, J.B. Gillespie, who with his wife moved into the stone house in 1922.

The best source of information vis a vis the interior in the period of the 1920s is Laura A. Jensen, Tal Motherwell's daughter. Born in 1916, Mrs. Jensen remembers many interior details, despite the fact that she did not live in the house and visited it relatively infrequently in those years. While her reminiscences date to a period considerably later than those of her aunt Alma Mackenzie, they do provide additional information on room function and furniture layouts that in most cases were not changed significantly during J.B. Gillespie's decade as farm manager from 1922 to 1923. This conclusion stems from the similarity of furniture arrangement in the two interviews. The impression emerges that, even after 1922, when Motherwell's resident status had, in effect, reverted from occupant to occasional visitor, the house was still regarded as his and Catherine's personal home.

Mrs. Jensen's description of the lobby's furnishings coincides closely with those of Alma Mackenzie and Margretta Lindsay, the chief features being the cane-backed settee and matching chairs, and library table. She placed the chairs on either side of the double south-facing window, and settee against the west wall when the piano wasn't
She also recalled the two highbacked chairs in the front vestibule that had been mentioned by Margretta Evans.

Few changes were apparent in most of the other rooms. In the kitchen, the stove and dining table had not been moved from the 1918 to 1921 arrangement, although Mrs. Jensen remembered there was a stand in the southeast corner of the kitchen on which W.R. Motherwell placed his radio. At its side was a chair. A Sharples cream separator stood in the northeast corner. Sometimes it and the radio stand were reversed.

The chief furnishings of the parlor, like the kitchen, had been little altered from the late teens to the early twenties. The heavy black leather chairs were still much in evidence, as was the piano, although it was moved frequently, sitting at different times on either side of the north-facing window and in the lobby. The parlor's floor was covered with a beige rug with a lighter centre and large floral patterns in the corners. Likewise the drapes were beige and rose. Interestingly, Jensen remembered there was dining room furniture in room 15 from time to time, although she asserted that this room was called the back parlor.

Other furnishings in the early twenties included a walnut coat tree in the front vestibule between the staircase and the door to the parlor. It was a straightforward design - a long pole with curved pegs.

With the defeat of the King government in July 1930, Motherwell's executive career ended, although he continued as a private member of Parliament, and maintained his residence in Ottawa. With the death of J.B. Gillespie in 1932, the management of the farm passed into the hands of Dan Gallant, who had previously worked as a hired hand in 1922-23. He occupied the small west-facing bedroom at the back of the upstairs. A new hired girl, 18-year-old Lizzie Morris, moved into the neighbouring bedroom with the south-facing arched window and stayed until 1934.

There were few structural changes wrought in this period, but a significant change in room function was the conversion of the former back and front parlors to a bedroom/sitting room suite for W.R. Motherwell and his wife. This change undoubtedly reflected Motherwell's enlarged presence on the farm, particularly after the death of his brother-in-law. The use of rooms on the ground floor also probably reflected his increasing age and difficulty in mounting stairs. Barbara and Janet Gillespie continued to live in the house, occupying, respectively, the master bedroom and Alma's former room.

In the 1930s, after the parlors had been converted for use as a bedroom and sitting room for the Motherwell's, a small heating stove was installed in the northwest corner of the parlor. A vent from the chemical toilet was connected with the flue from the stove. In this period, as was the case earlier, the front and back parlors and lobby were stained a dark brown and covered with area carpets. Upstairs the long hallway was similarly varnished, although the floors of the individual rooms were painted, usually a light tan. Other interior details provided by Lizzie Morris, who was the Motherwell's hired girl from 1932 to 1934, included her recollections of window coverings. For the most part, the draperies hung on the south side of the house were of light airy materials, either lace or damask, while those of the north parlors were made of a heavy plush velvet or velour. The latter
description coincides with virtually all other accounts of the parlor and back parlor draperies. Upstairs and downstairs green roller blinds were inserted in the windows facing south.

In 1939 Motherwell retired from the House of Commons to spend his last years at Lanark Place. He lived with his wife and sisters-in-law and probably a hired girl until December 1942, when his son Tal, who had been widowed in 1936, and Tal's daughter Laura moved into the stone house. Tal took over the management of the farm from Ted Callow, and Laura looked after the household. Early in 1943, with Motherwell's health failing, room 15 became his sick room. In May, 60 years after he had broken the first sod on his homestead, he died.
MOTHERWELL HOUSE, 1943 TO THE PRESENT

Motherwell's house, like the surrounding farmstead, had undergone significant structural changes in the course of its creator's lifetime. Initially serving the needs of a successful homestead farmer, the house had, during Motherwell's long tenure in public life, become a political showpiece. During the twenties and thirties of Motherwell's federal career in politics when he and his wife were relegated to the status of occasional residents, the house provided shelter for his in-laws and surrogate managers. Despite his absence and the gradual disintegration of the "country estate" from its former magnificence, his personal stamp on its operation and overall appearance was undeniable. Finally, in 1939, Motherwell once again returned to live permanently in his home and to spend his last years in tranquil retirement. The interior changes of the house reflected the many pivotal changes in the evolution of the society at Lanark Place. At the same time, despite minor damage to the iron roof cresting and ornamental embellishment over the porch, and a certain amount of cracking in its walls which had occurred in the early years, the house's exterior appeared much as it has been in 1897.

After Motherwell's death, the house continued to be inhabited for a number of years. Catherine and her sisters-in-law Barbara and Janet Gillespie moved into the village of Abernethy only a few months afterwards, but Tal stayed on the farm until the mid-fifties. His daughter Laura left in 1945 to work in Fort Qu'Appelle, but continued to return on weekends. They were joined by Richard Motherwell, Tal's son, and his wife Patricia, during the summers. Richard had commenced the purchase of the farm from his grandparents in 1942 when W.R. Motherwell was still living and completed the transaction with Catherine after her husband's death.

In July 1953 Richard and Pat Motherwell moved onto the farm with the intention of taking up permanent residency. They proceeded with a number of interior changes, including the installation of a long counter and sink along the south wall of the winter kitchen and the conversion of the coal furnace to oil. Tragically, in September of that year, only months after their return, Richard died in the polio epidemic then raging through Western Canada. He left his wife with three daughters but no sons, and the chain of succession in the Motherwell family was effectively broken. Pat continued to live on the farm with her daughters until 1958, when they moved into Regina. She returned during the summer and on many weekends until she sold the farm to Hugh Steuck in 1965. During her residency, the farm operations were carried out by her brother, Robert Ferguson of Edgely, Saskatchewan.

By the 1950s the age of drawing rooms had long since passed and Pat Motherwell modified the interior of the old house in accordance with the dictates of economy and the more modest living requirements of
a third-generation Western Canadian. After Richard's death, she converted the former front parlor (room 15) to a kitchen by installing a counter and sink along the north wall and recovering the floor with linoleum. This change enabled her to close off the rear kitchens to save on heating costs, while creating a more manageable and efficient living area. She also built a plywood partition between room 15 and 16, with a door on the south side of the partition, thereby changing the former back parlor to a dining room. With the building of an upstairs, and the concomitant installation of a septic tank, she completed the conversion of the house to indoor plumbing.

In 1966, only a year after having purchased the farm from Pat Motherwell, Hugh Steuck donated the 8.3-acre farmstead grounds and its buildings to the Saskatchewan government. Later that year, the farm was designated a national historic site by the Canadian government, and title to the property was transferred to the federal authorities by their provincial counterparts.

The Motherwell stone house, like the farmstead it served, witnessed the successive stages of the development of British Ontarian prairie society from the formative settlement period to the present. The region was settled chiefly by Ontarians, at least in the crucial early period. Symbolic of an attempt to impose Eastern Canadian consciousness on the new land that perhaps no longer existed in the parent province, Motherwell's stone house was, even in 1897, already a jaded reminder of an architectural period that had long since ceased to be. In an attempt to consolidate their hold over the new land, the Ontarians erected heavy fieldstone structures they hoped would defy nature and the passage of time. But where the grand old farmhouses of Southern Saskatchewan are gradually disintegrating into rubble, Lanark Place offers an opportunity to preserve and commemorate a fine example of this unique phenomenon of early Western Canadian development. Perhaps even more important than the structure itself, the stone house offers almost unlimited scope in interpreting the culture and society of the key group of post-Confederation western immigrants to a public that, more than ever before, needs a perspective on its own history.
ENDNOTES

Motherwell House, 1897-1917
1 Archives of Saskatchewan, W.R. Motherwell Homestead File, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
5 Homestead File, op. cit.
6 Ibid.
8 Qu'Appelle Vidette (Indian Head), 28 April 1897, p. 8, cited in William Naftel, op. cit., p. 11.
9 Qu'Appelle Vidette news story stated that "New houses are all the rage at Abernethy. Messrs Fraser and Cameron have the contract for one for Mr. Motherwell...." The fact that it was after this story that Motherwell tendered for the building, coupled with the statement that plans and specifications were available for inspection at the office of James Conn, lumber dealer, indicates that Fraser and Cameron were hired for the sole purpose of drawing up plans and specifications.
11 Qu'Appelle Vidette, 26 Jan. 1898, p. 8.
12 Ibid., 13 Aug. 1897.
13 Ibid., 12 Jan. 1898.
15 The kitchen flooring is presently being analysed by Historical Conservation to verify this statement.
16 The Hudson's Bay Company mail order service had been operating from Winnipeg since 1881.
17 At this time the Moosomin firm of Messrs. J. McCurdy was engaged in the production of ornamental iron work. Qu'Appelle Vidette, 4 Aug. 1897, cited in William Naftel, op. cit., p. 5.
18 Among the many services advertised by Fraser and Cameron in Qu'Appelle Vidette was their production of custom moldings. Qu'Appelle Vidette, 9 Feb. 1898, p. 8.
19 Ibid.

22 The As-Found measurements of the existing structure indicate minor discrepancies in the information provided by the Nor'-West Farmer. The actual measurements are: main section, 34 feet 3/8 inch x 28 feet 2 inches; rear wing, 18 feet 8 1/8 inches x 19 feet 1 7/8 inches; summer kitchen, 12 feet 3 1/2 inches x 20 feet 8 3/4 inches. The last figure does not permit a meaningful comparison since the existing summer kitchen was built with stone walls while the original shed mentioned in the 1900 article was built of wood (Henry van der Putten, As-Found Drawing No. 8 [April 1970]). Engineering and Architecture Division, Prairie Region, Parks Canada, Winnipeg.

23 Nor'-West Farmer, 5 May 1900.

24 Ibid.

25 Alma Mackenzie Reminiscences.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Archives of Saskatchewan (hereafter cited as AS), W.R. Motherwell Notebook, Second year, Spring Term, April 4, 1881, fol. 439.

29 Qu'Appelle Vidette, 26 Jan. 1898, p. 8.

30 Naftel speculated that Motherwell based the design on a house or houses in his native Ontario. There would appear to be a great deal of credence to this explanation. To illustrate his point Naftel included in his report an 1880 picture of "Forest Home," a dwelling at Pembroke, Ontario, which exhibits essentially the same features as the Motherwell house.


32 Ralph Greenhill, Ken MacPherson and Douglas Richardson, Ontario Towns (Toronto: Oberon Press, 1974), Houses, p. 18.


35 Barbara Humphreys, "Western Vernacular Architecture." Manuscript on file, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Ottawa, n.d.

36 Ibid.


38 The Italianate was not the only style to employ ornamental brackets. As Clifford Clark Jr. has pointed out, there was a separate style, presented in the 19th-century plan books, called the Bracketed style. Clifford Clark Jr., "Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America 1840-1870," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, VII (Summer 1976), p. 37n). At the same time there are also many examples of houses bearing brackets that were clearly labelled Italian by their authors. See, for example, How to Build, Furnish and Decorate, Plan no. 24, (a), "A Cottage

The Eastlake trend in architecture was extremely popular among North American builders in the late 19th century. Named for Charles Locke Eastlake, its unwitting inspiration (who later disavowed any connection with his enthusiastic followers), the style came to represent the use of embellishment that was "not only picturesque and workmanlike." Features that came generally to be associated with this style included table-leg shaped columns and pediments embellished with sun-ray motifs. A photograph of an Eastlake entranceway in Berkeley, California, taken from Marcus Whiffen's American Architecture Since 1780: A Guide to the Styles (Fig. 8) illustrates Eastlake detailing that is essentially similar to Motherwell's balcony/porch (Fig. 9).


The deficiencies of the Bates house vis à vis Lanark Place are evident in the stonework finish. Where Motherwell had carefully planned the placement of each stone in terms of aesthetic balance and fit, the stones of the Bates house were so roughly put together that the quoins and window sills had to be completed with brick, a more common practice on the Prairies, but much less pleasing aesthetically.

See endnote 9, Motherwell House, 1897-1917.

Qu'Appelle Vidette, 9 Feb. 1898. "Mr. Morrison declares that he is paying at least $100 for the plans of his house - this beats the already high record in architectural rapacity."

Alma Mackenzie Reminiscences.

The term drawing room was used by Catherine Motherwell after her appearance on the farm in 1908. (Interview with Laura Jensen, Pat Motherwell and Laura Murray, by Lyle Dick, Calgary, 10 July 1978.)
54 Ibid.
59 Kenneth L. Ames, op. cit., p. 28.
60 Ibid., p. 46.
61 Arnold W. Brunner and Thomas Tryon, op. cit., p. 17.
62 Despite the opening of the hall to the lobby in the 1911 renovations, apparently it continued to fulfill its function as a buffer zone between the outdoors and interior rooms. Access to the parlor was still effectively blocked - now by double doors. The header of the archway extended down from the ceiling, so that the hall appeared to be an area distinct from the lobby. See Kenneth Ames, op. cit., p. 28.
63 Arnold W. Brunner and Thomas Tryon, op. cit., p. 24.
64 Interview with Margretta Evans Lindsay, by Lyle Dick, 2 Nov. 1977.
65 Interview with Laura A. Jensen, by Lyle Dick, Sun City, Arizona, 6-7 Dec. 1977.
66 Ibid.
67 Alma Mackenzie Reminiscences.
68 The Engineering and Architecture Division has now ascertained that the door leading from the kitchen to the south verandah was originally located at the front entrance.
69 Alma Mackenzie Reminiscences.
70 David Taylor to the Regional Director, Atlantic Region, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 11 June 1968, with accompanying floor plan.
71 Interview with Mrs. Lizzie Morris (née Lutz), by Lyle Dick, 21 March 1978.
72 Interview with Laura Jensen, by Lyle Dick, 7 Dec. 1977.
73 AS, W.R. Motherwell Papers, file no. 83, fols. 12,140, 12,141, reel no. 2.716.
74 Interview with Margretta Evans Lindsay, by Lyle Dick, November 1977.
75 Arnold W. Brunner and Thomas Tryon, op. cit., pp. 34, 35.
76 Consultation with Lorne Campbell and Jean-Claude LeBeuf, Engineering and Architecture Division, Parks Canada, Prairie Regional Office.
78 Clifford E. Clark Jr., op. cit., p. 52.
79 Alma Mackenzie Reminiscences.
81 AS, W.R. Motherwell Papers, Invoice of Wright Brothers, Regina, to W.R. Motherwell, 1 March 1907, file no. 83, fol. 12,159.
Motherwell House, 1819-43
1 Ibid., Interview with Dan and Olive Gallant, Side II, p. 19.
2 Interview with Nina Gow, Abernethy, Saskatchewan, 26 Jan. 1978. Even after it was installed, the new Delco system did not totally supplant the older oil lamps, which continued to provide supplementary lighting.
3 Interview with Margretta Evans Lindsay, by Lyle Dick, 2 Nov. 1978.
4 Interview with Margretta Evans Lindsay, by Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver, May, 1977, p. 13.
5 Interview with Mrs. Laura A. Jensen, Sun City, Arizona, by Lyle Dick, 7 Dec. 1978, p. 18.
6 Ibid., p. 32.
7 Ibid., Side 1, pp. 16-17.
8 Interview with Mrs. Lizzie Morris, Indian Head, Saskatchewan, by Lyle Dick, 21 March 1978.

Motherwell House, 1943 to the Present
1 Ian Clarke, "Motherwell Historic Park," p. 209.
2 Telephone conversation with Mrs. Pat Motherwell, Calgary, by Lyle Dick, 29 May 1978.
3 Laura Jensen Interview, op. cit.
4 Pat Motherwell Interview, op. cit.
INTERVIEWS

(Typed transcripts on file at the Historical Research Division, Prairie Region, Parks Canada, Winnipeg.)

Dan and Olive Gallant and Major McFadyen interviewed by Ian Clarke, Lanark Place, 21 Sept. 1976


Margretta Evans Lindsay, by Ian Clarke, and Margie Lou Shaver, Regina, May 1977; by Lyle Dick, Regina, 2 Nov. 1977.

Alma Mackenzie
  Correspondence with H. Tatro, Calgary, 6 and 17 March 1968.
  Taylor interview, P.E.I., 17 April 1968.
  Response to questions from W. Naftel, 8 Nov. 1968.
  "Recollections" by R. Dixon, n.d.

Major McFadyen, by Ian Clarke, Regina, 26 June 1976.


Lizzie Morris, by Lyle Dick, Indian Head, 21 March 1978.


Ralph Steuck, by Ian Clarke and Selwyn Carrington, Abernethy, 4 May 1976.
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A MATERIALS HISTORY OF THE MOTHERWELL HOME

Sarah Carter

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ABSTRACT

This report is a study of the material history of the W.R. Motherwell home at Abernethy, Saskatchewan, in the context of domestic life in that household. As the contents of a home should not be thought of as separate from its structure, original owners or natural surroundings, this report accompanies two earlier studies: Ian Clarke's structural and use history of the Motherwell home and Lyle Dick's structural history of the Motherwell home.

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INTRODUCTION

Aspects of the Material History of the Abernethy District, 1882-1905

One of the principal aims of material culture history is to discern patterns of social behaviour through the study of objects pertaining to a society. The Motherwell home at Abernethy, Saskatchewan, and its material record of one family does not represent an isolated, unique example of prairie life, but reflects experiences, economic, social and environmental conditions that were shared by most of the early residents. As with the other homesteaders, Motherwell initially had to decide which items and supplies should be among his settlers' effects; decisions had to be made regarding how much room could be found for the physical setting of culture such as furniture, china and musical instruments when these served no practical end and space was limited. Similarly, Motherwell shared with his fellow settlers the experience of several years of relatively primitive living conditions in crude log dwellings, and the difficulties posed by the environment such as distances from centres of supply, poor roads and a climate that was not always kind. Prosperity and greater stability eventually became evident in the district with the construction of new, permanent homes, like the Motherwell's in 1897, in the improvements to travelling conditions and in the appearance of small centres called rural corners with stores, post offices, churches and halls, north of the main route of the CPR. The Kirkella branch line, constructed in 1904, represented a bridge to the modern, outer world to the residents of the Abernethy district, as it, along with the new town of Abernethy that was born in 1905, abruptly put an end to most of the remaining pioneer economic, social and material conditions.

In the spring of 1882, at age 22, W.R. Motherwell chose to homestead north of the Qu'Appelle River in the district first known as the Pheasant Plains, named for a butte higher than the surrounding countryside that was the home of many pheasants. The first settlers to this area were greeted by a vast expanse of verdant prairie, allowing a view of the horizon in all directions, interrupted only by occasional copes of poplar and willow. The heavily treed banks of Pheasant Creek wind through these plains, one branch rising in the Pheasant Hills to the east, the other in the File Hills to the north. Vestiges of a vanished way of life in the West were still clearly visible to the first settlers in the trails of the buffalo herds that wound their way towards the rivers and creeks and in the still deep ruts of what was known as the old Pelly trail.

W.R. Motherwell was one of the first homesteaders to arrive in the Pheasant Plains district but he was soon joined by many others that
same spring. Those who journeyed to the West in 1882 travelled by rail via Chicago, Minneapolis and Emerson to the end of the steel at Brandon. From Brandon Motherwell travelled by wagon and ox-team to Fort Qu'Appelle where he engaged a land surveyor to help him locate a homestead. There are no records of Motherwell's trip to the West by rail and then overland, but others who made the same journey that spring did record their experiences. John Allen kept a diary during his trip to Pheasant Forks beginning in April 1882, when he and a group of Primitive Methodists, including women and children, boarded a train in Toronto. It took four days for the train to reach St. Paul where it remained for 16 days because of a flood; the passengers slept in cattle cars. In the middle of May they arrived at Brandon where one family buried an infant daughter. Four days later the group began the overland trip to Pheasant Forks which was to take one month. Fifteen miles was a good day's journey but often it amounted to much less when rivers, creeks, alkalai beds or sloughs were numerous. On one day, 14 hours were spent struggling through only three and one-half miles. While travelling through the terrible district of the sand hills, the oxen played out; the load had to be lightened so some things were left with a man in a tent. A wagon driven by W. Stilborn toppled down the steep ravine of the Qu'Appelle Valley, although the only damage reported was to his brother's house stove. Many years later, George Hartwell, who was a boy of seven in 1882, remembered this journey:

Squalling children, squealing cart wheels, singing humans, swearing men, bellowing oxen, laughing women, scolding women, quarrelling children, arguing men, barking dogs and at the end of a day, setting up tents, building campfires, visiting other families and always evening prayers.

The settlers that arrived later in 1882 and thereafter had a considerably easier time arriving at their homesteads as the Canadian Pacific Railway had reached Moosomin, Regina and Moose Jaw by the end of 1882 and the following year it spanned what is now the entire province of Saskatchewan. Settlers to the Pheasant Plains and Qu'Appelle Valley districts could ride to Wolseley, Indian Head or Troy (later Qu'Appelle) and travel from there by wagon and oxen to choose their homesteads. However, few of those who made their way west by rail would have appreciated the luxury of the ride. The cars were crowded and comfortless; travellers sat during the day and slept at night on hard, unupholstered benches. Travellers remember having to stand an entire day on the train, and gruff customs officers at the border points who would carelessly toss precious possessions about the customs sheds, even dumping them out on the floor. Combined with the unpleasant are memories of kind train men who would pick bunches of prairie flowers for children or help passengers reach their destination by making unscheduled stops. As one settler remembered, the trip was not without its fun:

Some of the boys got a little rough en route; turned a section-man's shack upside down an embankment; tied a mower behind the train. One was smoking a very small pipe would go through the train, ask someone for a pipeful of tobacco, then pull out a clay pipe which held about half a cup.

For all of those who journeyed to the Canadian West in the first wave of settlement that coincided with the construction of the
CPR, a major concern must have been packing the proper things, for in
the 1880s the western interior remained virtually an unknown land.
Even as the railway was being constructed there was genuine perplexity
about the resource potential of the southern plains; politicians in
Ottawa continued to debate about the quality of land in the West and
there remained fears that Palliser's prediction that the true prairie
would never sustain agricultural settlement was correct. Accurate
accounts of farming conditions in the West emerged only with the
experiences of the farmers and with the results from the experimental
farms that the CPR established along its main line. For the
homesteaders who arrived before this information was published in
immigrant guide books, it must have been a gamble to decide what farm
implements, livestock and seed would be suitable to unknown conditions.
It must also have been difficult to decide what domestic items would be
necessary; they had to be severely limited and there was no turning
back for what was forgotten. Deciding what kinds of provisions were
necessary and in what quantity must have been of some concern to the
homesteader as he left the last point of civilization and headed for
his land, for he could expect to be isolated for a long time.

Most important on a list of settler's effects was the livestock,
consisting of a team of oxen or horses, a cow and often pigs, chickens,
geese, bees, dogs and cats. Basic material items brought to the
West included a wagon, tent stove, plow, harrows, spade, pick, axe,
feed for the stock and bags of seed grain. Domestic items would
probably have been limited to the bare necessities for preparing and
serving food, bedding, clothing and a few items of furniture. China,
glass and pottery must have been a rarity in the West in the early
days, for even if room was found for such items, they were unlikely to
have survived the lengthy train ride and the trip to the homestead by
wagon over rough terrain. Undoubtedly, variations existed in the
nature and quantity of individual settlers' effects, according to means
and the image of life in the West with which the settler left his home.
One homesteader from Toronto was told that the most important piece of
equipment for life in the West were high-legged Wellington boots
because of the high prairie grass.

The first shelter of most of the homesteaders was a tent which
served until a more permanent dwelling could be constructed. Some,
such as W.R. Motherwell, spent the first winter in a tent. At Pheasant
Forks one resident lived in a tent he had set up inside a log shack
thatched with slough grass. Soon, however, most of the settlers
in the Pheasant Plains district built small houses from logs they had
hauled from the creek bed. Nails and window sashes represented the
only usual expenses, although some settlers hauled lumber from flooring
and partitioning from Indian Head. W.R. Motherwell built his
first dwelling from logs from Pheasant Creek. It measured 18 x 24
feet and consisted of three rooms on the ground floor; the larger
area was an all-purpose living and dining area and kitchen. The
pantry was beneath an enclosed staircase that led to the attic; the
bottom step of the stairs was used by the children as a seat as it was
near the stove. The furnishings were sparse and simple: a four-legged
box stove heated the home and cooked the meals, there was a table and
three or four chairs, a rocker and a built-in cupboard. Potatoes and vegetables were stored in the cellar and a lean-to on the north side was used for the storage of wood. Descriptions of the interiors of other log dwellings usually include home-made rag mats or animal skins for the floors, occasionally newspaper papering for the walls, home-made tables, benches, cribs and sofas covered with oil cloth and built-in cupboards and shelves. A dresser could be fashioned out of a packing case covered with cretonne or similar material. The log homes were heated by the cook stove and brightened by coal oil lamps. Some of these dwellings were so small that household effects had to be kept in a tent nearby. Items of furniture brought from home varied from family to family but were always limited. One English family brought a chest of drawers and two iron bedsteads; another, from the East, brought wooden beds and rough wooden tables and chairs. Occasionally the opportunity would arise to purchase articles of furniture from settlers leaving the district but for the most part the furnishing of the home was left to the ingenuity of the homesteaders, using materials that the environment provided.

The hardships involved in choosing a homestead, transporting livestock and provisions, breaking sod, planting a garden and constructing some kind of shelter for men and beasts in the space of only a few months must have been immense. William Hays, an Englishman who homesteaded near Lipton in 1883, kept a diary that chronicles how one man coped with all of these difficulties. Hays' homesteading experiences are perhaps not entirely representative as he seemed to have little knowledge of farming, and his lifestyle in England, as described in the early months of the diary, was that of a gentleman of leisure attending numerous balls and losing enormous sums at poker. Hays and three friends were turned out at Qu'Appelle station at 3 A.M., April 23rd, 1883. After spending a month living in a tent at Fort Qu'Appelle, Hays decided on a suitable site for his homestead. His first attempts at breaking land with a team of oxen were disastrous; he found them unmanageable and gave up in despair after the second day. By mid-October his home was nearing completion and he and a friend travelled to Fort Qu'Appelle to fetch their luggage, stove and provisions. Even after having borrowed a team of horses to lug this load up the steep bank of the Qu'Appelle Valley, the double-tree on the wagon broke. All of the goods had to be removed from the wagon and with his friend left to guard them, Hays returned to the town for repairs. Hays was pleased with his new house but he was obliged to do his cooking outside because the stove pipes did not fit. His first batch of bread was a dismal failure, requiring a cold chisel and hammer to cut it. When he finally unpacked his trunks he was dismayed to find that mice had found their way in, completely destroying a brand new suit.

The diet of the homesteaders of the Pheasant Plains district was plain and monotonous in the early years. Fresh meat was scarce, particularly in the summer months; the main staple was salt pork or bacon. As soon as a pig was butchered in the spring it would be salted or preserved in a salt brine. Bacon and hams could also be smoked by hanging them in a root pit, building a fire of rotten poplar twice a day and closing it down tightly. If the whole thing caught fire a year's supply would be lost. In nearby coulees, an
abundance of wild game and fish offered a welcome relief to a diet of salt or smoked pork. The rabbit or hare was a common article of food and W.R. Motherwell ate it frequently in the early years finding it an enjoyable change.\textsuperscript{22} Vast numbers of ducks and geese frequented the sloughs and lakes of the district. Mallards were found in the greatest number but there were many other varieties including teal, widgeon, pintail, canvas backs, bluebills and goldeneyes.\textsuperscript{23} From mid-October to mid-November 1887, one resident of the Fort Qu'Appelle district shot close to 200 ducks.\textsuperscript{24} Prairie chicken, ruffed grouse or plover, occasionally deer and even lynx were also welcome breaks in a monotonous diet. There were many varieties of fish in the lakes and creeks of the district, principally whitefish, pickerel and pike, which could be preserved by salting or smoking.

The kitchen garden was an important source of food year-round as the root crop could be stored for the winter in deep cellars and the vegetable and fruit crop could be preserved by canning and drying. The prize lists of the fall agricultural fairs, published in local newspapers, are indicators of what was growing successfully in the kitchen gardens. For several years W.R. Motherwell was active in the agricultural fair circuit, attending at Wolseley, Indian Head, Qu'Appelle Station and Fort Qu'Appelle and carrying off prizes for his turnips, mangolds, beets, citrons, onions, tomatoes and melons as well as for his bulls, wheat and oats.\textsuperscript{25}

The early settlers of the Pheasant Plains district learned early that the Qu'Appelle Valley and the creek beds and coulees were rich sources of wild fruit that could be made into jams and jellies, canned or dryed. Among the many varieties were wild strawberries, pincherries, high bush cranberries and hazel nuts. Other wild foods were edible mushrooms, wild hops for yeast and wild rice. Many of the wild fruits would have been familiar sights to the early settlers, but some varieties like saskatoons, are peculiar to the West. One homesteader from Quebec who arrived in 1883 noticed the abundance of saskatoons but was afraid they were poisonous and ate them only after he saw the birds and the Indians helping themselves.\textsuperscript{26}

Daily fare on the early homesteads was plain, but rarely was a family reduced to starvation level. Fresh dairy products were almost always available for butter, cheese and buttermilk were made in most homes. Eggs could be packed in boxes of salt, in oats or in newspaper.\textsuperscript{27} Supplies would run short, however, and a main meal could consist of porridge, rice or bread pudding.\textsuperscript{28} One early resident of the district remembered his family existing for two weeks on a diet of boiled wheat that was to have been used for seed while their father was delayed in returning from the railhead with supplies.\textsuperscript{29}

Women were required to have a vast store of domestic knowledge to cope with conditions of life in the West. Basic items like yeast, vinegar and baking powder were made at home. Starch was made from potatoes and salt or from grain, soaked for several days and dried in the sun. Soap was made in the home, in the early days from wood ashes and later with lye. Mrs. Motherwell and most of the early housewives made candles probably from the fat of beef, hogs or wild game.\textsuperscript{30} Rugs were made from stockings or scraps of material that were braided and stitched to a piece of canvas. All items of clothing, curtains and drapes were home-made, although even by the earliest days of settlement
in the West there were sewing machines that removed much of the
drudgery of the work. Mrs. Motherwell had a Raymond sewing machine and
was an excellent seamstress, winning prizes at the agricultural fairs
in the categories of hand-made shirt, machine-made shirt, gent's
flannel shirt and also for her knitted socks, stockings and mittens,
both ribbed and plain. Because of the cold winters, knitting was
a mandatory skill for all women and many also spun their own
yarn. Winter wear was fashioned from tanned hides that could be
purchased from the Indians and stitched into coats, robes, mocassins or
mittens.

A knowledge of home remedies that could be concocted from common
household supplies was usually part of the housewives' responsi-
bilities. Readily available ingredients such as goose grease and
turpentine were used for chest conditions; for sores and wounds an
ointment could be made from equal parts of honey, fresh lard and one
egg. A teaspoonful of sulphur and molasses was a good spring
tonic as was seneca root as some of the settlers learned from the
Indians. Generally, remedies for common ailments were those
handed down from the preceding generation, but some homes kept a
doctors book like Dr. Chase's Recipes which contained instructions
for the cure of all manner of minor ailments and major diseases. Among
the patent medicines common to homes of the district were Perry Davis'
Painkiller, Radway's Ready Relief, Ayer's Cherry Pectoral and Burdock's
Blood Bitters. One or two residents of the area became
proficient at extracting teeth but dental problems often meant lengthy
periods of distress. One early resident noted in his diary:

I have been suffering very much for a week back with a
gathering in my upper jaw. Put knife blade in it today
and received great relief.

Music and reading were among the few forms of relaxation and
recreation in the homes of the early settlers of the Pheasant Plains
district. Often some kind of musical instrument was included among a
settler's effects, usually smaller instruments like a mouth organ,
accordion, autoharp or a violin. One family brought a concertina with
them from England. Many homes acquired an organ even in the
earliest years, either ordered by mail or from visiting agents of the
organ companies. Several books also usually formed part of a
settler's effects and reading aloud in the evenings was a common
pastime. Books often brought from homes in England were a Bible, Bible
commentary and a set of Charles Dickens. Books were often sent as
gifts from the East or England to add to the small collections.
Authors popular with the young men of the district included the Empire
writers like Bulwar Lytton and Ryder Haggard. There were also books
for girls with titles like Home Influence and Mothers Recom-
pense. Ralph Connor's books became very popular, particularly
with the Ontario-born settlers. W.R. Motherwell was particularly fond
of the Glengarry books that dealt with Connor's boyhood in Eastern
Canada. Motherwell's daughter remembered that her father could be so
moved reading about one of the adventures such as playing shinny in the
Glengarry School Days that reminded him of his own school days in
Ontario that someone else would have to take his place awhile reading
aloud. Perhaps out of a sense of isolation, pioneer households
subscribed to a great number of newspapers and periodicals. Most
received a newspaper from their homes in the East or England, more
local papers like the Winnipeg *Free Press* and Regina *Leader* as well as the *Vidette* and agricultural papers like the *North West Farmer* and *Farmers' Advocate*. The *Montreal Weekly Witness* was popular in the district as it was in most Protestant Canadian homes. Women subscribed to such magazines as *The Bazaar* and *Ladies Home Journal*. The *Family Herald* with information on farm problems as well as household hints, poetry, stories and fashion was found in almost every home, including the Motherwells.42

Even during the early years of settlement in the Pheasant Plains district rural families were not entirely self-sustaining; certain goods had to be purchased in bulk from the nearest centres. The number of times these trips were made and the amounts purchased seem to have varied from family to family. During the winter, the farmers of the district hauled their wheat distances of up to 20 or more miles to Indian Head and Sintaluta and purchased staple goods at these centres. Motherwell seems to have taken the bulk of his business to Indian Head; it was slightly farther than Sintaluta but it meant crossing only the Qu'Appelle Valley and not Pheasant Creek as well. Fort Qu'Appelle was nearer and was visited on a regular basis as it was at Joyner and Elkinson's, Fort Qu'Appelle, that the settlers could bring their wheat to be gristed. Flour was sold in ten-pound bags and the customer would receive a certain number of pounds for the bushel of wheat that they brought in. A cord of wood could also be exchanged for a bag of flour.43 Staple groceries that were regularly purchased included tea, sugar, salt, rice, oatmeal, dried fruit such as prunes and apples that had been peeled, quartered and strung and occasionally fresh fruit like oranges and lemons.44 When the Fort Qu'Appelle *Vidette* began publishing in 1884 three general stores advertised, each carrying dry goods, groceries, crockery, glassware and hardware. They were joined by a pharmacy that advertised flavoring extracts, toilet soaps, tooth brushes, coal oil, cigars and fancy goods aside from prescriptions.45 At Indian Head there were merchants that had established business tents as early as 1882. The Brooks family that was to become very prominent in the retail trade of the area started business at Indian Head in 1883 when Edwin J. Brooks established a partnership with George Murray.46

In the prairie stores of the 1880s, the appearance of trade mark names was still relatively rare. Advertisements for these early stores give little specific information; buyers had not yet come to rely on brand names and the advertisements simply list the stock, often appearing for months on end with no change. Goods were not yet packaged in units of convenient size for the buyer, they were displayed in open boxes, barrels or kegs, weighed by the merchant and put in paper bags.

Cash was a rare commodity in the West in the early years and most merchants advertised that they would accept all manner of farm produce in exchange for goods. Eggs and butter were the main items of trade but merchants would also accept other farm products, raw furs, wood and seneca root.47 Difficulties arising from conducting business on a trading system were often the cause of headaches for prairie merchants. Not all of the butter and eggs were of the best quality or packaged in a tidy manner. Whether good or bad, however, the price for the produce had to be the same for all as it would be bad for business to insult a
woman by downgrading her butter. That which was unsaleable could be packed into butter tubs and sent to soap factories in Winnipeg.  

Apart from the larger centres, there were small Post Office stores at the rural corners dotted across the Prairies. In the vicinity of the Motherwell farm there were three stores of about equal distance at Kenlis, Chickney and Saltoun and to the north at Pheasant Forks and Lorlie. The rural corners virtually disappeared with the construction of the Kirkella branch line and the growth of the town of Abernethy. W.R. Motherwell may have done some shopping at Saltoun to the west of his farm rather than at Kenlis or Chickney for it meant avoiding a crossing of the creek. Little is known of the settlement, however, except that settlers of the area were taking their business there at the turn of the century. Kenlis was a busy centre for about ten years between 1895 and 1905. It boasted a substantial brick church, a blacksmith shop, a harness shop, a medical doctor and a veterinary surgeon. In 1896 E.J. Brooks of Indian Head built a temporary store on Mr. Wanamaker's corner and the next year constructed a brick building, with a store on the ground level and a meeting hall above. The store was run by one of his sons and it advertised in the Vidette as having the same stock and prices as could be had at his stores at Indian Head or Sintaluta. Another large store was built at Kenlis sometime before 1905 but after that date all that was left was a church and school. A Post Office was established at the farm of Samuel Chipperfield, to the east of the Motherwell farm in 1887. It was named Chickney after the home of the Chipperfields in England. Sometime around the turn of the century, Sydney Chipperfield opened a general store at Chickney that was in operation until 1905 when the business was moved to Abernethy.

The store at Pheasant Forks was probably the earliest in the district; it was run for a number of years by a Mr. Peregrin and sold in 1887 to Mr. James Franks. A new store was built in 1894 (Fig. 1) with a living room and four bedrooms above and a lean-to kitchen at one side. It was advertised as the Cheap Cash Store:

Although thirty miles from track you can get everything you require, with one or two exceptions, at track prices. Since moving into my new building, my stock is more complete, consisting of everything that will be found in a general store, viz: groceries, harness, clothing, drugs, etc.

Special attention called to dry goods and boot and shoe depts. Highest market prices paid for produce.

Franks ran the mail stage from Wolseley to Pheasant Forks twice a week, stopping at Lorlie, Chickney, Hill Farm and Ellisboro. On mail days settlers would gather at the store from distances as far as 20 miles. The store kept a croquet game to help customers pass the time in the summer months. Orders for groceries would be left on one trip and picked up the next and most of the business was done on the basis of trade in butter and eggs. These goods were taken to the railhead and sent mainly to various construction camps as far west as Vancouver.

Homesteaders of the Abernethy district could also obtain material goods through mail-order catalogues. Amounts purchased in this manner varied from family to family but a general trend would seem to be that
mail-order houses were patronized infrequently in the early years when cash was scarce and freight rates high, that the use of them increased in the years at the turn of the century and that with the establishment of the town of Abernethy, the use of mail-order catalogues decreased. It was the T. Eaton Company catalogue that found its way into most of these homes although some patronized the mail-order firm of Montgomery Ward & Co. It is difficult to categorize the kinds of purchases made through mail order; some families ordered staple, necessary items but most seemed to use the catalogues for fancy goods that could not be obtained locally. Settlers would try to get a bulk order together with their neighbours to cut down on freight expenses. Goods that could be purchased through the mail were also extensively advertised in the newspapers and periodicals to which the early settlers subscribed. One family ordered an organ advertised in the Montreal Witness for $50.00. Everything from watches to sewing machines, lanterns, oriental rugs and medicated belts was available through the mail to settlers on the prairie. A variety of goods from jewellery to stove polish could be purchased from pedlars who often visited rural homes. Both mail-order catalogues and pedlars were objects of vehement criticism in the western Canadian press, described as leeches draining the finances of the community.

By the mid-1890s, the Abernethy district was showing many signs of
Superintendent Perry of the N.W.M.P. reported in 1896 that in contrast to the many deserted townships in the district of Assiniboia "...I have been astonished with the material progress made in many districts where the settlers are of the right class, the soil fertile and the surrounding conditions favourable. Take the settlements of Pense, Springbrook (Qu'Appelle), Wide Awake, Kenlis, Abernethy and Indian head and you will find very marked signs of wealth and prosperity." The most visible signs of the affluence of the Abernethy district were the new permanent dwellings that were being constructed to replace the log homes that had served many families for close to 15 years. In the spring of 1897, the *Vidette* reported that new houses were a fad at Abernethy. Among those for which construction was begun that spring was the permanent home of W.R. Motherwell. A new demand for building supplies, hardware and home furnishings is reflected in the advertisements in the *Vidette* in the late 1890s. Messrs. Fraser and Cameron, architects and builders, established business at Indian Head in 1897. The *Vidette* reported that the steam whistle at their stop could be heard morning, noon and night. Fraser and Cameron's advertisement proclaimed that they would provide clients with architectural information and preliminary plans free of charge and that their speciality was stair work, moulding and scroll work, sash, door and blind. Another indication of the growing prosperity of the district was the sudden boom in the furniture business, also evident in the advertisements in the *Vidette*. Before 1897 none of the stores at Indian Head or Fort Qu'Appelle advertised that their stock included furnishings for the home and only rarely were furnishings like wallpaper or carpeting mentioned. In July 1897, Jos. Glenn of Indian head announced that he was opening a new furniture establishment and in October of that year E.J. Brooks reported that he had received two carloads of furniture with more on the way. J.A. MacCaul and Co. opened a furniture store at Indian Head late in 1897, apparently one of the largest west of Winnipeg, and announced in December that he had received three carloads of bedroom suites, easy chairs, lounges, tables, sideboards, the newest in Reed chairs and Cobler rockers.

In the memories of some of the early residents of the Abernethy district, the years just before and just after the turn of the century saw the end of the real pioneer days. One woman of the Pheasant Forks district felt that after 1898, conditions could scarcely be described as pioneer. Precisely what distinguished pioneer from modern in her mind is difficult to pinpoint but it had much to do with the growing affluence of the district as it was manifested in the increased conveniences brought about by new, comfortable homes and improvements made to the roads and systems of communication all of which softened the harshness of the physical environment. This same woman felt that the pioneer spirit was gone after 1898 when people depended on their own family in their homes for their social life. Another early resident, remembering the surprise parties that were held in homes where people would gather from a radius of 15 miles, often spending the entire night, felt that the coming of the branch line through the district in 1904 spoiled these things, the last party of the kind being held in her home in 1904.

Despite the tendency of the human memory to view the past as superior, the prosperity of the farmers and the improvements to the
district probably did cause the pioneer spirit of mutual aid and neighbourliness to fade. Mutual aid was vital in the early days when the homesteaders confronted an unknown, bleak environment with few personal resources. The construction of the Kirkella branch line that reached just east of Pheasant Creek in 1904 and Abernethy early in 1905 was a bridge between the pioneer and modern ages to the residents of the Abernethy district. The branch line completely altered the transportation pattern that had been the most uneconomic aspect of early farming operations in the district, i.e. hauling grain distances of over 20 miles throughout the winter. One of the earliest pioneers of the district remembered the excitement of spotting the first grain cars on the branch line. On one evening in May 1905, a church service was held in the new implement shed in Abernethy, the "Worshippers" noticed a grain car on the track after service, and each farmer planned to claim it and so ship the first wheat from the town. My husband and the hired man sat up till midnight, loaded a wagon and reached it first (being one of the nearest). Coming home he met W.R. Motherwell with 2 bags of wheat in the buggy.68

The growth of the village of Abernethy also significantly transformed the social interaction of the community; the town became the centre of social life for church services and functions, sports, meetings and dances. Saturday night in town became a regular activity after 1905.69 The major attractions were the stores and services which the settlers began to patronize immediately. The rural corners disappeared as the businesses moved to the new towns like Abernethy and Lemberg that sprang up along the branch line. The Abernethan regularly urged its readers to help encourage the growth and health of their town by supporting only local merchants rather than buying through mail order or at larger centres for it was their duty to help those whose business benefitted the town.70

The quantity and variety of material items that became easily accessible to the Abernethy settlers in 1905 must also have played a major role in ushering out the pioneer days in the district. By mid-1905, Abernethy boasted three general stores: Chipperfield's, Brooks & Brown (Figs. 2 and 3) and F.W. Anderson's Ideal Store; a furniture store owned by S. Caverley; two hardware stores: Franson's, and Hunt and Ross; two drugstores, a jeweller and watchmaker, a bakery, butcher shop and a flour and feed store. Other services included a bank, blacksmith shop, lumber and implement dealers, livery barn and pool room (Figs. 4 and 5). Just as the homes for which customers purchased material items were considerably different from the early log dwellings, the general stores of 1905 bore little resemblance to the pioneer stores of the 1880s. While the age of electricity and labour saving devices had not yet arrived, the goods sold in the stores of 1905 indicate that many changes had occurred in the material life of the settlers of the Abernethy district. Salt provisions, the great staple of the early years, had disappeared as had the kegs, barrels and boxes that had displayed the goods available in the pioneer stores. Most items were available in units of convenient size for the purchaser and the brand names of manufacturers such as Royal Shield, Gold Standard, Tartan, Christie's, Paulin's and Quaker were now the main means of advertising the goods offered by the stores. A wide variety of fresh fruit was now available and not only in the fall for the purposes...
Figure 2. Brooks & Brown General Store, at Abernethy, ca. 1912. (Archives of Saskatchewan from the collection of Mr. R.A. Penny, Abernethy.)
Figure 3. Interior of Brooks & Brown General Store, Abernethy, Saskatchewan, 1910. (Archives of Saskatchewan.)

Figure 4. East side of Main Street, Abernethy, ca. 1905. (Archives of Saskatchewan.)
of canning or drying. Although ready-made clothing had been advertised by the general stores in the West from the beginning, this term had long become outmoded, replaced by specific descriptions of suits, skirts, blouses, waists and collars. Dressmakers were also available at the general stores and each had a fully stocked millinery and shoe department. At the hardware stores numerous goods were offered designed to make life easier: durable, easily cleaned and heat-proof crockery or enameled ware, carpet sweepers, washing machines, bread mixers and food choppers.

The first settlers to the Abernethy district were compelled to devote their time and energy in the early years to securing the basic material necessities of shelter and food from an unfamiliar environment. By the 1890s this diligent labour was yielding reward in some measure of prosperity and comfort. This respite from concern for providing immediate needs allowed time to consider the social and cultural life of the district. The first homesteaders, including W.R. Motherwell, were finally in the position to create about them some of the more refined aspects of the life they had known in the older provinces. During the 1890s, Motherwell began to play a larger role in the public life of the Abernethy district. These were also the years when he began to construct his new home and farmstead. The architectural style that Motherwell chose for his permanent residence and the way of life embodied in the spatial organization of this home suggest a desire to create a corner of the old world in the new. In seeking to add some of the refinements of civilization back east, Motherwell built a home in 1897 suitable to the lifestyle of the Ontario that he had left almost two decades earlier. As a study of the Motherwell home will reveal, this was a way of life somewhat incompatible with the personality and career of W.R. Motherwell. Neither was it entirely suitable to the environment of the Canadian West.
THE MOTHERWELL HOME AND ITS OCCUPANTS

...a house is the shape which a man's thoughts take when he imagines how he should like to live. Its interior is the measure of his social and domestic nature; its exterior, of his esthetic and artistic nature. It interprets, in material form his ideas of home, of friendship and of comfort. W.R. Motherwell often stated that he wanted to build a home of which his children would not be ashamed. This is certainly a modest assessment of Lanark Place which remains to this day a remarkable and imposing sight on the prairie. During the years when the personality of W.R. Motherwell animated and kept surveillance over this plot of land, Lanark Place must indeed have been an impressive sight; the two-storey structure of dressed fieldstone was set in an enchanting, picturesque environment, carefully nurtured over a great number of years (Fig. 6). The farmstead was sheltered on all sides by rows of stately maple, willow and poplar, enclosing and protecting ornamental flower beds, a shady lovers' lane and vast expanse of lawn that was a tennis court, known to the Motherwell's as their outdoor living room. All of the features of Lanark Place bear the mark of a meticulous, exacting approach on the part of its creator. Motherwell evidently planned his permanent residence carefully over a number of years as he gathered stones from the prairie and Pheasant Creek, selecting them on the basis of their size, shape and colour; he later claimed to know the history of each of the stones that were laid in 1897. Similar effort and deliberation went into the planning of the style, shape and size of the house. A deep concern for the appearance of the front of the stone home is evident in the fastidious attention to detail in its ornamentation. The two-storey projecting frontpiece with elaborate filigree work on the top level, roofed by a sunray motif pediment is almost entirely decorative in purpose; the platform on the second level is so small it can scarcely be called a porch. As is characteristic of many Victorian homes, the front section of the building received much more decorative treatment than the rear as it was the area on display to visitors and passersby. The rear, utility sections of these homes generally remain unadorned. The east and west facing eyebrow dormers in the attic, the Gothic-style gable window to the south and the iron cresting of the widow's walk are all purely decorative features.

The careful planning that went into the construction of this home and its elaborate ornamentation are indications that the character of his home meant a great deal to W.R. Motherwell and that it was an important statement or proclamation of some kind. Motherwell was sufficiently proud of his new home and anxious to have others view it that he held a large supper for some 25 couples on New Year's Day 1898, at a point when the house may not yet have been complete in
all details. It was an event notable or perhaps extravagant enough to warrant comment in the local newspaper.⁶ The Motherwell home was something more than the comfortable residence of a successful farmer, more than simply a home that his children would not be ashamed of. Lanark Place was clearly an attempt to replicate the dignified and graceful lifestyle of Ontarian gentlemen farmers. Of Italianate design, the home was undoubtedly inspired by architectural styles with which Motherwell would have been familiar as a youth, which were popular in the Northeastern United States and Ontario in the 1860s.⁷ The home reflects a pioneer tendency of seeking to add or impose what were conceived of as the beauties of civilization back east. The false-front mentality⁸ evident in many of the main streets of towns in the Canadian West is representative of the same phenomenon. The W.R. Motherwell home does not reflect the environment of the prairie West, rather, it stands as a monument to what can be achieved in spite of these surroundings.⁹ At the same time, the influential North American designer of the Victorian period, A.J. Downing, might have viewed Motherwell's home with some scepticism. A farmer, Downing felt, "...should no more be expected to display a variety of architectural ornaments in the construction of his house than he would be to wear garments made by the most fashionable tailor on Broadway."¹⁰
Motherwell's home more closely resembles Downing's plans for country villas for the leisurely and educated class of citizens, than it does his designs for farm homes. In his view, owners who were not of this class would sit as foolishly in this style of home "...as he would in the church or town hall, wearing the court costume of some foreign ambassador." There is some evidence, in fact, that Motherwell did eventually find his home somewhat too formal for his personality and career.

In seeking to understand why Motherwell planned or endorsed this design for his home it has been conjectured that he was seeking to recreate the environment of his native rural Ontario. This was manifest in his building of a woodland oasis in the form of verdant farmstead plantings about the house, a response, in effect to the starkness of the surrounding prairie landscape. Yet atavistic impulses do not completely explain the extent and nature of Motherwell's farmstead development. The fact that the style of the house resembles many near his home in Ontario, combined with his careful creation of a woodland oasis in the midst of prairie, has led to the interpretation that Lanark Place was born of a psychological need for a familiar environment, in effect, a response to the starkness of the Prairies. It is very likely that Motherwell did experience such feelings. Lanark Place may also be understood as the bold statement of an ambitious, aspiring politician, attempting to evoke the respect and admiration of the voting public, rather than a reflection of a desire to satisfy inward, personal anxieties. Motherwell expressed his political ambitions as early as 1883 to his friend, W. Ross, with whom he had arrived in the West the year before. Ross replied that his friend's ambitions in this respect ought to be encouraged and stated prophetically that, "...I hope that one day the district in which you reside will give themselves into your hands to represent them first in the local and then in the Dominion Parliament." Although life on the frontier involves hardship and anxiety, the prospect of beginning a new society with the opportunity to sidestep the ills of the parent society is an ancient dream of mankind; Motherwell, with his firmly held principles of liberalism, Christianity and temperance, clearly saw himself as playing a formative role in the development of the society of the West. The home that Motherwell built in 1897 reflected his conception of how a man of this stature ought to live, projecting not only the comfort and convenience of a farm home, but an air of refinement and sophistication as he discerned these from his rural Ontario background.

Once completed, the exterior of the home presented a static, entrenched image; except for the loss of two awnings that once decorated the lower-level east windows, the Motherwell home remains in its original form except for the obvious signs of neglect. The interior of a home, however, may reflect the transitions and fluctuations in the lives of its occupants. The economic or social status of a family may rise or fall, members may leave or be added to the family, sickness or death may strike, with resultant changes in matters of belief, individual taste and outlook. All are reflected in the interior of a home, as over a number of years the uses of the rooms are changed or the spaces altered completely by the removal or addition of partitions. Furnishings are shifted about, discarded or purchased and changes in the mood or atmosphere of the home are effected through alterations in lighting arrangements, or colour scheme of drapes, floor
coverings and wallpaper. Everything from the floor plan to the
decorative objects of a home may reveal something of the personality
and lifestyle of the inhabitants, their pleasures, beliefs and habits.
The home is a personal sphere of influence, a controlled environment in
which individuals are free to project about themselves what they
conceive to be tasteful, fashionable, comfortable or necessary. It is
an expression, expansion or projection of the ego.15

Before turning to an examination of the interior of the Motherwell
home, it is important to have some understanding of its inhabitants.
The two personalities who dominated the household over the greatest
period of time were W.R. and Catherine Motherwell. Unfortunately, very
little is known about the first Mrs. Motherwell, Adeline Rogers, who
arrived in the West as a young bride in 1884. Quite likely Adeline's
conceptions of what a home should comprise were materialized in the
stone home, but she lived to only briefly enjoy its luxury after
almost 15 years of living in the three-room log home. Her daughter
remembered her as "...a very lovely looking lady, ...she had an
abundance of hair, black as the raven's wing, worn in a huge coil at
the back of her head. She had an olive skin and deep brown eyes and
altogether lovely in my eyes...."16

W.R. Motherwell was a devout Presbyterian and a strict temperance
man and as a father, employer and politician he was governed by a rigid
belief in the virtues of hard work, self-help and moral discipline. As
a father, Motherwell was remembered as a warm and compassionate man
although intolerant of signs of weakness in his children such as
laziness or attempts to avoid assigned tasks.17 Alma learned
to accept defeat by being forbidden from playing crokinole for a month,
a penalty for the disappointment she expressed after losing a
particularly close game.18 Yet, fond memories of a strong and
loving personality are much in evidence in the reminiscenses of his
daughter. Motherwell could be relied upon at his children's parties to
break the ice by transforming himself into an Indian chief with the aid
of some feathers, a blanket and cranberry juice.19 A deep
compassion for the weak and helpless is very prominent in the memory of
Motherwell's daughter. During the summer of Adeline's death, a small
friend of Alma's came each night to keep her company. One night her
friend was suffering from a dreadful toothache and Alma remembered
years later:

I could think of nothing for her myself but to call my
father. There was no fire to heat water for a bottle to
ease the pain so my father just sat in a chair by her bed
and held her hand...and with his other warm hand held her
aching cheek until the pain eased and she dropped off to
sleep. There seemed to be magic in his soothing
touch.20

Motherwell expected hard work and long hours from his hired help
and his demands for orderliness and tidiness in every corner of his
farm bordered on the extreme. As he lectured one young farm-hand,
Major McFadyen, it was more important for him to complete one round
efficiently than it was for him to finish all of the appointed rounds
for the day.21 McFadyen remembered how strongly Motherwell felt
that there should be no distinction between the hired help and the
family. When Motherwell heard of his desire to take his meals in the
back kitchen to save himself the bother of changing his shirt, he
marched out to the barn and said that if he wasn't good enough to eat with his employer, then he wasn't good enough to work for him. The question was never raised again.

In his political life Motherwell was a man of strong convictions and blunt honesty. His unwillingness to compromise his principles to win elections often cost him at the polls. The Assiniboia by-election of 1919 was a particularly disastrous campaign in which Motherwell tried to defend the cause of the federal Liberals against the insurgent farmers' movement. The campaign prompted Walter Scott to write to Motherwell that "...you have never possessed, do not possess and never will possess the sagacity of a mosquito in relation to elections or political management." Motherwell's devotion to the policies and leader of the Liberal party was unwavering. He fiercely opposed all forms of government ownership. Even a humble suggestion that a halfway house be erected for the accommodation of a group of settlers who had to travel quite a distance from their farms to Mortlack, the nearest centre, evoked an indignant response from Motherwell:

If the Government was to step in in every instance and provide every little want where are they going to get off at? ...I think that this matter may well be left to the private enterprise and resourcefulness of the people themselves to overcome. I know at the time that your humble servant was a pioneer in this country we never dreamed of such a provision being made for use, and I think that the men going in to-day are just as capable of looking after themselves as we were.

Motherwell was convinced that Liberal principles could best govern a young and growing West. Considerations of power and prestige do not seem to have motivated Motherwell to enter public life. He saw himself as a spokesman for the common people. He was a staunch supporter of minority rights and it was partly on the issue of French language rights that Motherwell resigned from the Saskatchewan government in December 1918. His official letter of resignation stated that:

...we are confronted with the strong possibility of a mighty conflict in Canada between the privileged classes and the common people. As my sympathy and my heart are with the latter, I must have perfect freedom to champion their cause at every opportunity, in season and out.

W.R. Motherwell married Catherine Gillespie on August 26, 1908. She was born at Teeswater, Ontario, in 1866 and worked as a teacher in the province until 1889 when she joined her family in their move to the West, settling ten miles south of Balcarres. Catherine continued her teaching career in the West, first at the Orkney settlement near Orcadia, then at Katepwa and Balcarres. She began to combine her work as a teacher with Presbyterian missionary work in 1894 when she accepted a post at Crowstand Mission, serving the residents of the Coté Reserve near present-day Kamsack. This line of work resulted in her appointment to the position of principal of the File Hills residential school in 1897, situated northeast of Fort Qu'Appelle. Under her direction and with the aid of her sister Janet, who was appointed Matron in 1901, the File Hills school undertook what was considered to be a very advanced program, aimed at preparing their students for white civilization. Male students age 16 were encouraged to break the land on 80-acre plots and return the next summer to crop this land and break more. The returns from the wheat were his when he left the
school. Female students were thoroughly trained in home-making during their last year when they were taken out of the classroom and given charge of the cooking, washing, ironing, and other household tasks for staff of the school.

The image of Catherine Motherwell as an independent-minded and strong-willed personality emerges from the accounts of those who knew her. As a woman, her position as principal of a residential school was a remarkable achievement at that time and was evidently met with considerable opposition from government officials. By all accounts she maintained this administrative position with considerable efficiency. This same efficiency was applied to the running of the household of which she became a member in 1908, retaining the role of the supervisor or administrator. Daily chores were assigned to the hired girls; Mrs. Motherwell rarely did any cooking, a task which her sister Janet, who moved into the home some years after the marriage, undertook and apparently enjoyed.

Mrs. Motherwell joined the likes of Nellie McClung and Cora Hind in addressing the first annual convention of the Homemaker's Clubs of Saskatchewan in 1911. Her address entitled "Domestic Bookkeeping" urged women to take a more scientific approach to the running of a household by keeping a daily account of expenditures. The address reveals Mrs. Motherwell as an advocate of women's rights; she spoke of the necessity of regarding a marriage as a partnership in a home firm, of forging a business relationship between husband and wife. Mrs. Motherwell was likely drawing on personal experience when she spoke of the difficulty of approaching a husband for money after having been accustomed to being self-supporting:

There are so many channels today open to a woman whereby she can make an independent living for herself (and many have tasted the joys of self-support before entering their husbands' homes) that it makes it doubly hard to be thus dependent and when anything is required, instead of going to a purse of her own as formerly, she has to humiliate herself by asking her husband for it and undergo the mortification of being refused if she fails in getting him to appreciate the need as she does. One need not be a suffragette to arrive at the conclusion that there are rights and privileges denied the woman in the home that if enjoyed would not only make them happier but their husbands also.

By being given a share of the proceeds of the home firm with which to finance the household, domestic happiness would not be injured, Mrs. Motherwell argued; rather, such a business relationship "...breaks down barriers, promotes good fellowship and inspires mutual confidence."

Indications are that Catherine Motherwell imposed a more rigid, Presbyterian influence upon the routine of daily life at Lanark Place. The hired men were generally expected to refrain from chewing or smoking tobacco while in the employ of the Motherwells and alcohol was strictly forbidden. Dancing was also frowned upon. Although Alma had fond memories of the hoedowns that took place on numerous occasions in the winter kitchen, these must surely have taken place before the years of the stern presence of Catherine Motherwell, who was evidently even prepared to fire one of the hired girls who dared to go to town to attend a dance. Illicit reveries continued to take place in the hired men's cottage, but according to one of the hired hands, "...if old Kate knew, geez, she'd hang us."
THE SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE MOTHERWELL HOME

Certain concepts or ideas are projected in the floor plan of a home. The basic idea that underlies the spatial organization of the Motherwell home is the concept of two communities, the family and the servants, living under the same roof but occupying private worlds. The kitchens are situated at the back of the house and are served by a back stairway; there was not the least possible chance that the family or guests would be disturbed by the sight of the hired girl with her pail and mop. The back section of the upper floor also forms a servants' wing; the two bedrooms are off a separate hallway, accessible to the front hallway through a narrow passage with a door at the end. The area at the front of the house for the family and their guests included a front parlour for the formal reception of visitors, a back parlour for daily, family use and a large dining room. These are the designations given to the rooms in the plans of the Motherwell home that were published in the *Nor-West Farmer* in 1900 as an example of a fine house (Fig. 7). Presumably, these reflect Motherwell's original intentions for the use of the rooms. These plans also provide information on the original appearance of the front hallway of the home. The passageway, an introduction to the interior spaces of the home, would have immediately suggested the quality of privacy evident elsewhere in the home. On entering the home from the main east door, the visitor would have been immediately confronted by three closed doors, a signal that intruders were not necessarily welcome. Directly in front of the visitor was a door that hid the stairway to the upstairs, to the right was the door that led to the formal parlour and to the left, a door that led to the large room designated in the *Nor-West Farmer* plans as the dining room. This kind of arrangement, in which the hall functioned as a connector and separator of rooms was common to upper-middle-class homes in late Victorian America. As one historian has explained,

> In most homes of this class, one did not enter from the outside into one of the formal rooms but into the hall instead. Although it was possible to move from some rooms to others without entering the hall, it was also possible to enter each room from the hall without passing through any other, thus preserving privacy and the specialized function of each space. By this arrangement social peers of the homeowner could visit in the formal spaces of the home, while social inferiors remained in the hall or were directed elsewhere and kept from intruding upon the family or its guests.

Figure 7. The 1900 floor plan illustrations of the Motherwell home. (*Nor-West Farmer*, 5 May 1900.) Figure 8. Floor plans of the Motherwell home as it appeared in 1969. (As-Found Report, 1968.)
W.R. Motherwell planned a home that he thought would be fitting of a man in a position of authority and dignity, a home to display an air of refinement and culture as he perceived these on the basis of his rural Ontario background. By standards of the day and the district, the Motherwell's stone home was something more than an average comfortable farm home. Plans for a convenient and inexpensive farmhouse, published in an issue of the Farmers' Advocate in 1900, designated the basic essentials of the ground floor of a farm home to consist of a parlour, dining room, kitchen and a shed or summer kitchen. Of the other homes that we know of in the Abernethy district that were built about the same time as the Motherwell home, very few possessed all of its features. A major difference that seemed to place the Motherwell home on a grander scale than the others was the provision for two major living compartments: a formal area for visitors and important functions and a separate area for family gatherings. All of the farm homes of the district constructed around the turn of the century had a room called the parlour but for some farm families such as the Steucks who lived three miles east of Abernethy, the parlour was used daily by the family. The stone home of the Powells' at Kenlis, built about 1909, had a formal parlour reserved only for guests but there was no other living space for the family - the children played in the dining room. A dining room separate from the kitchen seems to have been a common rather than an unusual feature - some were in use every day by the family and some were reserved for special occasions only. A substantial bedroom was included on the ground floor of many of the homes of the district. Such a room was handy if some members of the family were sick or aged. Alternately, if the bedroom was toward the front of the house, it might be used by the master and mistress of the house or perhaps occupied by the hired help if the room was off the kitchen. While in later years the north rooms of the Motherwell home were converted to a bedroom and sitting room suite for the Motherwells, before this, the more private compartments were always located on the second level of the home. Other features such as a back stairway, an office and a summer kitchen were found in some homes of the district, but rarely were all of these features included. One home that may have rivaled the stone home at Lanark Place was the Shaw residence, seven miles west of Abernethy, a frame home, built in 1910. The home included a front parlour and a living room, a dining room, office and a lean-to kitchen. It also boasted a large area at the front entrance to the home which the owner grandly referred to as the reception hall.

While certain ideas and concepts are evident in the floor plan of a home, they do not necessarily reflect the lifestyle of the inhabitants, particularly the changes that may occur over a period of time. The lay-out of the Motherwell home may project the concept of two separate communities living under one roof, but it is clearly at odds with the personality of a man who insisted that his hired help eat with him. The hired help at the Motherwell home were treated as part of the family according to the accounts of those who worked there, and, as one employee remembered, no matter what class of visitor dropped by, there was "...nobody too low to sit at his table...they got the same as the entertaining of the big shots." To live in the manner of the English gentry would not have suited a farmer and politician like W.R. Motherwell who considered himself a spokesman for the interests of the common people. To have the hired
help segregated from the family in his own home would not have endeared him to the voting public to which he appealed. Pretensions and airs of formality were clearly frowned upon in the early years of the Canadian West. The accounts of travellers to the West in the early years often noted the spirit of egalitarianism, particularly evident in the rural areas. One visitor to the area of Lipton, just north of Fort Qu'Appelle in 1905 noted,

The absence of contrast between the conditions of employer and employed is very striking to the English observer. The tendency in England is to keep down the working classes, the tendency in Canada is to encourage them to rise. The vitality and strength of this condition is not only visible in the bright, happy, hopeful aspect of the employed, but in the higher quality of work in the homes of the employer. The advantages of evolution over revolution are happily remarkable in this particular phase of social life in Canada.

Moreover, an English woman who worked as a home help in a number of rural homes in the Canadian West during the early 1900s found justification for the warning she had received before leaving England that Canadians resented frills and airs of superiority. When she suggested to her mistress that the hired men eat in the kitchen when a large number of guests were expected to sit in the dining room, the reply was that, "...even to suggest such a thing to the taciturn yokels would offend them mortally, and when a farmer's wife of her acquaintance had done it on a like occasion, it had been the talk of the whole district."

Significant alterations that were made to the Motherwell home in 1911 suggest that Motherwell was aware that his house, as it was originally conceived, exuded too much of an air of formality, privacy and superiority. The arrangement of the front hallway was the main subject of these alterations. The wall that previously hid the southeast room from the hallway was removed completely. Wainscott panelling in the entranceway was also likely installed at this time, possibly taken from the original, removed wall. The front staircase was altered at this time to curve into the southeast room rather than to run straight up from the front entrance, and a railing was installed along the east face of the staircase. The message that the second level of the home was a very private region, off-limits to visitors, was considerably softened by this alteration, generating an air of frankness and generosity. It was probably at this time that the front entrance to the parlour was changed from a single door to double doors with large panes of glass. Once again, the effect was to mollify the appearance of a private realm in the home to which only certain visitors were encouraged to enter. The parlour was now open to the view of whoever entered the home. Another indication that formalities were slowly eroded at the Motherwell home is that according to the accounts of those who frequented the Motherwell home beginning about 1914, there was no area of the home reserved for formal dining. The only area known to them as the permanent dining room was the winter kitchen, although several had a vague memory of dining room furniture in another part of the house on occasion.

The formality of Motherwell's initial layout does not appear to have been entirely consonant with his somewhat more relaxed lifestyle.
Yet the concepts embodied in the segregation of ceremonial and utilitarian functions provided a framework and ideology within which social and familial interaction might take place. The layout may be interpreted, therefore, as representative of his conception of how a man of dignity and stature, worthy of representing his fellow men in the political arena, should live. This image was likely one that he brought with him to the West as a young man, based on his observations of the homes and lifestyle of the politically successful in the Ontario of the 1860s and 70s. Clearly he later found this lifestyle foreign to his personality and tastes and perhaps also to the western Canadian environment. While the framework for such a way of life remained evident in both the exterior and interior of the Motherwell home, it was generally defied by the routine of daily life in that household. It may be that Motherwell found this lifestyle was not in harmony with his career as a politician. A man who was instrumental in the agrarian struggle against corporate monopoly, who regarded himself as a spokesman for the common people and sought the vote of the prairie farmer, could not appear to lead an elitist lifestyle in his own home, emulating that of the eastern establishment. It may also be that the emergent social attitudes of the West, of which there is evidence that notions of superiority along class lines were resented, prevented households like the Motherwell’s from running smoothly on the basis of the concept of two separate communities under the same roof. In any case, the Motherwell home fell victim to broad, social forces at work in the larger world. During the early years of the 20th century in both Britain and the United States, many of the ceremonies and rituals of daily life that we have come to associate with the word Victorian were gradually waning as was the availability and necessity of household staff that had made these possible. Victorian homes document a way of life which has long since disappeared. A study of the Motherwell home between the years of its construction in 1897 and the 1930s affords the opportunity to examine this process of disappearance, as these were years of transformation in domestic life. Vestiges of an older, traditional way of life remained evident in the home, as with the continued existence of a formal parlour for ceremonial occasions. The result was something of a mélange as the residents of the Abernethy district seemed to express in a presentation honouring the Motherwells on the occasion of the 57th anniversary of the first turning of the sod; the Motherwell home had always manifested a rare charm and culture, yet it displayed at the same time the delightful hospitality and sincerity of the pioneer days.
THE PARLOUR

The word parlour has largely disappeared from common usage and the kinds of rooms to which the term applied now seem fated to museums. To W.R. Motherwell and Ontarian residents of the same generation, the parlour would have been an integral component of his concept of a home. By the mid-19th century the parlours of most Ontarian homes, both rural and urban, had become rooms whose doors remained closed except for the reception of visitors and for important occasions such as funerals, weddings and christenings.¹ The parlour was one of the most important rooms of the house for it was on the basis of it that visitors would draw conclusions about the social position and wealth of the inhabitants of the home. The standard of furnishing and decor could be allowed to decline in rooms less open to public scrutiny in order that the parlour leave the visitor with the impression of grace and luxury. The pieces of furniture deemed suitable for a parlour could not be afforded more than once in a lifetime by most families and consequently, great care was taken to ensure that the appearance of the room be preserved for as long as possible:

Carpet, wallpapers and fabrics faded quickly, polished surfaces scratched easily, gilt tarnished and embroideries became soiled. So the blinds were kept drawn, dust covers were laid over the furniture, gauze was tied on the pictures, and the door was closed.²

The concept of a formal parlour reserved for the reception of guests and for important functions survived in Canada until well into the 20th century despite the admonitions of Clarence Cook, author of The House Beautiful, who substituted the word living room for parlour and advised his readers that:

...it will make their home a great deal more cheerful and home-like if they concentrate their leisure, in-door hours in one place, and do not attempt to keep up a room in which they themselves shall be strangers and which will make a stranger out of every friend who comes into it.³

The word parlour today evokes images of a mixture of accumulated furnishings and objects: pier-tables, ottomans, what-not stands filled with china and bric-a-brac, heavy, brocaded drapery, antimacassars in lace and pictures depicting romantic, sentimental subjects. To actually pinpoint characteristics of late 19th and early 20th century parlours is not an easy task; individual expression triumphed over attempts to conform to set styles in furnishing and decor.⁴ One characteristic would seem to be haphazardness - it was definitely an age of overfurnishing. American and Canadian mail-order catalogues of the 1890s and early 1900s give some indications regarding the kind of furnishings very likely found in the parlours of that period. The chief unifying influence was the parlour suite which, at its minimum,
consisted of an upholstered sofa and two matching chairs, one with arms, but could be accompanied by any number of side chairs, an arm rocker, ottoman or centre table. The Eaton's catalogue of 1901-2 displayed eight different models of parlour suites to choose from, most of a mahogany or walnut finish with elaborate carving on the backs of the pieces, except for two models that were stuffed over, resembling the more comfortable-looking chesterfield suites of later years. Parlour suites were advertised in Canadian mail-order catalogues until long past the turn of the century. Other major pieces of furnishings that earned the distinguished label of parlour included lounges and bed couches, upholstered in velour or satin-faced tapestry with a fringe along the bottom. Parlour cabinets with shelves and cupboard could display the family's finest china or objects of art. Parlour tables were generally of a delicate design, made to sit toward the centre of a room rather than against a wall. Most were oval or rectangular with four shaped legs and a lower shelf.

The centre-piece of a parlour was very often the fireplace with its decorative chimney-piece or overmantel with a mirror at the centre and shelves and niches for displaying ornaments. The presence of such a fireplace in the parlour meant that a number of fashionable accessories could be added to the room. The abrupt, stark lines of the mantel piece could be hidden by drapery cut for the purpose called lambrequins. The Eaton's catalogue of 1901-2 illustrated a cut that could be made from any soft-finished material with a fringe of tassels or baubles hanging from the edge. Ornaments for the mantel could also be ordered from catalogues: marbelized wood mantel clocks with cathedral gongs, figurines and vases. Fire screens decorated with pastoral scenes could protect fashionably pale complexions from the harshness of the heat of the fire. Pianos were often placed in the parlour and its top became a shelf for books or ornaments. Efforts were made to hide the shape of the piano as well as the mantel; covers, scarves and embroidery were advertised for the piano also.

Heavy tapestry or chenille fabrics are prominent in the catalogues of the period for both drapes for the windows and portieres for the archways. Reed or rope portieres could also grace an archway or opening. Tapestry table and couch covers in floral, scrolled or oriental designs, generally with a fringe, also seem to have been fashionable. The wallpaper departments of the catalogues suggested suitable patterns for every room in the house. Embossed gilds were described as most suitable for the parlour in patterns such as Louis XIII, Renaissance, tapestries and conventional scrolls. Matching borders, artistically blended, were available with all of the designs intended for the frieze, the area bounded by the cornice and the architrave.

Parlour furnishings such as these would have been available to residents of the Canadian West, if not through the local stores, through mail-order houses. While the catalogues may reflect some of the styles and tastes of the era, it cannot be concluded that the same standards governed trends in parlour furnishings in western Canadian homes. Unfortunately, as yet no comprehensive research has been done on the interior furnishings of prairie homes and the documentary and photographic sources are scattered and scanty. Some interesting hypotheses could be examined in such a study — factors of distance and time may have affected the rate at which tides of fashionable taste
arrived at the frontier, evidence may be found in efforts to maintain the traditions of the parent culture in the furnishings of homes. A distinctive prairie fashion may be revealed, reflecting the ideas, conventions and codes of behaviour of a new and unique society, or the conclusion may be made that prairie homes differed little in their furnishing from the rest of the world affected by mass, popular culture. The observations of an English woman who visited the West in 1905 would suggest that there may have been some distinctive elements about the furniture in use in the Canadian West. The furniture in her room at the Lipton Hotel, 

...was of the rural sample of average Canadian furniture as used in the North-West; common sense was in its favor, economy of labour in the workmanship, and an eye-blistering varnish over all. But it is cheap. 

...Canadian furniture, in fact, is made according to the requirements of the majority; for those who can pay high prices there is a fair choice, but a visit to some of our London furniture firms would be a revelation in the possibilities of design, wood and workmanship to even the wealthiest of Canadians.16

The careful observer of the interior of a stone farm home on the Saskatchewan prairie in 1905, the residence of a family from Ontario, also seemed to feel that there were some unique qualities in the decor and furnishings of prairie homes, although not all were desirable:

The entrance through the verandah takes you into a room about thirty-five feet long by fifteen feet wide. This is divided by curtains. One half is the sitting-room and is carpeted. It has a sheetiron ceiling stamped with a device which in Schools of Art is supposed to be decorative. The walls are painted dead white; the woodwork of doorways and window recesses is stained; the ceiling is bluish grey; the carpet is yellow, with a reddish flower; the curtains are crimson and yellow, and the furniture covering is also yellow. On the floor are gorgeous mats, apparently of domestic manufacture. All Canadian sitting-rooms are more or less like that - crude and tasteless; but most of them contain an organ or harmonium, upon which hymns and "sacred songs" are played on Sundays and on week-days. On the other side of the curtains is the dining-room - an uncarpeted room, with a table, half-a-dozen chairs, and a map of British North America hung on the wall.17

Until work has been done in establishing the standards of furnishings of homes of the Canadian West, there is nothing with which to appraise or compare the interior of a single home. The photographs of the Howard home, in the St. Luke district north of Whitewood, Saskatchewan, may be typical of the majority of early prairie farm homes (Fig. 9 and 10). It is clearly a multi-purpose room for the daily use of the family, furnished for the comfort of the family rather than to please the eye of a visitor. The major pieces of furniture are a bed lounge, several sturdy chairs, a dining table and a piano; there are no delicate parlour suites or tables, cluttered stands of ornaments or heavy tapestry drapes in the window or archway. One can only speculate on the reasons behind the very marked differences between
Figure 9. Interior of Thomas Howard home, near Whitewood, Saskatchewan. (Archives of Saskatchewan.)

Figure 10. Interior of Thomas Howard home, near Whitewood, Saskatchewan. (Archives of Saskatchewan.)
this room and the photographs of interiors of homes in Edmonton, taken shortly after the turn of the century (Figs. 11-18). These may reflect variations in wealth, background and individual taste. One of the

Figure 11. Walter Ramsay's drawing room. (Provincial Archives of Alberta, E. Brown Collection.)

principal characteristics of early prairie farm homes may have been a general lack of ancestral heirlooms, objects that would have been fairly prevalent in homes in the older provinces. For most immigrants to the West, the proper things to pack were generally restricted to the utilitarian; treasured pieces of furniture, china, glassware and other family relics would likely not have survived the journey west, even if room had been found for them. Emily Murphy, expressing her opinions through the actions of Janey Canuck, noted this distinction between homes on the prairie and those in the East, during her first return trip to Ontario after several years in Western Canada:

It is well to visit the old homes in Chatham, for their withdrawing-rooms are very pleasant. You may sit for hours beside low shelves of timetoned books, and revel in ancient editions of Young's "Night Thoughts," Lady Mary's "Letters," Pepy's "Diary" and other volumes of gentle birth and ill-spelling. They are not covered with glass but are literally at hand, as they should be. Or, if weary of books, you may study the old miniatures, or grandpa's portrait in oils. Grandpa belonged to the 90th Regiment. His pose is one of magnificent nonchalance, for he does not care in the least whether you look at him.

There is a reliable solidity about this life in the
Figure 12. Walter Ramsay's dining room. (Provincial Archives of Alberta, E. Brown Collection.)

Figure 13. Mrs. Wilmott's drawing room, 1902. (Provincial Archives of Alberta, E. Brown Collection.)
older provinces that is mightily soothing, and which fills me with a kind of subconscious pleasure. The people seem to be untrammelled by considerations of time. This serenity probably arises from the fact that all the bearings of life are well oiled by dividends from substantial investments in unquestionable securities.¹⁸

The Motherwell home housed a formal parlour until sometime in the late 1920s when the two rooms at the northeast of the home were converted into a bedroom and sitting room for Mr. and Mrs. Motherwell. Until that time, the area described in the Nor'West Farmer plans as the front parlour remains precisely that; it is in determining the changing functions of the back area that some confusion arises. If the Nor'West Farmer plans are to be relied upon, this area was originally conceived of as a back parlour, a sitting room for the everyday use of the family. For some time after 1900, when these plans were published, this back area became a dining room. Presumably it performed this function for a sufficient number of years to form a lasting impression upon the mind of Alma Mackenzie, who clearly identified this area as the dining room, divided from the front parlour by folding doors.¹⁹ Architectural investigation has revealed that originally the two rooms were divided by a round arch that later was squared off. This alteration would have facilitated the installation of the folding doors that Motherwell's daughter remembered and it may have coincided with the change in the function of the room from a back parlour to a dining room. However, pinpointing the date at which this

Figure 14. Drawing room of Misses Miller and Battrick, 1903. (Provincial Archives of Alberta, E. Brown Collection.)
Figure 15. Residence of Judge H.C. Taylor. (Provincial Archives of Alberta, E. Brown Collection.)

Figure 16. La'Prell residence. (Provincial Archives of Alberta, E. Brown Collection.)
change occurred is difficult. As late as 1908, W.R. Motherwell clearly referred to the area, just to the right of the door as you enter from the kitchen, as the parlour in his instructions regarding the placement of a new set of furniture. A possibility is that the back parlour served as a dining room for some years after his marriage to Catherine Gillespie and that the concept was discarded after several years. As mentioned earlier, the only permanent dining area in the home known to visitors and residents of the home after about 1914 was the winter kitchen.

The Motherwells' desire to plan a room ready at all times to receive visitors and present an air of propriety and dignity must have been heightened during 15 years in a three-room log dwelling with one main, all-purpose room. In the furnishing and ornamentation of the Motherwell's parlour, an effort was clearly made to please the visitor or guest in the home rather than accommodate the leisure activities of the family. Expressions of the individual tastes of members of the family and personal souvenirs seem to have been absent from the parlour. The visitor in the parlour of the Motherwell home could easily be allowed to forget that this was the home of a farmer in the midst of the prairie. Quite likely this was the effect the Motherwells wished to present. It also appears that an attempt was made to exhibit more beauty and elegance in the parlour than elsewhere in the home. The front and back parlours were the only rooms deserving of large, luxurious rugs and heavy plush curtains for the windows and archway. These also enhanced the sense of privacy and tranquility that was desired in a parlour.

Sources for the furnishings and decoration of the parlour are not as rich as for other rooms in the Motherwell home. This is perhaps an indication of how infrequently the parlour was used. Alma Mackenzie seldom mentioned the room in her reminiscences, but a drawing of the parlour, from the viewpoint of the southeast corner of the room, is based on her memories (Fig. 17). There is also one photograph of Mrs. Motherwell sitting in the back parlour, taken from the northeast corner (Fig. 18). It is difficult to precisely date this photograph except to say that it was taken sometime between the year of the Motherwells' marriage in 1908 and 1918, as there appears to be a gas light fixture hanging from the ceiling that would likely not have been there after 1918 when the Delco generator was installed in the home.

The treatment of walls, floors, windows and archways greatly affects the prevailing tone of a room but memories of such details seem particularly imprecise. Alma Mackenzie remembered vaguely a scroll patterned paper on the walls of the parlour and thought it was 1917 or 1918 that Mrs. Motherwell had the room repapered in a plain, non-patterned beige oatmeal paper. The photograph of the interior of the parlour shows an unpatterned south wall of paper or paint that when compared to the objects that are white, such as the mat of the picture hanging on that wall, could possibly be beige or even darker. Gold and wine colours are prominent in descriptions of the drapery for the windows in both the front and back area of the room and for the archway, although the archway drapery does not seem to have been identical to that used for the windows. The fabric was thick and heavy and variously described as velvet, velour or a plush. According to Alma Mackenzie, the drapes were a brown plush; her description may correspond to the gold colour mentioned in other reminiscences.
Figure 17. Sketch of the Motherwell parlour from the southeast corner of the room, looking into the area variously described as the back parlour and a dining room. (Drawn by R.R. Dixon, based on conversations with Mrs. Alma Mackenzie.)

Figure 18. Mrs. Catherine Motherwell in the parlour, ca. 1911. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)
Olive Gallant, whose knowledge of the home dates to 1919 has a clear memory of heavy, beautiful drapes that were similar to a plush with gold and amber tones or fall colours. Wine-coloured drapery seems to be a dominant memory of those who frequented the home beginning in the late 1920s. The Motherwell's grandchild remembered beige and rose velour drapes, perhaps a faded version of what had once been gold and wine. There were blinds on these windows but apparently no lace under-curtains. The drapery for the archway was also of a heavy plush fabric of brown and gold shades. The arch in the photograph appears to be curved and the fabric seems to be ornamentally draped about the top of the opening. The drapes at the sides are dark and non-patterned. In the centre they appear lighter and have a discernible motif.

The parlour floors were covered by two large, matching rugs. Those familiar with the home in the late 1920s and 1930s describe light-coloured - perhaps beige - rugs, plain toward the centre and bordered by a darker, floral pattern with big splashes of roses in the corners. This description does not match the rug in Figure 18, which appears to be dark-coloured with a repeating geometric motif in rows. This rug would seem to be more appropriate to the envisaged period of restoration, i.e. 1910-14.

The pieces of furniture that dominated the front area of the parlour and are consistently associated with this room in all of the accounts are three large black armchairs. Catherine Motherwell is sitting in one of these chairs in Figure 18. The chairs appear to be generously upholstered in leather, although restoration work has revealed that the backs of the chairs are covered by an imitation leather. Each of the chairs is of a slightly different design, one is oval at the back, another has two wings at the side and one has a slightly lower, square back. All are fringed around the bottom. These chairs appear to be something of a departure from what were considered suitable for parlour furnishings, at least according to the descriptions in the mail-order catalogues. Unlike the dainty, uncomfortable-looking parlour suites, the chairs appear more congenial to the human form and lend the room a warm and inviting air. They have a sturdy, masculine effect, and indeed, chairs very like these were described in the mail-order catalogues as gent's chairs. A general concern for quality is evident in the choice of these three chairs as it is in the furnishings found elsewhere in the house; all three chairs survive today and two still retain their original upholstery. Evidently no leather furniture had been placed in the parlour before 1908 as Motherwell in that year purchased three pieces for the parlour, and he wondered whether leather-covered goods would be suitable for that room. However, the set of furniture Motherwell had sent from Winnipeg could not have been the three leather chairs as he described one piece as a lounge. This set must be the three-piece oak set associated in most accounts with the lobby. Motherwell's comments to his neighbour, Mrs. Conrad Steuck, on the purchase of this furniture shows a great deal of concern for the appearance of his parlour, perhaps because he was anxious to please the woman he was to marry in several months. It also reveals a careful and thoughtful approach to the furnishing of his home:

I am afraid that you will think I was very extravagant in getting that furniture, but I felt there was no use in
getting things that were not durable or permanent. It seems to me the dear article is always the cheapest in the way of furniture so long as you obtain value. I do not know how leather covered goods are going to look in a parlour, but I have little hobbies of my own and like to gratify them. I wish you would go down and see the furniture and let me know how you think it is going to suit. I guess it will have to suit however.29

Motherwell would not likely have purchased two sets of furniture for the parlour in rapid succession. A possibility is that the leather chairs originated with Catherine Motherwell who presumably would have collected some pieces of furniture by the time of her marriage. It was then, perhaps, her decision that the oak set become the lobby furniture and the leather chairs permanent fixtures in the front area of the parlour.

A piano was also a permanent feature of the Motherwell's parlour, and it was placed against the south wall, to the right of the main entrance to the front parlour (Fig. 18). It is a Mason and Risch piano, dated 1906. Before this date the Doherty organ to which Alma Mackenzie referred may have sat in the parlour.30 The drawing based on Alma's memory (Fig. 17) confirms this was a permanent position of the piano as part of the round piano stool can be seen in the left corner. Those familiar with the home in later years had difficulty in pinpointing a definite location for the piano as there were always two in the home. Alma had a piano that was likely the first one purchased by the Motherwells and Aunt Janet brought hers when she moved into the home. When Alma moved away, taking her piano, there were still two and Mrs. Barbara Gillespie evidently moved hers in when she and her husband came to the farm.31

In 1907 Motherwell purchased a parlour table from Wright Bros., Undertakers and Embalmers, Regina, which he had sent to Abernethy.32 The price, including the freight, was $13.65, an immense sum in those days to be paying for a small parlour table. In the catalogues of the time the most expensive models are no more than $4.00, and the Hudson's Bay Company catalogue of 1910-11 lists their most expensive round oak extension table at $10.00.33 An oval parlour table sat in front of the north window of the front parlour between two of the black leather chairs. In Figure 17 the table is elegant and heavy-looking, with a four-legged pedestal base. Alma remembered the family Bible and a parlour lamp with a floral or scroll design were on top of this table.

These pieces comprised the major furnishings of the front parlour. Decorative objects may have included some of the framed prints and lithographs that are now in the Motherwell collection. In Figure 17, the picture that appears to be of a group of animals, possibly cows, against a forested background is on the north wall, behind the oval-backed leather chair. This may be the framed black and white photograph of eight cows drinking water from a stream that is in the Motherwell collection. There are also several sentimental problem pictures, popular in late Victorian homes, in which the viewer is drawn to speculate upon the story behind the scene depicted.34 The picture on the south wall of the back parlour between the archway and the doorway in the photograph could possibly be one of these. One, entitled "In Disgrace," is a black and white print of a sad, cherubic
little girl sitting on a stool in a corner, a small dog at her feet. Scraps of paper are strewn about a disheveled rug and it is clear that the two have been chastized and sent to the corner in punishment. Another is also of a small child, with curly blond hair, head down in a very pensive mood. Other decorative objects in the parlour may have been two tall Japanese vases with scenes in green and blue of bullrushes, birds and blue sky. Four stuffed animals on pedestals including a ring-necked pheasant and mink were also associated with the parlour, as was a metal buffalo known to the family as Old MacDonald. There are a number of objects sitting on top of the piano in Figure 18.

In accounts of all but Alma Mackenzie, the front and back parlours were regarded as one room. This is somewhat confusing, however, as all have a difficult time remembering the furnishings and even defining the function of the back parlour - all consistently group the piano, chairs and table in the front area. One person remembered Aunt Janet's piano, a dark, square wood music cabinet and a wooden bookcase with glass doors that lifted up were in the back area. Figure 18, which looks into the back area, shows a four-panelled screen with an oriental-looking design, standing in front of the door. A lace table cloth is covering a table on which is apparently a teapot and cups. The table seems too small and squat to be a dining room table. At the far end of the room, along the west wall, there is an object that is impossible to make out clearly, but it is roughly the shape of a sideboard with perhaps a rounded mirror at the centre.

The back parlour must have served as a dining room for a while. Alma Mackenzie's account seems to suggest it was used for formal, special occasions only, as she referred to the winter kitchen as the general, family dining room. In Figure 17 a dining table is in the centre of the room and a sideboard is visible along the west wall. Portraits of W.R. Motherwell's parents hung on the north wall on either side of the window. The heavy legs of the table correspond to the oak extension table that survives as part of the curatorial collection today. Mrs. Mackenzie remembered the two rooms were divided by folding doors. When a large number of guests were expected on special occasions, dining tables were set up to run through the arch.
THE LOBBY

The leisure hours of the Motherwell family and their friends centred in the room known to them as the lobby, except during the brief summer months when recreational and social activities could be enjoyed in the outdoor living room. Originally, the lobby may have been a dining room as this is its description in the *Nor'West Farmer* plans (Fig. 7). Unless this is a glaring error in the publication, it presumably reflects Motherwell's initial intentions for the use of this space. Architectural investigation supports this contention as there remain traces of hinges for a swinging door leading to the kitchen at the west end of the room. This would have aided in the hauling of dishes to and from the kitchen but would still have formed an effective barrier to the noise, smell and clutter of the kitchen. The arrangement of the front area of the home as it appears in Figure 7 would have been somewhat awkward for formal entertaining as it required guests conversing in the parlour to move into the front passageway and through another door to the dining area. In pattern books of the late 19th century, however, this is not an uncommon arrangement. The two rooms most likely to be open to the scrutiny of visitors, the parlour and the dining room, were at the front of the home; guests need never venture into the service area at the back. In the parlour before and after dinner, guests would not be disturbed by either the preparation or tidying up of the dining area.

The plans published in the *Nor'West Farmer* and the traces of hinges for a swinging door are the sole indications that this area was never used as a dining room. If it ever did serve in this capacity it could only have been for a few brief years after the home was completed. In the annals of the Motherwell family history, this room is clearly designated as a living space as early as 1901. It was then that the historic meeting took place between W.R. Motherwell and Peter Dayman; notices were signed by the two on the ledge of the double windows in this room and it became the cradle of the grain growers' movement in Saskatchewan. Mrs. Mackenzie had no recollection of the room having served any functions other than a living room for the family and for business meetings.

If the lobby were initially intended to be a dining room, Motherwell must have decided, shortly after the home was completed, that it was inappropriate to have such a large area at the front of his home devoted to formal, ceremonial occasions. This change in function from a dining room to a family living space may be understood as a first step toward limiting the air of pomp and ostentation that the home exuded. The fact that at some point in time the room became known to the family as the lobby is revealing of the intended purpose and function of this space. The term lobby is a misnomer when applied to private dwellings; ordinarily it connotes a large room or hall open to the public such as in a theatre or hotel. In the House of Commons, it
is a room in which the public is allowed to interview the members. The lobby of the Motherwell home became a room to which the public was invited and felt welcome and apparently a great number of meetings were held there. Most of the participants at these meetings were farmers.\(^6\) If W.R. Motherwell had sought to be the political representative of a leisurely and wealthy urban class of citizens, an elegant, tasteful dining area for entertaining would have been quite appropriate. His constituents were farmers, however, people more concerned with the practical and useful than the protocol of entertaining.

The lobby is often described as cozy by those once familiar with the Motherwell home.\(^7\) The dark, panelled wainscotting and the fireplace seem to have helped create this atmosphere. During the daylight hours it was a bright room as one window faces east and double windows face the south; Alma remembered basking in the sun in the deep window seats.\(^8\) In the photograph of Catherine Motherwell in the lobby (Fig. 19), the sun is captured

Figure 19. Mrs. Catherine Motherwell in the northeast corner of the lobby, ca. 1911. (Saskatchewan Archives Photograph.)
pouring through these windows. The ceiling is a metal sheeting with a decorative stamped design and border. The floors, according to Mrs. Mackenzie, are maple and were ordered from Ontario. Unlike the front and back parlours, there were never any plush, heavy rugs; there were several mats or space rugs, a larger one before the fireplace that may have been gold or beige. The original wallpaper discovered in the lobby was patterned in several different shades of green; the design consists of large diamond shapes at the centre in which a forest scene gives the viewer the impression of looking into a deep, dense growth of trees. This choice of wallpaper certainly lends further credence to speculation that Motherwell longed for the wooded environment of his youth. In Figures 19 and 20 the windows appear curtained by a light, lacy material, extending only a few inches below the ledge of the window sill, with similar frilly material forming a border at the top. In Figure 19 the curtains appear to be white. Blinds for the windows are also evident in both of these. One person familiar with the room beginning in 1919 clearly remembered the curtains in the lobby as a sheer royal blue with a little pattern of a fabric that was not sheer, and had the impression that they were ordered from somewhere in Europe, possibly Germany. Other later visitors to the home also thought the curtains in the lobby were blue, perhaps a damask, tied back with a rope tie. The original lighting fixture in the centre of the room was described as a lamp with long crystals, hanging from a china shade.

The centre-piece of the lobby was the open-hearth, wood-burning fireplace with its burnt-orange tile facade and wooden mantlepiece with shelves for displaying ornaments and a mirror at the centre. There is a possibility that there was an earlier mantle. Drafty, inefficient fireplaces were by no means a necessity in an age already long familiar with heating stoves and central heating. The fireplace in the lobby gave off such little heat that it could not even serve as an auxiliary to the central heating system in the winter months when a coal base burner was set inside the fireplace opening. The decision to include a fireplace in the home must have been based on reasons other than strict utility. Toward the end of the 19th century, fireplaces and elegant decorative mantles were enjoying a revival in America, even though they were no longer necessary or even practical as a source of heat. This cult of the fireplace, evident in journals of architecture and fashionable taste of the late 19th century, has been interpreted as a symptom of a widespread "angst" resulting from the pressures of a rapidly changing world over which individuals were losing control; people looked for security in their homes, as a place of retreat, and in the traditions of the past. Among these traditions was the fireplace and the activities associated with it:

...brightly tiled and surmounted by high chimney pieces, encrusted with candlesticks and layered with trinkets—magical shrines to shut out the world. Toasting forks and corn poppers re-established traditional family pleasures, presided over by benign patriarchs, which fostered family cohesion and security in the face of social change. The popularity of fireplaces reflected both changes in high-style taste and a strongly-felt need for security.
In the furnishings and decoration of the lobby, the experiences and activities of the members of the Motherwell family were reflected to a much greater degree than in the parlours. Personal memorabilia of past and present pursuits were much more in evidence. The earliest indications of the furnishings of this room are shown in the drawing based on Mrs. Mackenzie's memory (Fig. 20), and the objects she identified on a diagram of the floor plan. Unfortunately, as with much of the Mackenzie material, there are no direct references to the time frame. The drawing gives a view of the lobby from the front entrance. In the foreground is a large table with a plain, armless chair drawn to it. A couch is along the west wall between the doors to the office and kitchen. The only other piece of furniture for sitting in the room is a sturdy armchair. The small Davenport writing-desk in the southeast corner of the room is part of the Motherwell collection today. It had

Figure 20. Sketch of the lobby of the Motherwell home from the southeast corner. (Drawn by R.R. Dixon, based on conversations with Mrs. Alma Mackenzie.)
originally been used in the Territorial Assembly at Battleford. The
grandfather clock at the left of the drawing did not appear in the home
until 1918 as it was presented to Motherwell on the occasion of his
resignation from the Saskatchewan government. Potted plants occupy
both of the windowsills; Mrs. Mackenzie remembered the double window
ledge being filled with bright and varied geraniums. The second
Mrs. Motherwell may not have been quite as interested in indoor
gardening as the first as the photograph of her in the lobby shows a
solitary Boston or asparagus fern in the window.

Alma Mackenzie remembered the mantle piece was filled with all
sorts of curios. In the drawing she placed two stuffed white owls on
the top ledge of the mantle. Other members of the Motherwell family
also clearly remember the stuffed owls on the top of the mantle, even
though the owls still in the Motherwell collection seem to be far too
large to have occupied this position. Mrs. Mackenzie also remembered a
stuffed pheasant on the mantle and two earthen, quaint fancy pitchers
that were supposed to resemble cameo. Another person who remembered
these jugs or pitchers described them as brown and cream coloured with
relief figures of angels or fairies. Andirons that one member of
the family described as consisting of brass tongs, poker, brush, shovel
and footrest are drawn at the side of the fireplace. The floor plan
that Mrs. Mackenzie drew differs in some respects from the conceptual
drawing but it is difficult to state which is more accurate, or whether
they relate to different time periods. Two leather chairs are placed
on either side of the fireplace in the diagram, the leather couch is
along the north wall, the clock is in the southeast corner and the
small writing-desk is directly beneath the east window.

Descriptions of the lobby by those familiar with the home in years
later than Alma's presence correspond to hers in most major aspects.
The principal furnishings were a leather upholstered couch and chairs;
as mentioned earlier, very possibly this was the set Motherwell
purchased in Winnipeg in 1908, intending it for use in the parlour.
The most vivid description of this set is provided by Mrs. Margretta
Lindsay who remembered an oak settee with two or three large cushions,
upholstered in a soft suede or tanned leather that faced the
fireplace. Another woman described this settee as upholstered in
a soft, light brown leather with a lattice work back that matched the
backs of the two chairs. Mrs. Lindsay remembered that these two
chairs were also made of oak, had reed-caned backs and sat on either
side of the fireplace. All of these and the library table that Mrs.
Lindsay placed behind the settee in the centre of the room had the
same heavy, twisty legs. The table was referred to by her and others
as a library table; it had one or more shelves at the bottom for books
and at the sides for papers and magazines. The only other major
piece of furnishing remembered by those familiar with the home in the
years after Alma's presence was a piano that was described as being in
various places about the room. In all likelihood this was one of the
 pianos bought by Janet or Barbara Gillespie to the home.

Objects representative of family or individual interests or
achievements were displayed in the lobby and included items such as
Motherwell's desk from the Territorial Assembly and later, the
grandfather clock. The portrait of Motherwell's father is visible in
Figure 19 on the far east wall of the room and the accompanying
portrait of his mother is likely nearby. A framed picture of the
members of the first Saskatchewan cabinet is also associated with this room. Alma placed it on the north wall and it may later have hung above the doorway to the office. An Indian beadwork collection of Mrs. Motherwell's was exhibited in this room on the west wall and may have included a rifle case, jacket, trousers, beaded rattles with feathers and stone hammers. Two or three portraits of Indians, possibly the work of James Henderson of Fort Qu'Appelle, hung on the north wall.

On winter evenings, members of the Motherwell household would gather in the lobby to read or play games including checkers, pit, table tennis, crokinole and euchre. Aunt Janet would gather the children around the fireplace and tell their fortunes by sending wishes up the chimney. Members of the family would take turns reading aloud in the evenings. Some of the books in the home, like Pilgrim's Progress and the Life of Dr. Talmage, were bought from travelling pedlars. A few of the books that remain in the Motherwell collection today may have been among those brought out on the first trip west such as The Draytons and the Davenants: A Story of the Civil Wars, published in 1867 and inscribed "Motherwell." Other books in the collection with titles such as The Men of Kildonan: A Romance of the Selkirk Settlers, History and Progress of Canada in the Nineteenth Century, Protection or Free Trade: An Examination of the Tariff Question, and Your Own Lawyer and Conveyancer or Treasures of the Law Office reflect a variety of interests in history, politics and self-help. Catherine Motherwell's books reveal concern with religious, missionary and women's issues with such titles as Jesus is Coming, Western Women in Eastern Lands, The King's Business: A Study of Increased Efficiency for Women's Missionary Societies and The Office Wife.

After the alterations of 1911, there was no longer a separate hallway or vestibule at the front entrance. Accommodation still had to be made, however, for family and visitors to shed outer garments and outdoor accessories. A walnut coat tree was immediately to the right of the door and an umbrella stand was nearby. A pair of oak hall chairs with high cane backs were against the stair landing, facing the front door. A curtain of a heavy fabric that may have been red or green hung along the eastern end of the staircase, protecting the upper floor from the draught of the front door. Those familiar with the home in the 1930s and later remember a hall rack with a mirror, various pegs and a box seat and lid facing the front entrance with its back to the stair railing. With the maze of doors before 1911, it can be safely assumed that there were no furnishings in the hallway.
W.R. Motherwell's daughter described her father's office as a little jog in the wall, and indeed it is a very small and somewhat ill-conceived room. The east wall bisects the window opening creating the need for an awkward and improbable jog in the wall, and the two doorways along the east and north walls seem superfluous in a room of its size. There are some discrepancies between the appearance of the room today and the plans published in the *Northwest Farmer*. No door is drawn on the east wall but there is an indication of a small opening, perhaps a pass through. In the 1900 plans the east wall butts directly to the south wall, not interfering with the south window. Architectural investigation has led to the conclusion, however, that the wall is in its original location.

As early as the 1900 plans (Fig. 7), this room is identified as an office. It is curious, however, that a room designed to be an office, where privacy and quiet is desirable, should be equipped with two doors. The small room might originally have been intended to serve a different purpose. If the lobby was initially a dining room, as there is some evidence to support, the office might have been designed as a serving room: a room in which the attendant at the table could be on hand to replenish dishes and glasses with supplies kept in that room, yet remain out of sight when not at work. This function would certainly account for the presence of two doors lending access to such a small area. Serving rooms were often found in large residences in England but generally, they were present only when the kitchen was a considerable distance from the dining room and food needed to be re-heated upon arrival on hot plates in that room. Even well into the 20th century, authorities on household design and furnishing counselled their readers that a butler's pantry as a connecting link between the kitchen and dining room is considered essential in the modern home. Such a room would surely have been an extravagance, however, in a home the size of the Motherwells, and there is no evidence that it was ever intended to be anything other than an office.

As Motherwell's daughter remembered, the office was the room where "...my father did his farm business at a hugh desk and stout wooden armchair. Here accounts were kept, men were hired or fired if they were found smoking behind a stook...". The office seems to have been Motherwell's exclusive, private domain in the home. Mrs. Motherwell presumably had books and papers of her own but none of her belongings or those of others are associated with the room. Although the office is remembered as being full of furniture, it could actually house little more than a desk and chair. The desk along the west wall is today part of the curatorial collection and is a tall secretary with glass doors above, enclosing bookshelves. The centre lowers to form a writing surface and there are shelves and drawers in the alcove.
with drawers below. A wooden office chair, on a pedestal base with rollers was used at the desk. There is some reference to a wooden, two-drawer filing cabinet, a coat rack and an umbrella stand also in the room. Mrs. Mackenzie believed that the Northern Electric crank box telephone was the original phone installed in the home in 1910 and was on the south wall of the office. Others, however, remember a candlestick phone sitting on the window ledge in that room.

The office has been described as being filled with books, yet the only direct reference to shelves are those of the secretary-bookcase. Among the books possibly kept on these shelves were Motherwell's ten-volume set of Modern Eloquence, ordered in 1906 from Philadelphia. It was described in the order form as "A Library of the Best After-Dinner Speeches, Classic and Popular Lectures, Famous Addresses, Reminiscence, Repartee, Story and Illustration." Motherwell also had a book entitled Toasts: How to Respond and Make Other Public Addresses. In 1910 Motherwell received a two-volume set of Willison's Life of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and an Illustrated Chart of Canadian History. These books may have been placed on the shelves above his desk.
THE KITCHENS

In February 1911 W.R. Motherwell addressed the assembled delegates to the first annual convention of the Homemakers' Clubs of Saskatchewan on the necessity of establishing a domestic science school at the University of Saskatchewan. In his opinion, such an institution was just as important as an agricultural college which prepared boys to be better farmers. As Motherwell said:

> It seems to me that in all the advancement of modern times, domestic science, the question of home making, is the one above all others that has lagged behind. Can we point to any improvement in our kitchens? Labour that is disliked is a burden to everyone; labour that is interesting and done intelligently is a pleasure.

It was still to be many years before there were noticeable improvements in kitchens on the Canadian prairie and indeed, much of the work that centered in kitchens was distinctly not a pleasure. It is difficult today, in an age of numerous labour-saving devices for the home, to appreciate the full burden of the tasks that fell to the lot of the women on farms in the early West, an age when virtually everything had to be done by hand. What has been described as the industrial revolution in household technology—the change from manual to electric power, coal and wood to gas and oil as fuels, and pumping to running water—did not begin to significantly alter patterns of work in North American homes until the years between the end of the first World War and the Depression.

Kitchen conveniences were available to those that could afford them, however, even in the early years of the century. Cora Hind, agricultural editor for the Winnipeg Free Press, urged women to persuade their husbands that conveniences such as clothes and dish washing machines were just as essential in the homes as were labour-saving devices for the men in the field:

> In dealing with kitchen conveniences I have tried to keep the expenditure for the various appliances which I intend to speak on within the price of an ordinary binder, namely $150. or $160. Now, I have chosen this limit for the reason that every man on a farm tells you that he must have a binder. That is one of the things that must be had. The purchase of kitchen conveniences should become as much of a necessity as a binder.

Electricity and running water, amenities basic to most kitchen conveniences, were not installed in many homes in the Canadian West until mid-century. The sink and pump in the Motherwell home was not supplemented by a modern plumbing system until the 1950s and the wood-burning stoves were still in use in the 1940s. Electricity was introduced to the home in 1918 with the installation of a Delco Generator but its impact, in terms of labour-saving devices, was
minimal even many years later. In much of North America, the effects
of the new household technology were registered most clearly in a rapid
decline of domestic assistants in the early decades of the 20th
century. In the Motherwell home, the bulk of domestic work was
still being done by hand in the 1930s and the proper maintenance of the
home continued to constitute a full-time job for at least two or three
women. Domestic employees were commonly known in the West as hired
girls and despite a well-publicized shortage of this kind of labour,
the Motherwells always had at least one and sometimes two in their
employ. A photograph of the Motherwell family in 1890, outside of
their first home, suggests that even then the family may have employed
a hired girl. The first Mrs. Motherwell must have relied heavily on
hired help during her few years in the stone home. Mrs. Mackenzie
remembered that, because of her asthma, her mother was unable to come
downstairs in the mornings until the dampness of the scrubbed floors
and the dust from sweeping had left the air. In the years after
1905, when Motherwell and his children resided for much of the time in
Regina, a number of housekeepers were employed at Lanark Place. Even
during later years when Catherine Motherwell and Janet and Barb
Gillespie lived in the home, hired girls were still employed. Some
were young Indian women and others were from neighbouring farms who
hired out. There was no social disadvantage attached to this kind of
work; these women could not be said to be members of any kind of
servant class. They were expected to work long, hard hours alongside
the other women in the household. Mrs. Mackenzie remembered that the
women help were more like companions.
The hub of day-to-day activity for the women of the Motherwell
household were the two kitchens. The larger area, attached to the main
part of the house, has been described as both the winter kitchen and
the dining room. It became a dining room during the summer months when
the back or summer kitchen became the cookhouse. Depending on the
weather of any particular year, however, the back kitchen could be in
use for more months of the year than the main kitchen: from as early as
April until as late as December. Back kitchens, which served to
keep the main part of the home cool during the heat of the summer, were
common features on prairie homes; often they were simply lean-to-sheds.
The need for a back kitchen may not have been as pressing in a stone
home, as one employee remembered having to often light the stove in the
main kitchen for heat even during the summer months on cooler
days.
The main kitchen, the largest room in the Motherwell home, is a
bright room with south- and west-facing windows. A drawing conceived
from Mrs. Mackenzie's memory (Fig. 21) shows light, sheer curtains tied
back, over the south window. Another description of the curtains in
the main kitchen is that they were cottage-style — they could be drawn
back from a rod in the centre of the window. The original
wallpaper in the kitchen was an oilcloth with narrow green lines
forming squares and small flecks in green against a white or off-white
background. Among the permanent features in the kitchen were a sink
and pump which drew soft water from a huge stone cistern in the
basement. Originally, the sink and pump were located in the southwest
corner of the room. The reason for moving it to its present location
along the north wall is not clear. It certainly became more accessible
to anyone at work in the summer kitchen and to the hired men who washed
up before mealtime in there. It has also been suggested that this alteration became necessary when the decision was made to use the main kitchen as the dining area for the home. With the sink and pump in the southwest corner, the original location of the stove must have been the north wall. This arrangement may have prevented a comfortable dining area in the centre of the room so the stove was moved to the west wall, where it remained according to all memories, and consequently, the sink and pump had to be moved. At its position along

Figure 21. Sketch of the main (winter) kitchen in the Motherwell home. (Drawn by R.R. Dixon, based on conversations with Mrs. Alma Mackenzie.)

the west wall, the stove rather awkwardly hid most of the west window: perhaps further evidence that this was not initially intended to be its position. For some period of time, the Motherwell home had only one stove that was carried back and forth between kitchens in the spring and fall. By the thirties, there was a stove in each kitchen. The hardwood floors of the main kitchen were covered with linoleum sometime in 1914 or shortly after; newspapers dated 1914 were found in the ice hatch that had been covered by the flooring.

In the centre of the main kitchen sat an oak extension dining table with seven leaves and five heavy legs. In January 1907 Motherwell ordered 12 dining room chairs from Wright Bros., Furniture
Dealers and Undertakers in Regina, which, including freight, cost $52.95.\textsuperscript{14} Motherwell ordered a set of the same chairs for the use of the choir in the church at Abernethy. Figure 22 shows the interior of the church and the eight chairs with elaborately carved backs and leather upholstery to cushion the shoulders.

Figure 22. Interior of the Presbyterian (now United) Church at Abernethy, Saskatchewan. (Motherwell Photograph Collection.)

Kitchen cabinets were indispensible items in the days before built-in cupboards and counters. Mail-order catalogues of the turn of the century displayed kitchen cabinets of modest design with few models from which to choose. By 1908, however, catalogues were exhibiting several pages of elaborate kitchen cabinets, all with top sections. The idea was to provide the busy housewife with a maximum of convenience of arrangement for everything in daily use in the kitchen. They included bins for flour and sugar, drawers for cutlery, cupboards for pots, pans, dishes, spices, coffee and tea, kneading and chopping boards and towel racks. The kitchen cabinet in the Motherwell home was
not an elaborate model: it is in two sections with a shelf and small drawers above, a work space, drawers and cupboards below. In the main kitchen it likely sat along the north wall but it was moved into the back kitchen for the summer months even in the 1930s; but by that time the top of the cabinet had been removed.\(^1\)

In Figure 21 a sewing machine sits under the south window. This is likely her mother's Raymond sewing machine that she mentioned in her reminiscences.\(^1\) In descriptions of the main kitchen by those familiar with the home in years later than Alma, there is no mention of a sewing machine. The first Mrs. Motherwell seems to have been an excellent seamstress but it appears that the women who later occupied the home did not share this interest.

A piece of furniture variously described as a sideboard, buffet, dresser or china cabinet was also in the main kitchen. Some confusion arises in sorting out descriptions of this item because at one time there were two sideboards; one was referred to as Catherine's and the other as Barb's. Catherine's sideboard sat along the south wall between the window and the door to the verandah.\(^1\) Memories of this piece of furniture watch quite closely with the features of the sideboard that is in the Motherwell collection. Mrs. Motherwell's silver tea service, which included a tray, two teapots (one for hot water), sugar and cream containers, a spoon holder and a slop bowl for the dregs, was displayed on the sideboard.\(^1\) A large fruit bowl, candlesticks and vases may also have sat on the counter or shelves.\(^1\) Other objects in the main kitchen were the woodbox, which was kept under the back stairway, and a small waist-high cupboard in the southwest corner of the room where the sink and pump originally sat.\(^1\) A hired hand who began work on the farm in 1914 thought that an old organ was in the main kitchen, toward the east end of the room.\(^1\) A picture of Sir Wilfred Laurier was on the wall in the northeast corner of the room.\(^1\)

Little was done to enhance the decor of the back or summer kitchen - it was strictly a utilitarian room. The walls were whitewashed and the cement floors were bare.\(^1\) The curtains on the north windows were a plain cream or peach scrim.\(^1\) A concern that this room be fire-proof is evident in Alma Mackenzie's reminiscences, probably inherited from her father who was known to have a fear of fire that bordered on phobia.\(^1\) Among the careful precautions Motherwell took was a little hatch door that would allow passage of air if the room became overheated.\(^1\) In the small attic above the back kitchen the storm windows were housed for the summer, accessible through steps that were fastened to the ceiling.

Along the west wall of the back kitchen was a long bench with individual basins and towels for the hired men to wash up with.\(^1\) A table sat in the centre of the room with several kitchen chairs. The kitchen cabinet that was brought in every spring sat on the north between the two windows. For most of the year, the cream separator remained in this room and sat toward the northwest corner.\(^1\) The stove sat along the middle of the east wall with the woodbox nearby to the south. When a new stove was purchased for the home, sometime before the 1930s, it was placed in the main kitchen and the less fancy, older stove became a permanent feature in the back kitchen.\(^1\) In the northwest corner of the back kitchen was an ice box, possibly the large upright model that is in the Motherwell collection.\(^1\) The
pantry in the northeast corner was used year-round. For some years, a blackboard about three feet long was hung in the back kitchen, possibly on the far south wall. While W.R. Motherwell was away from the farm, his nailed instructions were received by Mrs. Motherwell or the current farm manager and written on the board. 31

Among the items used or stored in the kitchens were granite-ware pots and pans, a butter churn, scales, a bread board and knife, graters, a black roaster for hams, an ice cream freezer, a large heavy iron pot that could sit directly over the fire and an early model pressure cooker. These would likely have been stored in the pantry in the back kitchen, in the kitchen cabinet or in the storage area (Fig. 21). In 1911 Cora Hind advised women in the West that every kitchen should contain the following items, all of which could be purchased for two dollars: "an egg separator, a box for cutting potatoes in little dices, tin pepper and salt shakers, a wire spoon, a device for cutting cookies, an asbestos mat, beefsteak pounder, a meat saw, a hook for lifting meats, a grater with knife on one side for slicing vegetables, a small paring knife, a granite spoon, a granite scoop, a can opener, two little brushes, a cookie cutter and funnel." Also suggested were a meat grinder or mincer and a bread mixer.

The available sources, which date primarily from the 1930s, suggest that the daily and weekly chores in the Motherwell home were divided among the hired girls, Janet and Barb Gillespie. Catherine Motherwell does not appear to have been a regular contributor, although she did some ironing, cooking and baking. Janet and Barb were both apparently wonderful cooks and did most of the cooking for the household, with the exception of breakfast which was left to the hired girl. She also helped with the preparation of vegetables for other meals. Barb and Janet dusted and cleaned their bedrooms and the lobby, and the hired girl took care of the Motherwells' suite: the former front and back parlours. Barb also did the washing, sometimes with Janet's help. In the winter, the laundry was done for the hired men but they were expected to do their own during the summer months. Even though the household duties were shared, the hired girl still worked a long hard day, rising at least by 6 A.M. to prepare breakfast and not retiring for the day until after 7 P.M. when the dishes from supper were washed and put away. There was no such thing as a day off; hired girls rarely left the farm except to attend church on Sundays. Among their duties were milking the cow in the summer months, operating the cream separator, making butter and bread. Bread was made once a week; the dough was left to rise overnight, and at 3 and 5 A.M., the hired girl rose to pound down the mixture.

It is difficult today to imagine how the maintenance of one household could be a job for three women. In an age of manual power, however, housework required degrees of elbow grease and patience that are uncommon in today's domestic life. Washing for a farm household was an enormous undertaking as there were mounds of extremely dirty clothing from people in close contact with the soil and animals. While the early washing machines were an immense improvement over the tub and scrubbing board method, they still required considerable hard work to operate. The Motherwells had a washing machine that had a frame work on top and one pushed back and forth from about a foot away from the
machine to revolve the circular ribbed sort of churn which actually did the washing. In later years, a power or ringer washer was purchased that could be hooked up to the Delco but it was not always in good working order, and an old hand washer was still in use in the 1930s. A hired girl on a farm in the West described a typical Monday washday in the summer using such a machine:

Mrs. Anderson and I would drag the heavy washing-machine out of the coal-house into the keen air, and the boiler, full of soft water, was already on the stove with a cake of soap sliced into it. My special duty was to work the machine, which I did by pushing a handle to and fro, in order to make the clothes revolve in the soap-suds with which the big tub was filled. I had to do this for ten minutes to each relay of garments, then pass them through the wringer, after which I took them into the kitchen to be put into the boiler on the stove. From here they were soured in a tub of cold water, squeezed through the wringer, and then dipped into blue water and wrung out for the third time. Certainly the linen looked snowy white when we hung it up on the long lines. . . . When the last consignments, terribly stained overalls, shirts and socks belonging to the men, had been rocked in the water (they had to be put into the machine twice), and had been wrung and rinsed and wrung again, I felt almost as if my arms had been torn out of their sockets.

Drying clothes during the winter months could also be a trying experience, as another woman on a farm in the West wrote:

Drying the clothes was almost as much of a job as washing them, especially in winter. It often took the best part of a week, and for many months during the year, when the weather was cold, the various rooms of our house were made uncomfortable and unpleasant with smelly underwear and clumsy flannel shirts which took not hours but days to air thoroughly.

A hired girl at the Motherwell's remembered that clothes were hung to dry Chinese-style, in the back kitchen: four or five strings were stretched across the width of the room and the clothes hung from one line to another so that there was still room to move about beneath.

Tuesday was generally a day for ironing and there was always an abundance to do at the Motherwell's, as tableclothes were used at every meal. During the summer months in particular, ironing was one of the worst of all household tasks as the stove had to be kept hot for the flat irons which retained their heat for only a few minutes and had to be returned to the stove. During the worst heat of summer, ironing could be done only in the early morning hours. Ironing at the Motherwell home was still done with flat irons in the 1930s even though electric irons were widely in use in North America by this time.

Spring cleaning was an annual upheaval in the Motherwell home. Every corner of the house was completely scoured, including the basement which received a fresh coat of whitewash. Mrs. Mackenzie recalled the delights of a small girl amidst the bustle and excitement of a house turned upside down:

The smell of soap suds filled the air and even the air
smelled clean. The whitewashing of the basement was always very intriguing to me. I longed to wield that brush. I wondered if I could manage to look as interesting as those who had the fun of spreading it on. At first it would look a dirty grey then when finished and dried it was a sparkling white. What a transformation—all things were made new. The hymn my mother used to sing would come to mind—"Whiter than snow—Yes, whiter than snow—Oh wash me and I shall be whiter than snow."

However, we were allowed to go out to the barn and help fill the bed ticks which had been freshly washed and spread on the line in the sun. It was huge fun romping in the straw but the trick was to get the straw spread evenly so that by morning one would not find their feet up and their head lowered...45

In some homes, heavy drapery and tapestries were cleaned and stored for the summer months during spring cleaning and the upholstered furniture replaced by light rattan or wicker chairs.46

The diet of the Motherwell household was simple but generous. Generally, some form of meat and potatoes were served three times a day as was the custom in most farm homes. As a woman of the Fort Qu'Appelle district was cautioned on the running of her household:

If you want to keep your men, feed 'em. Feed them good, plenty of meat and potatoes three times a day. Cakes and jellies ain't no stand-by to a man who has to put in his ten hours a day on the land. Porridge for breakfast they'll look for, but porridge or no porridge, plenty of meat and potatoes three times a day.47

In the Motherwell home, food was placed in the centre of the table for everyone to help himself. As one of their hired men remembered, this was a much more congenial arrangement than he had known in the homes of his previous employers who served from the head of the table; it was somewhat embarrassing to send a plate up for second and third helpings.48

Breakfast was served to the hired men after one round of chores had been completed in the early morning and could consist of porridge, syrup, toast, fried potatoes, bacon or fish.49 The rest of the household generally ate breakfast a little later than the hired men and had a less substantial meal; Mr. Motherwell had corn flakes or a similar dried, flaked cereal with apples sliced on top.50 Dinner and supper might consist of roast beef with vegetables, pudding or pie. Aunt Janet would often prepare a snack for the hired men between meals of hot milk, onions and a soda cracker.51 A favorite dessert was preserved citron, a sugary syrup made with slices of lemon peel.52

A tablecloth was set for every meal in the Motherwell home and each person had his own napkin ring for purposes of identification as one napkin had to do for several days. Following the evening meal, a small service was held; Motherwell read passages from the Bible, a prayer was said and the hymn books passed around. According to one hired girl, each of the people around the table were expected to choose a hymn and stand to sing it.53 Motherwell's favorite hymn was "Will Your Anchor Hold?". For each of the people at the supper table, a penny would be placed in the cent-a-meal box, a small wooden container with a hinge at the bottom. At the end of each year the
coins would be counted and the money sent to support missionary work. Mrs. Motherwell’s silver tea service was used daily, after dinner and supper, and each of the members of the household had their own tea cup and saucer. Unexpected guests would frequently drop in for supper, often Indian friends of Mrs. Motherwell, and the table would calmly be cleared and set again.

Most of the food for the Motherwell table was produced on the farm. According to a woman homesteader this was the fundamental commercial law of remunerative farming, namely, that one must never buy anything in the way of food for stock, and very little for household need. Food for man and beast should be raised on the farm, groceries and fresh meat should be obtained in exchange for dairy produce, the great point being to avoid spending money...

Mrs. Motherwell’s detailed system of domestic bookkeeping worked to ensure that cash was not expended needlessly on products that could be grown or made at home. Under the headings of food, clothing, hired help and miscellaneous, monthly statements from the merchants were checked off with the bills, entered into a cash book and the monthly expenditure totalled. Mrs. Motherwell felt that this close scrutiny over the cash outlay helped her husband plan the farm so that meat, vegetables and dairy products would not have to be purchased:

It is very interesting to compare one month’s expenses with another and any given month with the corresponding one for the previous year. By doing so one often makes discoveries that are quite startling. For instance, supposing that for a certain time the farm supplied the meats used on the table, and then for a corresponding period the meats had to be bought, the food accounts for these two periods would immediately show a decided increase. Our attention is arrested and we at once investigate to discover the cause. We find that it is due to the failure of the farm to produce its own meats, and so with many other things that might be home grown. If we have been carrying out the principle of arousing and maintaining our husband’s interest in our bookkeeping he will not only acknowledge where the leakage came in but will immediately set about correcting it. The garden, dairy, the hens, the pork, the beef are tremendous assets to a farmer’s table, and often money is paid out for these things that if kept account of and faced in cold figures, a remedy would be provided.

During the summer months, farm families often lived on salted or smoked meat and occasionally wild game, as fresh meat was scarce. It was to remedy this situation that beef rings began operating in Western Canada. W.R. Motherwell was a member of a beef ring but it is not clear when the idea was introduced to the Abernethy district. Each of the participants provided the beef ring with a beast and one was slaughtered each week and divided up by the butcher who was paid for his responsibilities. Before winter set in each year, the participants in the beef ring met to tally the debtors and creditors; if a farmer consumed more meat than he had donated he owed the ring at so many cents per pound. Beef rings became obsolete with the introduction of
freezer lockers in the towns. The Gillespie beef ring of farmers from the Abernethy area ceased operation in the late 1940s; the equipment and the slaughter house were sold and the proceeds donated to the hospital in Abernethy.\textsuperscript{59}
Hygiene and sanitation were important considerations in choosing the furnishings and decor of turn-of-the-century bedrooms. The heavy rugs, drapery, tapestries and upholstered furniture that adorned rooms on the main level of homes were generally absent in the sleeping chambers. Since the rooms were not open to public scrutiny, standards of decor could be allowed to decline in the private realms of the home, but a more important consideration was the lingering capacity of bedroom odor. As a contemporary household guide explained, this was not a matter to be politely overlooked:

The bedroom odor, noticeable in three out of every five bedrooms in the land, is mostly derived from the urine that is allowed to stand in uncovered, or but partly closed, receptacles, 12 out of every 24 hours, in these rooms. Urine contains several volatile and also highly poisonous and malodorous elements. Those not only pass readily into the airs of bedrooms, but are absorbed by mattresses, carpets, hangings, plaster, and upholstered furniture.

It was also thought that during sleep the body exhaled poisonous fumes that made the air breathed at night impure. Principles of sanitary science demanded that bedroom furnishing be simple, easily washable or cleanable; it was not the place for upholstered furniture, heavy textiles and cluttered bric-a-brac stands to gather dust and house disease.

Household manuals urged women to purify the sleeping chambers each day by thoroughly airing the rooms and everything in it. It was suggested that blankets, sheets and pillows be shaken and arranged so that the air could get at them, the clothes closet doors opened so that odors and poisonous air could escape and the windows thrown open for much of the day: "Then, after a while, the poisonous air — containing possibly many disease germs — will give place to the sweet, fresh, vitalizing air that sustains life in vigor." In the placement of furniture in the bedroom, considerations of hygiene were also important. The most desirable place for the bed was where only the head was against the wall to allow air to circulate freely on all the other sides.

The furnishings and decor of the bedrooms in the Motherwell home adhered to the principles of simplicity with respect to both the nature and quantity of objects. This may very well have been for reasons of hygiene as a chemical toilet did not replace the chamber pot in the household until sometime during the years of the First World War. There was no carpet on either stairway in the home and small scatter rugs only in the main upstairs hallway. A linen wardrobe with two small and two large drawers sat along the east wall. Along the north wall was a cartoonist's caricature of Motherwell and a piece of
wood from his first oxen plow. A panoramic photograph of Lanark Place, taken in 1922, also hung in the main hallway in later years.

The Master Bedroom

The room at the southeast corner of the upper level was originally the largest of the sleeping chambers in the home and it was used by Mr. and Mrs. Motherwell until the years when the parlours were turned into a bed-sitting room. The furnishings were simple and appear to have altered little over the years as the description of Alma Motherwell corresponds to accounts of those familiar with the home in later years. On the east- and south-facing windows were tie-back muslin frilled curtains. The head of the large brass bedstead was against the west wall, and a small rug was before the bed. On an angle in the southeast corner was a dresser and the washstand was in the centre of the north wall. The washstand and the dresser were part of a set, a tall mirror was attached to the dresser and it was on this that Mrs. Motherwell kept her sterling silver dresser set, monogrammed K.J.M. which included a hairbrush, clothesbrush, whisk, hand mirror, nail file, metal cuticle knife, two rouge bottles, two powder jars, a perfume bottle and finger nail buffer. A hairbrush and tieclip monogrammed M may also have been on the dresser. A toilet set, consisting of basin and pitcher, tooth glass, soap dish and thunder mug, was in each of the bedrooms. The set in the master bedroom was white with gold trimming.

Alma's Bedroom

The small room in the southwest corner of the front part of the house was Alma's and later Aunt Janet's. Alma Mackenzie had very fond memories of time spent in the room:

My own faced south overlooking the lawn with the Pheasant Creek on the horizon. When on vacation, I often sought the peace and refuge of the small, sunny bedroom. Sleep would refresh my troubled soul. There was no trouble or worry, real or imaginary that would not be dispelled with a good sleep in that little bedroom.

The deep window sill had a cushioned seat in this room and the window was framed by tie-back muslin curtains. By the window in the southeast corner was a bookcase, a dresser sat on an angle in the southwest corner and a washstand was along the west wall. A white iron bedstead was on the east wall and a small hooked rug was in the centre of the room. In the early years, some of Alma's toys would likely have been kept in the room such as a suite of doll furniture made by a neighbour which included sheets for the bed, a pillow and a patchwork quilt made of crocus down, all sewn by her mother.
The Guest Room

As illustrated in the plans of the Motherwell home published in the *Nor\West Farmer* in 1900, the space along the northeast of the front of the home was originally divided into two rooms: a larger chamber was at the front and a small bedroom at the back. At some point, an archway was cut into the wall making the area one long room. The floor plan provided by Mrs. Mackenzie is for the period of time when these were two separate rooms. No indication is given, however, of who was to use these rooms. Likely when the home was first planned, the space was allocated for future additions to the family. In the years before 1913, when Tal vacated a bedroom at the back of the house, one or both of these rooms must have been occupied by the hired girl or girls. In Mrs. Mackenzie's memory, the larger room at the front had short simple curtains in the east window and the north window was converted into a clothes-closet with a mirror on the door; this room had no built-in closet. The window-closet remained a feature even when the arch was cut and the rooms became one, and it seems to have caught the attention of many observers as something quite unusual. Alma remembered a bed and bed table along the west wall in the front room. In the small bedroom behind this was a bed toward the northwest and a dresser along the east wall.

By 1918, an arch had been cut into the wall dividing the two rooms and the area was known as the guest room although the front area was where Margretta Evans slept. The front was a sitting area, and the back a bedroom that could be divided by curtains and there may also have been two sliding doors. There were bookcases in the sitting room, a few chairs and a table. In the back area was a big brass bed, either in the northeast or northwest corners. Bedspreads for the guest bed were gold satin, tatted lace or crochet. The guest bed also had a pillow sham, a bolster roll of pasteboard or light wood with a crocheted cover which hid the pillows during the daytime. An English woman who worked as a hired girl in the homes in the West noted this custom of hiding the pillows during the day:

> The usual English manner of arranging the pillows was stigmatized as "most untidy" and I was shown how to place them in an upright position, Canadian fashion, and lean against them an elaborate pillow sham, with the words "good-morning" and "good-night" embroidered on opposite sides of it.

In the northeast or northwest corner was the toilet which consisted of a chamber pot, hidden by a paneled screen of a silk-like material. A washtand was along the south wall. The toilet set in the guest room was white or off-white with big red roses on it. A dresser was also in the back room, along the south wall, and a dresser set including a mirror, brush and comb were set out for the use of the guests.
The Back Bedrooms

Serviced by its own stairway and clearly segregated by a doorway from the rest of the upper floor of the Motherwell home, the second floor rear annex seems to have been designed as a servants' quarters. For the first 16 years of life in the home, however, the east back room was used by Tal Motherwell. The other was used by the hired man or men. Clearly, the distinctions between the family sleeping quarters and those of the hired help were not as great as the floor plan might suggest. The hired girls must have slept in the rooms on the north side of the front wing before Tal's departure from the home. In the moral home of the later Victorian age, great care was taken in the planning of the servants' wing to ensure that the sexes were separated, especially in their sleeping quarters, without access one to the other. If this code of morality ever applied to the Motherwell home, it had been relaxed by 1914 when a hired girl slept in Tal's old room.

Tal's Bedroom

Alma Mackenzie's floor plan places a bed along the east wall, a dresser in the middle of the west wall and a chair along the north. It remained very simply furnished during the years when it was quarters for the hired girls. The toilet set in the room was white with blue flowers.

The Hired Men's Room

The bedroom at the western end of the Motherwell home was for one or two hired men. The size of the room has been considerably altered from its appearance in the NorWest Farmer plans. The north wall of this room was, at some point in time, moved toward the stairway and a new doorway installed in the northeast corner. The west window which originally lit the hall and stairwell is now shared between the hallway and the bedroom. The reason for this alteration must have been simply to allow more room for the comfort of the hired men as very often two shared the room. The room did not have a built-in clothes-closet unlike all of the other bedrooms except the original northeast room. In the hired men's room an area along the north wall was curtained off for use as a clothes-closet. A bed was along the south wall; in 1914, one bed accommodated both hired men. On the west wall was the wash-stand although the men did much of their washing up at the sink and pump in the kitchen.
THE BASEMENT

In the days before electricity and refrigeration, the basements of homes were extremely important service and storage areas and the spaces had to be carefully organized to accommodate, yet keep separate, the necessary functions. The basement of the Motherwell home is divided into two distinct areas. Beneath the main part of the home are four small rooms off a main corridor that were used for storage of fuels and the root crop of vegetables. The function of the area under the winter kitchen was related to the operation of the cistern and involved cold or freezer storage. The basement is accessible from both outside and in. Through a hatch in the verandah floor, a staircase was used to load in vegetables and wood. The main interior access is through a door off the vestibule between the kitchen and the lobby that was beneath the main staircase.

At the foot of the main stairway to the basement was a wooden case with shelves and a net cover known to the family as the safe. Here articles of food, principally leftovers such as the end of a roast, could be stored for short periods of time. To the northeast and southeast are two rooms of about equal size. Occasionally, a larger area was needed for food storage when a large number of guests were expected, and one of these rooms was put into use. In the room at the southeast, there are traces of earlier partitions and there are still old potato bins, indicating that this was likely the main vegetable storage area. In the northeast room, a low counter of rough construction is along the south wall and there are shelves on the east wall. This room was probably used as a work space when required. The small room accessible from the northeast room housed the Delco generator after 1918, and was probably a vegetable storage area before this. The room at the foot of the outside stairway was used to store wood and coal as it was the room most readily accessible to the furnace.

The cistern area, beneath the winter kitchen, was divided into three main rooms. Toward the west, the first room was used for the storage of preserves. Along the west wall of the room are five rows of shelves for the jars that would have benefitted from the cold of the ice room on the opposite side of the wall. There is also some primitive shelving along the south wall. The first door to the right of the narrow passageway at the northeast opens to the freezer room, where there is a two-compartment cupboard raised off the cement floor. The last room was the ice room. The ice was cut from Pheasant Creek, packed in straw and lowered to the cellar through a hatch in the winter kitchen. A small steel pipe set into the concrete floor drained the water from the melting ice into the cistern.

For storage during the summer months, ice was packed in an ice cellar at the north side of the house; milk and cream were kept there and were lowered and raised on strings.
CONCLUSION

The study of past life through material culture offers exciting possibilities for the social historian. While supplementing the more traditional written sources, material objects provide the means for new perspectives on the technology, economy and society of an earlier period. As has been demonstrated in this study of the physical record of the Motherwell family, material culture can corroborate, modify or even refute the documentary evidence and may consequently afford a broader understanding of Western Canadian life in the settlement period. To document the material possessions of the Motherwell family over a period of 40 years is to chart the progression from pioneer austerity to the comfortable and sophisticated lifestyle of a settled society.

In the early homesteading period, the Motherwell family’s possessions were rudimentary and utilitarian, reflecting their strained economic circumstances. The exigencies of the trip west, first by train, then ox-cart, dictated that only those items absolutely necessary be brought to the prairie. Treasured heirlooms of delicate furniture or fine china would likely not have survived such a journey even if room was found for them among the packing cases. In keeping with the impermanence of their first shelters, which were commonly log houses, the settlers possessed only a few articles of furniture they had either brought with them on the trek or fashioned from available timber. Clothing, rugs and drapes were hand-made. The pioneers’ diet, while wholesome, reflected the subsistence nature of farming operations in the early period. While gradually increasing the number of acres broken on their land, farmers initially obtained only minimal returns from their small acreages. It was necessary, therefore, for the homestead family to become virtually self-sufficient in food production. They raised vegetables in their gardens, wheat in the newly broken fields and preserved the wild fruit the prairie offered. For protein, Motherwell and his neighbours kept a few head of livestock to produce meat and dairy products, and poultry to obtain eggs; these were supplemented by wild game and fish. Dairy products could be exchanged at the general stores for groceries that could not be raised on the farm. Often the homesteaders had to contend with periods of great scarcity. In the 1880s, a series of crop failures induced by drought, gopher infestation and hail forced some families to subsist on a meagre ration of wheat, from which they made soup, tea, porridge and cakes.

By the late 1890s, Abernethy farmers had begun to reap the benefits of a steady economic consolidation and, spurred by recent wheat sales, they proceeded to build handsome permanent residences which they could now afford to furnish with material objects suitable to a more sophisticated way of life. Very often the first luxury item purchased by a pioneer family was a parlour organ or piano, which
helped recreate some of the refinements of life in the older provinces. Furniture could be purchased from three dealers in Indian Head, or alternatively, pieces could be ordered from distributors in Regina or Winnipeg. Yard goods for drapes, portieres and covers, tapestries, carpeting and wallpaper were available, if not through local stores, then from the mail-order houses in Winnipeg. In comparison to the sparseness of the old log homes, the interiors of the permanent residences of the Abernethy settlers began to take on more of the appearance of what has come to be described as Victorian decor.

The initial spatial organization of the Motherwell home suggests a lifestyle based on the segregation between the utility section of the house and those who were employed there, and the ceremonial, formal compartments for the family and their guests. As the oral sources testify, and later modifications to the interior of the home indicate, the lifestyle of the Motherwell family fell somewhat short of the ideology of specialization denoted by the floor plan. Vestiges of a lifestyle based on a rigid code of behaviour remained evident in the home, particularly in the Motherwell's parlour and at times, its adjunct, the back parlour. This was a room kept in a state of readiness at all times to receive visitors, insulated from and off-limits to the everyday activities of members of the household. Here the visitor could be allowed to forget that this was the home of a farmer in the midst of the prairie as their eyes were treated with plush curtains and rugs, finery in furniture and ornament. As a consequence of the closed-door policy toward the parlour, the lobby was constantly in use by the family and expressed to a much greater degree the lifestyle and personality of the inhabitants of the home. Here the experiences and interests of members of the family were everywhere in evidence in photographs, souvenirs of travels and objects representative of personal accomplishments. The large double windows with deep window seats, dark wainscot panelling and the fireplace created a cozy atmosphere in the lobby. Fostering this sense of warmth and security, the furniture was clustered about the hearth.

In the two kitchens of the Motherwell home, the absence of conveniences and the presence of manually operated devices such as the washing machine, cream separator, butter churn and flat irons attest to the tremendous amount of physical labour required to run a household in the early period. Thus that the Motherwells should have employed one and sometimes two hired girls is not surprising. The simple, sparse furnishings of the rooms on the upper floor of the home serve as a material reminder of an age when the convenience of indoor plumbing was unknown and bedroom odour was an ever-present problem. Contemporary views of sanitary science, which held that the body exhaled poisonous fumes while asleep, dictated that the difficult-to-clean tapestries and carpets that might adorn rooms elsewhere in the home were absent from the bedrooms.

Material culture, while providing supporting data for standard historical studies, is also a worthy subject in its own right, but it has been largely ignored until recently. Social historians in Britain and the United States have begun to venture into the realm of the material world as a result of some new assumptions about what ought to be studied in the past, originally influenced by the Annales school of French historiography.¹ This new direction in historical enquiry departs from the traditional emphasis on the outstanding
personalities or monuments and the tumultuous economic, social, cultural or scientific events, but rather seeks an understanding of the past from the point of view of the daily life of the many, not just the princes and politicians. This scrutiny of families, households, diet, health and other aspects of everyday life requires new analytic tools and techniques. The architecture, domestic furnishings, tools, utensils and costume of societies of the past is an important body of evidence for such a field of enquiry, particularly as the documentary sources for masses of people who were not in the foreground of history are often fragmentary.

The material culture history of the Canadian West and the use of artifacts as a source of ideas for the interpretation of our history remains a new frontier of scholarship. The variety of nationalities and cultures that settled the West and the patterns of settlement would make a comprehensive material culture history a complex undertaking. Each of the groups of settlers that came to the West are likely to have transferred traits of the material culture of their origin in the form of their actual effects or in the continuation or reapplication of former practices. The physical and social environment of the Canadian West may have required departures from traditional customs and techniques, but adjustments varied from group to group as responses were based on vastly different cultural traditions, not to mention variations in financial resources. The study of material culture transfer requires detailed examination of each antecedent form, of the compatibility of the traditions of each group to the environment of the West, and a study of the prior skills, funds and resources available to each group. All of this remains to be done before a comprehensive material culture history of the Canadian West can emerge. It is possible that by the time of settlement of the West, mass manufacturing and efficient communication and transportation were operating to the extent that any distinctive prairie material culture disappeared beneath the pressure of mass, popular culture. It may be discovered, however, that problems peculiar to the Canadian West demanded solutions that were not met by technology, or that there was motivation to maintain tradition in the face of popular culture so that there did emerge some distinctive characteristics of prairie material culture.

The sources for the study of material culture are vast but scattered. As one historian has written, "...material life appears first and foremost in the anecdotal form of thousands and thousands of diverse facts. ...This is the dust of history, micro-history, ...chains of small facts indefinitely repeated." Minute forms of evidence such as travel books, diaries, letters, farm and store account books must be examined for mention of these diverse facts. Students of Western Canadian history are fortunate, however, in that the dust of history has not been allowed a great deal of time to gather; not as much sifting through documents is required when the past is still alive in the memories of the participants. As L.G. Thomas has demonstrated in his "Ranch Houses of the Alberta Foothills," the memory may be the best source for the study of prairie material culture.
**APPENDIX A. FOODSTUFFS***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canned peas and beans, 10 cans, $1.00; $2.30 per case; canned gooseberries and grapes, 6 cans, $1.00. Fruit syrup for hot weather, 4 bottles, $1.50</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield's, The Well Stocked Store</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomatoes, 1 gallon can @ 50¢; plums, prunes, pickles, 1 gallon, 35¢, 2 gallons $1.50; 3 gallons $2.25; combard or green gage plums, 7 cans, $1.00</td>
<td>F.W. Anderson's, Ideal Store</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tartan brand canned goods</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White and brown bread, buns, scones, fruit cake, special pies for tea or dinner; fruits for preserving; apples, peaches, prunes and apricots; cream soda, line juice champagne</td>
<td>A.D. Mills: Abernethy Bakery</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patent Process, Five Roses, Graham brands of best pastry flour for pies and cakes @ $1.75 a package; Bran, shorts, rolled oats from American Cereal Company. Quantity of barley</td>
<td>J.B. Buhker Flour and Feed</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salada Ceylon Tea</td>
<td>Manufacturer's Advertisement</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libby's Soup</td>
<td>Manufacturer's Advertisement</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Ribbon Tea</td>
<td>Manufacturer's Advertisement</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large consignment of fruit from B.C. and Ontario: plums, fancy variety, crab apples, peaches, pears, prunes</td>
<td>James &amp; Wallace</td>
<td>Aug. 23, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh and cured meats</td>
<td>Henry Minnerman, Butcher and Cattle Dealer</td>
<td>Aug. 23, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premier Jan, 50¢</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>Aug. 30, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit and oysters in season</td>
<td>James &amp; Wallace</td>
<td>Oct. 4, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCormick's high class biscuits, soft drinks, cigars, tobacco</td>
<td>James &amp; Wallace</td>
<td>Aug. 30, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Gold Standard&quot; brand groceries</td>
<td>The Ideal Store, S.C. Riggs</td>
<td>Sept. 21, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front quarter, 7q per lb; Hind, 9q per lb; spring lamb, 15¢ per lb; smoked ham, Gordon and ironides, 20¢ per lb; Home cured ham, 18¢ per lb; bacon</td>
<td>Abernethy Meat Market (W.J. Pinnegar, prop.)</td>
<td>Jan. 18, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beet iron and wine, 75¢</td>
<td>The Drug Store</td>
<td>Jan. 18, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk, 15 quarts, $1.00 cash or 12 quarts, $1.00 if charged</td>
<td>Olive Dairy</td>
<td>Feb. 14, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threshers Specials! 3-1 lb. pkgs Red Rose Tea, $1.00; 3-1 lb pkgs. Gold Standard Tea, $1.00; 30 lb. boxes evaporated apples, $5.25; 25 lb. boxes large California prunes, $2.50; 1 gallon parts. Chow Chow Pickles, 75¢; 1 lb. tin best Baking Powder, 15¢; 5 lb. tins, 75¢</td>
<td>The Cash Store</td>
<td>Sept. 18, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five Roses and Harvest Queen flour. Preserving Fruit arriving 2 or 3 times weekly</td>
<td>T.C. McFadden, Bakery.</td>
<td>Sept. 18, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shredded Wheat</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oct. 2, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ice-cream parlour now open</td>
<td>Barrett Bros.</td>
<td>June 4, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliance line juice, 30¢ bottle</td>
<td>The Ideal Store</td>
<td>June 11, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresh and cured meats, lard, sausage, fish and game</td>
<td>Abernethy Meat Market</td>
<td>June 11, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fancy Paulin's Biscuits</td>
<td>Abernethy Bakery</td>
<td>Aug. 6, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 cases preserving plums</td>
<td>Abernethy Bakery</td>
<td>Aug. 27, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomatoes, corn, peas and beans, 10¢ tin; raisins and currents, 3 lbs, 25¢; tomato catsup 3 tins, 25¢; prunes, 10¢ tin; evaporated peaches, 10¢ lb.</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>Nov. 5, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter apples</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>Nov. 5, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apples from the Okanogan 50 lb. boxes. Northern spices, Talmant sweets, Russels, etc.</td>
<td>The Ideal Store</td>
<td>Nov. 5, 1909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Appendices A-J comprise lists of categories of material culture items advertised in the Abernethy, 1905-9.*
## APPENDIX B. TEXTILES, CLOTHING AND FURNISHINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ladies' summer blouses</td>
<td>F.W. Casey, Balcarres Cash store</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skipped of fall dry goods, dress goods and blouses fashionable</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>Aug. 23, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fancy muslin $1.06 per yard; checked unford shirting $1.66 per yard</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>Aug. 23, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gingham 10d yard; ladies clock shirts, $3.10</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>Aug. 30, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies' clock coats, black, navy, light and dark greys, plaids and checks</td>
<td>The Ideal Store, F.W. Andrews</td>
<td>Sept. 27, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies' collars, full fall millinery, sheep-lined coats, black and white, horse hide and back gloves; silk wraps</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>Sept. 27, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underwear, gloves, mitts, caps, caps, sheep-lined coats, King-of-the-road overalls and shoes</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>Sept. 27, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvest Boots, gloves and mitts, large range of men's clothing</td>
<td>Balcarres Cash Store, F.W. Casey</td>
<td>Sept. 27, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss A.J. Tuesday, dressmaking at reasonable costs</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>Sept. 4, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men's and boys pen jackets, fine range of celebrated J.F. King's Gold Medal Boots for ladies and gents</td>
<td>The Ideal Store, J.B. Biggs</td>
<td>Sept. 21, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July delinck stock of men's furnishings, clothing, boots and shoes</td>
<td>W.R. Sullivan, Men's outfitter</td>
<td>Sept. 21, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britania and Pennan's washable under-clothing. Toy coats, odd pieces and snuggery fancy vests, new ties, ladies' collars and shirts</td>
<td>W.R. Sullivan, Men's outfitter</td>
<td>Jan. 18, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies sandals, sponge rubber, rubber sole</td>
<td>The Ideal Store, S.E. Biggs</td>
<td>March 20, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentlemen's chocolate slippers, $3.50 and upwards, $1.15 men's chamois grain shoes, $2.75 unlined rubber-soled shoes, $2.50 rubber-soled oxford shoes</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>March 20, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Miller, experienced milliner, full stock of latest styles, hats, flowers, trims, etc.</td>
<td>S.E. Biggs</td>
<td>April 27, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyclone waterproof coats; full line of creased velours</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>May 31, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men's suits, double-breasted blue serge, Canadian twill, Old Reliable Halifax twilled wets, $2.75</td>
<td>Sullivan's</td>
<td>Sept. 20, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canvas gloves, James McCready harvest boots and shoes</td>
<td>The Cash Store, D.B. Campbell</td>
<td>Sept. 20, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn millinery display, dressmaking department open. Habit caps, new patterns in plaids, spots and stripes</td>
<td>Tipling &amp; Holmes, Balcarres</td>
<td>Sept. 20, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men's clothing, The House of rubberite line</td>
<td>Wm. McIntyre, Balcarres</td>
<td>Sept. 20, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gigantic Slaughter Sale</td>
<td>The Fulton-Phillips Co., Balcarres</td>
<td>Sept. 6, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies, men's and children's fur and fur-lined coats, fur stock collars, fur caps. Hats united Peter Hall corduroy collars, $2.00, men's buck over-jackets, $2.25</td>
<td>The Cash Store</td>
<td>Sept. 6, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prints, ginghams, flannelties, ribbons, lace, embroidery</td>
<td>Irwin &amp; Drummond, Balcarres</td>
<td>March 13, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prints, waolans, gingshams, fancy belts, collars, boots &amp; shoes, Oxford slippers, white canvas slippers</td>
<td>The Cash Store</td>
<td>Sept. 20, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goods by the Mackenzie Ltd. of Montreal, tailored suits for $35.00</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>April 17, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anheer boots and shoes</td>
<td>Irwin &amp; Drummond, Balcarres</td>
<td>Sept. 18, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men's overalls, work shirts, pea jackets, ladies cashier hose, men's tweed suits, overcoats, felt boots and moccasins. Ladies silk vests, dress shirts, men's ties</td>
<td>The Ideal Store</td>
<td>Dec. 4, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies' coats, astrakhan coats, stoats, child's white hose and mitts, child's 'hearse' sets, ray, coller and gauntlets, men's coats, Turkish Bear, Black Dog, Wallaby coats, sheep-lined corduroy coats, sheep-lined duck coats</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>Dec. 4, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wash outing hats for men, women and children</td>
<td>The Ideal Store</td>
<td>June 11, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lingerie, lace and embroidered hose, lisle and cotton vests</td>
<td>The Ideal Store</td>
<td>Aug. 27, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies' overcoats: Vidi Gibson tie, douglas chintz, 2 strip sandal, white canvas oxfoards, patent leather and velour cuff oxfoards. Ladies long silk gloves, undersuits, soft cotton corsets, cotton bloomers, cotton hose, white cotton undershirts</td>
<td>D.B. Campbell</td>
<td>Sept. 3, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men's walking shirts, fancy dress vests, bel brigan underwear</td>
<td>D.B. Campbell</td>
<td>Sept. 3, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luster, Japanese Silk, Pallite Silk</td>
<td>D.B. Campbell</td>
<td>Sept. 3, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashmere, ray mohair, trimmed with self-covered buttons and lace. Dress goods in popular shades, green, crushed strawberry, taupe, brown and blue</td>
<td>D.B. Campbell</td>
<td>Sept. 3, 1909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX C. KITCHEN AND TABLEWARE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White cups and saucers, 75¢ doz.; white bowls, 1.00 doz</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass table sets, 50¢, and 35¢; Eclipse white plates, 7&quot; @ $1.00 doz., 6&quot; @ 75¢ doz. Damask table covers</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>Aug. 23, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elite enameled ware, looks like china, white inside, blue and brown outside, easily cleaned as porcelain, durable as steel. Elite Austria: Stamp of durability at bottom of every piece</td>
<td>Hunt and Ross</td>
<td>Sept. 21, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January Tea Set Sale, 44 pieces @ $4.95 set; pink and white</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>Jan. 18, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aluminum ware, acme of perfection in kitchen utensils, won't rust or corrode food, kettles, food won't have that burnt taste when boiled dry</td>
<td>Hunt &amp; Ross</td>
<td>Jan. 18, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One tea or sugar spoon (Nevada Silver) free with purchase of soap</td>
<td>The Ideal Store</td>
<td>April 17, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinner sets, regular $10.00, $11.00 and $13.50, for $7.00, $8.00 and $10.00</td>
<td>Brooks and Brown</td>
<td>Dec. 4, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cups and saucers, 90¢ doz.; 6&quot; plates, bread and tea plates, 85¢ doz.; 7&quot; plates medium Breakfast, 90¢ doz.; 8&quot; plates dinner size, 1.00 doz.; jugs, 15¢, 20¢, 25¢, 35¢; bowls, 12¢ and 13¢ each. Scoops, bowls for potatoes at 20¢, 25¢ and 30¢. All: Johnston Bros., Ironstone China no. 1, the very best white ware in the market</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>Sept. 3, 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table knives, silver plated, desert spoons, tea spoons</td>
<td>D.B. Campbell</td>
<td>Nov. 5, 1909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## APPENDIX D. HOUSEHOLD MAINTENANCE AND CLEANING SUPPLIES, KITCHEN AIDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sherwin William's Paint. Agent</td>
<td>Ray L. Fanson</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gee Whizz Washer</td>
<td>Fanson's Hardware</td>
<td>Jan. 18, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid Veneer, for renovating any varnished surface. Klenzo, dirt and grease remover, makes hard water soft</td>
<td>Hunt &amp; Ross</td>
<td>May 31, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gem Food Chopper, Clauss Shears, 30 sizes</td>
<td>Fanson's Hardware</td>
<td>Sept. 20, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpet Sweepers, decorated lamps, ladies companion, asbestos sad irons, universal bread mixer</td>
<td>Hunt &amp; Mcleese</td>
<td>Dec. 13, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albastine, to brighten up blackened walls. Martin-Senour Co. floor paint</td>
<td>Hunt &amp; Mcleese</td>
<td>April 17, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boss or Perfect Washers</td>
<td>Fanson's Hardware</td>
<td>Dec. 4, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stove brushes, Bokers Scissors</td>
<td>D.B. Campbell</td>
<td>Nov. 5, 1909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX E. HARDWARE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stoves and heaters</td>
<td>Hunt &amp; Ross</td>
<td>Aug. 23, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paints, Oils and glass</td>
<td>Quinton &amp; Cruikshank Balcarres</td>
<td>Sept. 21, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McClary’s Kootney Ranges, Heaters or Cook</td>
<td>Fanson’s Hardware</td>
<td>Dec. 4, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoves, Axes or Bucksaws, Glass, Stove Pipes, Stove Boards, Dampers, Coal Oil</td>
<td>Hunt &amp; Mcleese</td>
<td>Nov. 5, 1909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### APPENDIX F. FURNITURE (WALLPAPER, CARPETING AND DECORATIVE ITEMS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full stock of iron beds, mattresses, bedroom suites, sideboards, dining and kitchen tables, upholstered Morris and rocking chairs, agency for Doherty organs and pianos. Picture framing done</td>
<td>S.C. Caverley</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extension tables, sideboards, dressing case and washstand, bedroom suites</td>
<td>S.C. Caverley</td>
<td>Sept. 27, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallpapers</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>March 13, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genuine Oriental rug, 52.00</td>
<td>Courian, Babayan &amp; Co., Toronto</td>
<td>April 17, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Matting, beautiful design in green, for bedroom floors. Carpets.... tapestry squares in beautiful designs, also Wilton and Brussel carpets. Stair pads</td>
<td>Cash Store</td>
<td>April 17, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpets and linoleums</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>June 4, 1909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### APPENDIX G. HEALTH AND BEAUTY AIDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hair brushes, bath brushes, tooth brushes combs, creams, perfumes</td>
<td>Red Cross Pharmacy, W.V. Bellamy</td>
<td>Sept. 27, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodd’s Kidney Pills</td>
<td>Manufacturer’s Advertisement</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiloh’s consumption cure</td>
<td>Manufacturer’s Advertisement</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carbo Magnetic razor for the man who shaves</td>
<td>Hunt &amp; Mcleese</td>
<td>Dec. 13, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden West Soap</td>
<td>The Ideal Store</td>
<td>April 17, 1908</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX II. STATIONERY, BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Famous Laughlin Fountain Pen $1.25 to $2.75; Stationery, books, magazines</td>
<td>Abernethy Drug Store, Dr. H.G. Nyblett</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fancy calendars</td>
<td>The Drug Store, S.C. Kennedy</td>
<td>Jan. 18, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letterheads, envelopes, invitations, tickets, etc.</td>
<td>Abernethy Printing Co.</td>
<td>Jan. 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clubbing offers with the Abermethan, Regina Leader, Canada Farmer, Toronto, Toronto Globe and Western Home Monthly, $2.25; Telegram, $1.50; Toronto Mail and Empire, $1.30; Nor'West Farmer, $1.75; Calgary Farm and Ranch Review, $1.50; Family Herald, $1.75; Free Press $1.50; Farmers Advocate, $2.25; Tribune, $1.50; Grain Growers Guide, $1.50</td>
<td>Abermethan</td>
<td>Nov. 27, 1905</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX I. GIFTS AND ORNAMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Watchmaker and Jeweller</td>
<td>C.B. Thompson</td>
<td>Aug. 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China and Japanese Ware; silk table covers, silk piano drapes, silk cushion covers</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>Jan. 18, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watches, chains, brooches, cufflinks, rings, bracelets or other jewelery clocks, cut glass or silverware</td>
<td>C.B. Thompson</td>
<td>April 17, 1908</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX J. MISCELLANEOUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kodaks (cameras)</td>
<td>The Drug Store</td>
<td>Sept. 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victor-Berliner Gramaphones, from $2.40 to $12.40</td>
<td>Toronto Gramaphone Co., Toronto</td>
<td>Sept. 25, 1908</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ENDNOTES

Introduction

1 Saskatchewan. Archives Board (hereafter cited as SAB), Miss Harriet Steuck, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 7, "Pioneer Folklore," p. 2.
4 SAB, Mrs. Florence A. Kenyon Papers.
7 SAB, Mrs. W.M. Thompson and Mrs. L.M. Purdy, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 2, "General Questionnaire," p. 2.
10 Angelena Hughan Campbell, op. cit., p. 33.
12 Angelena Hughan Campbell, op. cit., p. 32.
13 SAB, G.H. Hartwell, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 9, "Pioneer Housing," p. 5.
16 SAB, Miss Lottie Meeks, Mrs. E. Stilborne, K.A. Foster, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 9, "Pioneer Housing."
17 SAB, Alfred Webster Garrat, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 2, "General Questionnaire," p. 3.
18 SAB, Miss Lottie Meeks and Mrs. E. Stilborne, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 9, "Pioneer Housing," p. 5.
19 SAB, A 93, William Hays Diary, "1883- Pioneer Experience in the Lipton District."
20 SAB, Mrs. W.M. Thompson, Mrs. E. Stilborne, G. Hartwell and Mrs. F. Kenyon, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 1, "What did Western Canadian Pioneers Eat?", p. 1.
22 SAB, M 12, W.R. Motherwell Papers, W.R. Motherwell to the manager, King's Hotel, Regina, 17 Feb. 1911, File 80.
23 Vidette, 28 March 1889.
24 SAB, A 76, F.C. Gilchrist Diary, op. cit.
26 SAB, Mrs. W.M. Thompson, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 1, "What did Western Canadian Pioneers Eat?", p. 8.
27 SAB, Mrs. W.M. Thompson, Mrs. E. Stilborne, Mrs. F. Kenyon, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 1, "What did Western Canadian Pioneers Eat?", p. 2.
28 Ibid., p. 7.
29 SAB, C.A. Hartwell, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 1, "What did Western Canadian Pioneers Eat?", p. 7.
30 Interviews with Mrs. Alma Mackenzie. This series of interviews will be referred to as Mackenzie Interviews. The four separate transcripts are designated A, B, C and D.
33 Ibid., and SAB, A 76, F.C. Gilchrist Diary, op. cit., 23 Nov. 1884.
34 SAB, Miss Lottie Meeks and K. Foster, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 8, "Pioneer Health," p. 3.
35 SAB, Mrs. Edith Stilborne, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 8, "Pioneer Health," p. 3.
36 SAB, Miss Lottie Meeks, Mrs. E. Stilborne, K. Foster, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 8, "Pioneer Health," p. 3.
37 SAB, A 76, F.C. Gilchrist Diary, op. cit., 1 June 1890.
41 Mackenzie Interviews, B8.
45 Vidette, 9 Oct. 1884.
47 Vidette, 19 March 1896, 7 April 1897.
50 SAB, A 175, Mrs. E.E. Ismond, op. cit., p. 3.
51 Vidette, 19 March 1896 and 11 June 1896.
52 Ibid., April 7, 1897.
53 SAB, Sydney Chipperfield, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 2, "General Questionnaire."
54 Angelena Hughan Campbell, op. cit., p. 71.
55 SAB, Mrs. Edith Stilborne, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 2, "General Questionnaire," and Pioneer Questionnaire No. 9, "Pioneer Housing."
57 Ibid., and SAB, A 76, F.C. Gilchrist Diary, op. cit., 19 Nov. 1889.
58 SAB, Miss Lottie Meeks, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 9, "Pioneer Housing," p. 5.
60 Ibid., 2 April 1896.
61 Ibid., 28 April 1897.
62 Ibid., 19 May 1897.
63 Ibid., 5 May 1897.
64 Ibid.
65 SAB, Mrs. Edith Stilborne, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 2, "General Questionnaire," p. 5.
66 SAB, Mrs. Edith Stilborne, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 5, "Pioneer Recreation and Social Life," p. 3.
68 SAB, Mrs. W.M. Thompson, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 2, "General Questionnaire," p. 5.
70 Abernethan, 28 Feb. 1908.

The Motherwell Home and Its Occupants

A. J. Downing, op. cit., p. 139.

Ibid., p. 261.

Ian Clarke, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

Ibid.


Mackenzie Interviews, B15.

Ibid., All.

Ibid., A9.

Ibid.

Ibid., B16.

Major McFadyen Interview with Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Ibid.


Ibid., p. 84.


Ibid., p. 20.

Ibid.

Report of the First Annual Convention of the Homemakers' Clubs of Saskatchewan, Regina, Sask., 31 Jan., 1, 2 and 3 Feb. 1911 (Saskatoon, 1911).

Ibid., p. 56.

Mackenzie Interviews B7, and interview with Dan and Olive Gallant, Ted Callow and Major McFadyen, by Ian Clarke, September 1976.

The Spatial Organization of the Motherwell Home

Nor'West Farmer, 5 May 1900.

Kenneth L. Ames, op. cit., p. 28.

Ibid.


Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Rich Penny by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Ben Noble by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interviews with Mr. and Mrs. Penny, Mr. and Mrs. Noble, Mr. and Mrs. Dick Large, Mr. Jack Bittner by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Ibid.

Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Ben Noble by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver.


14 Ibid., p. 267.

15 Jean-Claude LeBeuf and Lorne Campbell, Motherwell Homestead Feasibility Study (Winnipeg: Parks Canada, Prairie Region, 1978), p. 82.

16 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. D. Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.


19 D.W. Kirk, The Motherwell Story (Saskatchewan: Canada Department of Agriculture, 1956).

The Parlour


2 Ibid., p. 18.


6 Ibid., p. 218.

7 Ibid., p. 223.

8 Ibid., p. 220.

9 Ibid., p. 232.


12 Ibid., p. 197.

13 Ibid., p. 227.


16 Georgina Binnie-Clark, op. cit., p. 97.

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19 Mackenzie Interviews, B1.
22 Ibid., B1.
23 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. D. Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
24 Interviews with Mrs. Beth Morris, Mrs. Hazel Foster, and Mrs. Marie Bittner by Sarah Carter, September 1978, and interview with Mrs. Laura Jensen, Mrs. Laura Murray and Mrs. Pat Motherwell, July 1978.
25 Interview with Mrs. Laura Jensen by Lyle Dick, December 1977.
26 Interviews with Mr. and Mrs. D. Gallant and with Mrs. Marie Bittner, September 1978.
27 Interviews with Mrs. Laura Jensen, July 1978 and Mrs. Marie Bittner, September 1978.
29 Ibid.
30 Mackenzie Interviews, B7.
31 Interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
32 SAB, M 12, File 83, W.R. Motherwell Papers, invoice from Wright Brothers, Regina to W.R. Motherwell, March 1, 1907.
33 Hudson’s Bay Company, op. cit., p. 154.
35 Interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Mackenzie Interviews, A5.
39 Ibid., A3, A4.
40 Ibid., B2.

The Lobby
1 Jean-Claude Le Beuf and Lorne Campbell, op. cit., p. 83.
5 Mackenzie Interviews, C4.
6 Ibid., A10.
7 Ibid., and interview with Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
8 Mackenzie Interviews, A9.
9 Ibid., C3.
10 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
11 Ibid.
12 Interview with Mrs. Laura Jensen by Lyle Dick, December 1977.
14 Jean-Claude LeBeuf and Lorne Campbell, op. cit., p. 83.
16 Mackenzie Interviews, B1.
17 George Talbot, op. cit., p. 11.
18 Ibid.
19 Mackenzie Interviews, A4.
20 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
22 Interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
23 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. D. Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
24 Interview with Mrs. B. Morris by Sarah Carter and discussion with Mrs. Hazel Foster by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
25 Interview with Mrs. Laura Jensen by Lyle Dick, December 1977.
26 Interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
27 Mackenzie Interviews, A9.
28 Interview with Mrs. Laura Jensen by Lyle Dick, December 1977.
29 Mackenzie Interviews, B8.
30 Interview with Mrs. Laura Jensen by Lyle Dick, December 1977.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid., and interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
34 Interviews with Mrs. Beth Morris and Mrs. Marie Bittner by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

The Office
1 Jean-Claude LeBeuf and Lorne Campbell, op. cit., pp. 83-84.
2 Mark Girouard, op. cit., p. 280.
5 Interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Ian Clarke.
7 Mackenzie Interviews, C4.
8 Interview with Mrs. Laura Jensen by Lyle Dick, December 1977.
9 Interview with Mrs. Beth Morris by Lyle Dick, March 1978.
10 SAB, M 12, File 83, W.R. Motherwell Papers, p. 12,140.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid., File 80, p. 11740.

The Kitchens
2 Ibid., p. 81.
3 Ruth Schwartz Cowan, op. cit., p. 4.
6 Mackenzie Interviews, B15.
7 Ibid., A12.
8 Interview with Mrs. B. Morris by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
9 Interview with Mrs. B. Morris by Lyle Dick, March 1978.
10 Interview with Mrs. M. Bittner by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
11 Lyle Dick, op. cit., p. 28.
12 Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978 and interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver, May 1977.
13 Jean-Claude LeBeuf and Lorne Campbell, op. cit., p. 86.
16 Mackenzie Interviews, A12.
17 Interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay, by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
18 Ibid.
19 Interviews with Mrs. B. Morris and Mrs. M. Bittner by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
20 Mackenzie Interviews, A11, and interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
21 Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
22 Mackenzie Interviews, A3, A4.
23 Ibid., A14.
24 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
25 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver, May 1977, and Mackenzie Interviews, A14.
26 Mackenzie Interviews, A14.
27 Interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
28 Interview with Mrs. B. Morris by Lyle Dick, March 1978.
29 Ibid.
30 Interview with Mrs. L. Jensen by Lyle Dick, December 1977.
31 Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
32 Interviews with Mrs. B. Morris and Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978, and Mackenzie Interviews, A14.
34 Interviews with Mrs. M.E. Linsday and Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978, and with Mrs. Laura Jensen by Lyle Dick, December 1977.
35 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978, and interviews with Mrs. Laura Jensen, Mrs. Laura Murray and Mrs. P. Motherwell by Sarah Carter and Lyle Dick, July 1978.
37 Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
38 Interview with Mrs. B. Morris by Lyle Dick, March 1978.
39 Interview with Mrs. M.E. Linsday by Lyle Dick, November 1977.
40 Mackenzie Interviews, A12.
43 Interview with Mrs. Large by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
44 Ruth Schwartz Cowan, op. cit., p. 5.
45 Mackenzie Interviews, B10.
46 *Vidette*, 25 June 1896.
48 Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
49 Ibid., and interview with Mrs. D. Large by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
50 Interview with Mrs. Beth Morris by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
51 Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
52 Interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Lyle Dick, November 1977.
53 Interviews with Mrs. D. Large, and Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
54 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. W. Brock by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
55 Interviews with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay and Mrs. M. Bittner by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
56 Interview with Mrs. B. Morris by Lyle Dick, March 1978.
59 Interviews with Mr. Jack Bittner and Mr. Dick Large by Sarah Carter, September 1978, and Minutes of Beef Ring meetings in the possession of Mr. Dick Large.

The Upper Floor
2 Ibid., p. 346.
3 Ibid., p. 347.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., p. 340.
6 William Naftel, op. cit., p. 25.
7 Mackenzie Interviews, B4, B5.
8 William Naftel, op. cit., p. 25.
9 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
10 Mackenzie Interviews, A15.
11 Interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
12 Mackenzie Interviews, A15.
13 Ibid., B4, B5.
14 Ibid., A16.
15 Ibid., B4, B5.
16 Ibid.
17 Interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
18 Ibid.
The Basement

1. Interview with Mrs. M.E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Conclusion

2. Fernand Braudel, op cit., p. 442.
In the mid-1950s, the Saskatchewan Archives Board drew up a series of questionnaires that were distributed to pioneers of the province that arrived before 1914. There were ten questionnaires on the topics of diet, recreation and social life, farming experiences, folklore, health, housing, local government, churches, schools and a general questionnaire. Questionnaires filled out by the following, all early residents of the Abernethy and surrounding districts, were sources for this study:

- J.H. Behrns
- Sydney Chipperfield
- Kenneth Foster
- Alfred Webster Garratt
- George Arthur Hartwell
- W.H. Ismond
- Florence Kenyon
- Harry Kinash
- John Abraham Ludlow
- Esther Elizabeth Martin

- James Martin
- Lottie Meeks
- Mrs. L.M. Purdy
- Jas. Arthur Smith
- Harriet Steuck
- Edith Stilborne
- Mrs. Harry Teece
- Mrs. W.M. Thompson
- Albert Thomas Watson
- Elizabeth A. Webster
INTERVIEWS

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Brock by Sarah Carter, Abernethy, September 1978.
Hazel Foster, unrecorded conversation by Sarah Carter, Abernethy, September 1978.
Dan and Olive Gallant
  Interview with Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver, Regina, May 1977.
  Interview with Sarah Carter, Regina, September 1978.
Dan and Olive Gallant and Major McFadyen by Ian Clarke, Lanark Place, September 1976.
Laura Jensen by Lyle Dick, Sun City, Arizona, December 1977.
Laura Jensen, Laura Murray and Pat Motherwell by Lyle Dick and Sarah Carter, Calgary, July 1978.
Mr. and Mrs. Dick Large by Sarah Carter, Balcarres, Saskatchewan, September 1978.
Margretta Evans Lindsay
  Interview with Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver, Regina, May 1977.
  Interview with Lyle Dick, Regina, November 1977.
  Interview with Sarah Carter, Regina, September 1978.
Alma Mackenzie
  Correspondence with H. Tatro, Calgary, 6 and 17 March 1968.
  Taylor Interview, P.E.I., 17 April 1968.
  Response to questions from W. Naftel, 8 Nov. 1968.
Major McFadyen
  Interview with Ian Clarke, Regina, June 1976.
  Interview with Sarah Carter, September 1978.
Beth Morris
  Interview with Lyle Dick, Indian Head, March 1978.
  Interview with Sarah Carter, Indian Head, September 1978.
Annie Morrison by Lyle Dick and Sarah Carter, Abernethy, July 1978.
Mr. and Mrs. Ben Noble by Sarah Carter, Abernethy, September 1978.
Mr. and Mrs. Rich Penney by Sarah Carter, Abernethy, September 1978.
Miss Nellie Reid by Lyle Dick, Balcarres, Saskatchewan, January 1978.
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