A MATERIALS HISTORY OF THE MOTHERWELL HOME
by Sarah Carter
1979

by Lyle Dick
1979
A Materials History of The Motherwell Home
by Sarah Carter
1979

The Social and Economic History of The Abernethy District, Saskatchewan, 1880-1920: Bibliography, Historiography and Methodology
by Lyle Dick
August 1979
The Manuscript Report Series is printed in a limited number of copies and is intended for internal use by Environment Canada. Copies of each issue are distributed to various public repositories in Canada for use by interested individuals.

Many of these reports will be published in Canadian Historic Sites or History and Archaeology and may be altered during the publishing process by editing or by further research.
A Materials History of The Motherwell Home
by Sarah Carter
1979
Materials History of The Motherwell Home
by Sarah Carter
1979

Table of Contents

vi Preface
1 Part I Introduction
20 Part II The Motherwell Home and its Occupants
30 Part III The Spatial Organization of the Motherwell Home
37 Part IV The Parlour
51 Part V The Lobby
59 Part VI The Office
62 Part VII The Kitchens
75 Part VIII The Upper Floor
81 Part IX The Basement
83 Part X Conclusion
88 Appendix A: Foodstuffs
92 Appendix B: Textiles, Clothing, and Footwear
97 Appendix C: Kitchen and Tableware
99 Appendix D: Household Maintenance and Cleaning Supplies, Kitchen Aids
100 Appendix E: Hardware
101 Appendix F: Furniture
102 Appendix G: Health and Beauty Aids
103 Appendix H: Stationery, Books and Magazines
104 Appendix I: Gifts and Ornaments
105 Appendix J: Miscellaneous
106 Endnotes
124 Bibliography
125 Photographs
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 should be read in conjunction with two earlier studies: Ian Clarke's "Motherwell Historic Park, Landscape and Outbuildings, Structural and Use History," Manuscript Report Number 219, 1977 and Lyle Dick's "Motherwell's Stone House: A Structural History," Manuscript Report Number 267, 1978.

For their help in the research and writing of this report, I would like to thank the staff at the Archives of Saskatchewan, the many kind and patient friends and relatives of the Motherwells for their interviews, Lyle Dick, Dr. F. Pannekoek and Walter Hildebrandt.
Part I

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 had initially to decide which items and supplies should be among his settlers' effects; decisions had to be made as to how much room could be found for the physical setting of culture like 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 C.P.R. 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 the age of twenty-two, W.R. Motherwell chose to homestead north of the Qu'Appelle river in the district first known as the 'Pheasant Plains', named for a mound 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 copses 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. Of Motherwell's trip to the West by rail and then overland there are no records, 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 sixteen 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, fourteen 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 of 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.5

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. Memories of the travellers range from gruff customs officers at the border points who would carelessly toss precious possessions about the customs sheds, even dumping them out on the floor, to having to stand one full day on the C.P.R.6

Combined with the unpleasant are memories of kind train men who would pick bunches of prairie flowers for children or aid passengers in getting close to 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 followed in close proximity to the route of the C.P.R., a major concern must have been what were the proper things to pack. In the 1880's, 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 C.P.R. established along its main line. For the homesteaders who arrived before this information was published in immigrant guide books it must have been something of 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 on 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 period of 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, 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 for flooring and partitioning from Indian Head. W. R. Motherwell built his first dwelling from logs from Pheasant Creek; it measured 18' by 24'. It 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 stair case 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.\textsuperscript{16} 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 nearby tent.\textsuperscript{17} 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.\textsuperscript{18} 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, seeding a crop, 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.\textsuperscript{19} Hays' homesteading experiences are perhaps not entirely representative as he seemed to have little knowledge of farming and his life in England. As described in the early months of the diary, his lifestyle 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 three o'clock in the morning, 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 trying to the temper
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 as he found that 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 Hays finally had the opportunity to unpack 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. A danger was that the whole thing could take fire and 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 very common article of food; W.R. Motherwell frequently ate rabbit in the early years and found "...they made a very nice table diet for a change." 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. From mid-October to mid-November, 1887, one resident of the Fort Qu'Appelle district shot close to two hundred ducks. 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 and these could be preserved by salting or smoking.

The kitchen garden was an important source of food the 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 very 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.

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 dried. 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.

Daily fare on the early homesteads was plain, but rarely was a family reduced to starvation level. Fresh dairy products were almost always available; butter, cheese and buttermilk were made in most homes. Eggs could be packed in boxes of salt, in oats or in newspaper. Supplies would run short however and
a main meal could consist of porridge, rice or bread pudding. 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.

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. 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 knitting in socks, stockings and mittens, both ribbed and plain. Because of the cold winters, knitting was a mandatory skill for all women; while many 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' responsibilities. 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 that had been 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 drawing 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.37

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 Recompense. 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 "My 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 a spell at 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 Nor'West Farmer and Farmer's 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.

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 twenty 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 only crossing 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. 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. 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. At Indian Head there were merchants that had established business in 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.

In the prairie stores of the 1880's, 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. 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 prairie. 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 Kirbella 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 (Figure 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 twenty 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 fifty dollars. 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 sucking the financial life-blood of the community."

By the mid-1890's, the Abernethy district was showing many signs of progress and prosperity. 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 fifteen years. In the spring of 1897, the Vidette reported that "New houses are all the rage 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 1890's. Messrs. Fraser and Cameron, architects and builders established business at Indian Head in 1897. The Vidette reported that the steam whistle at their shop 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 specialty 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. Prior to 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 of 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.64

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'.65 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 we depended on each other in our homes for our social life".66 Another early resident, remembering the surprise parties that were held in homes where people would gather from a radius of fifteen 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 1904.67

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 twenty 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.°

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.° 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 local merchants only rather than buying through mail order or at larger centres for it was "...the duty of every true citizen of the town and district to stand by and
aid to the utmost of their ability the home merchants, who help pay taxes as well as aid every cause calculated to benefit 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 and Brown (Figures 2 and 3) and F.W. Anderson's Ideal Store; a furniture store owned by S. Caverley; two hardware stores: Fanson's, and Hunt and Ross; two drug stores, 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 (Figures 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 1880's. 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 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 hard-
ware stores, numerous goods were offered that were 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 1890's, 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 1890's, 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 that was 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.
Part II
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.\(^1\)

W.R. Motherwell often stated that he wanted to build a home of which his children would not be ashamed.\(^2\) 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 field stone was set in an enchanting, picturesque environment, carefully nurtured over a great number of years.\(^3\) (Figure 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 a vast expanse of lawn that was a tennis court, known to the Motherwell's as their 'outdoor living room'.\(^3\) 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.\(^4\) 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 passers by. The rear, utility sections of these homes generally remained 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 twenty-five 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. 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 North-Eastern United States and Ontario in the 1860's. 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 mentality', 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. 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." 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 prairies 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 much more than 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. 

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 Katherine Motherwell. Unfortunately, very little is known about the first Mrs. Motherwell, Adeline Rogers, who arrived in the West as a young bride in 1885. 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 fifteen 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...". 

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 their trying to avoid assigned tasks. Alma learned to "take defeat like a man" by being forbidden from playing crokinole for a month, a penalty for the disappointment she expressed after losing a particularly close game. 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. A deep compassion for the weak and
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 was 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 The same person 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 "If you're not good enough to eat with me, you're not good enough to work for me".22 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.23 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."24 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 very 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.25

Motherwell was convinced the 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.26

W.R. Motherwell married Katherine 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.27 Katherine 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 Katherine Gillespie's appointment to the position of Principal of the File Hills residential school in 1897, situated north-east 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 of the age of sixteen were encouraged to break the land on eighty-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 Katherine 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.31

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 Katherine 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 Katherine 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".
Part III
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 vulgar 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' (Figure 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 which is 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.\textsuperscript{1} 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.\textsuperscript{2} 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.\textsuperscript{3}

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 Farmer's 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.\textsuperscript{4} 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 which was called the 'parlour' but for some farm families such as the Steuks who lived three miles east of Abernethy, the parlour was
used daily by the family.\textsuperscript{5} 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.\textsuperscript{6} 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.\textsuperscript{7} A substantial bedroom was included on the ground floor of many of the homes of the district.\textsuperscript{8} 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, prior to 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'.\textsuperscript{9}

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 would say to his hired help "if you're not good enough to eat with me you're not good enough to work for me." 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."¹⁰

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.¹¹ One visitor to the area of Lipton, just north of Fort Qu'Appelle in 1905 noted that:

> 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.¹²

Moreover, an English woman who worked as a 'home help' in a number of rural homes in the Canadian West during the early 1900's found justification for the warning she had received before leaving England that Canadians resented "frills" and airs of superiority."¹³ 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."¹⁴
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 removed completely, so that upon entering the home, the visitor was immediately confronted with a large, generously wainscotted family living space with a welcoming hearth, suggesting the warm-hearted hospitality suitable to a farm home. Wainscott panelling in the entranceway was also likely installed at this time, possibly taken from the original, removed wall.\textsuperscript{15} The front staircase was altered at this time to curve into the south-east 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.\textsuperscript{16}

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 area, 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 1860's and 70's. It is clear that 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 twentieth 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 1930's, 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 fifty-seventh 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 and sincerity of the pioneer days."\textsuperscript{19}
Part IV
The Parlour

A. 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-nineteenth century the parlours of most Ontarian homes, both rural and urban, had become rooms whose doors remained closed save 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 as to 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 twentieth 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 hodge-podge 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 nineteenth century and early twentieth 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 1890's and early 1900's give some indications as to 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 1901-02 displayed eight different models of parlour suites to chose from, most of a mahogany or walnut finish with elaborate carving on the backs of the pieces, save for two models that were 'stuffed over', resembling the more comfortable-looking chesterfield suites of later years.5 '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.6 Parlour cabinets with shelves and cupboard could display the family's finest china or objects of art.7 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 mantelpiece could be hidden by drapery cut for the purpose called lambrequins. The Eaton's catalogue of 1901-02 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 very fashionable.  

The wallpaper departments of the catalogues carefully describe which 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, then 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 furnishing for parlours 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 very 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 of 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-blasting 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 observers of the interior of a stone farm home on the Saskatchewan prairie in 1905, the residents 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 in 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 (Figures 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 this room and the photographs of interiors of homes in Edmonton, taken shortly after the turn of the century (see figures 11 to 18). These may reflect variations in wealth, background and individual taste. One of the 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 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.
The Motherwell home housed a formal parlour until sometime in the late 1920's when the two rooms at the north-east of the home were converted into a bedroom and sitting room for Mr. and Mrs. Motherwell. Up until that time, the area described in the Nor'West Farmer plans as the 'front parlour', remained 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 period of 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. Architectural investigation has revealed that originally, the two rooms were divided by a round arch that at some point in time 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 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 as to 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 has been 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 the outside world and present an air of propriety and dignity must have been heightened during fifteen 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 south-east corner of the room, is based on her memories (Figure 17). There is also one photograph of Mrs. Motherwell sitting in the back parlour, taken from the north-east corner (Figure 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 'oatmeal paper' that was beige in colour. 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 a 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. In Alma Mackenzie's memory, the drapes were a 'brown plush'; her description may correspond to the 'gold' colour mentioned in other reminiscences. Olive Gallant, whose knowledge of the home dates to 1919 has a clear memory of heavy, beautiful drapes that were like a plush with gold and amber tones or fall colours. Wine coloured drapery seems to stand out the strongest in the minds of those who frequented the home beginning in the late 1920's. The Motherwell's grandchild remembered beige and rose coloured velour drapes; perhaps a faded version of what had once been gold and wine colours. There were blinds on these windows but apparently no lace undercurtains. 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, 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 possess a discernible motif.

The floors of the parlour were covered by two large, matching rugs. Those familiar with the home in the late 1920's
and 1930's 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 the photograph, figure 18, which appears to be dark-coloured with a repeating geometric motif laid out in rows. This rug would seem to be more appropriate to the envisaged period of restoration, i.e. 1910-1914.

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 arm chairs. Catherine Motherwell is sitting in one of these chairs in the photograph. 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. The chairs 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 prior to 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 Katherine Motherwell who presumably would have collected some pieces of furniture by the time of her marriage. It was then, perhaps, on her decision that the oak set became the lobby furniture and the leather chairs became permanent fixtures in the front area of the parlour.

A piano was also a permanent feature of the Motherwell's parlour, and, as it appears in Figure 20, it was placed against the south wall, to the right of the main entrance to the front parlour. It is a Mason and Risch piano, dated 1906. Prior to this date the Doherty organ to which Alma Mackenzie referred to may have sat in the parlour.30 The drawing taken from Alma's memory, (Fig. 17), confirms that this was a permanent position of the piano as 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 a drawing based on Alma Motherwell's reminiscences, 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 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 the drawing from Alma's memory, (Fig. 19), 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 that is 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, (see Fig. 21), as was a metal buffalo known to the family as 'Old MacDonald'. There are clearly a number of objects sitting on top of the piano in Figure 20.

In the 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 for all consistently group the piano, chairs and table in the front area. The only person who could recall anything at all in the back area remembered Aunt Janet's piano, a dark, square wood music cabinet and a wooden bookcase with glass doors that lifted up. The photograph which looks on into the back area shows a four-panelled screen with an oriental-looking design, standing in front of the door. A lace tablecloth is covering a table on which is standing what appears to be 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 some object of furnishing that is impossible to make out clearly, but it is roughly the shape of a sideboard with perhaps a rounded mirror at the centre.

For a period of time, the back parlour must have served as a dining room. Alma Mackenzie's account seems to suggest that it was used for formal, special occasions only, as she referred to the winter kitchen as the general, family dining
In the drawing from Alma's memory, (Fig. 19), 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 in the drawing correspond with the oak extension table that survives as part of the curatorial collection today. Mrs. Mackenzie remembered the two rooms being 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.
Part V

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 has revealed evidence that tends to support 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 Fig. 7 would have been somewhat awkward for formal entertaining as it required guests covering in the parlour to move into the front passageway and through another door to the dining area. In pattern books of the late nineteenth 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 in this year 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 in the room. Most of the participants at these meetings were farmers. 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 word 'cozy' is often used by those once familiar with the Motherwell home to describe the atmosphere of the lobby. The dark, panelled wainscotting and the fireplace seem to have
helped create this atmosphere. During the daylight hours it was a bright room as a window faces east and double windows face the south; Alma remembered basking in the sun in the deep window seats. In the photograph of Katherine Motherwell in the lobby (Fig. 19), the sun is captured 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; 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 is 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 wall-paper certainly lends further credence to speculation that Motherwell longed for the wooded environment of his youth. In both the drawing conceived from Alma's memory (Fig. 20) and the photograph of the lobby, 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 the 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. A description of the original lighting fixture in the centre of the room was of 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.\cite{14} Drafty, inefficient fireplaces were by no means a necessity in an age already long familiar with heating stoves and central heating.\cite{15} 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.\cite{16} The decision to include a fireplace in the home must have been based on reasons other than strict utility. Toward the end of the nineteenth 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 nineteenth 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.\cite{17} 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.\cite{18}

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
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 south-east corner of the room remains as part of the Motherwell collection today. It had 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 window-sills; 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 being 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 being comprised of brass tongs, poker, brush, shovel and foot-rest, 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 south-east corner and the little writing desk is directly beneath the east window.\textsuperscript{21}

Descriptions of the lobby by those familiar with the home in years later than Alma's presence correspond to hers in most major respects. The principal furnishings were a leather upholstered couch and chairs; as mentioned earlier, very possibly this was the set that 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.\textsuperscript{22} 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.\textsuperscript{23} Mrs. Lindsay remembered that these two chairs were also made of oak and had reed-caned backs and that they 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.\textsuperscript{24} 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 brought 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 clearly 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 which included 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 1930's 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 prior to 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 presence of two doorways along the east and north walls seems superfluous in a room of its size. There are some discrepancies with the appearance of the room today and the plans published in the Nor'West 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.¹

As early as the 1900 plans (Figure 7), this room is identified as an office. It is curious, however, that a room designed to be an office, where, above all, privacy and quiet is desirable, should be equipped with two doors. It is tempting to speculate that 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.² Even well into the twentieth 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, which sat 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 cradlestick 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.
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.2

It was still to be a good number of 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.3

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 home 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.4

Electricity and running water, amenities basic to most kitchen conveniences, were not installed in many homes in the Canadian West until after mid-century. The sink and pump in the Motherwell home was not supplemented by a modern plumbing system until the 1950's and the wood-burning stoves were still in use in the 1940's. 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 twentieth century.5 In the Motherwell home, the bulk of domestic work was still being done by hand in the 1930's 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.6 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 neighboring 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 of the household. As Mrs. Mackenzie remembered, "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 homes 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 (Figure 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 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 twelve dining room chairs from Wright Bros., Furniture Dealers and Undertakers in Regina, which, including freight, cost $52.95. Motherwell ordered a set of the same chairs for the use of the choir in the church at Abernethy. In the photograph of the interior of the church (Figure 22) eight chairs with elaborately carved backs and leather upholstery to cushion the shoulders are visible.

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 1930's, but by that time the top of the cabinet had been removed. In the drawing from Mrs. Mackenzie's memory, Figure 21, a sewing machine sits under the south window. This is likely the Raymond sewing machine of her mother's that she mentioned in her reminiscences. 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 'Katherine's' and the other as 'Barb's.' Katherine's sideboard sat along the south wall between the window and the door to the verandah. Memories of this piece of furniture match 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. A large fruit bowl,
candlesticks and vases may also have sat on the counter or shelves. 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. 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. From a wall in the northeast corner of the room, a picture of Sir Wilfrid Laurier stared down at the diners.

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. The curtains on the north windows were a plain cream or peach scrim. A concern that this room be fire-proof is evident in Alma Mackenzies' reminiscences, probably inherited from her father who was known to have a fear of fire that bordered on phobia. Among the careful precautions Motherwell took was a little hatch door that would allow passage of air if the room became overheated. 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. 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 months of the year, the cream separator remained in this room and sat toward the northwest corner. 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 1930's, it was placed in the main kitchen and the less-fancy, older stove became a permanent feature in the back kitchen. In the northwest corner of the back kitchen was an ice box, possibly the large upright model that is in the Motherwell collection. The pantry
in the northeast corner was used the 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 mailed instructions were received by Mrs. Motherwell or the current farm manager, and written on the board.  

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 that is visible in the drawing from Mrs. Mackenzie's memory. 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 1930's, 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. 37 Even though the household duties were shared, the hired girl still worked a long hard day, rising at least by six o'clock to prepare breakfast and not retiring for the day until after seven o'clock 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. 38 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 three and five o'clock, the hired girl rose to pound down the mixture. 39

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 was described as having "...a frame work on top and one pushed back and forth from about a foot away from the machine thus revolving the circular ribbed sort of churn which actually did the washing." 40 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 1930's. 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 soused 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.41

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.42

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.43

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 1930's even though electric irons were widely in use in North America by this time.\(^{44}\)

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 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 was 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 remem­
bered, 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
and 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 identifi­
cation 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.54 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.55 Unexpected guests would frequently
drop by 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 1940's; the equipment and the slaughter house were sold and the proceeds donated to the hospital in Abernethy. 59
Considerations of hygiene and sanitation were important in choosing the furnishing 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 air of bedrooms, but are absorbed by mattresses, carpets, hangings, plaster, and upholstered furniture.¹

It was also thought that during sleep, the body exhaled poisonous fumes that made the air breathed at night very impure.² 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.³ 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 in order 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 Mackenzie corresponds with 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 real 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 intended to use these rooms. Quite 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 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.\textsuperscript{21}

In the northeast or northwest corner was the toilet which consisted of a chamber pot, hidden by a panelled screen of a silk-like material.\textsuperscript{22} A washstand 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.\textsuperscript{23}

**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 sixteen 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 prior to 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.\textsuperscript{24} 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.\textsuperscript{25}

**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. 26

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 Nor'West 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. 27 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. 28 A bed was along the south wall; in 1914, one bed accommodated both hired men. 29 On the west wall was the washstand although the men did much of their washing up at the sink and pump in the kitchen. 30
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.'\(^1\) 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.\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) In the northeast room, a low counter of rough construction is along the south wall and there are shelves on the east wall. It is probable this room was 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 prior to 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. Moving 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.
Part X

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 forty 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 that were absolutely necessary be brought to the prairie. Treasured heirlooms of delicate furniture or fine china would likely not have survived such a journey 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 that 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 1880's, 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 1890's, 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 the outside world, 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 a room that 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. That the Motherwells should have employed one and sometimes two 'hired girls' is not surprising in the light of this. 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 bedroom.

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. This new direction in historical inquiry 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 inquiry, particularly as the documentary sources for masses of people who were not in the foreground of history. However such information is 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 very 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."² 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,"³ 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 &quot;The Well Stocked Store.&quot;</td>
<td>August 16, 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomatoes, 1 gallon can @ 50¢; Bie peaches 50¢; Bie plums, 50¢; Sour mixed pickles, 1 gallon, 85¢, 2 gallons $1.50, 3 gallons $2.25; combard or green gage plums, 7 cans, $1.00.</td>
<td>F. W. Anderson's &quot;Ideal Store&quot;.</td>
<td>August 16, 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Tartan' brand canned goods</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>August 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, plums and apricots; cream soda, lime juice champagne.</td>
<td>A. D. Mills: Abernethy Bakery.</td>
<td>August 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. Bukher Flour and Feed.</td>
<td>August 16, 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salada Ceylon Tea</td>
<td>Manufacturer's Advertisement</td>
<td>August 16, 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libby's Soup</td>
<td>Manufacturer's Advertisement</td>
<td>August 16, 1905.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This appendix and others following it comprise lists of different categories of material culture items that were advertised in the Abernethy Abernethan, 1905-09.
Appendix A. Foodstuffs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blue Ribbon Tea</td>
<td>Manufacturer's Advertisement</td>
<td>August 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>August 23, 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premier Jam, 50¢</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>August 30, 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit and oysters in season.</td>
<td>James &amp; Wallace</td>
<td>October 4, 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCormick's high class biscuits, soft drinks, cigars, tobaccos.</td>
<td>James &amp; Wallace</td>
<td>August 16, 1906.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front quarter, 7¢ per lb; Hind, 9¢ per lb; spring lamb, 15¢ per lb; smoked ham, Gordon and Ironsides, 20¢ per lb; Home cured ham, 18¢ per lb; bacon.</td>
<td>Abernethy Meat Market (W. J. Pinnegar, prop.)</td>
<td>January 18, 1907.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beet iron and wine, 75¢</td>
<td>The Drug Store</td>
<td>January 18, 1907.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix A. Foodstuffs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Milk, 15 quarts, $1.00 cash or 12 quarts, $1.00 if charged.</td>
<td>Olive Dairy.</td>
<td>February 14, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threshers Specials! 3-1 lb. pckgs Red Rose Tea, $1.00; 3-1 lb pckgs. Gold Standard Tea, $1.00; 50 lb. boxes evaporated apples, $5.25; 25 lb. boxes large California prunes, $2.50; 1 gallon parts. Chow Chow Pickles, 75¢; 1 lb. tins best Baking Powder, 15¢; 5 lb. tins, 75¢.</td>
<td>The Cash Store</td>
<td>September 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>September 18, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shredded Wheat</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>October 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 lime juice, 30¢ bottle.</td>
<td>&quot;The Ideal Store&quot;</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>August 6, 1909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix A. Foodstuffs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100 cases preserving plums.</td>
<td>Abernethy Bakery</td>
<td>August 27, 1909.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomatoes, corn, peas and beans, 10¢ tin;</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>November 5, 1909.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raisins and currants, 3 lbs, 25¢; tomato catsup 3 tins, 25¢;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prunes, 10¢ lb.; evaporated peaches, 10¢ lb.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix B. Textiles, Clothing and Footwear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ladies' summer blouses</td>
<td>F. G. Casey, Balcarres</td>
<td>August 16, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipment of fall dry goods, dress goods and blouse flannels.</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>August 23, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fancy muslin @ 10¢ per yard; checked oxford shirting @ 7½¢ per yard.</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>August 23, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gingham @ 10¢ yard; ladies cloth skirts, $3.50.</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>August 30, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies' cloth coats, black, navy, light and dark greys, plains and checks.</td>
<td>&quot;The Ideal Store&quot;</td>
<td>September 27, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies' collars, full fall millinery, sheep-lined coats, pinto-shell, horse hide and buck gloves; silk waists.</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>September 27, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underwear, gloves, mits, caps, sox, sheep-lined coats, 'King-of-the-road' overalls and smocks.</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>September 27, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvest Boots, gloves and mitts, large range of men's clothing.</td>
<td>Balcarres Cash Store</td>
<td>September 27, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss A. J. Tansley, dressmaking at reasonable costs.</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>October 4, 1905</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B. Textiles, Clothing and Footwear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men's and boys pea jackets, fine range of celebrated J. K. King's &quot;Gold Medal&quot; Boots for Ladies and Gents.</td>
<td>&quot;The Ideal Store&quot;</td>
<td>September 21, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up-to-date stock of men's furnishings, clothing, boots and shoes.</td>
<td>J. D. Riggs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentleman's chocolate bluchers, $3.50 and oxfords, $3.75; men's chrome grain boots, $2.35; ladies boots in chocolate and box calf; ladies chocolate and tan oxfords. Fine vest oxfords.</td>
<td>&quot;The Ideal Store&quot;</td>
<td>March 29, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Miller, experienced milliner, full stock of latest styles, hats, flowers, trimmings, etc.</td>
<td>S. E. Riggs</td>
<td>March 22, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyclone waterproof coats; full line of cravenettes.</td>
<td>S. E. Riggs</td>
<td>April 17, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brooks and Brown</td>
<td>May 31, 1907</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B. Textiles, Clothing and Footwear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men's suits, double-breasted blue serge, Canadian tweed. Old reliable Halifax tweed pants, $2.75.</td>
<td>Sullivan's</td>
<td>September 20, 1907.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canvas gloves, James McCready harvest boots and shoes.</td>
<td>The Cash Store D. B. Campbell</td>
<td>September 20, 1907.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men's clothing, &quot;The House of Hobberlin&quot; line.</td>
<td>Wm. McIntyre, Balcarres</td>
<td>September 28, 1907.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies, men's and children's fur and fur-lined coats, fur storm collars, fur caps. Men's unlined Pinto-shell cordovan mitts, 75¢, men's corduroy over-jackets, $3.00, men's duck over-jackets, $2.75.</td>
<td>The Cash Store</td>
<td>November 8, 1907.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prints, gingham, flannel, ribbons, lace, embroidery.</td>
<td>Irwin &amp; Drummond Balcarres.</td>
<td>March 13, 1908.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prints, muslins, gingham, fancy belts, collars, boots &amp; shoes, oxford slippers, white canvas slippers.</td>
<td>The Cash Store</td>
<td>March 20, 1908.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B. Textiles, Clothing and Footwear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goods by the 'Male-Attire' Ltd. of Montreal, tailored suits for $12.00</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>April 17, 1908.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst boots and shoes</td>
<td>Irwin &amp; Drummond Balcarres</td>
<td>September 18, 1908.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men's overalls, work shirts, pea jackets, ladies cashmere hose, men's tweed suits, overcoats, felt boots and mocassins. Ladies silk waists, dress skirts.</td>
<td>&quot;The Ideal Store&quot;</td>
<td>December 4, 1908.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B. Textiles, Clothing and Footwear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dress goods in popular shades, green, crushed strawberry, taupe, brown and blue.</td>
<td></td>
<td></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>August 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>August 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. <em>ELITE</em> Stamp of durability at <em>Australia</em> bottom on every piece.</td>
<td>Hunt and Ross</td>
<td>September 21, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January Tea Set Sale, 44 pieces @ $4.95 set; pink and white</td>
<td>S. Chipperfield</td>
<td>January 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>January 18, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One tea or sugar spoon (Nevada Silver) free with purchase of soap.</td>
<td>&quot;The Ideal Store&quot;</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>December 4, 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cups and saucers, 90¢ doz.; 6&quot; plates, bread and tea plates, 85¢ doz.; 7&quot; plates</td>
<td></td>
<td></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>medium Breakfast, 90¢ doz.; 8&quot; plates, dinner size, $1.00 doz.; jugs, 15¢, 20¢, 25¢, 35¢; bowls, 12½¢ and 15¢ each. Scallops, bowls for potatoes at 20¢, 25¢ and 30¢. All: Johnston Bros., Ironstone China No. 1, the very best white ware in the market. Table knives, silver plated, desert spoons, tea spoons.</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>September 3, 1909.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D. B. Campbell</td>
<td>November 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>Gee Whizz Washer</td>
<td>Fanson's Hardware</td>
<td>January 18, 1907.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gem Food Chopper, Clauss Shears, 30 sizes.</td>
<td>Fanson's Hardware</td>
<td>September 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>December 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>December 4, 1908.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix E. Hardware.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Store</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>McClary's Kootney Ranges, Heaters or Cook Stoves, Axes or Bucksaws, Glass, Stove Pipes, Stove Boards, Dampers, Coal Oil.</td>
<td>Fanson's Hardware</td>
<td>December 4, 1908.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heating Stoves, the Oak kind, Base burners- the Regal fuel saver.</td>
<td>Hunt &amp; Mcleese</td>
<td>November 5, 1909.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix F. Furniture (Wallpaper, Carpeting & 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>August 16, 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extension tables, sideboards, dressing case and washstand, bedroom suites.</td>
<td>S.C. Caverley</td>
<td>September 27, 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallpapers</td>
<td>Brooks &amp; Brown</td>
<td>March 13, 1908.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genuine Oriental rug, $2.00</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>
</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>September 27, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodd's Kidney Pills.</td>
<td>Manufacturer's Advertisement</td>
<td>August 16, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiloh's consumption cure.</td>
<td>Manufacturer's Advertisement</td>
<td>August 16, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carbo Magnetic razor for the man who shaves.</td>
<td>Hunt &amp; Mcleese</td>
<td>December 13, 1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden West Soap.</td>
<td>The Ideal Store</td>
<td>April 17, 1908</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix H. 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>August 16, 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letterheads, envelopes, invitations, tickets, etc.</td>
<td>Abernethy Printing Co.</td>
<td>January 1908.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clubbing offers with the Abernethan, Regina Leader, Canada Farmer, Toronto, Toronto Globe and Western Home Monthly, $2.25; Telegram, $1.50; Toronto Mail and Empire, $1.50; 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>Abernethan</td>
<td>November 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>August 16, 1905.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China and Japanese Ware; silk table covers, silk piano drapes, silk cushion covers.</td>
<td>Brooks and Brown</td>
<td>January 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>September, 1907.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Endnotes

Part I


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, February 17, 1911, File 80.
23 The Vidette, March 28, 1889.
24 SAB, A 76, F. C. Gilchrist Diary, op. cit.
25 The Vidette, November 1, 1888, October 10, 1889, October 24, 1889, October 9, 1890.
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, G. 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.

31 The Vidette, November 1, 1888, October 10, 1889, October 24, 1889 and October 9, 1890.


33 Ibid., and SAB, A 76, F. C. Gilchrist Diary, op. cit., November 23, 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., June 1, 1890.


41 Mackenzie Interviews, B8.


45 *The Vidette*, October 9, 1884.
47 *The Vidette*, March 19, 1896, April 7, 1897.
50 SAB, A 175, Mrs. E. E. Ismond, op. cit., p. 3.
51 *The Vidette*, March 19, 1896 and June 11, 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., November 19, 1889.
58 SAB, Miss Lottie Meeks, Pioneer Questionnaire No. 9, "Pioneer Housing," p. 5.
59 *The Vidette*, October 13, 1897, September 15, 1897.
60 Ibid., April 2, 1896.
61 Ibid., April 28, 1897.
62 Ibid., May 19, 1897.
63 Ibid., May 5, 1897.
64 Ibid.
Part II
The Motherwell Home and Its Occupants


10 A. J. Downing, op. cit., p. 139.

11 Ibid., p. 261.

12 Ian Clarke, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

13 Ibid.

14 W. Ross to W. R. Motherwell, June 20, 1883. Letter in the possession of Parks Canada, Ottawa.


16 Mackenzie Interviews, B15.

17 Ibid., All.

18 Ibid., A9.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., B16.


22 Ibid.


24 Ibid., p. 84.


28 Ibid., p. 20.

29 Ibid.

30 Report of the First Annual Convention of the Homemakers' Clubs of Saskatchewan, Regina, Sask., January 31, February 1, 2, and 3, 1911 (Saskatoon, 1911).

31 Ibid., p. 56.

32 Mackenzie Interviews B7, and interview with Dan and Olive Gallant, Ted Callow and Major McFadyen, by Ian Clarke, September 1976.

Part III
The Spatial Organization of the Motherwell Home

1 Nor'West Farmer, May 5, 1900.

2 Kenneth L. Ames, op. cit., p. 28.

3 Ibid.


5 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Rich Penny by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

6 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Ben Noble by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

7 Interviews with Mr. and Mrs. Penny, Mr. and Mrs. Noble, Mr. and Mrs. Dick Large, Mr. Jack Bittner by Sarah Carter. September 1978.

8 Ibid.

9 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Ben Noble by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

10 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).

Part IV
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.


18 Emily Murphy, Open Trails (Toronto: Cassell and Co., 1912), pp. 208-9.
19 Mackenzie Interviews, Bl.
22 Ibid., Bl.
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.

Part V
The Lobby

1 Jean-Claude LeBeuf 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.
Part VI

The Office

1 Jean-Claude LeBeuf and Lorne Campbell, op. cit., pp. 83-84.
2 Mark Girouard, op. cit., p. 280.
Part VII

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.
Jean-Claude LeBeuf and Lorne Campbell, op. cit., p. 86.


Interview with Mrs. M. E. Lindsay, by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Ibid.

Interviews with Mrs. B. Morris and Mrs. M. Bittner by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Mackenzie Interviews, A11, and interview with Mrs. M. E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978.


Ibid., A14.

Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver, May 1977, and Mackenzie Interviews, A14.

Mackenzie Interviews, A14.

Interview with Mrs. M. E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interview with Mrs. B. Morris by Lyle Dick, March 1978.

Ibid.

Interview with Mrs. L. Jensen by Lyle Dick, December 1977.

Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interviews with Mrs. B. Morris and Mrs. M. E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978, and Mackenzie Interviews, A14.

Interviews with Mrs. M. E. Lindsay and Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978, and with Mrs. Laura Jensen by Lyle Dick, December 1977.

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.


Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interview with Mrs. B. Morris by Lyle Dick, March 1978.

Interview with Mrs. M. E. Lindsay by Lyle Dick, November 1977.

Mackenzie Interviews, Al2.


Interview with Mrs. Large by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Ruth Schwartz Cowan, op. cit., p. 5.

Mackenzie Interviews, B10.

The Vidette, June 25, 1896.

Georgina Binnie-Clark, Wheat and Woman (Toronto: 1914), pp. 6-7.

Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Ibid., and interview with Mrs. D. Large by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interview with Mrs. Beth Morris by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
Interview with Mrs. M. E. Lindsay by Lyle Dick, November 1977.

Interviews with Mrs. D. Large, and Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interview with Mr. and Mrs. W. Brock by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interviews with Mrs. M. E. Lindsay and Mrs. M. Bittner by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Interview with Mrs. B. Morris by Lyle Dick, March 1978.

Georgina Binnie-Clark, Wheat and Woman, p. 163.


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.

Part VIII

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.
122

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.
19 Interviews with Mrs. M. E. Lindsay, and Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
20 Interview with Mrs. M. E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
21 Ella Sykes, op. cit., p. 46.
22 Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Dan Gallant by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
23 Interview with Mrs. M. E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
24 Mark Girouard, op. cit., p. 276.
25 Interview with Miss Nellie Reid by Lyle Dick, January 1978.
26 Interview with Mrs. Beth Morris by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
27 Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
28 Mackenzie Interviews, B4, B6.
29 Interview with Mr. Major McFadyen by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
30 Interview with Mrs. M. E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.

Part IX

The Basement

1 Interview with Mrs. M. E. Lindsay by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
Part X

Conclusion


2 Fernand Braudel, op. cit., p. 442.

Bibliography

A. Primary Sources

1. Manuscript
Saskatchewan Archives Board
A 76  Gilchrist, F. C., Diary, 1859-1896, Fort Qu'Appelle, N.W.T.
A 93  Hays, William, Diary, 1883- pioneer experiences in the Lipton district.
A 175 Ismond, Mrs. E. E., Reminiscences of early days in the Kenlis district, 1882-1905.
--- Kenyon, Mrs. Florence A., Papers

2. Pioneer Questionnaires
In the mid-1950's, 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

3. Historical Interviews

Gertrude Barnsley by Sarah Carter, Abernethy, September 1978.
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
(i) and Major McFadyen by Ian Clarke, Lanark Place, September 1976.
(ii) by Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver, Regina, May 1977.
(iii) by Sarah Carter, Regina, September 1978.
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
(i) by Ian Clarke and Margie Lou Shaver, Regina, May 1977.
(ii) by Lyle Dick, Regina, November 1977.
(iii) by Sarah Carter, Regina, September 1978.
Alma Mackenzie
(i) Correspondence with H. Tatro, Calgary, March 6, 1968.
(ii) Correspondence with H. Tatro, Calgary, March 17, 1968.
(iii) Taylor Interview, P.E.I., April 17, 1968.
(iv) Response to questions from W. Naftel, November 8, 1968.
(v) Interview with R. Dixon re Naftel questions, January 15, 1969.
(vi) "Recollections" by R. Dixon, n.d.
Major McFadyen
(i) by Ian Clarke, Regina, June 1976.
(ii) by Sarah Carter, September 1978.
Beth Morris
(i) by Lyle Dick, Indian Head, March 1978.
(ii) by 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.

4. Newspapers
   Abernethan, The, Abernethy, intermittent copies, 1905-1915.
   Vidette, The, Fort Qu'Appelle and Indian Head, 1883-1898.

B. Published Sources
Abrahamson, Una

Adams, Gary

Ames, Kenneth L.

Binnie-Clark, Georgina

Binnie-Clark, Georgina
   Wheat and Woman, Toronto, 1914.

Braudel, Fernand
Brooks, Edwin J.

Campbell, Angelena Hughan
Man! Man! Just Look At That Land!, Saskatoon, 1966.

Careless, Virginia

Clarke, Ian

Clark, Clifford Jr.

Colchester, Edmund and Garry Colchester
"Domestic Interiors," Canadian Collector, Vol. 11, No. 3, pp. 70-

Cooper, Nicholas
Cowan, Ruth Schwartz

Cran, Mrs. George

Dick, Lyle

Dobbin, L. L.

Downing, A. J.

Dutton, Ralph

T. Eaton Company Limited

Edwards, Leonard J.
Gibson, William
"Homestead Venture, 1883-1892, An Ayshire Man's Letters Home,"
Saskatchewan History, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Autumn 1961), pp. 98-109,

Girouard, Mark
Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History,

de Glazebrook, G. T. and Katherine Brett
A Shopper's View of Canada's Past: Pages from Eaton's Catalogues, 1886-1930,
Toronto, 1969.

Gloag, John
Victorian Comfort, A Social History of Design from 1830-1900,

Gowans, Alan
Images of American Living: Four Centuries of Architecture
and Furnishing as Cultural Expression, J. B. Lippincott Company,

Guthrie, Hugh (ed.)
Late Victorian Decor from Eastlake's Gothic to Cook's House Beautiful,

Hall, Mary Georgina
A Lady's Life on a Farm in Manitoba, W. H. Allen and Co.,
London, 1884.

Hudson's Bay Company
Hudson's Bay Company Catalogue, Autumn and Winter, 1910-11,
Hussey, E. C.

Israel, Fred L. (ed.)

Jefferis, B. G. and J. L. Nichols
The Household Guide or Domestic Cyclopedia, J. L. Nichols and Co., Toronto, 1897.

Kellogg, Alice M.

Kirk, D. W.
The Motherwell Story, Canada Department of Agriculture, Regina, Saskatchewan, 1956.

Lantz, Louise K.

Laski, Marghanita

LeBeuf, Jean-Claude and Lorne Campbell

Macintyre, D. E.
Prairie Storekeeper, Peter Martin Associates Ltd., Toronto, 1970.
McCorkindale, Mrs. H.

Minhinnick, Jeanne

Montgomery Ward and Co.

Murphy, Emily

Murphy, Emily
*Open Trails*, Cassell and Co., Toronto, 1912.

Naftel, William

O'Brien, Kevin H. F.

Parley, Kay

Praz, Mario
Quimby, Ian M. G. (ed.)

Rasmussen, Linda, Lorna Rasmussen, C. Savage and A. Wheeler

Homemakers' Clubs
Report of the First Annual Convention of the Homemakers' Clubs of Saskatchewan, Regina, Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1911.

Roberts, I. P.

Roe, F. G.

Russell, Robert

Schaefer, Herwin

Schroeder, Joseph J. Jr. (ed.)
Seale, William

Seale, William

Shackleton, Philip

Sykes, Ella

Talbot, George

Thomas, L. G.

Thomas, L. H.

Turner, A. R.
Vanek, Joann

Warkentin, J.

Whates, H. R.

Woodward's
Figure 1

Saskatchewan Archives Board
Figure 2

Archives of Saskatchewan
from the collection of Mr. R. A. Penny, Abernethy.
Figure 3
Interior of Brooks and Brown General Store, Abernethy, Saskatchewan, 1910.

Archives of Saskatchewan
Figure 4
East side of Main Street, Abernethy, *circa* 1905.

Archives of Saskatchewan
Figure 5
West side of Main Street, Abernethy, *circa* 1905.

Archives of Saskatchewan
Figure 6
The Motherwell Home, \textit{circa} 1911.

Motherwell Photograph Collection,
Parks Canada.
Figure 7
The 1900 floor plan illustrations of the Motherwell home.

*Nor'West Farmer*, May 5, 1900.

---

Figure 8
Floor plans of the Motherwell house as it appeared in 1969.

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
Figure 11
Walter Ramsay's drawing room

Provincial Archives of Alberta, E. Brown Collection
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
Figure 14
Misses Miller & Battrick's drawing room, 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
Figure 17
Sketch of the Motherwell's parlour from the south-east corner of the room, looking on 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, circa 1911.

Motherwell Collection
Figure 19
Mrs. Catherine Motherwell in the north-east corner of the lobby, circa 1911.

Saskatchewan Archives Photograph
Figure 20
Sketch of the lobby of the Motherwell home, from the south-east corner.

Drawn by R. R. Dixon, based on conversations with Mrs. Alma Mackenzie.
Restoration Curator, R. R. Dixon depiction of the cradle of the grain growers movement in Canada—"It was a cheerful, well-lighted room, with simple but comfortable furnishings and a few Victorian documents—a hanging lamp, two stuffed owls on the mantel over the fireplace and enlarged portraits of Motherwell's parents on the white plaster walls. Motherwell dressed in overalls and flannel shirt, heavily bearded and wearing a walrus moustache, made use of the table-height stone window sill to draft notices for a meeting of farmers to be held in Indian Head on December 15, 1901." R. T. Motherwell letter to A. R. Turner, December 30, 1954 in Archives of Saskatchewan.
Figure 21
Sketch of the main (winter) kitchen in the
Motherwell home

Drawn by R.R. Dixon, based on conversations with
Mrs. Alma Mackenzie
Figure 22
Interior of the Presbyterian, now United Church at Abernethy, Saskatchewan.

The chairs visible behind the pulpit were purchased by W.R. Motherwell as a gift to the church and were apparently identical to the dining chairs in his home.

Motherwell Collection, Parks Canada.
Motherwell Historic Site
The Social and Economic History of The Abernethy District, Saskatchewan, 1880-1920: Bibliography, Historiography and Methodology
by Lyle Dick
August 1979
Table of Contents

1 Introduction
6 Part I Quantitative Methodology for Settlement and Economic History
19 Part II Models for Social History
33 Part III Qualitative Sources
44 Part IV Quantitative Sources
46 Endnotes
55 Appendix Code Book for Abernethy Settlement History
In recent articles American historians have urged the development of a synthetic, holistic approach to North American settlement history. They have argued, convincingly, that only interdisciplinary studies employing the techniques and methodologies of the behavioural sciences, geography, statistics, economics, and other disciplines provide the means to a comprehensive understanding of pioneer life. To some extent their appeal implies a recognition of the role of quantification in historical analysis—a tool that has been used to increasing advantage by rural historians. Yet few writers have attempted to devise general models within which to interpret their findings, or to provide a basis for relating to other research. This methodological prelude to a social and economic history of the Abernethy district of Saskatchewan, 1880-1920, is offered as a contribution towards the building of such a framework.

Historiographically, the Abernethy district is a suitable focal point for a comprehensive investigation of Western Canadian settlement demography. Settled principally by Ontarians in the wake of railroad construction through the District of Assiniboia in the early 1880s, it is representative of the largest immigrant group in Manitoba and the North West Territories before the turn of the century. Various historians, including J.E. Rea and Lewis G. Thomas, have argued that the Ontarians were the predominant influence in the development of the social and political institutions of the prairie provinces, particularly in Manitoba. Yet while the numerical
superiority of Ontarian settlers in rural Manitoba was undoubtedly of primary significance to its emerging institutional structure the case of Saskatchewan is less clear. The first permanent settlers from Ontario had, by 1890, peopled only a narrow strip along the C.P.R. main line and a few other scattered areas. They were soon joined by a myriad of ethnic settlements that injected a completely new set of linguistic and cultural variables into the equation. There is a demonstrable need to examine the Ontarian impact on a local level, in order to determine whether earlier generalizations are sustained by detailed research.

The historiography of Western Canadian settlement has embraced two general theoretical approaches—environmentalism, and cultural determinism. The "frontier thesis," first elaborated by the American historian, Frederick Jackson Turner, holds that the dominant fact of western settlement was the presence of an open frontier and free land, which promoted the development of a grass roots democracy. In the case of the United States, Turner believed that the frontier served to minimize the cultural differences of immigrant groups. In Canada, the environmentalist approach found its principal exponent in A.S. Morton, whose History of Prairie Settlement remains the chief overview of Western Canadian settlement. For the most part, however, Western Canadian Historians have given greater credence to the influence of prior cultural values and institutions of immigrants—the so-called "cultural baggage"—in molding prairie society.

The Abernethy study offers the potential for a test of both hypotheses through the investigation of selected themes. If the hypothesis that prior cultural traditions were the principal determinants in the formation of prairie society is valid then one would expect to find that:

1) economic and social relationships would be defined by the social structure brought to the Abernethy area by the dominant cultural group;
2) social mobility be limited either to persons from within or assimilated by the dominant culture;

3) essential activities such as selection of farm lands, work practices and modes of shelter would be predetermined by the milieu and traditions of the area from which the settler emigrated.

If on the other hand, the Turner Thesis has validity, then:

1) social relationships would be unstratified and democratic;

2) social and economic mobility would be open to all immigrant groups;

3) the nature of social activity and farm life would evolve from the interplay of geography and divergent cultural influences. Specifically, the selection of farm land would not reflect a prior cultural bias, but would be determined by the productive value of land in terms of soil quality, proximity to railways and availability of wood and water. Second, farming practices would relate to the particular environmental exigencies of the settlement area. Third, settlers would be expected to build houses in relationship to the prairie climate, and of materials available locally.

Western Canadian history had lacked a comprehensive model for the testing of competing historiographical approaches. In the United States, however, a number of settlement studies, beginning with Merle Curti's The Making of an American Community, have pointed the way to a more theoretical treatment. Curti's study represented an attempt to apply an "objective test" to Turner's theory that "the ready accessibility of free or almost free land promote economic equality and that this was followed by political equality." He employed all sources, qualitative and quantitative, in attempting to give a full account of the social history of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, in the nineteenth century. Of particular interest was his use of computers to quantify manuscript census data on individual settlers. Despite a
somewhat mixed reaction by historians to Curti's conclusions, i.e. that his objective test sustained the Turner thesis, the Trempealeau study inspired a series of agricultural histories in which quantification has played a significant role. The most prominent of these is Allan Bogue's research into the pioneering period in Iowa and Illinois.

More recently, Michael Conzen's study of Blooming Grove Township in Dane County, Wisconsin, has offered sophisticated quantitative formulas for analyzing the processes of land acquisition, agricultural development, and social change in a mid-Western farm community. These models facilitate the development of a quantitative strategy for approaching the social and economic history of the Abernethy district. Of even greater interest is Conzen's attempt to integrate his research into a larger theoretical context.

In modifying Douglass C. North's economic growth theory of nineteenth century America, Conzen has presented a model of four district phases of agricultural development:

1) an initial period of subsistence agriculture;
2) a period of wheat specialization after the advent of railway linkage to distant markets;
3) diversification as a result of overcropping;
4) renewed specialization more precisely attained to the specific resource base of a region.

This model will serve as an overall framework within which to interpret Abernethy's economic history.

The study of the social history of Abernethy district also requires a model. For the Blooming Grove study, Conzen devised a social model emphasizing community cohesion and persistence as the principal components of social stability and progress:

...The model hypothesizes that as the settlement of an area matured, the proportion of the population comprising the workforce declined, the burden of dependency increased and the proportion of the population connected with agriculture declined.
Ethnic clustering, known to have existed at a county level, is presumed to have lessened over time with progressive acculturation, and persistence to have increased over time, both making for community harmony and greater adjustment to resources.\textsuperscript{13}

Conzen derived his model from demographic and mobility studies of frontier populations by James Malin,\textsuperscript{14} Jack Eblen and others, and work in farm tenancy by Curti and Bogue. The model's application to the Abernethy population is somewhat limited by the lack of quantifiable data on age and sex ratios, from which labour inputs could be measured. The factors of cohesion and persistence, however, can be quantified through the use of homestead files and land titles. By comparing these indications for populations of different ethnic backgrounds, this study should unearth new evidence as to the role of cultural factors in the development of Western Canadian rural society.

Not all aspects of social and economic history are quantifiable. The Abernethy study will rely at least as heavily on qualitative sources, including newspapers, local histories, pioneer diaries, memoirs and oral history transcripts. The plethora of information on the W.R. Motherwell National Historic Site permits a microcosmic analysis of Ontarian prairie farm life. While shedding light on the larger context, this case study will provide a basis for interpreting the process of economic and social change at the Motherwell Homestead.
I Quantitative Methodology for Settlement and Economic History

In recent years American scholars have resorted increasingly to quantification in documenting the process and economics of Midwestern and prairie settlement. In addition to Merle Curti's seminal study of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, comprehensive settlement histories have been written for areas in Iowa, Kansas, and Minnesota. Much of this work has involved a comparison of rates of persistence, farming practices, and practices of land acquisition for settlers of different ethnic origins. Where Curti concluded that the frontier experience tended to reduce the impact of prior socialization, D.A. McQuillan and John Rice have emphasized the role of cultural influences in economic performance and the capacity of different groups to adapt to the prairie environment.16

The presence of a variety of ethnic groups in close proximity to the Ontarian settlers around Abernethy, offers an opportunity for quantitative cross cultural comparisons addressed to the principal historiographical questions of settlement. A substantial group of Métis settled in the Qu'Appelle River Valley, to the south, while east of the town of Abernethy, German Catholics and Ontarians settled in roughly equal numbers in the three townships around Lemberg. Further east, in the vicinity of Neudorf and Tiree, German Lutherans established an almost monolithic presence in two townships.17 In the north-eastern part of the Rural Municipality of Abernethy, English and Ontarian immigrants settled in the Primitive Methodist Colony in the early 1880s. These groups constitute the core of comparative research.
All land records will be employed for the Rural Municipality of Abernethy. These will be compared with three townships in range 8, comprising the German Lutheran communities of Tiree and Neudorf. In all, approximately 800 homestead files will be employed. The Abernethy and Neudorf townships have been selected for their ethnic and religious uniformity—Ontarian Protestant, (Presbyterian, Methodist, Anglican) and German Lutheran. These units may, therefore provide the basis for a comparative study not only of impact of ethnicity, but of group cohesiveness in prairie settlement. What follows is a geographical outline of the study area, a discussion of the historiographical context of settlement and proposals for a quantitative approach to the settlement and economic history of Abernethy district.

The Rural Municipality of Abernethy, No. 186, is located in south-eastern Saskatchewan, west of the second meridian, bordered by the western boundary of Range 12, the northern edge of Township 21 and the eastern boundary of Range 10. Its largest dimensions are 18 miles north to south, and about 21 miles east to west. To the south and the south-west, lie Lake Katepwe and the Qu'Appelle River. Land within the municipality varies from 6 to 24 straight miles to the C.P.R. main line, south of the Qu'Appelle Valley. In most areas the municipality possesses high quality clay soils. The topography is chiefly level prairie. Apart from the Qu'Appelle the principal physical feature of the R.M. is the Pheasant Creek Coulee, which meanders broadly through three townships before entering the Qu'Appelle in Township 12.

First surveyed in 1881 and 1882, the area now encompassed by R.M. 186 offered considerable choice of site to the homesteader. To the south and west the Qu'Appelle Valley and its network of tributary ravines, including Pheasant Creek Coulee, provided considerable woodland for fuel and building, water for grazing or domestic purposes, and wild game.
These were augmented by wooded bluffs in the western sections of Township 20, the centre of Township 21, and the wooded banks of Fishing Lake in Township 20, Range 12.

The question of the settlers' initial choice of site is one that has preoccupied historians and geographers of Western Canadian history. J.M. Richtik, in his dissertation on Manitoba settlement, concluded that the chief factor in the selection of agricultural lands was the influence of certain individuals whom he terms "primary decision makers."

For many settlers a major consideration was the need to have neighbours, and preferably neighbours with whom one was already acquainted. Thus new settlements were "boomed," that is, when one or more settlers opened up a new and desirable district, others quickly rushed in. The value of the location was greatly increased by the presence of settlers nearby, and the original settler(s) usually advertised the benefits of the particular location they had chosen.20 Richtik cites several examples of areas of rural Manitoba in which the decision of certain settlers to locate in a given area caused whole districts to be populated afterwards. In other cases, settlers chose sites in partially settled areas, but still influenced others to follow. These persons, Richtik terms "secondary decision makers."21

While the role of such decision makers was undoubtedly of considerable importance in the selection of sites, in many cases, the lack of precise information respecting the origins and pre-settlement social relationships of settlers in the Abernethy area makes it difficult to quantify this factor. For example, the Notification of Patent document indicates the province or country of origin, but does not give the specific town from which the settler came. Nevertheless homestead entries of persons from the same province or country may be grouped chronologically to provide a test of this hypothesis. If, for example, three Ontarian settlers, on the same day, made entry to homestead quarters contiguous to
that of an earlier Ontarian homesteader, one might have grounds to speculate as to some influence on his part.

With respect to the settlement of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, many writers have commented on the early Central Canadian settlers' preference for wooded lands as opposed to open prairie. They have advanced a variety of explanations for this tendency, including: mere custom or habit;\(^2^2\) desire for access to amenities such as wood and water;\(^2^3\) and even a psychological need for trees—a "woodland atavism."\(^2^4\) T.R. Weir has noted that, as soon as it became demonstrable that wheat was to be the chief staple of prairie agriculture, the Eastern Settlers abandoned their preference for wooded land in favour of the open plain.\(^2^5\) Their choice was anticipated by Macoun, who noted that "wood and hay lands are really secondary objects as it is much better for a farmer to have a good wheat farm from which he can begin to make money, then to clear land of brush and young wood.\(^2^6\) Yet there is some debate as to how quickly this realization dawned on the newcomers. Relying chiefly on contemporary accounts and newspapers, J.M. Richtik has concluded that even up to 1886, Ontarian settlers, preferred land in the woodland/prairie margin to land in the open prairie.\(^2^7\)

The present quantitative study may be used to determine whether settlers preferred woodland or prairie land or a mixture thereof, and the relative importance of this factor in relation to other variables. The investigation will not be limited solely to a consideration of the vegetative character of farmlands, but will also involve the measurement of distances of each parcel from other wooded areas. Vegetative patterns in the rural municipality of Abernethy may be retraced with the aid of Dominion surveyors' township maps and note books. This approach should provide some insight into the role of "cultural baggage" in the selection of farm lands, as Ontarian settlers may be compared with
English and German settlers to the north and east.

A possible pitfall in this approach must be noted. Assuming that the presence of, or proximity to woods, was one of the principal factors in the initial choice of site, one would expect to find all such lands taken up at an early date. As homesteads continued to be claimed, the range of choice available to each settler would diminish accordingly. A strict reading of the results after the earliest period of settlement could therefore prove highly misleading. To ensure accuracy, the results should be monitored by plotting claimed lands manually on a grid in chronological sequence. In this way also, previously claimed lands that had become available through cancellations could be added to the body of unclaimed parcels, to ensure a more accurate representation of the range of choice at any given point in time.

Other considerations may have influenced settlers in their selection of farmlands. Historians and geographers have been concerned with the question of distance to grain loading facilities, as a factor in the eventual economic success or failure of individual farmers. They have offered several estimates of the maximum distance beyond which farming ceased to be viable. A study of the Kansas City Southern Railroad in the pre-automobile period, and several studies made by the Canadian National Railways suggest that the maximum distance was about ten miles. As W.A. Mackintosh has observed, however, it is difficult to establish the point of unprofitability, as "the cost to the farmer depends on the alternative uses to which his time and equipment might be put." He cites the examples of several areas in Saskatchewan in which farmers hauled their grain distances up to 50 miles to the railway, including among them the case of farmers north of the Qu'Appelle River, in the study area. Yet the Abernethy farmers themselves regarded their situation as a tenuous proposition at best. A petition sent by Abernethy area farmers to Prime
Minister Wilfrid Laurier in 1902 stated that

...it is impossible for farmers to haul wheat from 20 to 35 miles across the Qu'Appelle, whose banks are from 200 to 400 feet high, and leave anything like a reasonable result of the tiller's toil in his hands, at the end of the year.\(^{31}\)

It would be interesting to determine, therefore, which farmers chose the lands closest to the railroad, and whether preferential differences existed for different ethnic groups.

The treatment of soil quality as a determinant in the selection of farm lands is hampered by inaccuracies and inconsistencies in the initial classification by Dominion Land surveyors. Despite their lack of expertise, surveyors were required to rank all soils in their survey areas on a scale of one to four. As a number of writers have noted, their evaluations varied considerably.\(^{3}\) Soils that one surveyor might place in the first class category might receive a third class ranking in another report, although the relative ranking within each survey report may be reasonably accurate.

If current agricultural considerations are projected to the past, we might also infer that topography played a role in the timing of settlement. The astute settler might have considered good drainage to have been an important factor, particularly in the Abernethy district, where clay soils predominate.\(^{33}\) Both factors, therefore, will be incorporated into the quantitative analysis.

To test the hypothesis that a preferential selection process influenced the settler's acquisition of farm lands, the variables outlined in the foregoing discussion will be treated statistically. Techniques to be employed include regressions, correlations and analysis of contingency tables. The analysis will build on Michael Conzen's use of statistical techniques to explain the timing and selection of land entries in Blooming Grove township, Wisconsin, in the nineteenth century.\(^{34}\) Conzen's land acquisition model employs a multiple regression equation relating the timing of the entry (the dependent variable)
to five independent variables: vegetative cover, soil quality, proximity to lakeshore to townsite, and distance from the school section. His choice of these variables relates to previous scholarship, and the unique setting of the township, i.e. in the immediate vicinity of Madison, Wisconsin.

There are a number of difficulties in Conzen's approach. His use of a multiple regression equation obliges him to rank the variables in terms of their predicted attractiveness to the settler, and to assign values to each, but he does not differentiate in the size of intervals between each assigned value. For example, he gives the various types of vegetative cover the following values:

- Wood 1 point
- Wood/prairie 2 points
- Prairie 3 points
- Wood/marsh 4 points
- Prairie/marsh 5 points
- Marsh 6 points

Assuming that marsh is totally unsuitable for agriculture, one would question the choice of an interval of one between prairie/marsh and marsh to equal on the interval between the presumably preferred wood and wood/prairie lands. In a review article, Robert Swierenga has pointed to some of the other pitfalls in Conzen's approach. In Swierenga's view the choice of vegetative cover and soil quality as independent variables overlooks the fact that these variables are integrally related. Second, Swierenga questions Conzen's ranking of the variables, which gives a higher value to woodland than land in the wood/prairie margin, or open prairie. Third, the model "ignores the important fact that government land sales were always heavily influenced by the direction of population in-flows into a region." Despite these difficulties, however, Conzen claims his model to have successfully explained the selection of 66 per cent of all disposals in the township. By modifying his approach to accommodate the stated criticisms, it may be expected that a comparable model will explain the process of land selection in
13

the Abernethy district.

The land acquisition model measures the factors involved in the selection of farm lands, but it gives no indication as to the viability of a particular farm once it had been settled. A simple test of initial success or failure is to tabulate the rate of homestead cancellations for a given area. It is well known that many settlers abandoned their lands before obtaining a patent and some historians and economists have called to account the Dominion Lands policies of the Macdonald government. Their argument has been that an essentially indiscriminate settlement policy was predestined to have grave social consequences for homesteaders who were ill-equipped to overcome enormous odds in establishing patent to their quarter-sections. In his study of the Dominion Lands Policy, Chester Martin noted that over 41 per cent of original homestead entries from 1870 to 1927 were cancelled. Many homesteaders, he surmised, sold their land to speculators soon after achieving patent. In Martin's words,

if these cancellations, representing the gap between entry and patent, may be taken as any index to the later gap between patented homesteads and actual occupancy and production, the total wastage not only of cultivable acreage but of human material must have been truly appalling.36

Economist Vernon Fowke has concurred with this conclusion. While conceding that some cancellations might have been prompted by factors unrelated to the homestead policy, Fowke stated:

any substantial discrepancy between homestead entries and patents issued over a period of years would indicate failure in the realization of normal expectations. The discrepancy for the seventy years of Dominion Lands administration is so pronounced as to indicate a wastefulness little less than shocking.37

Apart from the raw rate of homestead cancellations, neither Fowke nor Martin produced any detailed evidence to support their conclusions. Yet such evidence is needed before a definitive statement can be made. Any study of homestead can-
cellations must take into account, the role of land speculation in the settlement period in an attempt to establish which individual homesteaders were in fact bona fide settlers. It should also attempt to determine the extent to which legitimate settlers abandoned their homesteads in one township to claim alternative lands in another.

The importance of social support systems to the eventual success of individual settlers should also be considered in an analysis of homestead cancellations. John Rice has presented evidence to support the hypothesis that "community cohesion promotes persistence." The Abernethy and Neudorf populations provide a test of the applicability of Rice's conclusions vis-à-vis Ontarian and German settlers in Western Canada. The Lutheran community at Neudorf, while deriving its membership from diverse origins, was fairly strongly unified by a common church and language. German settlers evidently demonstrated a readiness to work co-operatively to overcome the obstacles of geography, climate and meagre resources. It would be interesting to try to determine whether the British Ontarian-settlers near Abernethy operated on a more individualistic basis rather than their German counterparts, and if so, whether this had an appreciable impact on their ultimate success as settlers. The Neudorf Germans, when they hauled their grain to Wolseley on the C.P.R. main line, travelled in pairs, as they usually required two teams of horses to pull a wagon up the other side of the valley. Abernethy settler John Teece, on the other hand, wrote that when hauling grain to Sintaluta he was "often the only one on the trail."

A comparison of homestead and pre-emption cancellation rates for a predominantly German township south of Neudorf and a British-Ontarian township in the Rural Municipality of Abernethy in the same range reveals a striking contrast. Abernethy Township 19 Range 10 W 2nd records 57 cancellations
against 66 patents for a cancellation rate of 46 per cent of all attempts. The German Township 19 Range 8 W 2nd, on the other hand, records only 14 cancellations to 64 patents, for a rate of only 18 per cent. Possibly this discrepancy points to the importance of group cohesiveness in determining the eventual success in achieving a patent. Alternatively, the figures may indicate a higher rate of speculation in the Abernethy area, as it would seem probable that bloc settlement lands were less susceptible to individual land speculation than areas of undirected settlement. How prevalent land speculation was in the pioneer period may be difficult to determine, but general indications may be derived from the homestead records vis à vis acreage broken and cultivated, and buildings erected.

One of the advantages of a comprehensive analysis of homestead records for the study area is that information relating to the homesteader's record of residency and improvements to his land should be a fairly effective gauge of his actual intentions. If, for example, he made few improvements and spent little or no time on his land, there would be good reason to doubt his intentions. Moreover, other voluntary factors in settlement, such as the initial choice of site, may have had a significant impact on the ultimate viability of a homestead. James M. Minifie's English father chose his homestead in the dry belt "sight unseen." His naivité was rewarded with a quarter-section of dubious worth, which he ultimately abandoned. The factor of choice of site, therefore, may be considered an essential aspect of the study of the influence of prior cultural influences in prairie settlement.

While the figures for homestead cancellations and patents may be suggestive of the settlers' economic performance in the initial phase, they do not give any indication of long term success ratios. Michael Conzen's agricultural development model for Bloomingrove Township represents a comprehensive attempt
to trace socio-economic change over an extended time period. It may be modified to accommodate the more limited data base of the Abernethy land records. For his statistical treatment, Conzen chose nine variables as social and economic indicators. He then ran a multiple regression analysis, using farm value and size as dependent variables, in order to determine the relative impact of each indicator upon the settler's economic long term performance. Five of Conzen's indicators may be derived from the Department of Interior homestead files: the settler's age, ethnicity, household size, value of improvements, and numbers of livestock. The rationale for employing these variables may be taken from Conzen. He selected the factor of age to test the belief of historians that the more valuable farms fell to the ownership of older men. Second, he cites several studies that have suggested that native-born American farmers came west with more capital than their foreign counterparts—hence his choice of nativity. Household size was chosen in that it reflects the supply of free labour at the settler's disposal. Consequently, it should have a bearing on the value of farm improvements. Improvements and livestock are the direct indicators of farm wealth in the homestead files. They may be compared for farm families of different sizes and cultural origins to determine the impact of these factors upon farming success.

Conzen has also followed the lead of other American scholars in using rates of persistence and growth in farm holdings and indices of farming success. In *From Prairie to Cornbelt*, Allan Bogue used data from manuscript census rolls for four Iowa townships, to measure the farm turnover rate at ten year intervals between 1850 and 1880. He also tabulated a separate category for Continental born immigrants. Merle Curti and John G. Rice have employed similar methodologies in their respective studies of settlement in Wisconsin and Minnesota.
Persistence ratios may be a crude indicator of economic success but they must be measured in conjunction with other data to be conclusive. For example, many prairie settlers were "rolling stones;"\textsuperscript{45} as soon as they obtained a patent for a homestead in one area, they sold out, and claimed lands further west. In these cases farm turnover was totally unrelated to economic considerations. Land, moreover, is not a fullproof test of economic advancement, as D.A. MacQuillan has shown in his study of three ethnic settlements in Kansas.\textsuperscript{46} In absence of other economic data, it may be used as a tentative indicator, but should be supplemented by information from qualitative sources.

The censuses of the Northwest Territories and the prairie provinces lack detail on the holdings of individual settlers and their holdings and thus do not permit the easy duplication of Conzen's method. Fortunately, however, the factors of persistence and growth in farm holdings may be traced through a search of land titles for selected townships. As title searches are an expensive and time-consuming process, it is proposed at this stage to search only those titles within Township 20, Range 11, in which the Motherwell homestead is situated, and Township 19, Range 8, in the German concentration near Neudorf. While limiting the search to within the township boundaries is a somewhat arbitrary procedure, it should provide for a sufficiently large sample to make tentative projections.

Farming practices constitute a further measure of the influence of socialization in the response of cultural groups to the frontier experience. In his study of Swedish, Irish, Norwegian and Eastern American settlement in south-western Minnesota, John Rice has shown a causal connection between each group's proclivities \textit{vis à vis} mixed farming in the district of origin, and its practices on the prairie. The Scandinavian settlers, who came from stock-raising areas in Norway and Sweden, placed a much greater emphasis upon mixed farming than their American and Irish counterparts. In fact, Rice
was able to determine that a farmer's prior experience with a particular species of livestock, i.e. swine, strongly influenced his choice of livestock in the prairie context.  

Indications of the farming practices of the ethnic groups in the North Qu'Appelle area may be discerned from the homestead records. The application for patent statement required that a farmer list the number of livestock in his possession—specifically horned cattle, horses, sheep and pigs. It should be noted that the more generally wooded areas around Lemberg were considered most suitable for livestock raising, and that Lemberg farmers were said to place a greater emphasis on mixed farming than their Abernethy neighbours. At the same time the British Ontarian settlers in the Lemberg area may be compared with German settlers occupying similar terrain. It is possible, moreover, that the earliest Abernethy area settlers participated in livestock rearing to a much greater extent than later immigrants. A useful reference for determining the prior experience of Ontarian settlers in terms of farming practices is Robert Jones' History of Agriculture in Ontario. Jones stated, for example, that after the mid-19th century, mixed farming was prevalent in Eastern Ontario including W.R. Motherwell's birthplace, Lanark County. The tracing of the original farming environments of the German settlers is virtually beyond the scope of this study. However, a marked departure from the practices of other settlers, particularly in the first few years of settlement, may afford conjectures as to the prior agricultural experience of the Germans.
II Models for Social History

A concomitant to the development of quantitative techniques for rural history has been the application of social science theory to pioneer behaviour. Drawing on the work of Allan Bogue and others, this paper will offer theoretical constructs for approaching Abernethy social history. Topics to be considered include: value systems, social and economic structure, relations between different classes and ethnic groups, and familial and kinship relations. As far as possible, the Abernethy study will attempt to integrate these topics in addressing the principal historiographical questions.

In any society, a system of shared beliefs, values and aspirations provide the underpinning upon which normative social behaviour is based. Merle Curti has used two approaches in his analysis of the social creed of Trempealeau Country. One method is to study individual expressions of opinion through such sources as newspapers, memoirs, and correspondence. The difficulty with isolated statements, however, is that they may not represent the values of the citizenry as a whole. The other approach is to analyse the values of the society through the study of social behaviour in the family, school, church and other institutions.

It would be useful to isolate the component parts of the prevailing value structure. First, in a society in which private ownership is the modus operandi of most material transactions, it is to be expected that property relations will figure prominently in its value system. The Abernethy population in the 1880-1920 period was composed primarily of individual farm operators and their families. Some of these
individuals, at least, placed a high value on the accumulation of land and cash. John Teece's personal memoir, which documents his progression to the ownership of 9 quarter-sections and $10,000 cash, recalls the grasping character of Abe Spalding in Frederick Grove's *Fruits of the Earth*.\(^{50}\) How representative Mr. Teece was of the overall population remains to be investigated. It is clear, however, that attitudes towards land acquisition and the accumulation of wealth and material goods are essential to an understanding of the prevailing value structure. Yet the gulf between values and practices is often wide. In addition to identifying attitudes, this study must describe and explain the specific ways in which individuals amassed property, the kinds of material items they purchased and their reasons for doing so. A preoccupation with accumulation of land and other property may not, for example, be a reflection so much of greed as a desire to leave a sufficient patrimony to one's heirs.

In addition to the problem of land assembly, the kinds of structures settlers erected on their farmsteads are revealing of their material and social aspirations. Most early settlers, whether Ontarian or of other origins, built log or sod shelters as temporary dwellings during the initial period of breaking sod and economic consolidation. Within a few years, however, many Ontarian settlers in the Qu'Appelle basin possessed substantial brick and stone houses that seemed to go beyond mere considerations of comfort, and suggested a pre-occupation with status. Motherwell's palatial Victorian-Ontario farmhouse, coupled with his verdant farmstead, "Lanark Place", represented an impressive statement of how far he had come since his modest homesteading beginnings. The comparison of structures of Ontarian settlers around Abernethy and their German counterparts near Neudorf should go far to explain not only their prevailing value structure, but how it reflected the prior cultural conditioning of each group.
Religion was an essential component of the value structure of early Abernethy society. On a literal level, religion provided standards in terms of Christian modes of conduct and behaviour. Among the many concepts guided by the Christian ideology were fairness ethics in proprietary transactions and charity towards the indigent and disadvantaged. Whether charity assumed a prominent role in reality is perhaps open to question, as evidenced by the meagre contributions to missionary funds listed in the minutes of Abernethy women's groups and church congregations. The important issue here, however, is the role that Christian concepts played in the value structures of the Community, and how related creeds, such as the work ethic, influenced social behaviour.

The ways in which a society organizes and participates in social activities are also reflective of its value structure. In Abernethy, formalized activities might include participation in political pressure groups such as the Patrons and T.G.G.A., social organizations of men and women (Orange Lodge and Women Abernethy Agricultural Society); or the various church groups. The Patrons of Industry and the Orange Lodge were offshoots of parent organizations that had enjoyed broad support in rural Ontario. Did they represent the imposition of Ontarian values on the society of the Central Qu'Appelle area? Or did the proliferation of social and political organizations provide evidence, as Seymour M. Lipset has suggested, of a developing concept of democracy on the prairies?

In his study of the C.C.F. in Saskatchewan, Lipset has argued that the mutual experience of exploitation at the hands of monopolistic railroad, grain and retail interests prompted Saskatchewan farmers to organize politically, thus forming the basis for a true grass roots democracy. His explanation is essentially of the frontierist school. The relevance for this study is that within the Central Qu'Appelle area, the first co-operative elevators in Western Canada were
established at Qu'Appelle and Indian Head, in 1889, the Territorial Grain Growers' Association was founded at Indian Head in 1901, and Sintaluta farmers, at the impetus of E.A. Partridge, formed the Grain Growers' Grain Company in 1906.

Did these developments represent, as Lipset has suggested, the triumph of participatory democracy? It would appear that the first officers of the early co-operative farmers' movement were either Ontarian or British Anglo-Saxons. Further research must be done to determine the extent to which other ethnic groups engaged in political activity. Only by identifying the officers and other participants in local chapters of organizations such as the Patrons of Industry and the Territorial Grain Growers' Association, will it be possible to verify or negate Lipset's hypothesis.

In recent years crime has received the attention of social historians, who have been concerned with the ways in which the frequency and nature of offences, age and background of the offender and their treatment by the judiciary all have reflected social mores and realities. In his study of crime and punishment in mid-nineteenth century Ontario, Harvey J. Graff has noted that "disproportionate representation and disproportionate rates of conviction offer key insights into the mechanisms of social differentiation, social visibility, social distance, and community prejudice on varying units of analysis". Indeed, by definition, crime represents the antithesis of the prevailing value structure. The nature of offences, then, whether against person or property, or crimes in which the offender is in fact the victim, go far to define the value system they contravened.

For purposes of this study, the investigation of criminal behaviour in the Central Qu'Appelle area may be treated as a test of the theses of frontierism and cultural determinism in the prairie context. At the very least it should indicate whether or not the laws and punishments meted out for particular offences
reflected the values of a particular cultural group. Moreover, criminal behaviour by various ethnic groups should reveal the extent to which each group was assimilated by the norms and values of the dominant culture. If Ontarians predominated in the judicial positions of the District of Assiniboia and later of the Province of Saskatchewan, one would expect to find a higher incidence of certain types of crime in non-Ontarian communities, for two reasons: First, the greater the divergence between their values and those of the dominant culture, the more likely immigrant groups are to come into conflict with the legal system. Second, control of judicial positions by a particular group would reflect a built-in cultural bias that might find expression in a high number of prosecutions and heavy penalties for certain offences. In the case of Abernethy, W.R. Motherwell acted as a Justice of the Peace from 1892 to 1899. We know that Motherwell abstained from alcoholic beverages and was influential in keeping Abernethy a "dry" town during the entire period. It would be interesting to inquire as to the extent to which prior conditioning might have influenced Motherwell and other Justices of the Peace in their treatment of drunkards and other petty offenders.

Other social realities may be revealed in court records. John Demos, in his study of colonial Plymouth, postulated that overcrowding in rough dwellings there increased familial tensions; the concomitant need to suppress aggressive behaviour within the family caused its displacement, resulting in a proliferation of inter-family disputes in courts. Household sizes in the different ethnic communities of the study area may be compared with the frequency and nature of criminal offences and litigations to see whether patterns emerge. Extrapolations based solely on coincidental occurrences, without the benefit of supporting evidence, would be tenuous. Yet it would appear that there were significant differences in household sizes in the German and Ontarian communities. The 1901 Census of Canada
records, for the German Lutheran community of Tiree in Township 19, Range 8, a population of 334 against 54 families and houses. This represents a ratio of over 6 persons per household. A similar ratio existed for Neudorf. Chickney, an Ontarian community in the R.M. of Abernethy, however, recorded a population of 223 against 50 houses and 51 families, for a ratio of roughly 4½ to 1. The Chickney area, moreover, was settled in the early 1880s, prior to the Tiree area, which received most of its settlers after 1890. Having consolidated their holdings economically, Chickney farmers had by the late 1890s begun to build spacious permanent homes. In 1901 Tiree farmers, however, were still inhabiting small temporary dwellings. These comparisons do not in themselves mean anything at this point. They do, however, point to some notable differences in household environment that may have had significant social consequences, if not in court, then in other areas of social interaction.

The Abernethy area has the potential for a number of cross-cultural comparisons in criminal activity. One would expect native groups to be fairly resilient to the pressures of assimilation and potentially in more frequent conflict with the law than other communities. When Ontarians first settled in the area in the early 1880s Metis settlers lived in the Qu'Appelle River Valley. Most of the Metis were granted homestead which were soon acquired by the Ontarians, although a small Roman Catholic Metis settlement persisted at Lebret on Lake Katepwa, just a mile to the west of the municipality's boundary. Ten miles north of Abernethy, the presence of Cree Indians on the four File Hills reservations presented another potential source of cultural conflict. While the Pee-pee-ki-sis Indian reserve was the site of a Presbyterian mission and school, and evidently experienced a relatively degree of acculturation, Chief Star Blanket's band was apparently slow to accept the new social order. Additionally, the German
Roman Catholic population near Lemberg may be compared with the Ontarians *vis à vis* alcohol-related and other offences. John Thompson and Erhard Pinno, in their respective M.A. theses on temperance and prohibition in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, have demonstrated the use of temperance as a tool of assimilation by the Anglo-Saxon Protestant majority, and concomitant resistance on the part of Roman Catholics.

Implicit in the study of value systems is the question of whether societal values support the formation of hierarchical or elitist structures, or allow for a high degree of social and economic equality. Merle Curti's analysis of the social and economic structure of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin provides a general model for a similar investigation of Abernethy society. Curti was interested in defining the process of social stratification and occupational and social mobility in the settlement period. By identifying individuals who occupied positions of prominence at various points in time, he hoped to ascertain the capacity of different ethnic groups to rise in the social structure. Their perceived success or failure in these terms, he considered a test of the Turner theory of democratization in the frontier context.

In defining the social structure, the chief indicators Curti employed were wealth, social status and positions of leadership in the community. Wealth is a determinant of hierarchical structure in most societies. It may, indeed, have assumed a preponderant influence in a society of settlers whose presumed purpose in moving to Western Canada was to better their material existence. When sufficiently detailed records are available, moreover, wealth provides a standard of progress or decline that can be readily measured. Curti was able to use highly detailed census returns that listed the assets of each farmer in land and other property, in tracing the material progress of different social and ethnic groups over period of time. Unfortunately, the lack of detailed census information
for the District of Assiniboia and Province of Saskatchewan precludes quantitative comparisons of wealth for the Abernethy area. As will be indicated later, however, the growth of farm size may be documented to provide supporting information for the reconstruction of relative scales of wealth for different individuals in the community. Then, by comparing their economic stature with their position in community affairs it should be possible to arrive at some conclusions respecting the role of wealth in the social structure.

That religion fulfilled a unifying function and gave a focus to much of Abernethy social life is evident. What must be discovered is the precise role that religion played in the emerging social structure of the community. According to the 1901 Census of Canada, almost 50% of the population of the Rural Municipality of Abernethy was Presbyterian, with most of the remainder divided between Anglicans and Methodists. In a period in which religion played such a prominent role in people's lives, it would be interesting to inquire as to the extent to which religious differences, even among the respective Protestant affiliations, were reflected in the emergence of elite structures. Did the Presbyterians predominate in the social order? Or was there evidence of an emerging equality of opportunity irrespective of religious affiliation?

Social relationships are revealing of the extent to which members of a particular social group are willing to admit outsiders of different ethnic religious or class origins, within their ranks. In other words, such relationships are a test of the openness of a society, and provide indications of the degree of stratification embodied therein. The Motherwell family was a case in point. There is some evidence to suggest, for example, that W.R. Motherwell strongly disapproved of his son Talmadge's choice of a German immigrant wife, Marlene Diehl. In fact their marriage may have prompted an early partition of farm lands, with Talmadge and wife exiled to the two northern quarter-sections of the farm. Jack Bittner, the son of a
German immigrant farmer who was Motherwell’s immediate neighbour for fifteen years from 1912-1927, could remember having been in the Motherwell house only once in all that period, and then only in the kitchen.\(^6\) The kinds of social relationships Motherwell formed may provide evidence of elitist behaviour in Abernethy society. In this respect it is yet another test of the thesis of frontier democracy in contrast with the hypothesis that social structures were culturally transmitted.

Recently the attempt to define social structure has motivated social historians to develop prestige scales for different occupations. Donald Treiman has argued that the principal components of occupational status are privilege, power, and prestige.\(^6\) What differentiates one occupation from another in the social hierarchy is the relative degree of skill, authority, and economic control pertaining to each. For this study, however, the use of such scales for different occupations has obvious limitations. In the settlement period an overwhelming majority of Abernethy area adult males were engaged in farming. The only significant differentiation was between farm operators and labourers. Even after the founding of the villages of Abernethy and Balcarres in 1904, the rural population in the municipality continued to outnumber the town dwellers by more then two to one. The participation of most of the adult male village dwellers in the Abernethy Agricultural Society in 1909 is evidence of the continuing pre-eminent place of agriculture in the social structure of the community.\(^6\)

If occupational prestige may yet be used as a measure of social status, the investigation will take place primarily within the context of a single occupational category—that of independent farming proprietors. We might therefore expect to find that farmers, known for progressive agricultural practices, would occupy positions of prominence in the Abernethy social structure. We know, for example, that one of the reasons W.R. Motherwell was held in high regard by his neighbours, was
his reputation as a progressive farmer. Yet Motherwell was a dominant figure in so many respects it would be dangerous to assume that his case was representative. This study, therefore, will seek to identify other leading members of the farming community, and to determine their role in the social structure of the community. To this day, Tom Rogers, a contemporary of Motherwell's, possesses near-legendary status in the Abernethy area as the presumed initiator of the Western Canadian technique of summerfallowing as a means of conserving soil moisture. Other prominent farmers may be identified in the local newspaper, the Abernethan, and the Minutes of the Abernethy Agricultural Society. These individuals may then be studied in terms of their involvement in community affairs to determine whether there was a strong correlation between occupational prestige and social status in the period.

Familial relationships are an established index to the study of social structure and change. The study of family history has centred on aspects of family size, household organization, responsibilities of individual members, kinship and marriage relationships, and the influence of technology and education on the family structure. While a base of quantifiable information is lacking, Abernethy family history may be examined in microcosm through case studies of the Motherwell and other families. They may be compared with families in the German settlement to determine whether or not family structures reflected traditional patterns or evolved in the context of the frontier.

Aspects of family structure to be studied include decision making relations between individual members, and economic roles of each member in whom was invested authority for what kind of decisions. Were there distinct spheres of responsibility for different members, i.e., did males concentrate on farming operations while leaving domestic decisions to their wives?
Or were there functions shared? What was the relationship of male and female children to their parents, or siblings to each other? In the case of farm labourers and domestic servants, what was their position in the structure, what was their position in the family structure and relationship to individual members?

Fortunately a considerable body of information relating to these questions exists in the collection of historical interviews and other materials pertaining to the Motherwell household. In addition to having two children, Motherwell employed a succession of hired men and women to provide the basis for an investigation into extended family relationships, as do Motherwell's in-laws—the brothers, sister, and sister-in-law of his second wife Catherine Gillespie.

An area worthy of particular attention is the role of women, both within the family and the larger society. It would be interesting to determine whether, in the context of prairie conditions, women assumed greater familial and social responsibilities. Certainly by the end of the period of the enlarged role of women in the First World War, coincident with the prevailing reform movement, contributed to a greater recognition of a women's place in society. In Saskatchewan, Homemaker's Clubs were organized, on Ontario models, in 1911 under the auspices of the Provincial Department of Agriculture. The Regina Conference of Women that year featured such prominent speakers as Nellie McClung and Catherine Motherwell, who spoke on "Domestic book-keeping." A concomitant to the creation of Homemakers' Clubs was the formation of the Women Grain Growers' Association, a chapter of which was operative in Abernethy between 1913 and 1929. Did this organization, as the name suggests, act as an auxiliary to the male-dominated business of farming, or did it represent an increasing independence of action on the
part of Abernethy women? The study of its activities and list of officers should help to define the role of women in Abernethy society, just as the coincidence of names of wives of prominent male members of the Abernethy community may provide greater evidence of the appearance of an elite.

Comparisons of the work life and economic roles of women in the Abernethy and respective German areas may shed further light on the family structure in these communities. John Mann, the sons of early German settlers at Lemberg, has related that his mother participated in heavy farm labour alongside her husband. The children also were required to help with farm work, such as herding cows. Did the wives and children of Ontarian settlers participate in farm labour to the same extent as the Germans? The answer to this question may be indicative of the impact of socialization upon familial roles and the extent to which environmental exigencies mitigated prior cultural patterns.

Beyond the treatment of social and family structure, a social history should deal concretely with the activities of every day life. Following the lead of anthropologists and archaeologists, historians have begun to study life cycle histories in different societies. These histories entail the reconstruction of work and leisure routines of individuals of particular socio-cultural groups at different stages of life. Such an approach is particularly applicable to historic sites research, in that it provides a basis for the animation of daily activity by commemorated figures and their families.

An excellent study of life cycle from an historical perspective is John Demos' Family Life in Plymouth Colony. By employing the research of anthropologists, psychologists, Demos has reconstructed the principal development stages of infancy and childhood, adolescence and old age in colonial New England. Of particular interest is his account of colonial life through the media of material culture, i.e. housing, furnishings and
clothing.

Other historians, too, have begun to explore social history through the interior design and spatial organization of the household environment. With respect to nineteenth century America, Kenneth L. Ames and Clifford Clark Jr. have shown how the separation of public areas from the private reflected an increasing specialization of familial roles and social interaction. Within the household itself the establishment of discrete spaces for each family member was representative of the encouragement of greater individualism in children. The physical separation of the kitchen and service areas from the living rooms by doors, hallways and rear staircases, moreover, was indicative of social relationships and divisions in the period. In Ames words, "the front stair was for dramatic descent to meet family and guests; the back stair for servants carrying slop buckets and dirty laundry." Parks Canada's collection of material artifacts, in structure of the Motherwell house, its furnishings, and archaeological artifacts, offers unique opportunities for the study of the life cycles of Ontarian settlers and their families through material culture and architectural history. A supplementary interview program with old-timers in the areas of German settlement near Neudorf respecting the design and contents of their permanent habitations should avail of further cross-cultural comparisons of family life and interaction.

Insofar as lifestyle and activity is intimately related to economics, the study of every day life in the Central Qu'Appelle area should also encompass an investigation into the particular economic circumstances of individual farmers. While difficult to document the gamut of expenses, some sources provide indications as to the cost of setting up a homestead and of running a farm. A contributor to Boam's *Prairie Provinces of Canada* estimated the cost of essential equipment for the working of a quarter-section in 1913 to be "1,200.00, although
the author recognized that this figure could be reduced by co-operative ownership. He also contended that the minimum capital required to make entry was something over $700.00. Georgina Binnie-Clark, a settler near Lipton, twenty miles north-west of Abernethy, provided a detailed break-down of her working expenses in 1907, which totalled $1050.60.73

Yet the economic viability of a homestead was dependent not merely on cash outlay, however but the manpower and time at the settler's disposal. In this respect the size of a family and its members' usefulness to farming operations may have made the difference between success and failure. Moreover, the availability of new machinery and access to transportation systems undoubtedly had a substantial impact on a farmer's capacity to survive economically. The particular difficulties that farmers north of the Qu'Appelle River encountered prior to 1904 in hauling their wheat distances of up to forty miles are legendary.74

For many, this activity consumed most of their productive time during the winter. In calculating the impact of such a drain on a farmer's productivity, as W.A. MacIntosh has observed, one must consider the alternative uses to which his time could be put.75 This study should seek to identify the essential seasonal activities for mixed and wheat farmers, and the costs incurred by each. In estimating the economic aspects of farm-making this study may draw on the existing American literature. Diverse factors such as land clearing and fencing costs, length of growing season, outlay required for farm implements and farm buildings have been treated by Martin Primack,76 Robert Ankli,77 Robert M. Finley78 and Clarence Danhof.79 Work routines on American Midwest frontier farms moreover, are examined comprehensively by David E. Schob in his analysis of farm labour. This study may be used in reconstructing the patterns of activity for Abernethy area farmers and their households.
III Qualitative Sources

Few systematic settlement histories have been written for Western Canada, although in recent years settlement in southern Ontario has been the subject of a number of studies by historical geographers, who have concentrated on the aspects of land speculation, social structure and locational determinants in settlement. In Western Canada, choice of site has been explored by Carl Tracie in his doctoral dissertation and subsequent studies on the Peace River and other districts. For Western Canada, the standard general works on settlement are Robert England's The Colonization of Western Canada and A.S. Morton's History of Prairie Settlement. Morton's book in particular deals with the establishment of new colonies in the District of Assiniboia and climatic conditions and technological innovations in farming in the historic period. His study formed part of a larger series, the Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, which represented an attempt, in the context of the 1930s depression, to examine the entire process of settlement in Western Canada. Other volumes from this series that have a bearing on the settlement history of Abernethy are W.A. Mackintosh's Prairie Settlement: The Geographic Setting, Chester Martin's Dominion Lands Policy and Carl Dawson's Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada. The latter includes a section on German Catholic settlement, and thus contributes to an understanding of part of the German population around Lemberg, east of the Motherwell homestead. Martin's book remains the principal study of the Dominion Government's homestead policy. While no comparable provincial history yet exists for Saskatchewan,

More recently, prairie settlement has become the subject matter of a number of dissertations, which attempt to be more comprehensive in approach than their predecessors. James Richtik in his study of Manitoba settlement from 1870 to 1886, has stressed such factors as the institutional framework and process of settlement, agricultural changes and the development of transportation systems. John Tyman has used homestead, C.P.R. and Hudson's Bay Company land records in tracing the settlement patterns of Western Manitoba. He was followed by Donald Loveridge, who has concentrated on the history of the Rural Municipality of Sifton. As the early settlement of Manitoba was chiefly Ontarian in origin, these studies are particularly relevant to the study of the Abernethy area.

There exists a considerable body of secondary material pertaining to the history of the Central Qu'Appelle region. Local histories include Thomas Petty's *Echoes of the Qu'Appelle Lakes District* which consists of brief essays of a series of local history topics, including: early corporate colonization attempts in the vicinity of Indian Head; W.R. Motherwell and the founding of the Territorial Grain Growers; and Angus McKay and The Dominion Experimental Farm at Indian Head. The chief secondary sources for the Abernethy district include Nelson Stueck's *North of Qu'Appelle* and Alma Bates' *History of the town of Abernethy*, which was serialized in the *Melville Advance*. On the history of Kenlis, a hamlet located four miles south of the Motherwell homestead, Mrs. E.E. Ismond has
written an account that was published in the September 28, 1950 issue of the Indian Head News. Janice Acton's Lemberg Local History, the produce of a 1972 Opportunities for Youth project, is a collection of a series of documents relating to the early history of the district immediately to the east of the Abernethy area. It is an important source for the study of the German population in this area. Ellisboro, a pre-railway centre south-east of Lemberg, is the subject of a comprehensive local history, Angela Campbell's Man! Man! Just Look at that Land!. This study provides an account of early farming operations, trading centres, and a social life.

Newspaper sources for the Abernethy area in the settlement period include the Regina Leader, (1883), the Qu'Appelle Progress (1884-1898), the Qu'Appelle Vidette (1884-1897), and scattered issues of the Abernethy Abernethan (1904-1915?). All of these newspapers carried occasional new stories from Abernethy, surrounding centres such as Chickney, Kenlis, Saltown, Pheasant Forks, and, after 1905, Balcarres. Some local newspapers, such as the Balcarres Free Lance and the Lemberg Star have no known issues, although a series of special issues of rural newspapers in 1955 provides considerable historical material on Balcarres, Lemberg, and Wolseley. In addition to the articles dealing with local events, advertisements provide indications of trading relationships in the area.

Non-fiction, autobiographical accounts and oral history, provide a first-hand perspective on pioneer life through the eyes of its active participants. Nellie McClung's Clearing in the West documents the society of Ontarian settlers at Millford, Manitoba in the early 1880s. Of particular interest are her descriptions of the trip west from Winnipeg, the building of a new school, family interaction, recreation and courtship. In 1955 the Archives of Saskatchewan distributed a series of pioneer questionnaires to old timers that provide an invaluable source of information on the social history of
the early period. Approximately ten of these pertain to the Rural Municipality of Abernethy and deal with pioneer experiences, diet, schools, churches, recreation and social life, farming, folklore, and health and housing. Bruce Peel's M.A. thesis "Manitoba: The Social History of a Rural Municipality," is probably the most comprehensive account of rural Saskatchewan life in the settlement period. Basing his research on interviews with 71 first generation settlers, Peel chronicled and synthesized the collective experiences of the "old timers" in narrative form. As such, this thesis constitutes a primary source in itself. Among the many facets of pioneer life, Peel devoted particular attention to the settlement process, agricultural routines, social interaction, and institutions.

The daily activities of a farm family in the Central Qu'Appelle region have been chronicled in the diary of a Sintaluta area farmer, W.J. Miller and his wife Annie. Extending for a year between September 28, 1899 and September 25, 1900, the diary provides an account into the essential features of farm life at different times throughout the year. During the harvest season, for example, Annie recorded the appearance of hired threshers, and her responsibilities to cook and clean for them. The diary also describes the Millers' social relationship with neighbours, and records such economic data as the wages of labourers, income derived from wheat sales, and the price of commodities, livestock and land.

Parks Canada's collection of historical interviews with W.R. Motherwell's friends and relatives provide the basis for a case study of Ontarian immigrant family structure and kinship relationships. The most comprehensive of these are a series of reminiscences and letters written by Motherwell's daughter, Alma Mackenzie. In addition to providing many insights into individual family and kinship relationships, this material is revealing of the roles assumed by different mem-
bers of the family. As a farm daughter, for example, Alma led a sheltered and domestic life in contrast to her brother Talmadge, who was required to assist in farming operations and was expected eventually to take over the farm from his father. Alma's accounts are also possibly the most informative source vis à vis the values that predominated at Lanark Place. Margaretta Evans Lindsay was a three year old girl when the Motherwell's took her in as a foster child in 1918. Her vivid recollections of life on the farm from 1918 to 1921 provide a unique perspective on Lanark Place through the eyes of a child. Other interviews bearing on the questions of familial and kinship structure at the Motherwell farm include the recollections of Mrs. Patricia Motherwell, the widow of W.R. Motherwell's grandson and Mrs. Laura Jensen, his granddaughter. Former farm employees, too, have contributed their recollections of household interaction in the period. These include: Mrs. Lizzie Morris, who was a domestic servant at Lanark Place in the early 1920s, and four "hired men"—Ralph Stueck, Dan Gallant, Major McFadyen and Ted Callow.

In recent years work and leisure have received the attention of social historians, particularly in the context of diminishing hours of work in industrial societies. In the settlement period of Western Canada, work was central to most human activity. Beyond the myriad of tasks that characterized farm labour, individual settlers were involved with the building of a dwelling, and stable, digging a well, breaking new lands and fencing off property. James M. Minifie's *Homesteader* gives a particularly detailed account of these initial operations and difficulties encountered therein. For Abernethy area farmers, a particularly arduous task in the pre-1900 period was the hauling of wagons of wheat distances of up to 30 miles or more to the railroad. Farmers would rise in the early hours of morning, shovel grain into a wagon, hitch their team of horses, and drive until they reached the shipping
point, usually after nightfall. Afterwards, there was the return journey. These trips often continued throughout the winter until spring floods rendered the clay gumbo surface of the Qu'Appelle River Valley impassable. Hopkins Moorhouse's *Deep Furrows* contains a romanticized version of W.R. Motherwell's experiences in hauling wheat to Indian Head, and Bruce Peel's social history of a southern Saskatchewan municipality provides a detailed description of the process of long distance grain haulage.

Work routines on Abernethy area farms are discussed in Parks Canada's historical interviews with W.R. Motherwell's hired men, his neighbour Jack Bittner, and the former employee of Kenlis farmer Elmer Shaw, Ben Noble. In addition to permitting an investigation into farmer-employee relationships, these interviews point to a definition of the role of individual family members in farm work. Moreover, as the son of a German immigrant farmer, Jack Bittner has provided information for the comparison of work activities for families of different origins.

Technological and scientific innovations had an enormous impact on the nature of Abernethy work and life in the 1880 to 1920 period. Farming operations in particular were revolutionized by the development of new methods of summerfallowing and crop rotation by individuals such as W.R. Motherwell and Angus McKay of the Indian Head Dominion Experimental Farm. These have been documented in Motherwell's ministerial correspondence in the Motherwell Papers and the daily journals of the Indian Head Dominion Experimental Farm after 1889. The general context of mechanization on the American prairies may be drawn from Leo Rogin's *The Introduction of Farm Machinery in its Relation to the Production of Labor in the Agriculture of The United States.* For Western Canada, David Spector's "Field Agriculture in the Canadian Prairie West" and Ernest Ingle's M.A. dissertation, "Some Aspects of Dry-Land
Agriculture in the Canadian Prairies to 1925,104 provide a useful background. The introduction of new implements in the Abernethy area has been chronicled in the interviews with Jack Bittner, Ben Noble, George Morrison, and Ralph Stueck. Contemporary newspaper advertisements also document the appearance of new implements and these may be supplemented by further oral history research.

The ways in which a society organizes its leisure time are as representative of its values and aspirations as its modes of work. In Abernethy's settlement period, leisure frequently assumed a religious or utilitarian form. Sources for the study of leisure activities in the Central Qu'Appelle area in the historic period include the minute books of the Wolseley Mechanic's and Literary Institute and the Wide Awake Epworth League of Christian Endeavor. Mechanic's institutes had originated in England in the early 19th century and were introduced to Canada as mutual improvement societies for adults. Before the appearance of modern communications, university extension programmes and libraries, they fulfilled an essential function in providing books and a reading room for the community. The Wolseley Mechanics' Institute minutes include a full list of books purchased for the reading of its members.

The Epworth League was an association of young Christians formed for the purpose of fostering religious teachings. Its activities encompassed Bible readings and debates on various religious topics. While an Epworth League Chapter existed at Kenlis before 1900, its records have not survived. The Archives of Saskatchewan does, however, possess the minute book for Wide Awake, located approximately 10 miles south-west of Abernethy on the south side of the Qu'Appelle Valley. The overall context may be discerned from the Epworth League's official organ, the Canadian Epworth Era, which was published in Toronto after 1899.

The economic importance of agricultural life was reinforced in the social institutions of the Qu'Appelle basin. Agri-
cultural societies provided farmers with a forum in which they could discuss mutual problems in farming, conduct experiments with different strains of cereal grains, and hold livestock shows. The Archives of Saskatchewan possesses the minutes and membership list of the Abernethy Agricultural Society in 1909, as well as minute books for the Wolseley and Sintaluta societies. These documents give information on agricultural fairs and exhibitions, and officers of each society. The membership list for Abernethy is particularly valuable in that it gives the occupation and address of each member.

Women's organizations, too, were present in the study period. The first women's group in Abernethy, was the Women Grain Growers' Association. A chapter of a larger movement, the Abernethy association provided a social outlet for women, while enabling them to exchange views, hear talks on domestic topics, and plan activities to raise money for charity. The Archives of Saskatchewan possesses the minute book for the Abernethy Association from 1914 to 1929. Other women's associations included the Homemakers' Clubs of Saskatchewan, which were established in 1911 at various communities along the C.P.R. main line. According to the principal organizer, Lillian K. Beynor of Winnipeg, the clubs were established "for the study of scientific homemaking of sanitation, ventilation, the composition of foods, hygiene, the care of children, the improvement of environment, etc., and to promote social intercourse." 105 A further source for the study of community participation by women is a series of minutes of the Women's Missionary Society at Lemberg, which has been reproduced in the Lemberg Local History.

Sports were popular diversions in the Qu'Appelle basin in the 1880-1920 period. Most small communities participated in friendly rivalries with other towns in baseball and hockey tournaments, football games and curling bonspiels. Early
activities were cricket and lacrosse. Newspapers and local histories offer the most comprehensive accounts of sporting activities, although historical interviews and reminiscences have served to fill in gaps. For the Abernethy area, Nathaniel Benson's *None of It Came Easy*, a biography of James Gardiner, gives a fairly complete account of Gardiner's participation in various sporting activities after emigrating to Western Canada in 1905.

A central feature in the social life of a Saskatchewan community was the school. The first school in the Abernethy area was built at Kenlis, about four miles south of the Motherwell Homestead in 1885. Minutes of the first school board for Kenlis School District No. 6 are deposited at the Archives of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. For Abernethy the principal sources are the School District No. 300 file at the Archives in Regina and the W.R. Motherwell Papers.

Additional sources for the study of rural schools in the Central Qu'Appelle area in the 1890s include the daily record of activities and inspector's reports at Wide Awake School, located about 10 miles south-west of Abernethy, and minutes of the Rosewood School District to the south-east, both housed in the Archives in Regina. The Wide Awake journal is an important record of attendance, curriculum, and activities such as student exhibitions. It also shows the importance of the local school house to the social life of the community, in providing a place for dances and meetings of various organizations, including the Orange Society, the Patrons of Industry and the Epworth League of Christian Endeavor. Chickney School District No. 360 was contiguous to the Abernethy school division. The Archives of Saskatchewan (Regina) possesses the Chickney daily register for the period April 1, 1898 to November, 1900, which lists the students, their ages, records of attendance, and the days of the school year in which the school was open.
One of the mainstays of social life in the period was the church. A general context may be derived from Christine MacDonald's "Pioneer Church Life in Saskatchewan" *Saskatchewan History* Vol. XIII. No. 1 (Winter, 1960), pp. 1-18. Based on the series of pioneer questionnaires distributed in 1955, the article includes references to a number of churches in the Abernethy area, and documents aspects of church services, fund-raising and social events. Relevant Anglican journals include the *Church Review of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle* and the *Journal of the Synod of the Diocese of Qu'Appelle*. The *Journal* was published in Regina, but included reports on various congregations in the diocese, including Abernethy. From 1886 to 1889, Abernethy constituted a separate parish, and the reports document the number of clergy and readers, stations at which services were held, and the size of congregation. A brief history of Christ Church, Abernethy, written on the fiftieth anniversary of its erection in 1886, is filed at the Saskatchewan Archives in Regina. The Archives also possesses the original parish records for this church, including, the Abernethy parochial minute book, 1888-1900, and account books, 1918-1927. The Presbyterian Church had the largest congregation in the Abernethy district in the early decades. Anne Ismond of Abernethy has written a brief history of Kenlis Presbyterian Church, which Motherwell attended in the 1880s and 1890s. After the founding of the village of Abernethy in 1904, a new church, Knox, was built. It later joined the United Church of Canada. Nelson Stueck has written a history of this church.

Social deviance and crime in Abernethy district may be traced in the Justice of the Peace and Attorney General's records at the Saskatoon branch of the Archives of Saskatchewan. Minor offences, including drunkenness, were handled by the Justice of the Peace. The Archives possesses the J.P. forms that record the names of persons charged, the nature of the
offence, the verdict, and date. Crimes of a more serious nature were handled by the provincial district courts, for which a voluminous series of procedure books have been deposited at the Archives. These books chronologically record all cases, criminal and civil, for each district, and are indexed by name of plaintiff and defendant. They also provide the addresses for both parties, and should thus provide a relatively easy identification of the cases relevant to the Abernethy area. The operative jurisdiction for the area north of the Qu'Appelle River was the Melville District Court.
IV Quantitative Sources

To a large degree, the format for quantification in this study will be determined by the information found in the homestead files of the Dominion Lands Branch which are deposited at the Saskatoon Branch of the Saskatchewan Archives Board. While these files vary considerably in content and length, they usually contain the homesteader's Statement in support of his application for patent. This document is the most important source for quantitative purposes. Other documents might include correspondence between the settler and the Department of the Interior, homestead entry, abandonment and application for inspection forms. The homestead inspector's reports provide a yardstick for checking the veracity of the homesteader's statements.

When a homesteader first applied for a quarter-section he filled out a homestead entry form. This document required that he state his province or country of origin, his previous occupation, the number of children over the age of 12, and whether or not the settler had made any previous entries for homestead lands. In some cases entrants gave additional information, such as the number of males and females over 12, and the specific locality of origin. After 1908, the form was expanded to encompass the district of the country or origin, place of birth, and the nationality of the applicant. Unfortunately, before these files were transferred to the province of Saskatchewan, many files were stripped of this document, and it exists in perhaps only fifty per cent of the remaining cases.
The document most often found in the homestead files is the homesteader's Application for Patent. In this document the homesteader reported on his compliance with the requirements of homestead regulations, and gave the following information:

1. his age
2. whether British subject by birth or naturalization
3. occupation before entry
4. date of entry
5. date of building of house
6. date of commencement of permanent residence
7. place of resident when not on homestead, and occupation
8. portion of each year residing on the land
9. whether married, and number of members in family
10. date family began residence
11. improvements
   i) number of acres broken and cropped in each year
   ii) buildings, materials used, size and value
   iii) fencing-extent and value
12. other homestead entries, date, location and outcome

Additional information on the homesteader's financial position, the amount of arable land, and soil quality may be found in the homesteader's "Statement Made and Confirmed by Statutory Declaration," and in the homestead inspectors' reports. The "Statement" required the applicant to declare the cash value of all property, stock and implements other than the value of the homestead and pre-emption, the extent of hay land, marsh, lake or pond, and the character of the soil. These documents exist in only a minority of files. Other forms include Certificate of Naturalization for applicants of previously non-British nationality which state the province or country of birth, and Declarations of Abandonment, which state the settlers' reason for giving up claims.
Endnotes

1 See Robert P. Swierenga, "Towards the "New Rural History."
   A Review Essay, History Methods Newsletter Vol. 6, No. 3
   (June, 1973), pp. 111-121; Clarence Danhof "A Writer
   Agricultural History?" Agricultural History, Vol. 47
   (January, 1973), pp. 1-8; Allan Bogue "Social Theory and
   the Pioneer," Agricultural History, Vol. 34 (January,
   1960), pp. 21-34.

2 J.E. Rea "The Roots of Prairie Society" in D.G. Gagan
   (ed) Prairie Perspectives, I (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and
   Winston, 1970), pp. 46-57, For an earlier presentation of
   this thesis see Robert England, The Colonization of Western

3 Lewis G. Thomas "Introduction," The Prairie West to 1905,

4 Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier
   in American History," Paper read at the meeting of the
   American Historical Association, Chicago, December 14, 1893,
   reprinted in T.J. Turner The Frontier in American History,

5 A.S. Morton, History of Prairie Settlement, Canadian Frontiers

6 T.D. Regehr, "Historiography of the Canadian Plains, after
   1870," in Richard Allen (ed.) A Region of the Mind, (Regina
   Canadian Plains Study Centre, 1973).

7 Merle Curti, The Making of an American Community, (Stanford
   University Press, 1959.)

8 See Stephan Thernstrom "Quantitative Methods in History: Some Notes," in Seymour M. Lipset and Richard Hofstadter


13 Ibid, p. 4.


17 Census of Canada, 1901.


21 Ibid., p. 121.

22 In 1882, John Macoun wrote "The dweller in Ontario feels that to be out of sight of woods is a calamity. He also believes that land covered with forest is new and therefore richer than the prairie, and rejects the latter and takes to brush and forest." Source: Macoun, Manitoba and the Great Northwest (Ottawa, 1882)

Writing of the late 1870s, Robert England commented "The Immigration of this period was largely Eastern Canadian, whose agricultural background was of farms won from timbered lands. These settlers, therefore, avoided the prairie and sought the uplands, and wooded or partially wooded territory, the first group proceeding to the Pembina Mountain district." Robert England, The Colonization of Western Canada (London: P.S. King & Son, 1936), p. 57.


30 Ibid., p. 56.


University of Saskatchewan, College of Agriculture "Soil Survey Report No. 12" (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 1944.)


In his essay on the German settlers in the Lemberg and Neudorf areas, Emil Krause has compiled a list of immigrant settlers indicating a number of countries of origin, including Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Polish areas of the former Russian Empire. Source: "Origins, Life and Accomplishments of the Lemberg Lutherans," Student Essay, University of Regina, 1970.


Letter of John Teece, Abernethy to J. Cromie, December 27, 1913, Province of Saskatchewan, Agricultural Statistics Branch (Archives of Saskatchewan) File re: General Publicity, 1914.

Township Register Ledgers, Lands Branch, (Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture, Regina.)
45 Ibid., p. 27.
48 Abernethy Abernethan Vol. 1, No. 6, August 20, 1905, p. 1.
50 Letter of John Teece to J. Cromie, December 27, 1913, Archives of Saskatchewan Statistics Branch, File re. General Publicity, 1914.
51 See Minutes of the Abernethy Women Grain Growers' Association, 1914, to 1929, and Minute Book of Christ Church Abernethy, 1895-1899.
56 Census of Canada, 1901.
57 Interview with Mrs. Eleanor Brass by Lyle Dick, September 1978. Mrs. Brass, who now lives in the Peace River District, is a former member of the Pee-pee-ki-sis reserve, and is presently writing its history.
51

60 Interview with Mrs. Patricia Motherwell by Ian Clarke, Calgary, January 8, 1977.


63 Archives of Saskatchewan Minutes of the Abernethy Agricultural Society, 1909.

64 Interview with Jack Bittner, op. cit.


66 Regina Leader, April 15, 1911.

67 Interview with John Mann, in Janice Acton, Lemberg Local History, pp. 112-115.


71 Ames, p.


74 See Hopkins Moorehouse's romanticized version of W.R. Motherwell's grain haulage. Deep Furrows Toronto:


Qualitative Sources


Thomas Petty, *Echoes of the Qu'Appelle Lakes District*.


The Millers of Pickering, Ontario and Indian Head, Saskatchewan (including copy of Mr. & Mrs. W.J. Miller's diary from September 1899 to September 1900), Saskatchewan Genealogical Society, Archives of Saskatchewan.
100 James M. Minifie's *Homesteader*, Op. cit.,


102 Leo Rogin, *The Introduction of Farm Machinery in its Relation to the Production of Labor in the Agriculture of the United States.*


105 Regina Leader, April 15, 1911.

106 Nathaniel Benson, *None of it Came Easy,* (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1955).
APPENDIX CODE BOOK FOR
ABERNETHY SETTLEMENT HISTORY
## CARD NUMBER 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLES</th>
<th>COLUMNS</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>Record Identification Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Card Number (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03</td>
<td>6-27</td>
<td>Name of Settler (last name starts in column 15; first name starts in column 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Method of Disposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;free&quot; homestead 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pre-emption 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>second or purchased homestead 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>school land sale 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CPR cash sale 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CPR time sale (by installments) 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HBC cash sale 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HBC time sale 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>homestead &amp; pre-emption 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05</td>
<td>29-35</td>
<td>Homestead File or Contract Number (always ends in column 35; for hyphenated numbers, infill to 3 digits to the right of the dash, e.g. 432-007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Currency Used for Purchase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not reported, n/a 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canadian dollars 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American dollars 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>British pounds 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Halfbreed money scrip 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Halfbreed land scrip 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Military bounty award 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
<td>COLUMNS</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Nationality Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>British subject by birth 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>British subject by naturalization 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not reported 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>38-39</td>
<td>District (County, parish, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Province or Country of Birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No information 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>North West Territories 01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manitoba (unspecified) 02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manitoba parishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(i) French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Baie St. Paul 03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ste. Agathe 04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ste. Anne 05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Boniface 06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Charles 07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. François Xavier 08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Laurent 09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Norbert 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Vital 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Headingly 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High Bluff 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kildonan 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Poplar Point 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Portage la Prairie 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Andrew 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Clement 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. James 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. John 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Paul 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
<td>COLUMNS</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08 (cont'd)</td>
<td>38-39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Peter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ontario (unspecified)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ontario counties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Addington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bruce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Carleton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dufferin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dundas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Durham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frontenac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Glengarry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Grenville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Grey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Haldimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Haliburton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lambton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lanark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Leeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lennox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Middlesex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Muskoka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Northumberland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parry Sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Peterborough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
<td>COLUMNS</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08 (cont'd)</td>
<td>38-39</td>
<td>Prescott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Russell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Simcoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stormont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Victoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Waterloo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Welland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wentworth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Northern Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quebec Counties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(unspecified)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arthabaska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bagot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beauce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bellechasse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Compton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Drummond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hochelaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jacques Cartier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Levis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Megantic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Missisquoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Montagny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nicolet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Richmond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sheffield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sherbrooke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stanstead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wolfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Brunswick</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
<td>COLUMNS</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08 (cont'd)</td>
<td>38-39</td>
<td>Prince Edward Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Great Britain (unspecified)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Austria-Hungary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Poland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09</td>
<td>40-41</td>
<td>District, Province or Country of Origin Prior to Settling in Study Area (same numerical values as variable 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(blank)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legal Description of Land**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLES</th>
<th>COLUMNS</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>CODE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Quarter or Half-Section</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NW</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S½</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W½</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N½</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>E½</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not reported</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>44-45</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
<td>COLUMNS</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>46-47</td>
<td>Township (75 = 19A)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>48-49</td>
<td>Range</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>50-51</td>
<td>Year of Entry (last two digits)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>52-53</td>
<td>Year of Application (last two digits)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Outcome</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not known</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(i) Dominion Lands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>patent issued</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>entry cancelled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>homestead assigned by applicant to another person or corporation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>land surrendered in favour of scrip</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>land surrendered in favour of another person's entry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>abandoned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not registered</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) HBC, CPR, or School Land Sales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sale completed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sale cancelled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>55-56</td>
<td>Vegetative Cover</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>woodland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>prairie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>woodland/prairie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>marsh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>woodland/marsh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>prairie/marsh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>woodland/prairie/marsh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lake or coulee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
<td>COLUMNS</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 (cont'd)</td>
<td>55-56</td>
<td>woodland/lake or coulee</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>prairie/lake or coulee</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>woodland/prairie/lake or coulee</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>marsh/lake or coulee</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>woodland/marsh/lake or coulee</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>prairie/marsh/lake or coulee</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>woodland/marsh/prairie/lake or coulee</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not reported</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td>(blank)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Topography</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gently to moderately undulating</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mixed undulating &amp; rolling</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>coulee</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gently...undulating &amp; coulee</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mixed undulating... &amp; coulee</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not determined</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>59-60</td>
<td>Soil Quality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1938 Soil Survey)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indian Head - clay</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indian Head - loam</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indian Head - clay/loam</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oxbow - clay</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oxbow - loam</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oxbow - clay/loam</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canora - clay</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canora - loam</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
<td>COLUMNS</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 19 (cont'd) | 59-60  | Canora - clay/loam 33  
Canora - silty clay/loam 34  
Alluvium 41  
Eroded 51  
Not reported 99 |
| 20 | 61-62 | Age of Homesteader at Entry |
| 21 | 63-64 | Distance from Nearest Railway at Time of Entry or Signing of Contract |
| 22 | 65-66 | Distance from Nearest Railway at Time of Patent or Cancellation |
| 23 | 67-68 | Distance from Expected Route of Great North West Central Railway Branch |
| 24 | 69-70 | Distance from Nearest Supply Centre at Time of Entry or Signing of Contract |
| 25 | 71  | Persistence |
| 26 | 72-73 | Year Residency Established (last two digits) |

- no response 0
- not present 5 years after patent 1
- present 5 years after patent 2
- present 10 years after patent 3
- present 15 years after patent 4
- present 20 years after patent 5
- not established at date of application 50
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLES</th>
<th>COLUMNS</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>74-75</td>
<td>Average Number of Months Absent From Date of Entry Application of Patent or Cancellation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not absent 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>living nearby at friends or relatives 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Marital Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>no information 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>married, and living with mate 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>married, but not living with mate 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>single 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>widowed 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>divorced 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Number of Children at Date of Application (gender unspecified) (9 = 9 or more)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Number of Boys at Date of Application</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Number of Girls at Date of Application</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Number of Children Over the Age of 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### CARD NUMBER 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLES</th>
<th>COLUMNS</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>Record Identification Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Card Number (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>Vocation Before Entry (to be classified later)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>Occupation When Absent From Farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not absent 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(blank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Type of Original Dwelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>none 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>log cabin 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sod or mud house 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>log and sod combination 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>frame 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>frame and sod 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>frame and log 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>brick 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stone 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>type not reported 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>12-14</td>
<td>Size of Dwelling (in square feet; 999 = 999 or more)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>Value of Dwelling (in dollars; 999 = 999 or more)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Type of Stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>no stable 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>log 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sod or mud 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>log and sod 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
<td>COLUMNS</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 (cont'd)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>frame and sod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>frame and log</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>type not reported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>19-22</td>
<td><strong>Size of Stable</strong> (in square feet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>23-25</td>
<td><strong>Value of Stable</strong> (in dollars)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>26</td>
<td><strong>Type of Barn</strong> (if any)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>log</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sod or mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>log and sod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>frame and sod</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>frame and log</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>type not reported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>27-30</td>
<td><strong>Size of Barn</strong> (in square feet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>31-34</td>
<td><strong>Value of Barn</strong> (in dollars)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>35</td>
<td><strong>Total Number of Granaries and Other Outbuildings</strong> (9 = 9 or more)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>36</td>
<td><strong>Number of Log Granaries or Log Outbuildings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>37</td>
<td><strong>Number of Sod Granaries or Sod Outbuildings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>38</td>
<td><strong>Number of Frame Granaries or Frame Outbuildings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
<td>COLUMNS</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>39-42</td>
<td>Size of Granaries and Outbuildings (total square footage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>43-45</td>
<td>Value of Granaries &amp; Outbuildings (in dollars)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Type of Fencing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>one strand wire 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>two strand wire 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>three strand wire 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wire (strands unspecified) 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pole or rail 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not reported 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>47-49</td>
<td>Extent of Fencing (in acres)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>50-52</td>
<td>Value of Fencing (in dollars)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yes 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>no 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>54-55</td>
<td>Total Acreage Broken by End of Year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>56-57</td>
<td>Total Acreage Broken by End of Year 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>58-59</td>
<td>Total Acreage Broken by End of Year 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>60-62</td>
<td>Total Acreage Broken by End of Year 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>63-65</td>
<td>Total Acreage Broken by End of Year 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>66-68</td>
<td>Total Acreage Broken by End of Year 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Reason for not Cropping Total Acreage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not reported 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
<td>COLUMNS</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 (cont'd)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Summerfallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dry Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>70-72</td>
<td>Total Acreage Broken at Time of Patent or Cancellation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
<td>COLUMNS</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>1-4</td>
<td>Record Identification Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Card Number (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>Acres Cropped in Year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>Acres Cropped in Year 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>Acres Cropped in Year 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>12-13</td>
<td>Acres Cropped in Year 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>14-16</td>
<td>Acres Cropped in Year 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>17-19</td>
<td>Acres Cropped in Year 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>20-22</td>
<td>Acreage Cropped in Year of Patent or Cancellation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>23-24</td>
<td>Number of Cows in Year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>25-26</td>
<td>Number of Cows in Year 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>27-28</td>
<td>Number of Cows in Year 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>29-30</td>
<td>Number of Cows in Year 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>31-32</td>
<td>Number of Cows in Year 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>33-34</td>
<td>Number of Cows in Year 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>35-36</td>
<td>Number of Cows in Year of Patent or Cancellation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>37-38</td>
<td>Number of Horses in Year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>39-40</td>
<td>Number of Horses in Year 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>41-42</td>
<td>Number of Horses in Year 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>43-44</td>
<td>Number of Horses in Year 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>45-46</td>
<td>Number of Horses in Year 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>47-48</td>
<td>Number of Horses in Year 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VARIABLES</td>
<td>COLUMNS</td>
<td>DESCRIPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>49-50</td>
<td>Number of Horses in Year of Patent or Cancellation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>51-52</td>
<td>Number of Sheep in Year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>53-54</td>
<td>Number of Sheep in Year 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>55-56</td>
<td>Number of Sheep in Year 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>57-58</td>
<td>Number of Sheep in Year 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>59-60</td>
<td>Number of Sheep in Year 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>61-62</td>
<td>Number of Sheep in Year 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>63-64</td>
<td>Number of Sheep in Year of Patent or Cancellation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>65-66</td>
<td>Number of Pigs in Year 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>67-68</td>
<td>Number of Pigs in Year 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>69-70</td>
<td>Number of Pigs in Year 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>71-72</td>
<td>Number of Pigs in Year 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>73-74</td>
<td>Number of Pigs in Year 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>75-76</td>
<td>Number of Pigs in Year 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>77-78</td>
<td>Number of Pigs in Year of Patent or Cancellation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>Liens or Encumbrances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>seed grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>loan from Colonization Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not reported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Dominion Land Surveyor's Soil Classification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not reported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>class 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>class 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>class 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>class 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>