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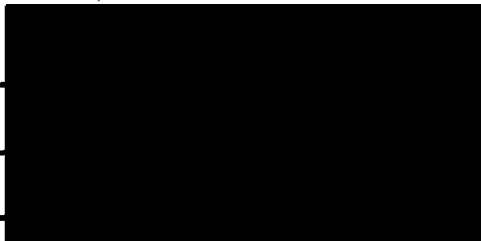
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NORTHEAST ALBERTA:  
A MARGINAL AGRICULTURAL SITUATION

by

Charles Claude Irby

A.B., Sacramento State College, 1966

M.A., University of California (Davis), 1968

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department

of

Geography



Charles Claude Irby 1978

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December 1978

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with identifying the levels of success which are attained in frontier pioneer agricultural colonization situations. The thesis proposed in this study is that the level of success attained by a particular group of settlers in a frontier agricultural situation is related to the ability of the group to successfully resolve the contradictions which it faces from within and from the outside to maintain solidarity over several generations. Alternative geographic studies dealing with the subject of frontier agricultural experiences are examined, reviewed, and categorized as points of reference regarding the issue of success. That is, this extensive literature review, spanning eighteen years, gives direction as a point of departure for examining and analyzing the study area of northeast Alberta.

The study focuses on the physical and cultural circumstances of northeast Alberta which have produced the marginal agricultural situation in this sector of contemporary Canadian farm society. That economic situation is much like that facing pioneer settlers in this area at the beginning of this century -- the initial settlement period, and this study is designed to show how this situation developed and what successes are evident.

A detailed picture of how Alberta's political and geographic situations developed in the context of the Canadian nation is presented. This portrait shows how northeast Alberta became a farming region as an extension of a wider movement centered in Ottawa. The environmental descriptions of the study area demonstrate that the elements of the physical setting are limiting factors for the successful production of cereal grains. Especially limiting factors in this regard are climate and weather, soils,

vegetation, and fauna.

The Dominion Lands Act of 1872 is identified as the most significant legislation affecting land settlement in the Prairie Provinces, and the real inducements for settlement activity resulted from propaganda produced by local "Boards of Trade." Many settlers who came to northeast Alberta did so as refugees: among these were the migrants from the Palliser Triangle of southeastern Alberta, French from Michigan, and Afroamericans from Oklahoma who helped to create the most varied cultural mosaic in rural Alberta.

This study shows agricultural settlement activity from a twenty-five percent sample of fifty-two townships during the life span of the "public lands policy" that was administered by the Federal and Provincial Governments through 1939. This sequential settlement is the base on which the social conditions of northeast Alberta evolved.

It is suggested that the region developed into economic marginality as a result of faulty expectations of settlers and inadequate planning by governmental officials. The study demonstrates, however, that it is possible to make farming economically feasible in this currently marginal environment.

Community is developed as a notion in this study to wed the people with their environment. This is shown through the roles played by schools, work and residence, churches and religions, a brief photo essay on the historic community as place, and Athabasca and Lac La Biche as focal areas or frontier outposts of the Provincial government.

Finally, the details of the study focus on the interplay of agricultural marginality, refugees, success, and the geography of stress where historical antecedents are tied to common causal conditions to present northeast

Alberta as a dynamic region in western Canada. This study presents an underlying theme, which is common to all human endeavors from which the folk of northeast Alberta's marginal agricultural situations are not exempt, the politics structuring existence. The conclusion drawn from the northeast Alberta study, then, is that notions of success must always demonstrate how the judgements are made.



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*To the memory of my father*

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate the levels of success attained by pioneer settlers in the agriculturally marginal lands of northeast Alberta. The study area is centered primarily on an axis between Athabasca and Lac La Biche, which is a frontier situation located in the northeasterly zone of continuous cereal grain cultivation in the Province. This frontier situation exists in large measure because people in northeast Alberta are attempting to produce grains for a commercial market in the coldest agricultural region of Canada.

Pursuit of agricultural endeavors in such a marginal situation suggests a willingness of persons to face unusual hardships and sacrifices in order to achieve certain levels of self-determination against particularly strong odds. Northeast Alberta is such an area where the odds against successful commercial grain production are paramount, and these odds have increased significantly as commercial successes in grain production increase in more climatically favorable regions of the Province.

The people who settled the study area, Afroamericans, Anglo-Saxons, Dutch, French, Germans, Hungarians, Irish, Italians, Polish, Scandinavians, Scots, Russians, Ukrainians, and others, did so primarily under the provision of the Dominion Lands Act of 1872. That Act was promulgated to fill the empty spaces of Canada's western interior in order to curb the territorial ambitions of the United States, and it served to attract folk for many and varied reasons. On the one hand, Anglo-Saxons just seemingly drifted onto the land and settled as a

matter of course or they came to settle because of the availability of free land. The Afroamericans, on the other hand, came to these lands seeking refuge from social hostilities. The reasons for the large influx of Ukrainians during the 1920s and 1930s, however, are unknown.

Significant agricultural settlement began in northeast Alberta about 1910--after the most productive lands in the Province had been settled. This study, therefore, examines the sequence of settlement activity from the early period through the expiration of the "public lands policy" in 1939 to demonstrate how combined Federal and Provincial governmental policies were instrumental in establishing a foundation for the region's development into marginality.

This study, however, focuses on levels of success attained by the folk in this frontier situation rather than failure of policy. We must, therefore, look to the geographic literature on frontier pioneer agricultural settlements to find success criteria established therein.

As a generalization, the geographic literature is fragmented and inconsistent in isolating what determines success criteria for settler groups. More specifically, the issues of success criteria raised by the various studies are shown by the following examples: Adequate capitalization, controlled acculturation or isolation for refugee groups, adequate land practices, basic urban facilities, per capita income, formalized system of resource utilization, methods of land titling and inheritance, mixing foreigners with nationals, private settlers with government guarantees, location of settlement, private initiative, settlement form, reliable transportation, and other infrastructural development among others are included as success criteria by the studies. Some of the geographic studies on frontier agricultural settlements,

however, show no criteria for success.

In spite of the various directions that settlement studies have taken, there is one general theme. It is a thematic concern which suggests that success is based on commercial agricultural production for a market economy. The "economic" argument posed in the literature provides a point of departure for this thesis.

To improve our methods for studying frontier pioneer situations, this study proposes a clarification. The thesis of this study proposes that frontier pioneer agricultural folk go through multiple stages in their natural history which begins with initial settlement and ends either in success or failure within a specified time period.

Northeast Alberta provides an adequate environment for testing this position because (1) the push-pull factors for settlement, in certain cases, can be reconstructed with varying degrees of accuracy, (2) the stages of development suggested in this study, can also be viewed historically in certain instances, and (3) the subjective levels of success can be specified for the folk based on their understandings. It is in this third instance that this thesis departs most radically from the traditional geographic literature, because the levels of success conceived herein are related to generational development and the notion of self-determination. The notions are not necessarily economically based, and, consequently, time is an important criterion for measuring success depending on the situation being judged.

This study suggests that a group which reproduces three or more generations at the site, or by developing off-shoot groups, is highly successful. In terms of time, three generations produced at the site is equivalent to fifty or sixty years--an adequate span of years to make

observations about the folk in northeast Alberta. A group that maintains two generations is viewed as moderately successful, one generation is barely successful, and a group that does not maintain itself through the establishment of a generational link is unsuccessful. These phenomena are clearly measurable where records exist for northeast Alberta and other areas.

Self-determination as a criterion for measuring success, on the other hand, is based on attitudes rather than time. The attitudes held on self-determination vary. It is used in this study as an unquantified measure as the notion of self-determination is viewed by more than fifty farm families, agricultural agents, social service workers, teachers, RCMP, and others in the study area. In addition, interviews were conducted with former farm and non-farm residents to bolster this subject evaluation of success. Self-determination, then, is timeless. Yet, it is all time between initial settlement and now, and the words of the people are important in this context of the study.

The geographic literature does not provide a means by which we can gauge levels of success for pioneer agricultural groups, and the primary contribution of this thesis to the settlement literature is its emphasis on arguments that are not economically based. Indeed, it suggests that we need a different measure for a given group because the situations of their settlements are differentially motivated. These differences are readily seen in northeast Alberta.

Settlers were initially attracted to the study area by the government's "public lands policy," but it was "boosterism" which deliberately raised false hopes about the agricultural possibilities of the environment. The *garden district myth*, propounded by local



boosters, served to set up criteria impossible to meet for successful commercial grain production, because killing frosts can occur on any day during the growing season. Despite the physical restriction on grain growing posed by the environment, the northeast Alberta farmer continues to plant and attempt to grow cereals. The fact that there have been successful crop years is a partially responsible factor for the marginality of agriculture.

Many folk, nevertheless, have remained wedded to this environment, engaged in marginally productive agricultural pursuits, during the sixty-five years between 1910 and 1975 because they like the style of life afforded by the farming situation. This seemingly anomalous situation is supported by wages earned from non-farming occupations. The non-farm income attained by these folk is both an historical and contemporary situation which plays a significant role in sustaining the agriculturally marginal character of northeast Alberta.

The details of this study, then, examine the interplay of the politics of existence, agricultural marginality, success, and the geography of northeast Alberta as the historical antecedents are analyzed with regard to what created the common conditions faced by the folk. These details are briefly introduced at the beginning of chapters, and a discussion follows each.

The conclusions reached by this study suggest that there are varying levels of success obtained by different groups of people. The Afroamericans, for example, reached levels of success based on self-determination and institutional developments. The successes of the French, on the other hand, are based on generational developments. The most important conclusion reached by this study, however, is that

success is a much more dynamic phenomenon than traditional geographic settlement studies would have us believe.



CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEMS OF SUCCESSFUL GROUP SETTLEMENT

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This thesis is directed to clarifying the meaning of success for frontier pioneer agriculturally-based groups in marginally agricultural situations. Frontier agricultural settlement has been of significant problematic and thematic concern for more than half a century among North American geographers.<sup>1</sup> Even though the literature is extensive and diverse, it is clear from the works considered below that agricultural group colonizers are generally misunderstood as dynamic phenomena. Refugee settlements, for example, receive only casual and passing reference in this vast literature even when the study is about a refugee group. Most of these geographic studies are primarily descriptive and thereby isolated in time and space, which leaves the specific phenomenon -- success -- fragmented and inconsistent.

Geographers have used "success" as the focal point for study, and yet generally omitted the most relevant questions concerning its meaning. Many misinterpretations have occurred because these students concentrated on form rather than revealing process. Therefore, the problem focused here is *how* -- i.e., in what respect -- some people who settle on agriculturally marginal lands have apparently succeeded and others have not.

THESIS

The overriding argument of this study is that frontier pioneer agricultural settlements go through multiple stages in their natural history beginning with initial settlement, and ending in either success or failure within a specified time period. The key determinants of their fate are

knowable if the proper questions are asked.

Those questions must concern the criteria for measuring success, and from whose standpoint it is measured. Therefore, this study first seeks to show trends in the literature, to call attention to its disjunctiveness, and to specify an alternative understanding of the nature of frontier pioneer agricultural groups -- with some particular attention paid to refugee settlements in agricultural situations.

Isaiah Bowman's "Scientific Study of Settlement" appeared in the *Geographic Review* of 1929 and was followed the next year by an article on the "Pioneer Fringe" in *Foreign Affairs*.<sup>2</sup> From these studies, the Advisory Committee on Pioneer Belts of the Social Science Research Council of New York accepted his definition of a pioneer belt as a "region of recent, of progressing, or of potential settlement."<sup>3</sup> A book, *The Pioneer Fringe*,<sup>4</sup> was published in 1931; in it, Bowman defined pioneer living as a low degree of control by the settler over instruments of power,<sup>5</sup> and he vaguely suggested that the fringe of settlement is beyond the mainstream of sequential human occupancy of the land.<sup>6</sup> *The Pioneer Fringe* was launched as the introduction to the collection, "Pioneer Settlement,"<sup>7</sup> a geopolitical analysis underlain by environmental deterministic conceptualizations. These publications set the stage for a spate of geographic studies relating to pioneer agricultural schemes and possibilities for frontier colonization in all inhabited continents of the world.<sup>8</sup>

It is evident, in these studies, that the problems encountered in the study of frontier agricultural colonization groups stem from a lack of a comprehensive analytic framework available from the inception of the studies. Therefore, it is little wonder that the historical development of these studies is erratic. Yet, even if one is tempted to indict Bowman

for setting the stage, and thereby establishing an image of pioneer agricultural colonization as a conflict or competition with the natural landscape, with no reference to existing inhabitants, he is not responsible for the pendulum's swing into our present stage of confusion.

In pioneer agricultural settlement studies, an overriding viewpoint, a specified trend, emphasizing economics or surplus production for the market economy, is readily discernible in the literature. This "economic" trend has, for the most part, implicitly denied the relevance of culture as direction and habit. Students of the problem have had an unclear understanding of motivations for immigration and settlement. Lacking the conceptual understanding of motivation, or underplaying the significance of *why* people migrated to the frontier, these students seized upon the economic motive to explain the whole panoply of experiences.

The preemptory economic viewpoint is often convincing because the argument can be quantitatively stated. For example, Tracie<sup>9</sup> wrote that

Doukhobor settlement ... was initially successful, despite the Doukhobors practically destitute arrival in 1899. By 1900 the Prince Albert colony had established 10 villages and 153 houses, the North colony had 13 villages and 153 houses, and South colony had 34 villages with 491 houses. In 1904 the Doukhobor Community purchased machinery, livestock and land to the amount of \$215,544 which included 370 horses, 4 portable engines and 2 traction engines, 6 separators, 2 sawmills, 50 binders, 12 fanning mills and 152 sleighs.<sup>10</sup>

These are his measures for success despite the fact that he wrote "The three areas finally chosen [for Doukhobor settlement] were far from Canadian settled areas and reflected contemporary attitudes toward what constituted a desirable physical and social distance between 'us' and 'them'."<sup>11</sup> There must have been more than economics involved for success in this Doukhobor case because "the villages and lands were being abandoned"<sup>12</sup> by 1909. The

Doukhobors were not settled long enough to establish a generational link at the site, which means their measures for success were different from those enumerated by Tracie.

The focus on production for the market economy as the key (or one key) to the success of a group is responsible for the series of isolated and fragmentary studies that manifests the confused state of the art. This is not intended to mean that the geographic materials on pioneer agricultural groups and societies are irrelevant, but it does suggest that most students of this problem have proven hesitant, unwilling, or unable to handle data of "essence" posed by a group after settlement is established. Augelli's study of the Latvians of Varpa<sup>13</sup> underscores this contention.

Augelli made a conscious effort to avoid making comparisons between Varpa and neighboring colonies and cultural groups on the same frontier. The Latvians' motivation for immigration was religious; beyond that, it was an unsponsored immigration. This combination of elements is unusual for a group of immigrant pioneer agricultural colonizers. He described the economic basis and trends and wrote that "the Latvians consider work from the viewpoint of the Protestant ethic, and everyone (including women and children) helps out on the farm."<sup>14</sup> He marked their success as follows: "The Latvian farm is neater, gives a higher per capita income and marks the group as better farmers than their neighbors, with the exception of the Japanese in nearby Bastos."<sup>15</sup> Augelli attributed Latvian cultural retention to the "tenacity of the group", and suggested that religion continued to be the binding force with the church as the most important focus of group activity. However, he readily admitted that "class distinction exists among the Latvians despite the community of religious feeling"<sup>16</sup> -- a statement which contradicts the notion of solidarity. The author wrote about the

distinctiveness of the Latvian landscape, and the future of the colony. He suggested that "when younger people have left the cultural fountainhead of Varpa, they are more prone to intermarry with other groups and to blend into the national culture of Brazil,"<sup>17</sup> and the consequences of blending will eventually cause the cultural disintegration of Latvian Varpa.

Augelli's treatment of the Varpa Latvians covers all the aspects treated in recent geographic literature on this topic -- the economic, the non-material cultural, and the aesthetic. Yet, his study is inadequate because it fails to go beyond the facade of economics in order to investigate continued cultural distinctiveness. For example, Augelli neglected the importance of education as "the" primary source of solidarity and separate identity. Rather, he focused on formal religion and clearly demonstrated that the church was in fact a centrifugal force in the colony; formal religion does little for holding a group together *unless* it is a way of life for the entire group -- a highly unlikely proposition when missionaries from the colony go off to Bolivia to save souls. The critical paucity of space devoted to the essence of the pioneer leaves much to be desired even though he noted that "the author's interviews at both Varpa and Bastos brought out the statement 'I will buy land if I can, but I will not sell',"<sup>18</sup> unrecognizingly underscoring a major cultural feature of some pioneer agricultural groups: owning land is a spiritual way of life, not simply a way to make a living. Augelli's study is isolated and aids little in understanding frontier pioneer agricultural colonization groups.

Augelli's study of the Japanese Colony on Brazil's Paulista Frontier<sup>19</sup> is designed as "more than a case study," because Bastos is essentially the cultural fountainhead for Japanese pioneer settlements on other Brazilian agricultural frontiers. The study is perceptive and sharp, but the analyst

must scrutinize carefully to reach comparative data.

Augelli noted that the colony was founded in 1927 and that

the degree of control exerted by Japan over the colonists was almost absolute. The law of the colony was laid down by the colonisation company, and every effort was made to insulate the colonists from Brazilian influence and keep alive their patriotism for Japan.<sup>20</sup>

It is noted by Augelli that the immigrant colonists to Brazil had been screened for capital accumulation and safe political views.

When the Bastos study is compared with the Varpa study as to why each group immigrated to the State of Sao Paulo, different patterns emerge. The Bastos settlers immigrated to extend the effective economic boundary of Japan; it was a political move that was sponsored by the Japanese government. The Varpa settlers, who arrived in 1923-1924, immigrated because they had received "revelations" that war and destruction would plague Latvia again. In a sense, their migration was a political move to a place where war was unlikely to occur. However, it was unsponsored and many were bankrupt when they landed. On the one hand, the Varpa immigrants were viewed as natural settlers because they were Europeans; on the other hand, the Bastos immigrants were seen as racially and culturally distinct "in a society whose primary ingredients are European ..."<sup>21</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that, because of the different reasons for immigrating, the Bastos and Varpa settlers would develop different kinds of societies. Indeed, the Bastos study leads to that inference. Was this in fact the case? The literature does not give an answer, but it does allow for some extrapolations: the effects of the Second World War in Latvia confirmed the Varpa group's belief in the divine origin of their post-World War One command to emigrate. The overall effect of the Second World War was to enhance group solidarity and the continued cultural distinctive-

ness of the Latvians of Varpa on the Brazilian landscape. The identification of the Bastos settlers with pre-World War Two expansionist Japan marked them as a potential anti-national minority, and they strongly aroused the suspicion of the Brazilians.<sup>22</sup> The effect was continued isolation and distinctiveness, as with the Latvians. Cultural resistance by the host country's population and institutions, and cultural resistance by both groups of settlers in these cases, demonstrate that the groups had relatively parallel development despite the different reasons for immigration and settlement, i.e., the developmental history of each group helped it to retain cultural distinctiveness until the members could no longer fend off the effects of penetration by outside forces. Further extrapolation from the data demonstrates that this penetration from the outside began during the Second World War when certain governmental sanctions were imposed on all foreign colonies.

Augelli successfully demonstrated that cultural exclusiveness (and thereby generational linkage) was desirable in each case studied. Nevertheless, in these studies, the overriding success theme, in terms of surplus production for the market economy, has detracted from emphasis on the essence of the folk at their place; that is, from attention to what each community was trying to accomplish as a result of their immigration, settlement, and development as dynamic entities.

Each study, though good descriptive geography in and of itself, was executed in isolation, although the data were collected on the same frontier. The author answered all of the questions that he posed for the Varpa study, and he followed his plan of attack for the Bastos study. What Augelli failed to do was render a portrait of the essence of frontier pioneer agricultural groups in a specified and comprehensible methodological framework.

Two settlement types are suggested by the Augelli studies: (1) the *refugee settlement* of the Latvians, whose inhabitants wanted to continue their lives undisturbed by other folk and (2) the *economic outpost* of the ancestral homeland economy effected by the Bastos settlement, whose inhabitants were extensions of the Japanese Empire in their social and economic behaviors. An understanding of the basic differences in settlement types helps to illuminate the pitfalls of measuring success on the basis of production for the market economy.

A refugee settlement, simply stated, is a location where persons gather after fleeing from a commonly perceived oppression or potential oppression. That is to say, a refugee settlement is a location to which a group of persons immigrate from another country (or the same country) for reasons that are other than free choice, e.g., economic, social, political, and/or religious pressures. The selection of the site itself, however, might very well hinge on the ability of the people to purchase lands of their choice.

The economic outpost settlement, on the other hand, is self-explanatory from Augelli's Bastos study. Thus nearly all pioneer agricultural studies are geared in the direction of "economic development," and have thereby confused another issue in settlement studies -- the problems of pioneer agricultural colonization schemes planned by governments interested, for example, in settling people on the land to secure political boundaries, or to relocate people from urban areas, with the genuine desire for agricultural development by foreigners and nationals.

The fundamental issues involved in this latter problem, planned agricultural colonization schemes by governments in the humid tropics of Latin America, have been put into some reasonable order in a book entitled



*The Development of Tropical Lands*<sup>23</sup> by Michael Nelson. Prebisch and Fisher wrote in their foreword to the book that

constructive consideration of the development potential of the humid tropics has been hampered by a lack of well-grounded technical and economic information. Consequently it has been difficult to distinguish imaginative flights of fancy from realistic analysis. Michael Nelson's study will help to make this distinction. Through detailed examination of twenty-four land development projects, he attempts to sort out the principal issues involved, to roughly assay their relative importance, to establish some ground rules for judging the success or failure of such projects, and to identify the main factors contributing to success or failure.<sup>24</sup>

Nelson found no *directed* colonization project appearing among the dynamic or successful colonization groups<sup>25</sup> thereby giving credence to Bowman's unquestionably accurate insights regarding pioneer settlements: "There is no handy rule to pioneering. No one has found the master key."<sup>26</sup> Nelson's work, however, is admirable because an analytic framework has been established for structuring inquiries into the nature of planned agricultural colonization schemes.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, this particular issue in settlement studies is being resolved.

The following section supports the earlier claim that geographic studies about frontier pioneer agricultural groups are disjunctive, and that no overall frame of reference is readily available from which we can determine success. The studies are presented in chronological order.

#### COLONIZATION STUDIES

What have other geographers written on our topic? Geographers have produced a wide range of studies relating to pioneer agricultural settlement colonization groups and schemes. Too frequently, however, they have not recognized some basic differences inherent in these settlements as

demonstrated by the two Augelli studies. The following critical review of some of these works will show that the geographic literature is disjunctive. This review, which begins with 1956 and concludes with 1974, is presented chronologically to draw attention to the directions during this period.

Eidt (1956). Eidt's study on the Cauca Valley<sup>28</sup> was designed to discuss a Japanese colony that "survived practically in its original form"<sup>29</sup> through the Second World War in Colombia. He suggested that the settlers understood the potential of the Valley, and played an important role in making it one of the major food producing regions of the country. Eidt emphasized two basic distinctions between this colony and other *Kaigai Kogyo Kaisha* (Overseas Development Corporation) colonies in America: first, no crops were sent to Japan, i.e., agricultural production was for the Colombian market. Secondly, "it was decided to avoid discontent by giving the colonists their own land after they had worked out the initial [three-year] contract term."<sup>30</sup>

A general migration approximately 35 miles northward ensued after the 1945 wartime restrictions had been removed from the Japanese settlers, and by 1948 nearly all had left the initial settlement area. "The colonists rented Colombian holdings in the Palmira area without intending to settle them permanently."<sup>31</sup> Consequently, "most of the private holdings (representing only about ten percent of Japanese farm land) are smaller than 100 ~~plazas~~ each. The large holdings are almost invariably on rented property."<sup>32</sup>

Eidt discussed the need for hiring help because the "Japanese are not numerous enough to do their own plowing ..."<sup>33</sup> He related the success of the Colombian Japanese to their settlement background, i.e., the production of goods for the Colombian market. Eidt concluded that "with the lack of new

immigrants the long term segregation of the Japanese in this area is doubtful, and it will be interesting to see what happens to this unusual Colombian farm society."<sup>34</sup>

Eidt's study is interesting, but it is primarily descriptive and non-analytical. It is shortsighted, on his part, to assert that people who farm on rented land have an effective colony; indeed, persons on rented land have no effective control over their own household because it can be reclaimed at the will of the owner. This study also lacks clarity concerning the effect of the Second World War on these settlers: on the one hand Eidt wrote that

... the fact that no crops were sent to Japan because of the favorable local bean market started a trend which never changed, and which seems to account for the favorable circumstances under which this colony spent the war years<sup>35</sup>

On the other hand he wrote that

the [1939 cooperative] project began to gain momentum, but in 1941 when war broke out, the Colombian government forced the cooperative out of existence by placing the Japanese under close surveillance by encouraging individual rather than group work for the next four years.<sup>36</sup>

Crist and Guhl (1956). The study by Crist and Guhl<sup>37</sup> is perceptive and earthy. The universal factors influencing the affairs of pioneer agriculturalists are treated sympathetically. The authors note that a highway was completed as a result of colonization, and the completion of the highway brought about a second wave of settlers; they discuss the personal trials of the folk at their place; and write that

... many of the settlers left the mountains for the eastern frontier zone for social and political rather than purely economic reasons. They sought a new world in which to enjoy freedom from societal restraints rather than a geographic frontier in which to work out their economic freedom. But their very

cultural heritage militated against their being able to take full advantage of the resources offered by virgin, unsettled territory.<sup>38</sup>

Contrary to the world wide rural exodus, they wrote, there is "... a reversal of this process ... taking place in various parts of Colombia, particularly in the transition belt between the vast plains of alluvial deposition and the massive Andean wall."<sup>39</sup>

The authors discussed the problems of disease, inadequate diets and their consequences, family organization and stability, cultural differences, exploitation of the Indians, and violence visited upon the settlers by recurring civil strife. One of the conclusions to the study is that

the tragedy of the llanos is the tragedy of a frontier zone that by its very nature is not yet able to live a life of its own, somewhat like [the U.S.] Middle West a century ago. As long as the Middle West led a kind of colonial existence vis-a-vis the eastern seaboard it could not work out its own regional salvation.<sup>40</sup>

Crist and Guhl's study is basically impressionistic. There is, nevertheless, some analysis of causes for situations being what they are. The basic difference between this study and the previous one is the focus -- in contrast to descriptions of a foreign group of pioneer agriculturalists these are impressions (with some analysis) of nationals as pioneer agriculturalists. A comparison of the studies would show immediately that the reasons for settlement were quite different.

Augelli (1958). Augelli<sup>41</sup> provides a case study of a Dutch colony at Holambra in Brazil. He recounts the factors in origin, decline, and reinvigoration of the colony. "By 1956, Holambra had achieved a fair degree of economic stability."<sup>42</sup> Augelli notes that the Dutch were resisting Brazilian assimilation even though the children must learn Portuguese in the schools.

The author suggests a few tentative conclusions on the basis of

(1) The amount of capital necessary to establish a foreign agricultural colony on a sound economic footing in Brazil is perhaps more than the average European group possesses, and additional money in the forms of loans from governments and other sources may be necessary. (2) The agricultural colony is not a vehicle to great wealth, and the best that the hardworking colonist can hope to achieve is a comfortable standard of living. (3) Although group cooperation and communal effort are necessary to finance and start a colony, private initiative should be encouraged as quickly as possible to assure maximum development.

(4) Finally, Holambra's success with land improvement seems to reaffirm the old truism that "in Brazil there are no poor soils, there are only poor practices." Indications are that with proper care the empty areas whose soils have been mined and largely abandoned can be brought back into production to support more people.<sup>43</sup>

His record is starkly cold and impersonally rendered as if the colonists were "things" rather than people involved in the process of settlement: this is especially true when it is compared to the study by Crist and Guhl.

Stewart (1961). Stewart<sup>44</sup> reported on some activities involving Japanese immigration and settlement in Paraguay; the report is cast in a historical framework. He noted that "in spite of the disappearance of all discriminatory regulations [against Oriental immigration] in 1924, informal controls continued to emphasize the government's desire to acquire settlers felt to be compatible with Paraguayan culture."<sup>45</sup>

Statistics pertaining to numerical and ethnic factors in Paraguayan immigration and settlement, according to Stewart, leave much to be desired, "but people with German cultural affinities ... have proved to be the most persistent settlers ..."<sup>46</sup> He notes that the Japanese were allowed to enter on an experimental basis in 1936, but that the Second World War prevented

Japan from capitalizing on the generally favorable impression made by the immigrant settlers. The Paraguayans successfully resisted large-scale immigration because they feared the energy and fecundity of the Japanese would submerge the relatively small Paraguayan population.<sup>47</sup>

The author reports that the Japanese are producing fundamental changes on the landscape; that no pioneer fringe has developed; and that there are two recognizable concentrations. Land selection in the central Parana region was motivated by "the physical endowment, the availability of large tracts of land, and the price."<sup>48</sup> Stewart speculates, however, that "the major consideration may well have been the location of an important new road that will ultimately link the Paraguayan capital with the Brazilian Atlantic port of Paranaguá."<sup>49</sup> He concludes that the road holds the key to the development of some of Paraguay's best lands in which isolation has been the principal deterrent to settlement, and that the Japanese would most certainly monopolize the conquest of this important region if the Japanese-Paraguayan agreement stands the test of time and the road is completed.

Stewart's report is interesting and readable. The sequential analysis is based on the location of the immigrants, and includes much relevant information on the processes involved with Japanese settlement in Paraguay. Unlike Augelli in the previous report, one senses that Stewart is writing about people as settlers rather than inorganic beings pioneering on the land.

Augelli (1962). Augelli's<sup>50</sup> study of planned agricultural colonization schemes in the Dominican Republic was designed to "examine the ... experience both as an example which might shed some light on the general problems and processes of colonization and, incidently, as a means of viewing the important changes that are taking place in the country's areal patterns."<sup>51</sup>

He discusses the evolution of the program, and how the Haitians on the Western border were in part responsible for the Dominican's desire to have nonblacks settling on that frontier.<sup>52</sup> The author suggests that political stability under Trujillo was responsible for the general national progress of the country and the developing of functioning colonization schemes planned by the government, i.e., "... the rapid growth of colonization has ... been facilitated by a direct and highly effective policy of governmental aid and supervision."<sup>53</sup>

The author suggests that "... differentiation provides the observer with a tool for further analysis."<sup>54</sup> He further describes the frontier colony as the "fair-haired child of the Dominican program," finding that the frontier colonies are faring better than the others -- being the "foreign" and the "mixed." Augelli describes the foreign colonies in the Dominican Republic and notes that they are the least common despite an "open door" policy designed to bring in as many as 2,000,000 Europeans, especially refugees before and during the Second World War. Nevertheless, "virtually all foreign colonies are Japanese, and evidence points to an increase in Japanese immigration in the future."<sup>55</sup> In his examination of the mixed colonies, Augelli found that they were mixed primarily because the Jews, Spaniards, and other Europeans had not remained at their sites for very long and these places were being taken up by Dominican nationals.

The tentative inferences reached by Augelli from the Dominican experience which may be useful for colonization elsewhere are: (1) Colonization programs should be kept highly flexible in matters of the amount of land and aid given to the colonist, (2) Production from the land should be sufficient for subsistence and a saleable surplus, (3) Isolated colonies appear doomed to failure; therefore, transportation and communication facilities should be

sufficient to assure the ultimate economic and social integration of the colony with the rest of the country, (4) Preference should be given to nationals rather than foreigners unless a European standard of living is forthcoming from the land, (5) When foreigners are introduced, the colonists should be "mixed" with nationals to facilitate cross-fertilization in agricultural techniques and to pave the way for eventual assimilation of the foreigner, (6) Preference in the selection of colonists should be given to young and vigorous couples with some farming know-how; and in the case of foreigners, the cultural background should be such as not to clash with local customs and beliefs.<sup>56</sup> He concluded that "Governments ... should not view colonization as a separate effort aimed at achieving specific goals but as an integrated part of an over-all development program."<sup>57</sup>

This study was descriptive, interesting, and informative. The main parallel between this study and the previous one by Stewart is the racism involved in the question of who settles in the particular country. Augelli's study, executed at a time when Trujillo was in power, bears the mark of the era.

Jordan (1962). Terry Jordan<sup>58</sup> suggested that the colonizing Germans had to seek their homes in lands where their cultural heritage was endangered because, unlike Britain, Germany had no Canada or Australia where large numbers of emigrants could continue to live under home rule in climatic conditions similar to those of the ancestral homeland. His study was designed to explain why the Germans migrated to Brazil, to review the problems involved in adapting to the new physical and cultural environment, and to describe the procedure of woodland settlement employed by the colonists.<sup>59</sup>



Perceptions had much to do with where the Germans settled, e.g., they avoided the *campos* because "the absence of trees was thought to indicate infertile soils, no timber was available for construction and fuel, and the tough sod and matted roots of the grassland were unfamiliar."<sup>60</sup> They sought out the environment most similar to Germany that they could find. Jordan describes the greatest conflict as that of the cultural environment, i.e., the German system of primogeniture "conflicted with the Mediterranean system which called for equal division of land among all male heirs. Forced by law to follow the Mediterranean system, many German farmers diligently saved money to buy land for each son."<sup>61</sup> He further described a feature that seems to have some degree of universality: "... it is interesting to note that various conflicts have arisen in the past between ... native Brazilians of German stock and newly-arrived immigrants from Germany."<sup>62</sup>

The author discusses the procedure in woodland agricultural colonization, i.e., how they planned the settlements and what was produced therein. He points out that it was the Germans who first opened the forest of southern Brazil to agricultural settlement in a climatic region that is decidedly warmer than the ancestral homeland. Jordan contends that when the process of assimilation is completed, a way of life and landscape will have developed that will be distinctively southern Brazilian.

This study was produced from secondary resources. Therefore, it is dry and descriptive. It bears little relationship to the study executed by Augelli on the Dominican Republic in the previous review. Jordan has, nevertheless, included an appendix that lists the cities and towns, by state, that have significant German elements.

Eidt (1962). The Montana, at the eastern base of the Andes, inaccessible from Western Peru for the most part, is the focus of Eidt's<sup>63</sup> study of pioneer

settlements. He discusses the extensiveness of the Montana and demonstrates how it linked more with Brazil economically, but how necessary it is in order for Peru to feed its population.

The author discusses the detailed history of the settlements, and notes the principal agencies responsible for colonization programs: "(1) the church, (2) the government, (3) private entrepreneurs, and, most recently, (4) the National University of Huamanga. Of all of these agencies, the church has been established the longest in eastern Peru."<sup>64</sup> This well documented study discusses the people who settled, when they settled, where they settled, and many of the problems of settlement -- especially diseases in the lowlands.

Eidt writes that achieving the major settlement progress that is necessary for the survival of Peru is a distinct possibility, but "grave mechanical and legal difficulties arise from the fact that there is still no over-all coordinating legislation or agency to supervise colonization, a circumstance which may lead to haphazard and inefficient use of the land."<sup>65</sup> The author has tentatively concluded from the successful Montana colonization attempts that (1) reliable overland transportation must be made available to nearby markets; (2) experiments in land use must be carried out prior to large scale activities; (3) basic urban facilities must be provided immediately; (4) small groups of foreigners should be "mixed" with Peruvians who have adequate resources; and (5) the most satisfactory method of populating the Montana would be to give emphasis to private settlers, while furnishing effective governmental supervision in order to prevent speculation, maintain roads and railroads, and provide police protection.<sup>66</sup>

This study is impressive in its detail. Both description and analysis of issues are presented. One would be hard pressed to find some relationship between this study and the article by Jordan.

Krause (1962). Two studies on the Mennonites who settled in the Paraguayan Chaco constitute Krause's<sup>67</sup> report for the geographical record. She notes that "of the three Chaco settlements, Menno was established in 1926-1928 by 1300 settlers who came by way of Canada; Fernheim, in 1930-1932 by some 2000 Russian refugees; and Neuland, in 1947-1948 by 2500 displaced persons, also from Russia."<sup>68</sup> Isolation was a key factor for the site selection of the Menno colony: "under government sanction, the colonists could continue their religious, educational, social and economic institutions, use the German language, and be exempt from military service."<sup>69</sup>

The author points to background as the important ingredient for explaining the differences found between these Mennonites. Menno colonists chose the Chaco because they were equipped with implements and capital; the Fernheimers, as refugees, had little choice when Canada's doors were closed to them; and for the Neulanders, as displaced persons, choice was decided by the Mennonite Central Committee. Krause closes her report with a question: "Will separateness continue to dominate, or will the colonies become more closely integrated into the economic life of Paraguay?"<sup>70</sup>

Krause's report is informative and instructive. The fact that she closed it with a question makes it better than the average report because it gives another researcher the opportunity to follow up on a particular line of enquiry. There are no useful parallels between Krause's report and the study by Eidt in the last review.

Stewart (1963). It is with trepidation that Stewart's<sup>71</sup> contribution is included because it is more of a challenge to geographers to set the field of study in a path of analysis than a study of pioneering societies. His reflections on the mechanical difficulties involved with analysis of foreign agricultural colonization schemes led Stewart to write "I venture to suggest

that, in spite of the growing number of contributions [to the literature on foreign pioneer agricultural colonization schemes], the geographic implications of the phenomenon have not been thoroughly explored."<sup>72</sup>

Japanese colonization in Paraguay is used by Stewart to illustrate the problems and possibilities involved in the scanning of pioneer landscapes for insights into the workings of culture as a geographic factor. He discusses the significant problems associated with tracing the threads of individual traits through the complex web of cultural interrelationships, and comments that "the most noteworthy departure from Oriental agricultural tradition is the almost total absence of basic conservation technology."<sup>73</sup> Stewart suggests that cultural elements are far easier to describe than to explain; he proposes that "the search for origins and development of ... elements is best conducted within the framework of their formative processes."<sup>74</sup> Stewart further suggests that beyond the mechanical difficulties are the conceptual ones, i.e., the attempt to sort out the intricacies of cultural process in order to describe changing associations of man and land risks violation of certain terminological taboos.

This article is intended as a basis for a framework for analyzing foreign pioneer agricultural settlements. It is dynamic and useful beyond the Paraguayan focal area. The parallel between this article and the report by Krause is the potential methodological follow-up allowed by its position.

Eidt (1964). An examination of government colonization activities in the tropical or semi-tropical interior of Colombia, Peru, and Argentina is one of the stated purposes of Eidt's<sup>75</sup> study on comparative problems and techniques. He explained that he was also interested in the factors of "success and failure which might be valid in new zones of settlement."<sup>76</sup>

The author discusses the conflicts created in eastern Colombia by missionaries who built schools without the permission of the Indians; the role of the Army Farm Colonies in Peru; and the successes of colonization schemes in Argentina.

The article is short, descriptive, and patently irrelevant to our purposes. The only worthwhile statement is: "Argentina has worked out the problems of remote interior settlement most successfully -- a feat accomplished in spite of an ineffective land title program."<sup>77</sup> However, the author does not explain the statement. There is no relationship between Eidt's article and the contributions made by Stewart's previous contribution.

Stewart (1965). "The association of new land with new life, particularly in the relatively recent context of immigrant agricultural settlement, is a phenomenon of unusual interest,"<sup>78</sup> Stewart's predominant theme is change as captured in studies of pioneer settlement. His focus is on the farm dwellings, but he notes that

... relevance to survival is not always a trustworthy index to degrees of cultural conservatism. Occasionally, seemingly inconsequential things are the focus of tenacious cultural attachment. Thus, Japanese in Paraguay, although tolerant of a steady decline in intensity of cultivation, and amenable to dispersed settlement with its attendant compromises in village-oriented socio-economic patterns, show no such flexibility with regard to baseball."<sup>79</sup>

Nevertheless, the author continues that "structures are at once the opening gambit and the first line of defense in the contest for mastery of the environment" and, realizing that, "it may be argued ... (and not without some logic) that structural evidence muddles the view of the interplay between human groups and the pressures of pioneering."<sup>80</sup> Stewart concludes.

his article in stating that

by its relative immutability the dwelling offers a sustaining sense of security against the uncertainties of a milieu in which change is inevitable, but directions are imperfectly perceived and mechanisms are poorly understood. The dwelling cannot wholly insulate pioneers from vexing problems of a new environment or the constant and often none-too-subtle pressures for acculturation; but the persistence of familiar detail it would seem can and does retard compromises in spirit.<sup>81</sup>

The article is more than aesthetic because, as the author pointed out, "the cavernous, hip-roofed barn is superfluous where collection and storage of winter feed is not a climatic imperative,"<sup>82</sup> yet, it does not reach an analytical or descriptive level. It is an entertaining article, and relevant for gaining some insights. There are, however, no parallels between Stewart's contribution and the last review.

Eidt (1967). This field study by Eidt<sup>83</sup> describes modern colonization as a facet of land development. He discusses private colonization schemes by the United Fruit Company and the *Kaigai Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha*. About the latter, the author wrote:

Authorities negotiated with the Japanese firm *Kaigai Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha* (Overseas Development Corporation) to begin commercial agricultural development of the upper Cauca Valley by settling approximately 55 Japanese farm families there between 1929 and 1936. Although such intensive local Colombian opposition developed that it forced movement of the colony from Corinto to Palmira in 1945 and subsequently brought about major changes in religious attitudes of the colonists, the Japanese have been economically successful.<sup>84</sup>

The author discusses the colonization attempts by government agencies undertaken because of the lack of popularity of private foreign colonies, the slowness of missionary endeavors, and the need for national planning

because of population growth problems, renewed political strife, and military necessity.<sup>85</sup> He shows that the extremely isolated colonies grew slowly, but isolation has been abated in most of the colonies. The article contains ten photographs and three maps showing the types of schemes extant in Colombia.

Eidt suggests that two serious problems have afflicted colonization schemes in Colombia:

The problem of untrained settlers is so severe that the few government officials who reside permanently in the colonies have failed in attempts to introduce valuable commercial crops, particularly those which take several years to mature.<sup>86</sup>

The second problem is one Colombians share with Latin Americans in general, i.e., the large number of spontaneous settlers who appear when a colonisation project is established. There are laws in Colombia which favor the *colono espontaneo* and act as a detriment to planned settlement.<sup>87</sup>

This second problem, he noted, has struck fear into every land owner including some of the enterprising *colonos espontaneos* themselves, and *bona fide* settlers are discouraged by the system.<sup>88</sup>

The moral overtones in this study are unmistakable, and the implication is that the only thing that matters is economic development, without attention to the people involved in the processes of that development. It is a poor study that leads into a void, and compares not at all with the previous study reviewed.

Eidt (1968). As a matter of record, it would be interesting to know the real story concerning the Japanese in Colombia. Eidt<sup>89</sup> wrote in the introduction to the study of the Japanese agricultural colonization in Argentina that

...after the Japanese entered World War II, trans-Pacific communications became increasingly difficult and all but one of their South American colonies eventually suffered economic hardship. The exception was a KKKK colony located in the upper Cauca Valley of Colombia near Palmira. This group of approximately 500 pioneers began activities in 1929 and almost immediately broke away from the mother organization. The Japanese farmers chose to produce cash crops for the Colombian market alone, with the result that the colony not only survived the war almost in its original form but very early began to contribute to the economy of the host country.<sup>90</sup>

The author discusses reasons why some Japanese colonies had faltered in Brazil because of location and/or poor management, and he suggests that two of the most significant aspects of Misiones and any other modern colonization scheme, "both from the point of view of the host country and the colonists themselves, are the manner of adjustment to the new region and the speed with which sizable commercial quantities of food and industrial crops can be produced."<sup>91</sup> Success in each of these achievements, after an investigation over a period of years, is considered by Eidt to depend largely on five factors: location of the colony, settlement form, choice of settlers, formalized systems of resource utilization; and methods of land titling and inheritance.<sup>92</sup> He writes, nevertheless, that "aside from the dangers of poor transportation to market areas, remoteness is a factor which may be less of a disadvantage under certain circumstances than is generally presumed to be the case in modern pioneer settlement."<sup>93</sup> The most exciting aspect of this article is footnote eight, which answers in part the question posed earlier by Krause:

An example of the achievements of isolating foreign groups which are allowed to remain together long enough to become socially and economically stabilized is that of the Mennonites in northwestern Paraguay. Increasing contacts with the rest of Paraguay are now rather smoothly bringing about the process of assimilation with this respected community after approximately half a century of independent adjustment.<sup>94</sup>



Eidt discusses the damero system,<sup>95</sup> which fails to consider topography and charges it with being the direct cause of many a pioneer settlement failure; he suggests, however, that the Japanese settlers at Lujan had the advantage of securing holdings where each parcel had a permanent stream on one end and a road near the other. In the section on the selection of colonists, Eidt attempts to clarify the issue of pioneer background, i.e., who makes a good pioneer? He suggests that it made little difference in the case of the Japanese and the Germans if they came from urban or rural areas because either urban or rural they have a strong attachment to the land: "It is therefore less of a surprise to learn that high percentages of the population of some Japanese and German colonies in the rainforests of America are from urban areas in the homeland but have succeeded remarkably well as pioneer settlers."<sup>96</sup> The author suggests that the Japanese family structure is especially suited to pioneer settlement requirements because "the distribution of labor is clear and unquestioned."<sup>97</sup>

In a section entitled "Special Problems and Conclusions," Eidt noted that the Japanese settlers are almost in unanimous agreement that their major problems have less to do with colonization *per se*, than with the broader difficulties of Argentine inflation, the training and education of their children, and the location of the colony along an international border. He concludes by predicting that "as debts are finally paid, opportunities to build better homes occur, and the school problem is solved, the initial worries will probably retreat into the background as they have in other successful pioneer settlements."<sup>98</sup>

This is the most stimulating study by Eidt so far because he discusses the process of arrival of some of the colonists from other areas of South America, and there is some analysis of causes. The overriding theme of

economic success in a commercial sense at their site, however, detracted from some of the more important concerns of the colonists. This is, nevertheless, one of the finer studies in the geographic literature on the topic.

Laatsch (1971). The primary reason for Laatsch's<sup>99</sup> study was to understand the impact of Hutterian migration to Alberta with regard to the Communal Property Act and the evolution of the settlement pattern. He found that a dispersed settlement pattern had developed as a result of legislative action initiated in the 1940's, and that the Communal Property Control Board's function had the perverse effect of imposing a hardship on the individual farmer of southern Alberta.

The author briefly discusses the movements of the Hutterites through Europe to the United States and finally to Canada. His primary focus, however, is the Communal Property Act and some results of the Act. The Communal Property Act of 1947

Prevented any Hutterite colony from purchasing or leasing any land beyond the acreage held in 1944. No new colonies could be established within 40 miles of another colony and no new colony could contain more than 6,400 acres. No person could sell land for a new colony without first offering it for sale for 60 days under the Veteran's Land Act of 1942 ... The Act was sustained by the courts and rigidly enforced.<sup>100</sup>

The primary reason for the Act was the fear of other farmers that the Hutterites would buy up all the farmland in southern Alberta while people in urban areas saw it as a means of forcing the Hutterites into the "mainstream" of Canadian Society. Laatsch ably documents actions and reactions through 1969 when the Supreme Court of Canada upheld the Act:

Justice Ronald Mortland writing for the Court stated that "the Communal Property Act was enacted relative to the ownership of Land in Alberta and the legislature and had justification under Section 92 British North America Act because it deals with property in the province. The legislature considered the use of large areas of land in Alberta for the purpose of communal living was something which, in the public interest, was required to be regulated and controlled."<sup>101</sup>

The author notes, nevertheless, that there are provisions for flexibility in the Act providing for the Lieutenant Governor in Council to make regulations in the public interest. In his concluding remarks, Laatsch wrote that

it is ironic that the Communal Property Act is resulting in a hardship on those it was originally meant to protect ... Recently many farmers who desire to dispose of their land have difficulty finding a buyer and want desperately to sell to the Hutterites, but are prevented from doing so because of the Communal Property Act. It is these same farmers who 20 years ago fought, sometimes violently, for the passage of the Act.<sup>102</sup>

Laatsch writes that the Hutterites occupy slightly more than 1% of Alberta's farm land, based on the 1966 census, and in the areas of highest concentration they own slightly more than 6% of the farm land.<sup>103</sup> He further suggests that as a result of the Communal Property Act the Hutterite colonies have been expanding (branching out) westward and south of the Canadian border.

This study is well written and well documented. The organization of Hutterian society is treated mostly in a spatial context rather than an analytical framework, which detracts from comprehension of the essence of the society to some degree. Laatsch does note, however, that Hutterites practise *controlled acculturation* -- a bending in the wind by which the Hutterites accept practices from the larger society but integrate the new

practices into their own value system.<sup>104</sup> It is what Wagner called partaking "in progress while relying on tradition."<sup>105</sup> There are parallels between this study and the last one by Eidt, especially the settler's concern for generational linkage and continuation.<sup>106</sup>

Eidt (1971). The major objective of Eidt's book on *Pioneer Settlement in Northeast Argentina* "is to contribute to knowledge about one of the important areas of modern settlement in a remote part of Latin America."<sup>107</sup> He had noted in the "preface" that

the attraction of vast empty regions in Latin America has long offered a challenge for pioneer settlers who want to open land to escape adverse political, economic, religious, ethnic, or other pressures, and for the environmental scientist who attempts to direct land opening or to analyze its result.<sup>108</sup>

Therefore, a second objective of Eidt's study was "to inquire into the effects of past as well as existing land opening projects in order to reveal the particular ingredients which may be relevant to successful modern settlement in this and other regions of Latin America."<sup>109</sup>

Eidt's study deals with the role of pioneer settlement in the expanse of territory "beyond the limits of meaningful settlements"<sup>110</sup> in Latin America with specific reference to the Province of Misiones in which the physical geographic transitional nature has posed especially difficult colonization problems.<sup>111</sup> The author discusses the nature of early settlement by the Jesuits between 1609 and 1707, the question of state and federal lands in Argentina, and the advantages and problems associated with Misiones as a physical region.<sup>112</sup> He adequately documents the developmental colonization history of Misiones, the various people who came and went, and why they did. The account is well illustrated, with perhaps too much detail given to the characteristics of settlement types in the Province.

On the cultural side in Misiones, the author notes that "cultural differences are deeply ingrained among farm peoples the world over, and this has been quite evident in the lack of mutual trust during times of stress in the randomly mixed colonies of the difficult landscape."<sup>113</sup> That is, each settlement group should be of the same background or as closely as that is possible to attain. He further noted that "it is evident that greater importance was attached to educational facilities by European pioneers than by the Argentine authorities, and relations between the host country and colonists were severely strained over this point."<sup>114</sup> This is likewise a problem for the Japanese colonists who built two schools after residing only two months in Misiones

because they insisted on a good education for their children ... Classes in Misiones are frequently cancelled on rainy days and children lose several days a week during bad weather. Lack of paved roads precludes adequate bus service, but the rain holiday has become more of a provincial habit than a necessity, according to colonists.<sup>115</sup>

In the realm of education, Eidt concludes that "the education of children is a most important factor in colonization of the wilderness..."<sup>116</sup>

The author's in-depth study covered the aspects of diseases and plagues; homeland influences on colonizers; politics; commercial production; cooperatives; scarcity of land for retaining succeeding generations at the site; economic assistance; settlers from urban environments and their special problems; indebtedness as a stabilizing factor in some instances; and he concludes that in the case of pioneer agricultural settlements, "whether they fail or succeed, will be carefully investigated at all stages and publicized for the purpose of maintaining the important record of landscape change and of developing a deeper understanding of pioneer settlement processes."<sup>117</sup>

Eidt has done a masterful job of recording the settlement processes in his study. In many ways it is analytical, but it employs no discernible analytical framework. Therefore, it stands as a good geographical record like many other studies. There are elements of the study that are useful in other contexts, and it is unfortunate that they are so well hidden, e.g., the role of politics among the colonists as actors rather than as subjects being acted upon; the effect of education on the continuation of cultural tradition and exclusiveness among the settlers; or the significance of language in the retention of ethnicity. This study taken on the whole has some useful data for developing pertinent questions on pioneer agricultural colonization societies. The gap, however, between this study and the one by Laatsch is too wide to bridge with the state of the art at present.

Langemann (1971). Langemann's first essay is devoted to "The Development of a Model for the Life Cycle of Closed Agricultural Colony"<sup>118</sup> which he introduces with a brief discussion of why governments encouraged agricultural settlements during the 19th and early 20th centuries, e.g., "... as a means of upgrading and increasing agricultural production and enlarging their effective national territory."<sup>119</sup> The author defined out of the larger mass of settlers "a small specialized sub-group"<sup>120</sup> who

for one reason or another, sought a place in which to establish a "Closed Agricultural Colony." They hoped to establish a more or less autonomous or independent colony within the confines of a host country. This colony would be closed to all people who were not members of the particular group establishing the colony and in these colonies they hoped to carry on their distinctive way of life with little or no interference from the outside world ... these colonists came as larger and more extended groups with special, and very strong, group ties. This resulted in the larger group acting as one cohesive unit, as an individual, rather than as a number of individuals with the same general goals in mind.<sup>121</sup>

From this definition, he postulated that "despite great differences in the geographical origin, ethnic and racial origin, and cultural backgrounds of the colonists involved, the development of the closed colonies tended to follow similar steps."<sup>122</sup> That is

The pattern of establishment, growth, development, the pressure from outside, and eventual decline of these colonies as "Closed" units and the beginning of the processes of assimilation of the colonists into the society of the host countries will follow similar patterns despite great differences in the geographical and ethnic origin of the colonists or differences in the location of the closed colonies.<sup>123</sup>

Langemann moved from this hypothesis to a review of the literature and correctly notes the significance of Stewart's "Foreign Agricultural Colonization as a Study in Cultural Geography"<sup>124</sup> as a contribution toward structuring inquiries in the nature of agricultural colonies, i.e., "... it should provide a fuller understanding of the role 'culture' plays in man's influence on the landscape."<sup>125</sup> Nevertheless, Langemann notes that, for the most part, his reviews would "be restricted to some degree... to the economic and technical aspects of organizing settlements in a frontier area."<sup>126</sup> The author's reviews are short, and his interpretation is excellent: "They list a great number of facts about one colony in particular but there is relatively little attempt made to draw inferences from the vast amounts of factual material presented."<sup>127</sup>

However, from the individual case studies, Langemann found enough similarities to develop a model of "the life cycle of colonies as 'closed' entities."<sup>128</sup> His model is graphically illustrated which shows the processes or stages and some alternatives.<sup>129</sup> At the source area where the decision to emigrate is made, "There must ... be a motivating or unifying force which will produce [a] 'we' feeling in a group of people and set

them apart from the rest of the population..."<sup>130</sup>. This motivating force, according to Langemann, is generally a perceived threat to the continued existence of the group's way of life. Therefore, the factors of emigration are push. At the stage of site selection "one of the basic requirements is a large block of land with no 'outsiders' living on it."<sup>131</sup> It is at this stage that choice and alternatives enter the picture, i.e., the selection of the site if it is economically feasible and sufficiently remote; the rejection of the site and returning to the source area, integrating into the larger society, or selecting an alternative site. If the site is acceptable, then the development of the colony begins. As the colony develops, it experiences internal pressures that are not shown in the illustration. Nevertheless, these pressures result because "a number of males have grown to an age where they require land of their own"<sup>130</sup> which creates centrifugality within the colony, i.e.,

The values instilled in the people are such that they want to work hard and produce tangible results from their labour. If this is denied them within the colony, the very dynamics which produced the colony in the first place will tend to drive the young men from it in order to achieve the success which they have been taught to value and which is denied them within the colony. If this generation wants land they must then frequently leave the closed colony.<sup>133</sup>

Langemann's next stage is one in which the colony is subjected to integration pressures; at this stage the colonists can resist most effectively by moving to another frontier. If the colonists are unsuccessful at resisting the integration pressures, then the processes of integration begin; the first line of attack against the colonists is through the education of their children in the language, history, and culture of the host country.



With the young aware of alternative opportunities outside the colony, many tend to leave and the colony will eventually find itself with a shortage of labour. To supply this need for labour within the colony the colonists turn to sources outside of the colony ... This destroys the totally closed nature of the colony. By the time the first generation of settlers are ready to leave the farms there are frequently not enough younger members still within the colony to fill the farms available and the owners are forced to sell to nationals of the host country.<sup>134</sup>

The integration process is the final stage of the model because the colony is opened, and the processes of assimilation have begun.

Langemann's model is useful in studying the nature of closed agricultural societies. The strong point is his accounting for the external forces acting on the pioneering people; the weak point in the model is the poor characterization of the internal forces acting within the group itself. This latter point, however, is documented as a reality in the text. The author has provided a framework for analyzing agricultural communities beyond those that are closed, but some changes must be made in the model to include other variables, e.g., the centrifugal forces deriving from such things as economic success or liberalism in accepting methods and values of the nationals in the host country. His model would be useful in structuring some of the data presented by Eidt's study on northeast Argentina, but the analyst would, indeed, have a difficult time fitting the pieces together.

The second essay by Langemann is "The Mennonite Colonies of South America."<sup>135</sup> In this essay, the author claimed that "the Mennonite Colonies of South America, despite their desire for isolation and their desire to cut themselves off from all outside influences and to remain unchanged, are eventually subjected to the forces of assimilation and the 'closed' nature of the colony disappears."<sup>136</sup> He hypothesized that "closed Mennonite

Agricultural Colonies will follow the same life cycle that other Closed Agricultural Colonies do."<sup>137</sup>

Langemann illuminated the problem of most studies on Mennonites by showing that they are generally "... of a descriptive or 'inventory' nature rather than analytic."<sup>138</sup> Nevertheless, his literature review is both extensive and exhaustive.

The author's discussion of the various Mennonite Colonies in South America is more than adequate to demonstrate how each fit or did not fit into his model. However, Langemann failed to strengthen the model in overlooking some aspects of the data with which he was working, e.g., how does the following fit the model?

In the case of the Menno colony, the need for outside labour is largely supplied by a tribe of comparatively primitive Indians who lived in the area before the Mennonites arrived. The use of this Indian labour is fairly extensive. However, as they were not a part of the Paraguayan cultural fabric they do not tend to introduce Paraguayan values into the colony. There has been a tendency for the Indians to learn the Low German dialect used in everyday speech by the Mennonites and thus adjust their culture to that of the Mennonites.<sup>139</sup>

This quote suggests that cultural imperialism is more than a one-way process, i.e., a group in control will do everything within its power to maintain that control. Other areas that Langemann failed to develop and strengthen in the model were in aspects of differential capitalization, choice or restriction in site selection, differential sectarian interests, and the role of prosperity; all of these factors, of course, are mainly internal ones that were left out of the model initially.

The essay is, nevertheless, well executed, and it follows the pattern set by the model. Therefore, its usefulness was demonstrated. What the model needs now are improvements to account for the internal behaviors demonstrated

by closed agricultural groups.

Langemann's third essay, "The Mennonite Colony of Spanish Lookout British Honduras,"<sup>140</sup> was designed "to study the progression of the Spanish Lookout Mennonite Colony through the early stages of the model, study some of the influences of the Mennonites on the country, and the influences of the British Honduras on the Mennonites, and, based on this to make some prediction as to the rate of progression through the remaining portions of the model."<sup>141</sup>

The author accurately notes the lack of literature on Mennonites in British Honduras, discusses the factors involved in their decision to emigrate from Mexico, and describes the selection of a site within British Honduras: "this particular group of Mennonites had decided they wanted a site which would be in an economically competitive position."<sup>142</sup> The settlers began arriving in British Honduras to the estate known as Spanish Lookout in 1959 because the site fulfilled the perceived needs of the Mennonite delegation at the right price.

British Honduras wanted the Mennonites because of their potential for developing agriculture within the country, and Langemann noted that the idea of the Mennonites making British Honduras self-sufficient in agricultural products was written into the charter:

The Mennonites will ...

(c) produce food not only for themselves but also for local consumption and for the export market.<sup>143</sup>

The government hoped that the Mennonites would influence the nationals into believing that farming was a respectable occupation.

Some of the initial immigrants rejected the site, but the colony's economy developed quickly and by 1966 it was well established and viable.<sup>144</sup> However, "before they arrived and without their knowledge, they were ...

involved in the internal politics"<sup>145</sup> of the country.

Langemann suggests that the government officials did not believe that the Mennonites would "in fact" establish Closed Colonies;<sup>146</sup> that Mennonite missionaries from the U.S.A. among the nationals have confused the issue of what a Mennonite is;<sup>147</sup> and that "any attempt by a group of whites to keep to themselves is interpreted as ... racial prejudices"<sup>148</sup> by the mainly colored native population. The author concluded that

in an economic sense, then many of the expectations held by the politicians ... were fulfilled, to a degree. In a social sense, they have been disappointed in that the Mennonites did not mix with the people around them to the extent that had been expected of them.<sup>149</sup>

Langemann's predictions on future assimilation rates of this settlement involve the colonists being forced to have English language instruction in their schools, "if political rumblings are interpreted correctly."<sup>150</sup> His predictions are not impressive considering the source of the data with which the author is operating, e.g., "They have some degree of isolation in that it is a 'Closed Colony' and no outsiders may move into the colony."<sup>151</sup> Control over the land and the factors of production imply some kind of power with which to negotiate areas of conflict. Without the Mennonites' agricultural production, the country's agricultural pursuits would be set back twenty years.<sup>152</sup> Implicit in these data is a rising consciousness of political ability on the part of the Mennonites. The author further suggests that "the group from Spanish Lookout are progressing through the model at a fairly rapid rate and if this continues, the closed nature of the colony will soon be broken and the process of assimilation will be underway."<sup>153</sup> However, the author earlier pointed out that the colonists wanted to be in an economically competitive position with respect to marketplaces; so it

becomes evident that this group did not begin at an isolated site and allow the "other" settlements to catch up to it. On the contrary, they established themselves near the main agricultural station for the country and along the major highway to the marketplace.

There is something lacking in the interpretation of the data in this third essay. The model, however, remains viable as a tool for analysis.

Symanski and Burley (1973). Symanski and Burley's excellent study deals with the changing character of the "Jewish Colony of Sousa"<sup>154</sup> where approximately 1,000 Jewish refugees from Europe began settling in March of 1940. They suggested that

the colony deserves attention not because it is representative, which it may or may not be, but because it is a fascinating example of geographical change among people, land, and town, and a striking juxtaposition and symbiosis between successful European capitalists and long exploited nationals [of the Dominican Republic].<sup>155</sup>

The authors noted in 1972 that the

... two separate parts of what is to the outside world a single town are so physically and culturally different that they could be treated alone, and yet in significant ways the Dominican sector is as much a part of the colony's history and present configuration as are the Jews themselves.<sup>156</sup>

The purpose of the study was to describe the history and geography of the colony, to illuminate how adjustments were made to the alien environment, the growth and development of the colony as a group and individually, and the processes of the colony's decline. Symanski and Burley discuss the forces that were involved in the inception of the colony; show that the area for settlement was chosen "because of its accessibility to the city of Puerto Plata, and because of the improvements already on the property;"<sup>157</sup> analyze the reasons why the initial communal effort was successful in the clearing of forest, the building of roads, bridges, water systems, and homes and why

the idea of communal living failed; and point out the processes involved in the colonists becoming successful dairy farmers.

The authors divide the life of the colony into periods of development: the initial period was more than a year of communal living. The second period lasted five years, from 1941 to 1946; the colony reaches its zenith in population and economic development; dairying became the major economic pursuit, and meat processing factories were started. The third period was characterized by "maturity and aging" of the colony when settlers moved to individual farmsteads; this period lasted from about 1946 until 1960. After 1960, the colony was characterized as being in its inevitable final phase of dispersion and death.

Symanski and Burley have produced an exciting study that views the colonists as real actors on the landscape. They note the centrifugalism in the community that was created by wealth:

The shift from an essentially socialistic mode of ownership to a capitalistic one has, in little more than twenty-five years, produced inequalities within the Jewish community of Sousa which are as great as those between Jews of El Batey and the Dominicans of Charamico.<sup>158</sup>

This feature is a recurring phenomenon in group settlements that are non communal, i.e., individualistic production creating inequalities. A significant element of almost all group colonizers is mentioned in passing for the first time in the literature. That is, the relatively apolitical attitude of group colonizers toward outside affairs. It is possible to relate some areas of this study to Langemann's study of the Mennonites at Spanish Lookout. For example, in the area of social exclusiveness, "Jewish gatherings were only for Jews and for the Dominican wives that many Jewish bachelors married, but not for others."<sup>159</sup> As a refugee settlement,

however, its basic character necessarily differs greatly from the character of what Langemann called closed agricultural societies because the Jews came from divergent backgrounds and cultural areas.

Crist and Nissly (1973). *East from the Andes*,<sup>160</sup> by Crist and Nissly is concerned with the cultural, sociohistorical, and economic factors of pioneer settlement in the "South American Heartland" of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia; a chapter is devoted to each region -- the chapters on Venezuela and Colombia are excerpted from earlier works, one of which was reviewed above.<sup>161</sup> The authors suggest that in spite of all the hardships visited upon the Andean peasants throughout the years "... they have survived."<sup>162</sup> That survival, and consequent philosophy, is an underlying theme of the book that is adequately summarized in their "prologue":

The crux of the whole problem of settlement is to convince pioneers that by accepting innovations and the winds of change, thus moving into new areas with new technology, they will alter the pattern of their daily lives so as to be able to live a more abundant life, spiritually as well as materially.<sup>163</sup>

The book is a sympathetic treatment of the plight of Andean peasants, and it is not systematically organized. Rather, the book reflects the impressions of the authors over a period of more than forty years. Crist and Nissly's book concerns the harsh realities faced by these folk at their place (site). The series of studies is interesting, but bears little relationship to "The Jewish Colony at Sousa".

Stevenson (1974). Stevenson's recent study carefully documented and explained *The Role of Symbol and Myth in the Welsh Settlement of Patagonia, 1865-1911*.<sup>164</sup> It is a detailed study showing the symbolic and mythological factors involved in emigration for Wales, immigration, settlement,

colonial development, assimilation pressures and the dispersion of the colony in Patagonia. However, it is unfortunate, for the state of the art, that he did not use Langemann's model for closed agricultural societies as a framework for his analysis.

The author suggests that the encroachment of Anglo-Saxon values into the Welsh symbols of language, religion, and the way of life of rural Wales was the factor that stirred Welsh nationalists to the point where they would seek to maintain their distinctive culture<sup>165</sup> in some isolated area. After the emigration society had chosen Patagonia for settlement, it was their duty "... to create in Welsh minds a belief that Patagonia was an ideal location for a colony dedicated to the preservation and furtherance of Welsh culture [where] the Welsh symbols would be safe from external contamination."<sup>166</sup>

Looking at the economic and political factors of migration with a jaundiced eye, Stevenson wrote that "the immigrant ... is neither a rational economic man nor a pawn in a legislative game, but a human being whose behaviour is complex and often objectively irrational."<sup>167</sup> Patagonia had been pictured "in terms of the Welsh system of symbols by playing on its isolation and its suitability for the traditional agrarian practices."<sup>168</sup> This system of symbols was responsible for the emigration. The Welsh went to Patagonia

...because they were nationalists [and] ... wished to preserve the culture of Wales, represented by the symbols of language, religion and way of life. If this had not been the case, they would hardly have chosen to join a colony whose *raison d'etre* had been explicitly nationalistic, and which was located in such an isolated area.<sup>169</sup>

Faith in the Welsh cultural symbols was responsible for the myth that developed around "... the *Vale of Camwy* as a fertile, rainy, 'typically



Welsh' valley."<sup>170</sup> In spite of the objective reality, the lack of enough rainfall for growing crops, the myth

... continued to be the main influence over initial settlement behaviour. The colonists made their assessment of the potential of the Lower Chubut through the filter, as it were, of the myth and they were inclined, for instance, to ascribe the failure of the first season's rains to an atypical accident.<sup>171</sup>

Indeed, the "hungry times" of 1865-1866 were blamed on the organization of the colony rather than the conditions of climate and soils. Faith in the myth was strained with the 1867 crop failure, and finally lost its credibility with the advent of irrigation. Stevenson suggests that the colonists could not reject the myth initially because "to reject the myth, was to reject the rationale for the colony's existence."<sup>172</sup>

The author suggests that the cultural symbol of religion, equality of mankind, was responsible for the colonists' acceptance of the Indians; the whole complex of symbols was responsible for their ambivalence towards the Argentine government because they assumed that theirs was a "Welsh republic";<sup>173</sup> the Argentine government, however, looked upon them differently. The colony was broken up as a result of the cultural pressures for assimilation by 1902.

Stevenson's study is well executed: he has described the physical background of the ancestral homeland and contrasted that with the site of immigration; examined the social and psychological forces providing the motivation for emigration; discussed the climatic myth of Patagonia that influenced the perception of the settlers; and briefly shown the causal factors involved in the dispersion of the colony. The study, however, would have been enhanced considerably if Stevenson had used Langemann's model as an analytical tool to improve the state of the art with reference

to agricultural colonization groups. Indeed, the factors of motivation for the migration to Canada, seeking isolation and exclusiveness, and an ambivalence toward the Argentine government, are portrayed in Stevenson's study as they are in Langemann's model.

#### A RECAPITULATION OF THE COLONIZATION STUDIES

Eidt's (1956) non-analytic study of the Japanese in the Cauca Valley of Colombia does not deal with the notion of success. He fails to deal with the notion of control over the means of production. That is, the Japanese were renters in this study -- a fact that is significant among any agricultural group.

Crist and Guhl's (1956) study of pioneer settlement in eastern Colombia is basically impressionistic. There are, however, some analyses of nationals as pioneers. The study belongs in a category related to agriculture in the economic development of Colombia's overall economy. No direction is pointed as to where we will find success measured.

Augelli's (1958) Holambra study of Dutch in Brazil points out the necessary requirements for successful pioneer agricultural colonization groups. The success criteria are capitalization, private initiative, and adequate land practices. He also suggested that all pioneers need to understand that agriculture is no vehicle to great wealth.

Augelli's (1958) Varpa study touches upon all aspects of colonization. He notes that the success criteria for Varpa are neatness and per capita income. While the study adequately details a refugee situation, the author underplays the significance of that factor in the success of the group.

Augelli's (1958) Paulista study of the Japanese at Bastos is developmental in the sense that the author looks at the cultural and economic changes occurring over thirty years. The founding of the colony

was part of Japan's attempt to be sufficient in foodstuffs, and this created problems for the Japanese colonists in Brazil during World War Two. The cultural and economic changes enumerated by Augelli were forced on the Japanese colonist by the Brazilian government, and this aspect of the study is underdeveloped. The notions of successes are not enumerated, but the author does say that the Japanese are prosperous.

Stewart's (1961) study on the Japanese in Paraguay looks at the infrastructure to provide the means for economic success. Stewart thinks that location with respect to marketing outlets is a primary item for measuring success.

Augelli's (1962) study of agricultural colonization in the Dominican Republic is about governmentally planned agricultural colonization schemes as overall planning for the national economy. He found that frontier colonies were more successful than the "foreign" and "mixed" colonies, but the author does not indicate what success means in his article.

Jordan's (1962) study of the colonizing Germans in southern Brazil was produced from secondary sources, and the article is primarily descriptive. Jordan looks at the conflicts the Germans encountered. Nothing in his discussion is related to success.

Eidt's (1962) pioneer settlement study in eastern Peru shows that the Montana at the eastern base of the Andes is linked economically with Brazil. He underscored the necessity of the agricultural region for Peru to feed its population. Five criteria are established for successful agricultural colonization: (1) Reliable overland transportation to markets; (2) Experiments in land use prior to large scale activities; (3) Immediate provision of basic urban facilities; (4) Small groups of foreigners "mixed" with nationals and (5) Private settlers with effective governmental supervision

to prevent speculation, maintain roads and railroads, and provide police protection.

Krause's (1962) report on two Mennonite groups in the Paraguayan Chaco shows that isolation was a key factor for success in these refugee colonies. She maintains that it was the ability of the groups to maintain their religious, educational, social and economic institutions, use the German language, and be exempt from military service.

Stewart's (1963) contribution is about the mechanical difficulties related to analysis of foreign agricultural colonization schemes. He correctly suggests that the growing literature does not thoroughly explore the geographic implications of the phenomenon.

Eidt's (1964) examination of governmental colonization schemes in the semi-tropical interiors of Colombia, Peru, and Argentina does not fulfill the stated purpose of success and failure which might be valid in new zones of settlement. The author gives no criteria for success in this article.

Stewart's (1965) article on the mark of the pioneer is basically aesthetic, and in some measure sarcastic, e.g., he explores the notion of how areas of flexibility show that structural evidence oftentimes muddles the view of the interplay between human groups and the pressures of pioneering. The article deals with changes in attitude towards the landscape, and success is not included in the picture.

Eidt's (1967) field study of modern colonization as a facet of land development in Colombia deals with morality more than it does with settlement. The success theme implied in this study is that of economic development, but it is left unstated by the author.

Eidt's (1968) study of Japanese Agricultural Colonization in Argentina is one of the finer studies in geography dealing with pioneer agricultural

colonization. He chooses five factors as criteria for successfully establishing foreign pioneer agricultural groups: (1) Location of the colony; (2) Settlement form; (3) Choice of settlers; (4) Formalized systems of resource utilization, and (5) Methods of land titling and inheritance.

Laatsch's (1971) study is concerned with Hutterian migration to Alberta with regard to the Communal Property Act and the evolution of settlement pattern. The author suggests that the success criteria for Hutterites relates to their ability to bend with the wind through the process of controlled acculturation. This process, Laatsch suggests, allows for generational linkage and continued cultural distinctiveness.

Eidt's (1971) study of pioneer settlement in northeast Argentina is designed to reveal the particular ingredients which may be relevant to successful modern settlements in Latin America. His success criteria are not enumerated. And while the study taken as a whole is useful for developing pertinent question about pioneer agricultural colonization societies, success criteria such as the role of politics among the colonists, the effect of education on the continuation of cultural tradition and exclusiveness, and the significance of language in the retention of ethnicity are sadly lacking in this study.

Langemann's (1971) essays are devoted to model building and demonstrations as to how the model works among groups in closed agricultural situations. Langemann demonstrates the success of the closed colony, and he also demonstrates the power of a national government to assimilate members of the group.

Symanski and Burley's (1973) study of Jewish refugees in the Dominican Republic examines success and failure in the colony. The zenith of the colony's success, they suggest, was the five year period when dairy farming

was the major economic pursuit. This study bases success on cooperation, and failure on individualism.

Tracie's (1973) study of refugee Doukhobor settlements in western Canada does not address the issue of continuation. The success criteria used by Tracie are those of inventory relating to land and capital accumulation.

Crist and Nissly's (1973) study is concerned with the cultural, sociohistorical, and economic factors of pioneer settlement in the South American heartland of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. They render impressions gained over a period of more than forty years. The study is sympathetic to the plight of the people, but it does not deal with measures for success.

Stevenson's (1974) historical study is concerned with the role of symbol and myth in the Welsh settlement of Patagonia. The author does not enumerate criteria for success, but the study clearly shows that failure was the final reality.

From the twenty-two studies listed above, fourteen have no clearly defined criteria for what constitutes success among frontier agricultural colonization groups. Eight of those fourteen are related in some fashion to economic development for national economies, two relate strictly to political issues, two are basically theoretical, one is aesthetic, and one basically outlines historical circumstances of a refugee group.

Eight studies present success criteria. These are presented as follows:

- I. Capitalization, private initiative, and adequate land practices.
- II. Isolation (for refugee groups).
- III. Per capita income (for refugee groups).

- IV. Developing adequate infrastructure to market produce.
- V. Adequate capital inventory (for refugee groups).
- VI. Cooperation (for refugee groups).
- VII. Location of the group, settlement form, choice of settlers, formalized system of resource utilization, and adequate land titling.
- VIII. Reliable transportation, land use experiments, basic urban facilities, foreigners mixed with nationals, private settlers with governmental guarantees.

These studies clearly demonstrate the fragmented and inconsistent meaning of success in the examined geographic literature with regard to frontier pioneer agricultural groups, regardless of whether their situations were marginal or not. The most striking aspect of the works analyzed here is the total absence of subsistence agriculture as being a possible link in the success factor of a pioneer agricultural group. It is the purpose of this study, then, to improve the state of the art with meaningful questions and purposive details to establish criteria for measuring success.

#### DISCUSSION

The proposal of this thesis is that frontier pioneer agricultural colonization group settlers go through multiple stages in their natural history beginning with initial settlement, and ending in either success or failure within a specified period of time. The key determinant of their fate, it suggests, is knowable if the proper questions are asked. Colonization studies by geographers are of little value for establishing success criteria for pioneer agricultural colonization groups.

This thesis proposes the three stage outline below for the timing of success within the natural history of frontier agricultural groups. This

outline accounts for refugee situations and non-refugee situations, agriculturally marginal and non-agriculturally marginal environments.

(1) The factors of settlement are determined by

- (a) the push factors, or why people migrated from the source area, i.e., the pre-migration experience; and
- (b) the attracting or pull factors of the area, e.g., isolation (reasonable distance between "them" and "us"), other people in the area like "us", the relative absence of outside institutional authority, and/or perceptions of economic opportunity free of competition.

It should be noted that the migration experience itself might well have some bearing on establishing a settlement either positively or negatively.

(2) The stages of development are proposed as

- (a) the adaptation of anchoring stage, i.e., establishing roots and the spatial arrangement of the community;
- (b) the prolongation or making-it-last stage, i.e., building key institutions such as schools, churches, marketing cooperatives; establishing communication links (infrastructure); developing authorities; and the engendering sectarian and ideological movements or factions. This is the most critical stage for groups that wish to remain isolated from the stream of national consciousness, because the developing factions inevitably cause some persons to leave the community. The result is either enlarging land-holdings by some or allowing an outsider to buy the abandoned land. Contradictions must be resolved adequately;
- (c) the penetration or post pioneer stage of development, i.e., outside forces creating confusions within the community. Examples in this stage might include military conscription; institutional consolidation by outside authority; laws designed to prohibit perpetuation of the group, community, or colony; intermarriage; labouring away from the cultural fountainhead; the use of labour from outside the community; applications of modern technologies; the lure of urban life-styles; and other like mechanisms attacking the coping possibilities of the settler group; and
- (d) the battle to maintain the prolongation stage of development; this stage of the natural history is little more than an extension of (c) above should the community survive that onslaught successfully.



(3) The levels of success are conceived in terms of generational developments.

That is,

- (a) a group that reproduces three or more generations at the site, or by developing off-shoot groups, is highly successful because the recurring battle to maintain the post-frontier character of the group has been won more than once. In terms of time, three generations at the site are equivalent to about fifty or sixty years;
- (b) a group that successfully maintains two generations at the site is viewed as moderately successful;
- (c) one generation at the site is barely successful; and
- (d) a group that does not maintain itself through the establishment of a generational link is unsuccessful.

While generational linkage might be the best measure for success in some instances, it will not work in others. An example could be the Latvians of Varpa in the Augelli study. They might have decided that reaching Brazil, after escaping Latvia, was all the success they wanted for the moment. Another example could be developed to show that arrival at another place was the initial success for some group of persons. The levels of success which are conceived in terms of generational linkage, nevertheless, provides a framework for developing some significant questions regarding criteria for success in frontier pioneer agricultural colonization groups.

The criteria for measuring success are related to the persons who make the measurements. That is, what who expects is the critical question regarding success. The government's position on success, for example, is not the same as that of a particular group, and individuals differ from the group in the conclusions regarding success. Agricultural officers view success from certain angles, and the agriculturalists do not have the same understanding. It is the responsibility of the analyst to correlate the claims and paint a vivid picture from which others can draw valid conclusions.

The purpose of this thesis, then, is to show how some settlers have survived on the agriculturally marginal lands in northeast Alberta, which is the study area focused, to test the claims made herein. The first question must relate to why the government opened the land for settlement, and the answer must demonstrate how that was accomplished. Indeed, that is the substance of the following chapter, but it shows more. The next chapter explores problems created by the government when it caused the opening of land for agricultural settlement in northeast Alberta. To what degree the government was successful in its aims is shown in the pages that follow.

FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>This concern is much older among European geographers, and less diverse because of their perceptions of "empty lands" on other continents. This study limits its discussion to colonization schemes by pioneers in the Americas reported by North American geographers whose opinions differ widely, but have the same basic premise of the European geographers. See the following as examples concerned with the themes and problems of pioneer settlement and/or perceptions of same: WEBB, Walter P., "Geographical-Historical Concepts of American History," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1960), pp. 85-97; MIKESSELL, Marvin W., "Comparative Studies in Frontier History," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1960), pp. 62-74; and BUTLAND, G.J., "Frontiers of Settlements in South America," *Revista Geografica*, No. 65 (1966). Cf. Footnote 8, below, for further citations regarding this subject. Soviet policy vitiates comparisons.
- <sup>2</sup>BOWMAN, Isaiah, "The Pioneer Fringe," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1927), pp. 49-66. One of the predecessor titles of *Foreign Affairs* was the *Journal of Race Development*, and it is evident that Bowman's concepts of the pioneer fringe and zones were influenced by the notions of white supremacy and environmental determinism. Indeed, practically all of the 1930's *American Geographical Society* sponsored publications are influenced by those concepts. The issues of environmental determinism and concepts of racial purity *per se* are beyond the scope of this study, but this fact does make for some interesting speculations regarding the motives of scholars of this bent during that historical period.
- <sup>3</sup>TAYLOR, Griffith. "The Pioneer Belts of Australia," *Pioneer Settlement*, W.L.G. Joerg, ed., American Geographical Society Special Publication No. 14 (1932), p. 360, New York.
- <sup>4</sup>BOWMAN, Isaiah, *The Pioneer Fringe*, American Geographical Society Special Publication No. 13 (1931), New York.
- <sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 48. Professor Robert Horsfall has suggested that the quoted passage is a "do nothing statement for doing everything," i.e., it is vague and unclear at best.
- <sup>6</sup>BOWMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- <sup>7</sup>JOERG, W.L.G., ed., *Pioneer Settlement: Twenty-Six Authors*, American Geographical Society Special Publication No. 14 (1932), New York.
- <sup>8</sup>The following examples are relevant to this discussion in a Canadian context: MACKINTOSH, W.A., *Prairie Settlement: The Geographic Setting*, (1934), The Macmillan Company, Toronto; McARTHUR, D. and CARROTHERS, W.A., *History of Immigration Policy and Company Colonization* (1935), The Macmillan Company, Toronto; MACKINTOSH, W.A., *Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces* (1935), The Macmillan Company, Toronto; MURCHIE, R.W., *Agricultural Progress on the Prairie Frontier* (1936), The Macmillan Company, Toronto; DAWSON, C.A., *The Settlement of the Peace River Country*:

*A Study of a Pioneer Area* (1934), The Macmillan Company, Toronto; DAWSON, C.A., *Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada* (1936), The Macmillan Company, Toronto; LOWER, A.R.M. and INNIS, H.A., *Settlement and the Forest and Mining Frontiers* (1936), The Macmillan Company, Toronto; and ENGLAND, Robert, *The Colonization of Western Canada: A Study of Contemporary Land Settlement* (1936), P.S. King & Son, Ltd., London. For shorter articles, covering some of these same general concerns, see the American Geographical Society Special Public No. 14 (footnote 7 above), pp. 1-36.

- <sup>9</sup>TRACIE, C.J., "Ethnicity and Settlement in Western Canada: Doukhobor Settlement in Saskatchewan," *B.C. Geographical Series*, No. 2 (1973), pp. 67-76.
- <sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 73.
- <sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 68.
- <sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 73.
- <sup>13</sup>AUGELLI, John P., "The Latvians of Varpa: A Foreign Colony on the Brazilian Pioneer Fringe," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (1958), pp. 365-387.
- <sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 373,
- <sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 376.
- <sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 380.
- <sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 384.
- <sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 385-386.
- <sup>19</sup>AUGELLI, John P., "Cultural and Economic Changes of Bastos, A Japanese Colony on Brazil's Paulista Frontier," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (1958), pp. 3-19.
- <sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 7.
- <sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 3.
- <sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 3.
- <sup>23</sup>NELSON, Michael, *The Development of Tropical Lands: Policy Issues in Latin America* (1973), The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- <sup>24</sup>PREBISCH, Raul and FISHER, Joseph, L., "Foreword," *The Development of Tropical Lands*, v.
- <sup>25</sup>NELSON, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
- <sup>26</sup>BOWMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

- <sup>27</sup> Herbert M. Eder has rightly questioned the validity of the statistical data used by Nelson, but the fact remains that *The Development of Tropical Lands* provides, for the first time, a comprehensive framework for analysis of planned colonization schemes. See Eder's review under "Recent Publications," *Professional Geographer*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (1974), pp. 463-464.
- <sup>28</sup> EIDT, Robert C., "A Note on Japanese Farmers in the Cauca Valley, Colombia," *Revista Geografica*; Vol. 18, No. 44 (1956), pp. 41-51.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- <sup>32</sup> EIDT, *op. cit.*, p. 48. Editor's note: One hundred *plazas* is equal to 160 acres or a quarter section in Canada and the United States. One *plaza* is equal to 1.6 acres or .66 hectares.
- <sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- <sup>37</sup> CRIST, Raymond E. and GUHL, Ernesto, "Pioneer Settlement in Eastern Colombia," *Smithsonian Institution Annual Report for 1956*, pp. 391-414, Washington, D.C.
- <sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 404.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 405.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 414.
- <sup>41</sup> AUGELLI, John P., "A Dutch Colony in Brazil," *Geographical Review*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (1958), pp. 431-433,
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 433.
- <sup>44</sup> STEWART, Norman R., "Recent Trends in Paraguayan Immigration and Pioneer Settlement," *Geographical Review*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (1961), pp. 431-433.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 431.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.

- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 433.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 433.
- <sup>50</sup> AUGELLI, John P., "Agricultural Colonization in the Dominican Republic," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (1962), pp. 15-27.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- <sup>58</sup> JORDAN, Terry G., "Aspects of German Colonization in Southern Brazil," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (1962), pp. 346-353.
- <sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346.
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 349.
- <sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 350.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 350.
- <sup>63</sup> EIDT, Robert C., "Pioneer Settlement in Eastern Peru," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (1962), pp. 255-278.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 276.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 277-278,
- <sup>67</sup> KRAUSE, Annemarie, "Mennonites in the Paraguayan Chaco," *Geographical Review*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (1962), pp. 599-600.
- <sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- <sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 599.
- <sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 600.

- <sup>71</sup> STEWART, Norman R., "Foreign Agricultural Colonization as a Study in Cultural Geography," *Professional Geography*, Vol. 15, No. 5 (1963), pp. 1-5.
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- <sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- <sup>75</sup> EIDT, Robert C., "Comparative Problems and Techniques in Tropical and Semi-Tropical Pioneer Settlement: Colombia, Peru, and Argentina," *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers*, Vol. 26 (1964), pp. 37-41.
- <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- <sup>78</sup> STEWART, Norman R., "The Mark of the Pioneer," *Landscape*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (1965), pp. 26-28.
- <sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- <sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- <sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- <sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- <sup>83</sup> EIDT, Robert C., "Modern Colonization as a Facet of Land Development in Colombia, South America," *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers*, Vo. 29 (1967), pp. 21-42.
- <sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- <sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- <sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.
- <sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- <sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.
- <sup>89</sup> EIDT, Robert C., "Japanese Agricultural Colonization: A New Attempt at Land Opening in Argentina," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (1968), pp. 1-20.
- <sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1. ☹
- <sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

- <sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 5.
- <sup>93</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 7.
- <sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 7.
- <sup>95</sup>The damero system is the resulting settlement form created by the Argentine rectangular survey system; it is a checkerboard pattern much like that in most of Canada and the United States.
- <sup>96</sup>EIDT, Robert C., "Japanese Agricultural Colonization: Argentina," *op. cit.*, p. 11.
- <sup>97</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 12.
- <sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 20.
- <sup>99</sup>LAATSCH, William G., "Hutterite Colonization in Alberta," *Journal of Geography*, Vol. 70, No. 6 (1971), pp. 347-359.
- <sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 350.
- <sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 353.
- <sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 359.
- <sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 356.
- <sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 359.
- <sup>105</sup>WAGNER, Philip L., "A Lesser Transformation," *Revista Geografica*, No. 64 (1966), p. 138.
- <sup>106</sup>See the following studies for excellent treatment of Hutterian life: RADTKE, Hans D., *The Hutterites in Montana: An Economic Description*, Bulletin 641 (1971), Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, Montana State University, Bozeman; GROSS, Paul S., *The Hutterite Way* (1965), Freeman Publishing Company, Saskatoon, Canada; HOSTETLER, John A. and HUNTINGTON, Gertrude E., *The Hutterite Way* (1967), Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Toronto; and HOSTETLER, John A., *Hutterite Society* (1974), The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- <sup>107</sup>EIDT, Robert C., *Pioneer Settlement in Northeast Argentina* (1971), p. 4, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
- <sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xiii.
- <sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
- <sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 3.
- <sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 7.
- <sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 7-33.



- 113 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 114 *Ibid.*, p. 134.
- 115 *Ibid.*, p. 179.
- 116 *Ibid.*, p. 180.
- 117 *Ibid.*, p. 216.
- 118 LANGEMANN, Ralph E., "The Development of a Model for the Life Cycle of a Closed Agricultural Colony," *M.A. Essays*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis (1971), pp. 1-44, Simon Fraser University.
- 119 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 120 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 121 *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
- 122 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 123 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 124 See footnote 71 for full citation.
- 125 LANGEMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
- 126 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 127 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 128 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 129 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 130 *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
- 131 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 132 *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- 133 *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.
- 134 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- 135 LANGEMANN, Ralph E., "The Mennonite Colonies of South America," *Ibid.*, pp. 46-101.
- 136 *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

- 137 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- 138 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- 139 *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
- 140 LANGEMANN, Ralph E., "The Mennonite Colony of Spanish Lookout British Honduras," *Ibid.*, pp. 102-140.
- 141 *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.
- 142 *Ibid.*, p. 113.
- 143 *Ibid.*, p. 116.
- 144 *Ibid.*, p. 119.
- 145 *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.
- 146 *Ibid.*, p. 122.
- 147 *Ibid.*, p. 124.
- 148 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 149 *Ibid.*, p. 125.
- 150 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- 151 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
- 152 IRBY, C.C., Unpublished Field Notes on Mennonites at Shipyard and Blue Creek Village, British Honduras (1967).
- 153 Langemann, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
- 154 SYMANSKI, Richard, and BURLEY, Nancy, "The Jewish Colony of Sousa," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (1973), pp. 366-378. An earlier study of predominantly urban Jews as agricultural settlers in the Western Hemisphere is Morton D. Winsberg's "Colonia Baron Hirsch: Una Colonia Israelita Agricola en Argentina," in *Revista Geografica*, No. 65 (1966), pp. 45-56; the greatest problem of Winsberg's study is that he is dealing with too much data, inadequately.
- 155 SYMANSKI and BURLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 366.
- 156 *Ibid.*, p. 367.
- 157 *Ibid.*, p. 368.
- 158 *Ibid.*, p. 370.
- 159 *Ibid.*, p. 373.

- 160 CRIST, Raymond E. and NISSLY, Charles M., *East from the Andes* (1973), University of Florida Press, Gainesville.
- 161 *Supra.*, pp. 18-19.
- 162 CRIST and NISSLY, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
- 163 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 164 STEVENSON, W. Iain, *The role of Symbol and Myth in the Welsh Settlement of Patagonia, 1865-1911* (1974). Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Simon Fraser University.
- 165 *Ibid.*, pp. 62-65.
- 166 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- 167 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 168 *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- 169 *Ibid.*, p. 95.
- 170 *Ibid.*, p. 89.
- 171 *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- 172 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
- 173 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE COUNTRY

The purpose of this chapter is to answer the question posed in the previous chapter of why the government opened the study area to agricultural settlement. That is, this chapter provides some essential background information for understanding some of the characteristics peculiar to the agricultural margins of northeast Alberta. It was suggested in the last chapter that success depends on the questions asked, and this portion of the study shows how the government's land policy, applied in the study area, precluded successful cereal grain production.

The government's understanding of the "greatest good for the greatest number" in terms of settlement and subsequent utilization of the natural and exploitable resources is one objective measure for success. However, the climatic factors involved in agricultural production tempers the weight that can be assigned to settlement and, in the current study, exploitation of the natural soil resource. Thus, this chapter also addresses the significance of areal limitations, explains why this area rather than some other was chosen for study, and it describes some of the realities of the natural environment with which the people have had to contend -- regardless of the levels of their understandings of this environment.

#### **BACKGROUND TO THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ALBERTA**

Alberta became a province of the Dominion of Canada on September 1, 1905.<sup>1</sup> The public lands policy that influenced the economic, geographic, historic, political, psychological, and sociological dynamics of the Province, however, predates its establishment by thirty-three years. That

is to say, Alberta's social history rests on the foundation of "An Act respecting the Public Lands of the Dominion,"<sup>2</sup> which became law of the land on April 14, 1872. The three overriding reasons for Parliament's establishing the "public lands policy" were:

1. To promote rapid settlement in this large [western] territory in order to consolidate the new Dominion of Canada and discourage the territorial ambitions of the United States.
2. To encourage the building of railways, through land grants.
3. To carry out the terms of the agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>3</sup>

The establishment of Alberta and Saskatchewan, in 1905, was designed to produce a dependent relationship between the provinces and the federal government. Hence, the origins of the "prairie attitudes" vis-a-vis the Ottawa government whose political expression was most eloquently manifested by the United Farmers of Alberta from 1921 to 1935. V.A. Wood of the Alberta Department of Lands and Forests cited a speech by the Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton, to the House of Commons in 1903, which shows the origin of the dependency relationship to be established with the creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan as provinces. Wood quoted Sifton as follows:

I want the House of Commons to understand the policy which this Government is following. It is endeavoring to build a consuming and producing population in our vast Western Territory for the purpose of giving legitimate occupation, without excessive duties, on a legitimate business basis to the mechanics and artisans in Eastern Canada.<sup>4</sup>

Wood has further shown that "... the economic purpose of the [public lands policy] was not to settle the land according to its best use but to create a consuming public and supply a market for the eastern manufacturer."<sup>5</sup>

Maps published by the Alberta historian, James G. MacGregor, show the

boundary changes between 1607 and 1905 (Figure 1), and his attendant discussion establishes that

- A. In 1607 Charles II of England granted all the territory whose waters flowed into Hudson Bay to the Hudson's Bay Company. This territory was called Rupert's Land. In 1869 Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory were ceded to the New Dominion of Canada.
- B. In 1870, after Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territory were transferred to Canada, the province of Manitoba came into being with only a fraction of its present area. The vast lands of the new Northwest Territories were subdivided into districts whose boundaries shifted back and forth with the growth of Canada.
- C. With the increase of settlers in the prairies, the population had grown to such a degree that both Saskatchewan and Alberta, made up of the former districts of Alberta, Assiniboi, and Saskatchewan, were granted provincial status.<sup>6</sup>

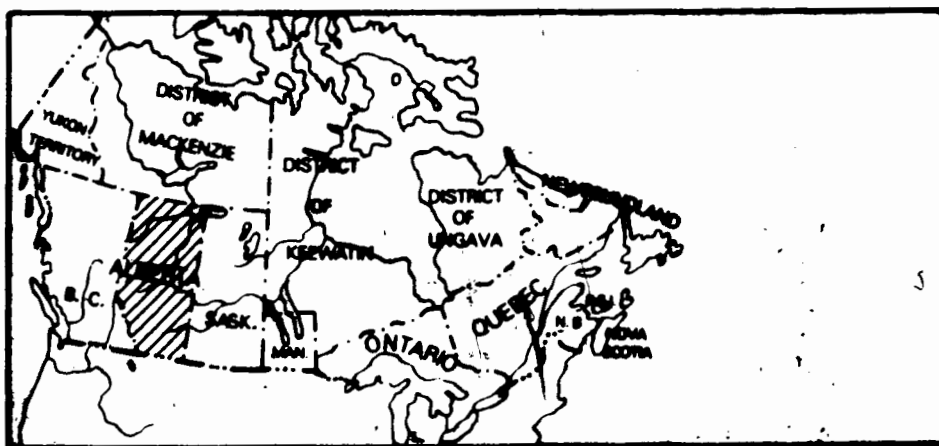
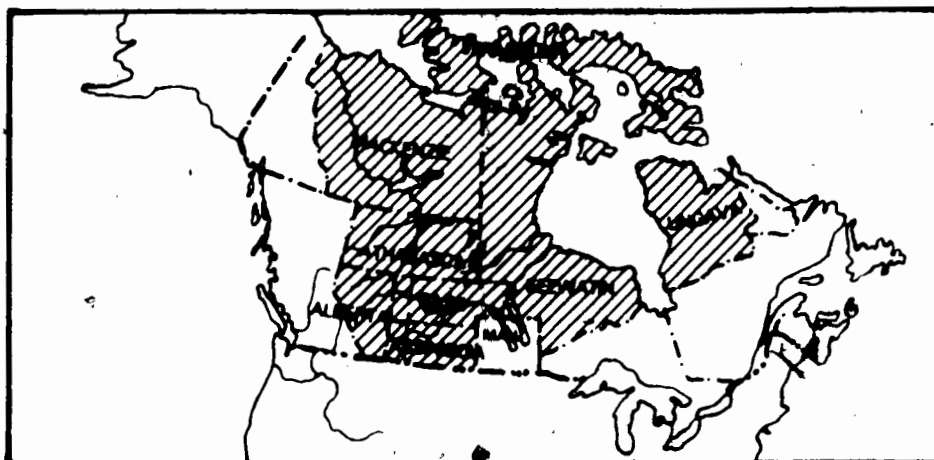
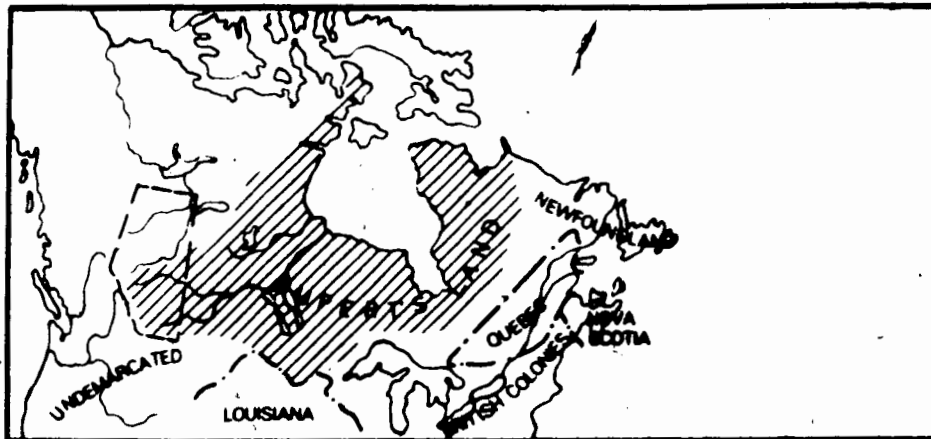
The "public lands policy,"<sup>7</sup> in its system of survey, required that

1. Dominion lands be laid off in quadrilateral Townships, containing thirty-six sections of one mile square in each (except in the case of those sections rendered irregular by the convergence or divergence of meridians) together with road allowance of one chain and fifty links in width, between all townships and sections.
2. Sections to be founded and numbered as follows:

			N.				
	31	32	33	34	35	36	
	30	29	28	27	26	25	
W.	19	20	21	22	23	24	E.
	18	17	16	15	14	13	
	7	8	9	10	11	12	
	6	5	4	3	2	1	
			S.				

3. The townships measure 489 chains on each side [with flexibility provided to the Governor in Council].
4. The townships be numbered in regular order northerly from the international boundary or forty-ninth parallel of latitude, i.e., the forty-ninth parallel or international boundary is the first base line.

Figure 1. The Origins of Alberta as a Province\*



5. The correction lines, or those upon which the "jog" resulting from want of parallelism of meridians be allowed as follows: On the line between townships two and three, on that between six and seven, on that between ten and eleven, and so on. In other words, those township lines running east and west which are equi-distant from the bases, at the depth of two townships.
6. Each section be divided into quarter sections of one hundred and sixty acres, more or less [subject to certain provisions].
7. In the survey of any and every township, the deficiency or surplus resulting from convergence or divergence of meridians be allowed in the range of quarter sections adjoining the west boundary of the township, and the north or south be allowed in ranges of quarter sections adjoining, and north or south respectively of the said correction lines.
8. Preliminary to the subdivision into townships and sections of any given portion of country proposed to be laid out for settlement, the same be laid out into blocks of four townships each, by projecting the base and correction lines, and east and west meridian boundaries of each block:
  - a. On these lines, at the time of the survey, all township, section and quarter section corners be marked, which corners shall govern, respectively, in the subsequent subdivisions of the block.
  - b. Only a single row of posts or monuments to indicate the corners of townships, or sections [with certain provisions], be placed in the west limit of the road allowances, on north and south lines, and in the south limit of road allowances, on east and west lines to fix and govern the position of the boundary corner between the two adjoining townships, sections or quarter sections on the opposite side of the road allowance.
9. Legal subdivisions as applicable to the survey, sale and granting of Dominion lands be as follows:



- a. A section or 640 acres  
 A half section or 320 acres  
 A quarter section or 160 acres  
 A half quarter section or 80 acres
- b. To facilitate the descriptions for Letters Patent of less than a half quarter section, the quarter sections composing every section in accordance with the boundaries of the same as planted or placed in the original survey, be divided into quarter quarter sections, or forty acres, and such quarter quarter sections be numbered as follows:<sup>8</sup>

		N.			
	13	14	15	16	
	12	11	10	9	
W.	5	6	7	8	E.
	4	3	2	1	
		S.			

The "public lands policy" further specified that the Hudson's Bay Company is "entitled to one-twentieth of the lands surveyed into townships described and designated as the 'Fertile Belt' over the period of fifty years."<sup>9</sup> It specifies in detail that

those townships numbered 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45, 50, and so on in regular succession northerly from the international boundary, the Company is granted the whole of sections number 8 and 26. In each and every other of the townships, the Company is granted section number 8 and the south half and the north-west quarter of section 26. In the case of townships broken by lakes, the Secretary of State and the Company is to agree on an alternative site by lot. Additionally, *bona fide* settlers on any of the named tracts of land hold preemption rights and the Company has the right to select an equal quantity of unoccupied land.

For purposes of educational endowment, the "public lands policy" specified the following:

And where it is expedient to make provision in aid of education in Manitoba, and the Northwest Territories, therefore sections eleven and twenty-nine in each and every surveyed township throughout the extent of the Dominion lands, shall be and are hereby set apart as an endowment for purposes of education.

1. The sections so dedicated shall be thereafter dealt with in such manners as may be prescribed by law, and the same are hereby withdrawn from the operation of the clauses in this Act relating to purchase by private entry, and to homestead right, and it is hereby declared that no such right of purchase by private entry or homestead right shall be recognized in connection with the said sections or any part or parts thereof.
2. Provided, that on a township being surveyed, should such sections, or either of them, or any part of either, be found to have been settled on and improved, then and in such case the occupant or occupants, conforming to the requirements of this Act shall be confirmed in such possession, and the Secretary of State shall select a quantity equal to that found to have been so settled on from the unclaimed lands in such township, and shall withdraw the land so selected from sale and settlement, and shall set apart and publish the same as school lands, by notice in the *Canadian Gazette*.<sup>10</sup>

The most relevant sections regarding homestead rights or free grant lands stated that

Any person who is the head of a family or has attained the age of twenty-one years, shall be entitled to be entered for one quarter section or less quantity of unappropriated Dominion lands, for the purpose of securing a homestead in respect thereof.

1. Every person claiming a homestead right from actual settlement must file his application for such claim, describing the land settled, with the Local Agent within whose district such land may be, within thirty days next after the date of such settlement ...
2. A person applying for leave to be entered for lands with a view of securing a homestead right therein, shall make affidavit before the Local Agent ... that he is over twenty-one years of age, that he has not

previously obtained a homestead under the provisions of this Act, that to the best of his knowledge and belief there is no person residing on the land in question, or entitled to enter the same as a homestead, and that the application is made for his exclusive use and benefit, and for the purpose of actual settlement.

3. Upon making the affidavit, and filing it with the Local Agent, and on payment to him of an office fee of ten dollars for which he shall receive a receipt from the Agent, he shall be permitted to enter the land specified in the application.
4. No patent shall be granted for the land until the expiration of three years from the time of entering into possession of it ...
5. At the expiration of three years the settler or his widow, her heirs or devisees, or, if the settler leaves no widow, his heirs or devisees, upon proof, to the satisfaction of the Local Agent that he, or his widow or her representatives as aforesaid, or some of them, have resided upon or cultivated the land for three years next after the filing of the affidavit for entry, the settler or such claimant shall be entitled to a patent for the land, provided such claimant is then a subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization.
6. All assignments and transfers of homestead rights before the issue of the patent shall be null and void, but shall be deemed evidence of abandonment of the right; and the person so assigning or transferring shall not be permitted to make a second entry.
7. The above provisions relating to homestead shall only apply to agricultural lands, and shall not be held to apply to lands set apart as timber lands, or to those lands on which coal or minerals are at the time of entry known to exist.<sup>11</sup>

While the grazing lands and hay lands received cursory attention from the farmers of the "Public Lands Policy," mining lands and coal lands received more attention to suggest the government's position regarding the integrity of public lands. The government specified in Clause 36

that "no reservation of gold, silver, iron, copper, or other mines or minerals shall be inserted in any patent from the Crown granting any portion of the Dominion lands."<sup>12</sup> Clause 48, with regards to coal lands, specified that "coal lands designated by the Government as such are hereby withdrawn from the operation of this Act as regards the rights of squatters to homesteads on the Dominion lands in advance of the Surveys."<sup>13</sup> It was timber and timber lands, however, that received the most protracted discussion based on the prevention of petty monopoly.<sup>14</sup> The discussion addressed the following categories: timber in townships surveyed for settlement, other timber and timber limits, further obligations of parties obtaining licences, liability of persons cutting without authority, resisting seizure - removing timber seized - condemnation of such timber, general provisions, slides etc., and patents.

Parliament finally completed the "Public Lands Policy" with the section on surveys and surveyors. It includes the provisions on who shall be competent to survey the Dominion lands, board of examiners, admission of deputy surveyors, standards of measure, how to renew lost corners and obliterated lines, how legal subdivisions are to be surveyed and laid out, to draw lines in fractional sections, original boundary lines, evidence before surveyors, and protections to surveyors.<sup>15</sup>

The "Public Lands Policy" was administered in Alberta by the federal government until 1930 when the Province gained jurisdiction over its natural resources. The "Public Lands Policy" was administered with few changes, and those changes were usually for the benefit of the settler, e.g., "... a homesteader ... who lives with his parents or some immediate member of his family, within nine miles of his homestead will not have to build a house." Further, "... no homestead entries are to be subject to cancellation during

the winter months prior to the first of April."<sup>16</sup> During World War I, however, the government implemented restrictions against the granting of homesteads to Austrians, Bulgarians, Germans, and Turks.<sup>17</sup>

After 1930, when the natural resources were transferred from federal to provincial control, the Province continued to administer the lands under regulations similar to those of the Dominion Government, i.e., until 1939 when the granting of homesteads was discontinued and was replaced by an agricultural lease policy, also known as the Homestead Lease policy. In a paper to V.A. Wood in 1951, N.E. Tanner, Minister of Lands and Forests, is quoted as stating the objectives of the Homestead Lease policy:

This policy provides that those who wish to take advantage of the opportunity offered, may take a homestead lease, with the understanding that if they carry out certain cultivation requirements and live on the land 50 percent of the time, they can become the owners. Settlement is restricted to lands suitable for agricultural purposes and to areas reasonably accessible to roads and other transportation, where social services, such as schools, hospitals, etc., can be made available as readily and economically as possible.<sup>18</sup>

In many respects, especially with 20-20 hindsight, the Dominion Government chose a poor time to transfer all natural resource operations to the Province. The hardships of the 1930's are too well known to recount here. It is enough to say that the Provincial government continued a bad policy until it cancelled the granting of homesteads in 1939. Wood, in discussing the adverse effects of the "public lands policy," shows genuine insight into the root cause of many contemporary problems of rural agricultural Alberta:

Allowing settlement under the homestead policy on any available land, regardless of location, tended to scatter settlement, with the result that it was difficult to furnish the necessary social services. Taxes were charged from the date of the

homestead entry, and many homesteaders found that by the time they obtained title, taxes had accrued beyond their ability to pay and the municipal authorities were forced to foreclose.

The homestead policy was based on the premise that every 160 acres, or with a preemption, every 320 acres of land in western Canada were an economic unit capable of supporting a farm family. Unfortunately, this was often not true, due to the nature of the soil and climatic conditions in the areas settled, and due to the economic conditions and state-of-the-arts, as pertaining to agriculture, in existence of the time. This is evident by the fact that between 1905 and 1930 nearly 40 percent of the people obtaining homestead entries failed to obtain title.

The assumption that each 160 acres or 320 acres were an economic farm unit also meant that all of the social services such as roads, schools, and even towns and villages were developed on the basis of one family per 160 or 320 acres. Taxation was on the expected productivity, with the inevitable result that many settlers lost their land by tax recovery proceedings and foreclosures by mortgage companies due to unpaid debts. Finally, in some areas a readjustment in land use was one of the fundamental problems facing the province when the natural resources were transferred in 1930.<sup>19</sup>

These data are sufficient to justify the claim that the background to the political organization and social dynamics of Alberta rests firmly on the foundation of the federal government's territorial imperatives -- systematically settling the land with people through its legislative powers. However, it remains to be seen if they are effective in exploiting the natural resources. In a sense, the evidence leads toward an underscoring of Bennett's contention that

the experiences on the North American frontier are not entirely unrelated to the new pioneering ventures [in tropical areas], because like the newer ones, the North American was largely planned, engineered settlement, occurring in an era of high technology and government subsidy.<sup>20</sup>

Though hardly a planned series of communities settled with governmental insistence, the area to which this study pertains is a decidedly frontier agricultural environment<sup>21</sup> with many of the problems identified by Wood still existing in 1975.

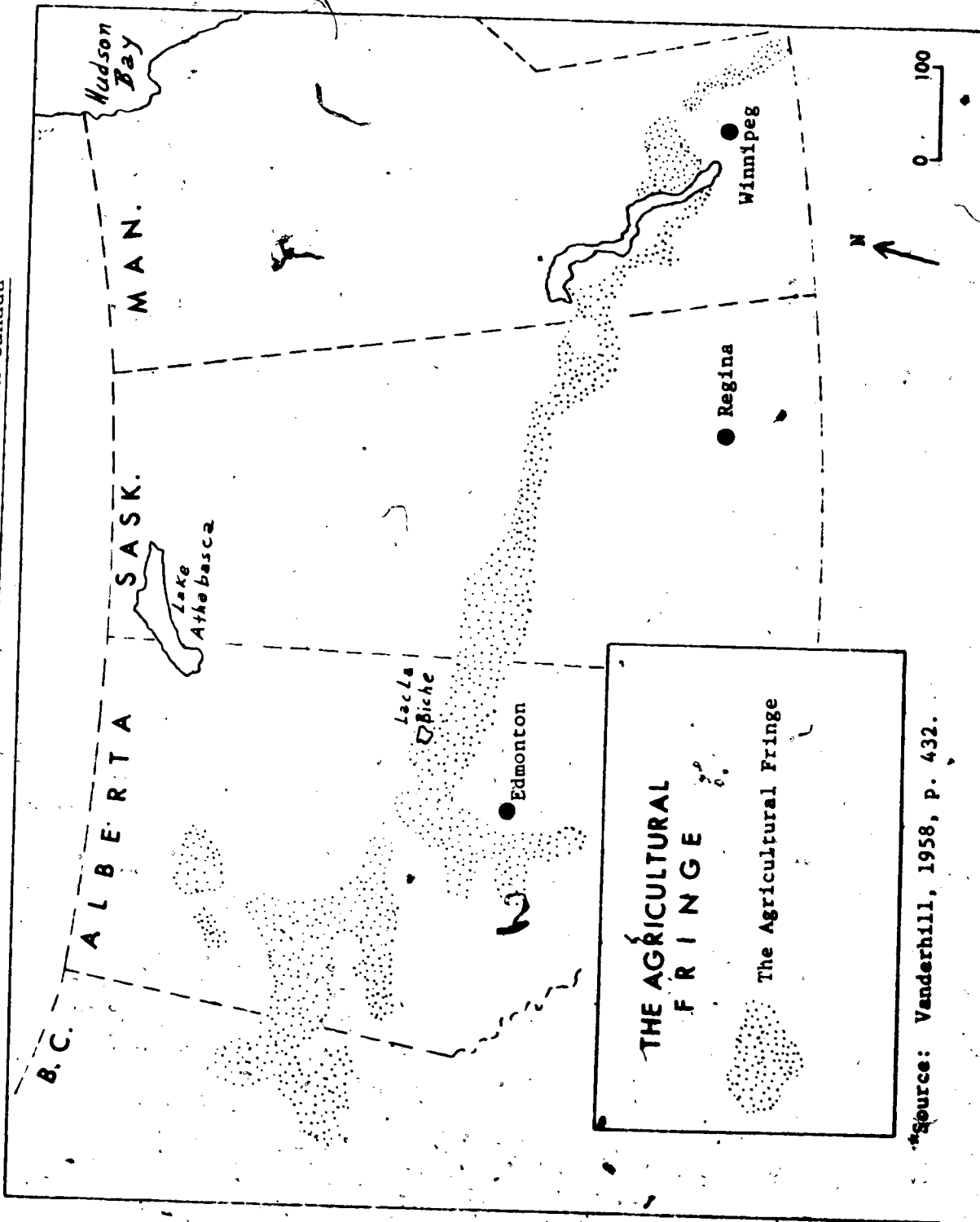
#### LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA

The study area lies within western Canada's "agricultural fringe" (Figure 2), west of the fourth meridian, and in the "Eastern Alberta Plains."<sup>22</sup> It is generally known and described as "the northeast," because this is the northeastern boundary of continuous cereal grain cultivation within the Province.<sup>23</sup>

The area under investigation here lies within the boundary of townships sixty-six and sixty-eight (the 17th and 18th baselines), ranges twelve through twenty-four in the Province, as shown on Figure 3. Figure 4 magnifies the study area and its environs. This thirty-six by seventy-eight mile rectangle encompasses 1872 square miles of territory, and it represents one "... of the problem areas of the northern fringe of agriculture"<sup>24</sup> in Alberta. This region had, based on the census figures, a population of 11,194 in 1971, i.e., 5.98 persons per square mile. East of the study area, to the fourth meridian, the fifty persons in the 1584 square miles of territory show a population of 0.208 per square mile. Other data from the areas east and west of the study area are generally excluded on the basis that they neither enhance nor detract from the findings of this study.

The shape of the study area was influenced primarily by the unchanging nature and character of the township plan in Alberta. While it is true that few data are collected on the basis of the township, the rapidly changing character of administrative areas in the Province presents a similar problem.

Figure 2. Agricultural Fringe of Western Canada



\*Source: Vanderhill, 1958, p. 432.



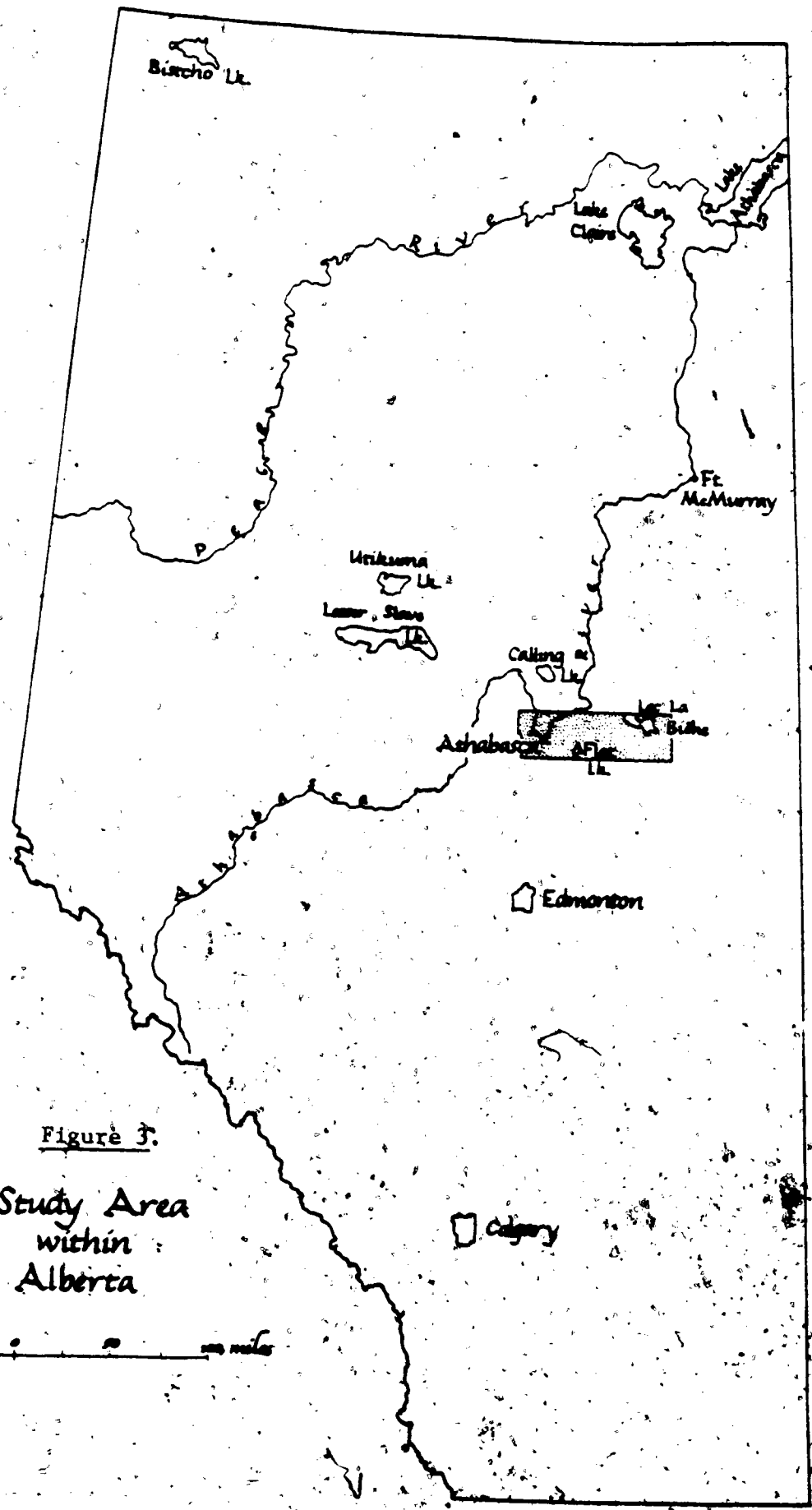
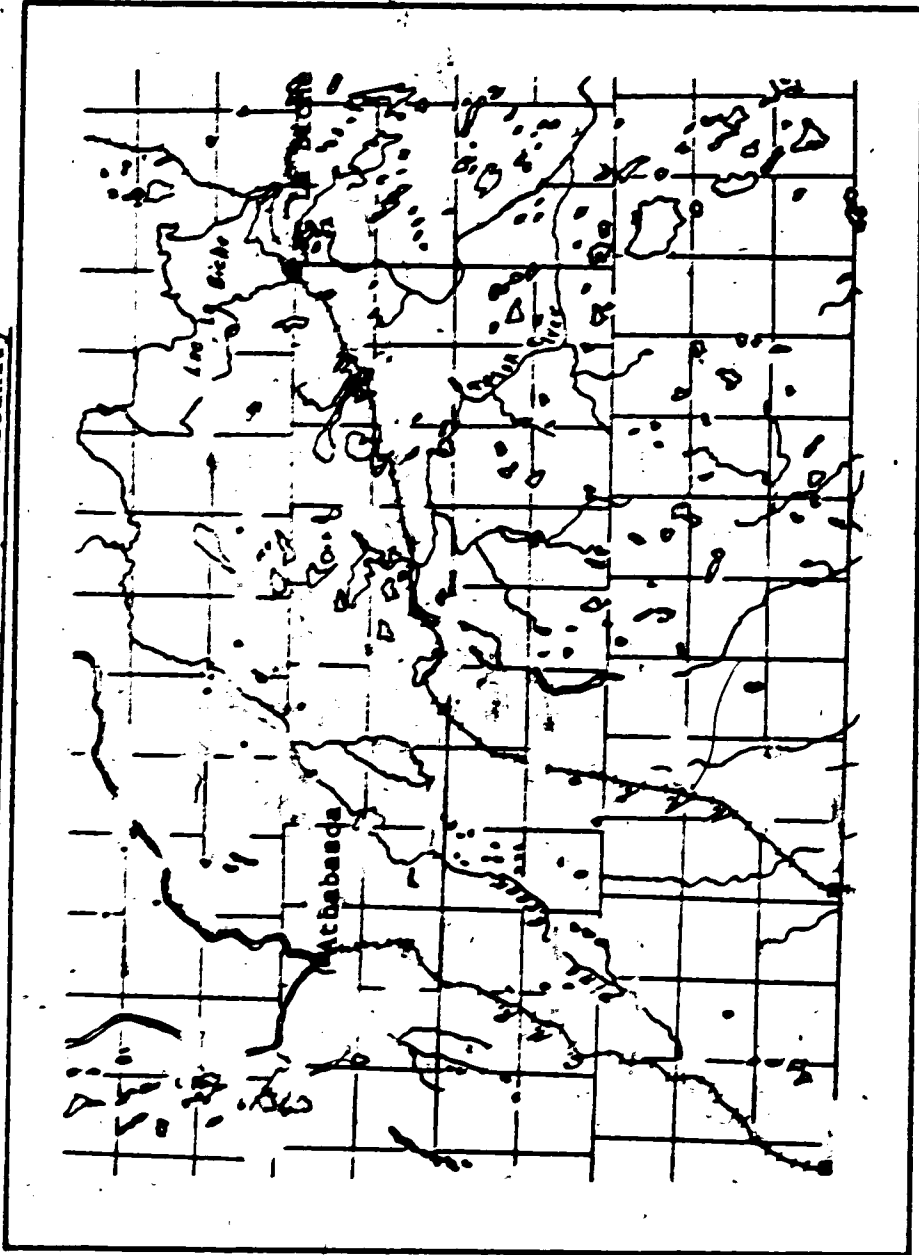


Figure 3.  
Study Area  
within  
Alberta

Figure 4. The Study Area and Vicinity\*



\*Source: Tawatinau and Sand River Topographic Sheets 1:250,000.  
Atlas of Alberta, pp. 22-23.

Examples support this contention: The census boundaries were changed between 1941 and 1961, making it difficult to compare data over the twenty-year period.<sup>25</sup> Figures 5 and 6 graphically show the change between 1966 and 1971 in Athabasca County and the Improvement District to the immediate east. The Alberta Research and Planning Branch of the Department of Social Services and Community Health had "two major boundary changes during the profile period of April 1973 to March 1975."<sup>26</sup> While these latter changes concerned metropolitan areas, they serve to illustrate the fluidity of administrative boundaries in Alberta. The township, however, is a fixed entity in the Department of Lands and Forests, and it appears that it will remain so in the future.

#### REASONS FOR CHOOSING THE AREA

There are many reasons why this area was chosen for study over places such as the Fraser Valley or Texada Island, British Columbia. Among them are:

1. The marginality of the area, i.e., the limitations to agricultural production resulting from temperature rather than the traditional geographic emphasis on rainfall as the limiting factor. The literature reviewed in the previous chapter adequately substantiates this point.

2. Developing the opportunity for some understanding as to why persons remain basically fixed to an agricultural cycle that is economically unproductive.

3. The availability here of a twentieth century phenomenon to complement studies such as *Pioneer Settlement in Northeast Argentina*;<sup>27</sup> north-east Alberta, like northeast Argentina, was pioneered as a result of the "empty lands" conceptualizations held by governmental authorities. The resulting analysis may perhaps be useful for planning agencies concerned

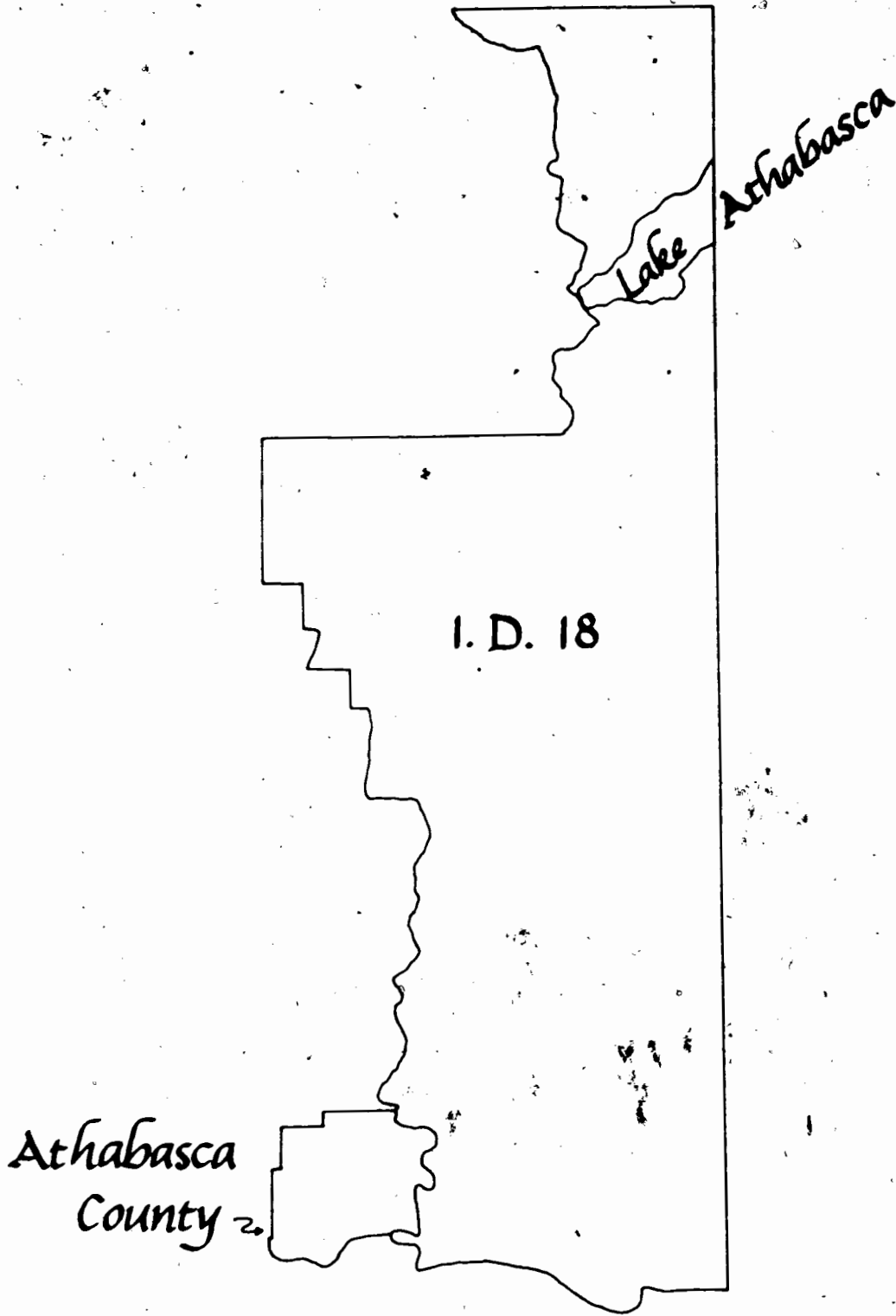
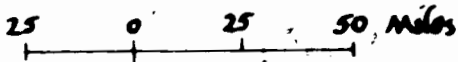


Figure 5:

Athabasca County

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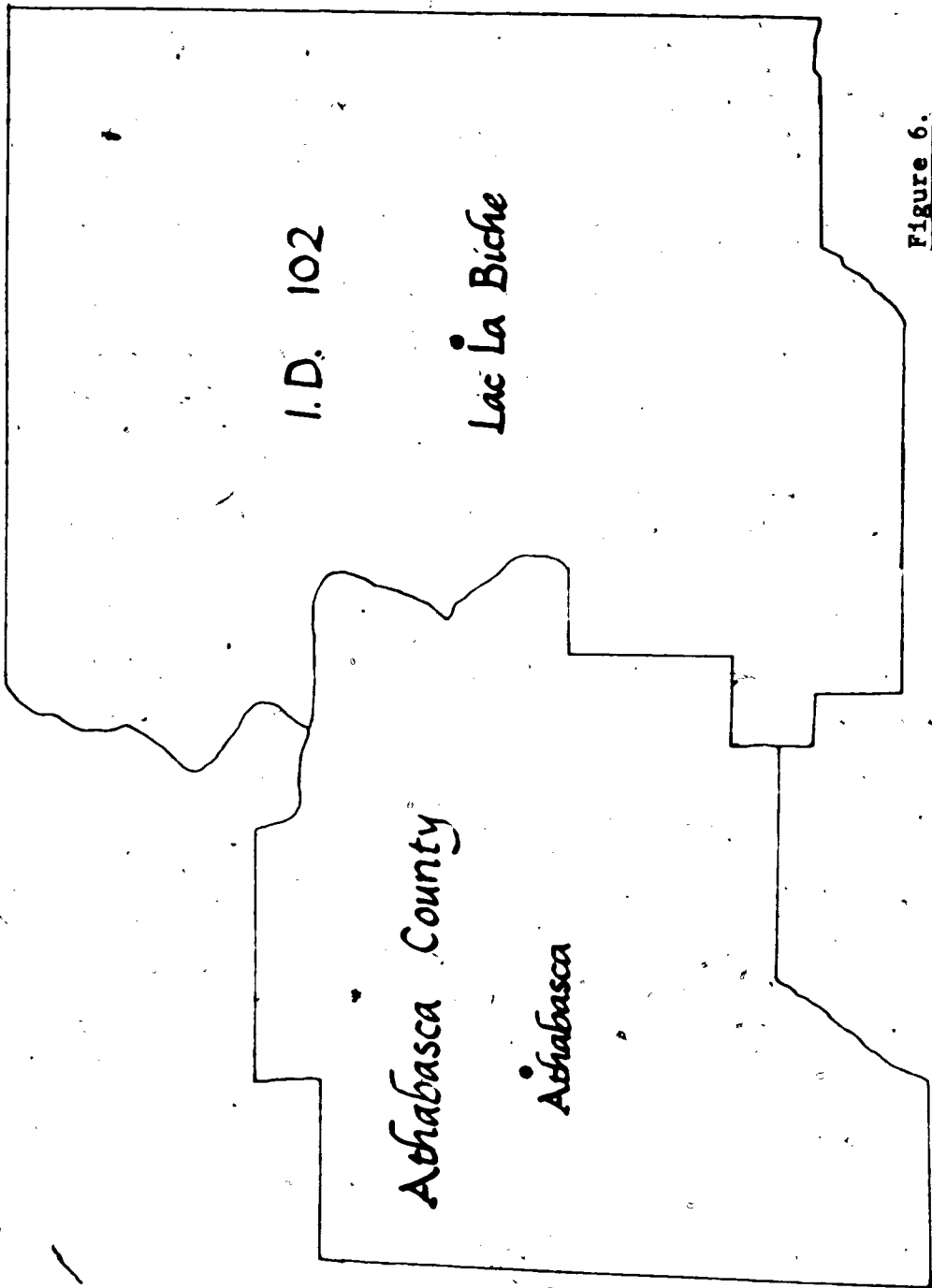


Figure 6.

Athabasca County

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I.D. 102



Athabasca County

Athabasca

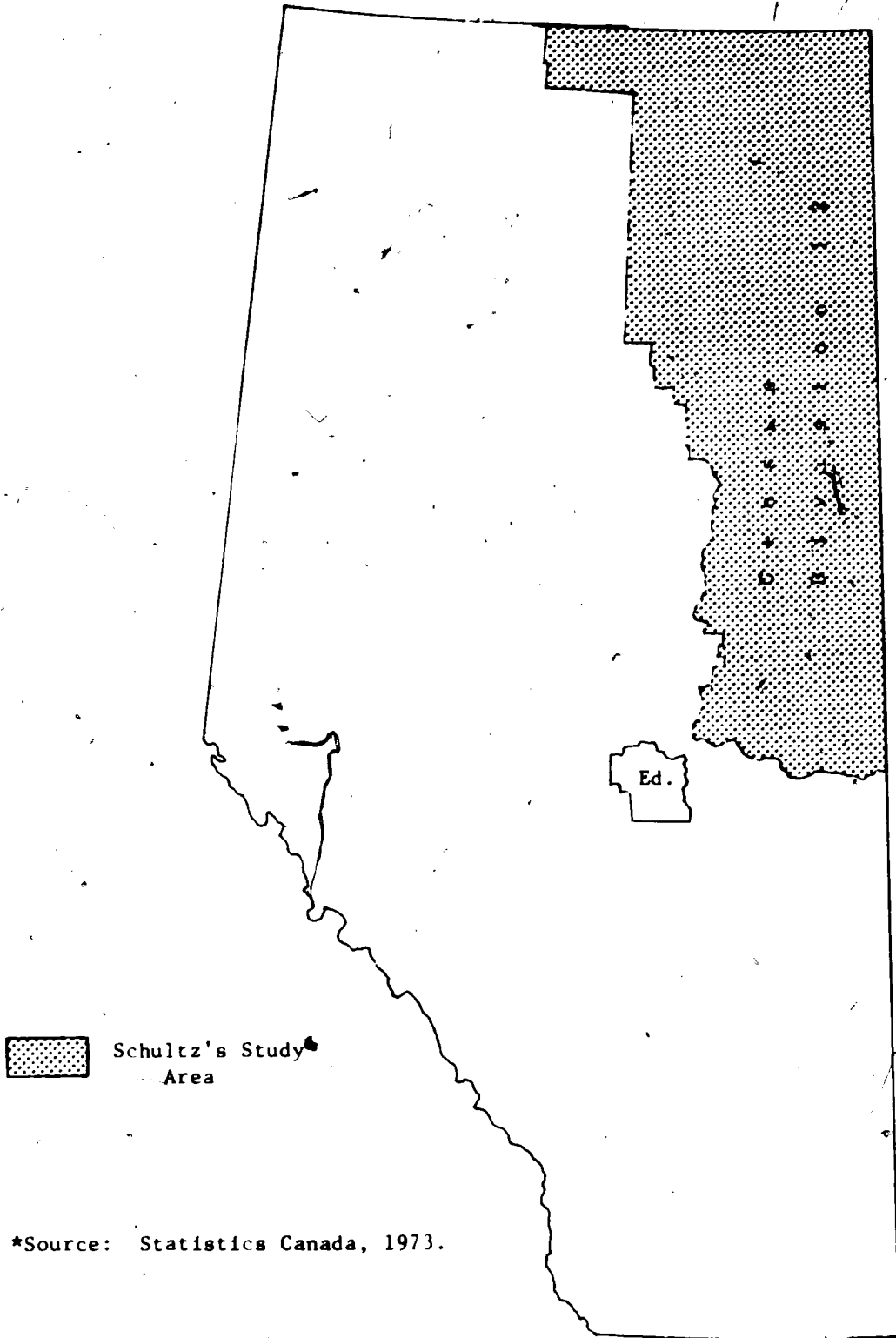
with the general "economic" welfare of the northeast Alberta citizens.


4. The fact that the area is in a rapid state of change, resulting from the oil boom centered about Fort McMurray. The realities of the Athabasca Tar Sands boom have affected the overall economy of northeast Alberta, which contradicts Schultz's notions that "... farms and communities two hundred miles to the south will hardly be affected directly ... by the operations around Fort McMurray."<sup>28</sup> In spite of these changes, the area retains an agricultural "pioneer fringe" character that was identified by the studies of Vanderhill in 1958 and 1959.<sup>29</sup>

5. The indications, in the various studies of the area, of the need for a particular study to draw diverse elements into a coherent whole in order to provide an understanding of the area, characterized as it is simultaneously by an abundance of natural resources and the economic poverty of the people. A geography of northeast Alberta would seem highly desirable. Among previous partial studies are those executed by Schultz (1966), who focused on Census Division 12 (see Figure 7). Hozack (1969), Stone (1970), Hayter (1970), and Vogelešang (1972) have also completed studies regarding various aspects of frontier agricultural northeast Alberta.<sup>30</sup> Each study area is close to, encompasses, or overlaps the area focused here (see Figure 8).

Aside from the fact that neither the Fraser Valley nor Texada Island -- earlier considered for study -- offered these enumerated characteristics, the listed items do not constitute the primary impetus for focusing this area for study. The ultimate reason for choosing the agricultural northeast of Alberta is that it represents the area where the largest group of refugee blacks from the United States settled on the Canadian Prairies. The black settlers from Oklahoma who immigrated into northeast Alberta

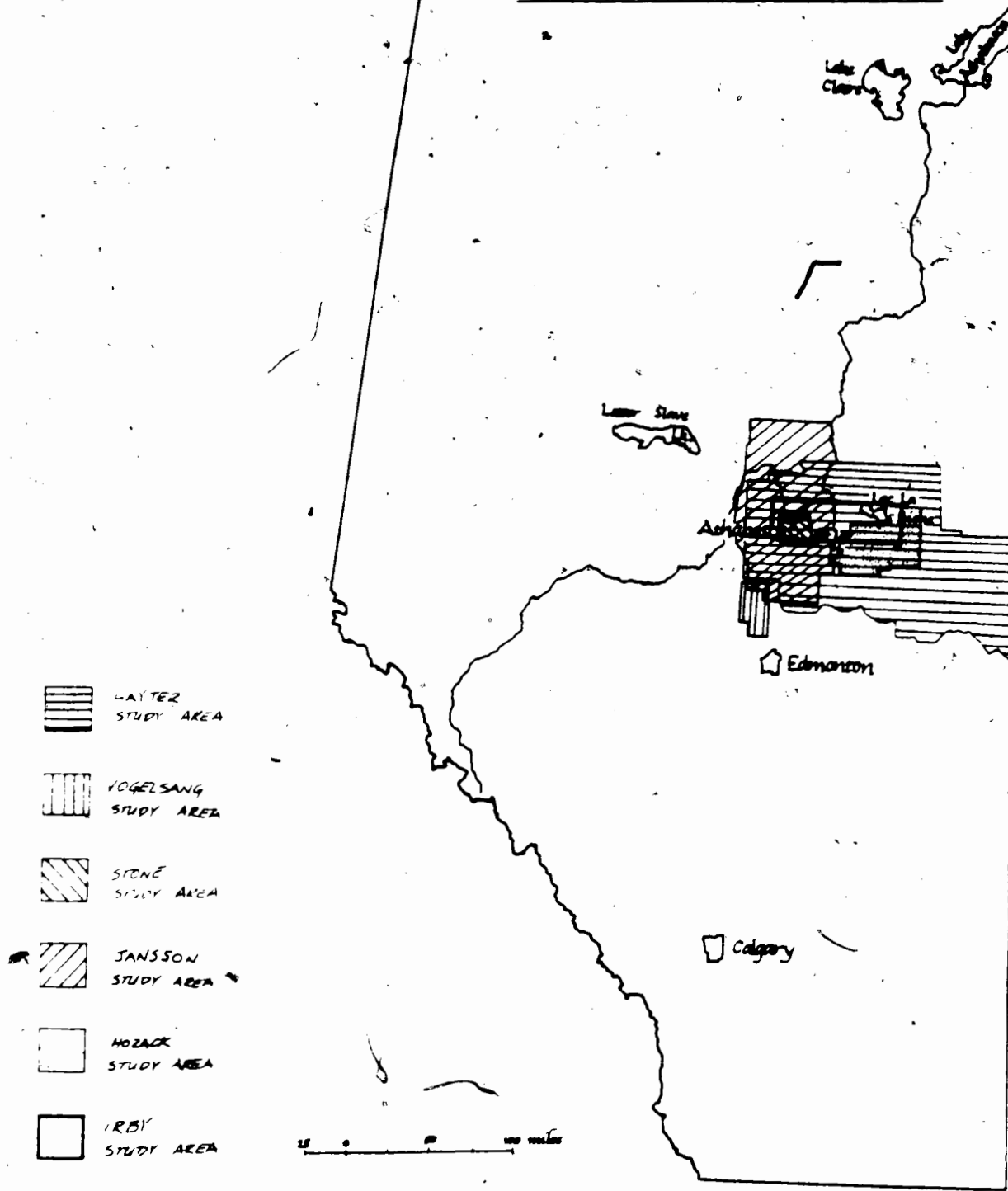
Figure 7. Census Division 12 in 1961 and 1971\*



 Schultz's Study  
Area

\*Source: Statistics Canada, 1973.

Figure 8. Six Study Areas on the Agricultural Margins of Alberta





during the years 1910-1913 attracted this author's attention to the study area. It was the officially published writings, which depict blacks as being unsuited to the northern climates,<sup>31</sup> vis-a-vis the fact of black people as pioneer agriculturalists beyond 54° north latitude that led to this search for the interplay of factors and forces that constitute the geography of northeast Alberta. This is especially important as the inspiration for the study's emphasis on success and the refugee situation.

At the most basic level, attention is directed to the factors of the physical environment. As facilitators and/or inhibitors of agricultural endeavors, the physical aspects, especially climate and soils, are most crucial elements for the plight of the people who are trying to wrest from the land a living comparable to that of other rural Albertans in climatically more favorable environments.

#### THE PHYSICAL SETTING AND AGRICULTURAL LIMITATIONS IN NORTHEAST ALBERTA

##### Physiography: Geology and Drainage

The study area lies in the Wapiti Plain section of the Eastern Alberta Plains, and ninety percent of its bedrock is Upper Cretaceous shale and minor sandstone of the La Biche Group. The remaining ten percent, in the extreme western portion of the study area, is Upper Cretaceous sandstone, shale, coal, and minor bentonite of the Wapiti Family.<sup>32</sup> The region's surficial materials are characterized as lake deposits (silt and clay), especially within the boundary marked by the Athabasca River between Calling Lake and the town of Athabasca (see Figure 3). The surficial deposits in the vicinity of Island and Baptise Lakes and north of Lac La Biche are characterized by outwash, lake deposits, and wind deposits (sand, sand and gravel), and the remaining area is primarily ground moraine and hummocky moraine.<sup>33</sup>

The Lac La Biche region is characterized by moraines and former lake basins. The general topography is gently rolling and is interspersed with varying proportions of low-lying and poorly-drained areas containing moss-bogs, muskegs, lakes, and sloughs (Figure 4). The maximum elevation is just above the 2000 foot contour, but much of the area lies under the 1800 foot contour. The regional slope is northeastward, with Boyle having an elevation of 2074 feet, Bondiss 2085 feet, Caslan 2030 feet, Noral 1973 feet, and the Town of Lac La Biche 1835 feet. The elevation of the lake is 1784 feet.

The surface area south of Lac La Biche (lake) is part of a lacustrine basin, "which is generally saline and unfit for agriculture."<sup>34</sup> The region to the southeast is composed of broad areas of flat to gently rolling ground moraines, and to the south of Beaver Lake there is an area of rolling till ridges that show a distinct northwest-southeast lineation that is contrary to the general slope of the land characterized by the elevations along which the Northern Alberta tracks follow.

The Athabasca region shows that the advance and retreat of the last continental glacier deposited a thick cover of drift over the Upper Cretaceous sandstones. The presence of extensive fields of glacial flutes to the south and northeast of the Athabasca townsite provides evidence that the Wisconsin age ice mass advanced over the region from a northeasterly direction.<sup>35</sup>

The composition of the flutes within the area varies locally. The several ridges immediately to the east of the Athabasca River, downstream from the town, are composed of till. Those ridges lying west of Lac La Biche are basically composed of till, but they have been mantled with water deposited sands and gravels.

The flutes in the Athabasca area are situated on the uplands, and generally stand out as singular parallel features. Their width ranges from less than thirty yards to over eight hundred yards. The height of the ridges ranges from approximately thirty-five feet near the confluence of Pine Creek and the Lac La Biche River to less than five feet in the area immediately to the east of Colinton on the upland lacustrine plain.

The flutes and the occasional drumlinoid feature on the upland plain, of which the study area is primarily composed, forms a gently rolling topography. The highest point is a drumlinoid feature three miles west of Colinton at 2200 feet. The lowest point on the upland surface lies along Pine Creek near 1800 feet.

The lacustrine plain to the east of Colinton is relatively flat, whereas the till plain is undulating to gently rolling. There are two minor sand areas and low esker ridges north of the Athabasca River, which add to the relief of the terrain. A small area of hummocky moraine between the Athabasca River valley and the axis between Lahaveville and Grossmont has gently rolling to strongly rolling topography. (See Table 7 for the topography of each township).

While the area is generally characterized as "prairie-like," strong relief features have been created by stream channels in the study area. Most significant among these are Muskeg Creek, the Tawatinaw River, and the Athabasca River.

The incision of the Athabasca River into the glacial overburden and Upper Cretaceous bedrock, to a depth of over 275 feet as it enters the study area, creates a local relief of over 550 feet. While the relief created by the Tawatinaw River and Muskeg Creek is not as strong as that created by the Athabasca River, it is still in excess of 150 feet in the

### Athabasca area.

Drainage conditions in the study area range from poor to excellent. Alluvial sands and gravels, eskers, and flutes, drumlinoid features and sand dunes drain rapidly and tend to be dry throughout the year. Within a local area, however, there is a tremendous contrast in drainage conditions. Interflute troughs tend to be poorly drained and support a prolific growth of sphagnum, which lies in direct contrast to the flutes which tend to be very dry and support a cover of scrubby poplar (*Populus tremuloides*) mixed with jackpine (*Pinus banksiana*). There are extensive areas of muskeg throughout the study area and northeast Alberta. Attempts have been made at various times to drain some of the smaller muskeg areas which lie adjacent to or within close proximity of a drainage channel.<sup>36</sup>

The study area lies primarily in the Athabasca River drainage basin where the slope of the land is generally northeastward, except in the west as the river flows southerly. The tributary streams that contribute to the flow of the Athabasca are Island and Baptise Creeks in the western margins of the study area. Muskeg Creek and the Tawatinaw River (which is followed by the Canadian National Railway track and therefore not distinguishable on Figure 4) flow into the Athabasca River at the Town of Athabasca. Pine Creek, the longest tributary, in the study area, flows into the Lac La Biche River, which, in turn, flows into the Athabasca River some fifty miles downstream from the Town of Athabasca.

The remainder of the study area is in the Churchill River Basin, which is drained by the Amisk-Beaver River system. Skeleton Lake (2044), North Buck Lake (1997), Missawaw Lake (1865), and Beaver Lake are primary contributors to this system.

Climate and Weather

The study area is in the northerly margins of Koppen's Db micro-thermal climatic zone, suggesting that the cool summers have temperatures during the warmest months below 76.6° F. (24.7° C.). While this designation is useful in a very broad sense, it fails to convey the reality of the situation. Figure 9 shows the generalized isoline of ninety frost free days per year for Alberta. Figure 10, on the other hand, shows the distribution of land under cultivation with relation to the ninety days frost free isoline. A cursory look at these figures suggests that, from the standpoint of temperature, cereal grain cultivation is misplaced in the agricultural cycle of the study area.

Hayter's Study, *The Frost Hazard for Agriculture in Northeast Alberta*, most effectively portrays the climatic character of the study area.<sup>37</sup> His study of the area bordered on the south by the North Saskatchewan River is the most authoritative treatise encountered on the subject of climatic hazards to agriculture in northeast Alberta (see Figure 11). Hayter noted that "virtually all the agro-climatic regions ever drawn from Alberta identify the North Saskatchewan as it flows from Edmonton as a zone where the climatic base for agriculture changes for the worse."<sup>38</sup>

Frost, a topic of debate amongst agro-meteorologists,<sup>39</sup> is a real threat to the crops of farmers in northeast Alberta, and it limits the range of choice of agricultural practices. Several farmers, when asked to indicate their impression of the greatest hazard to their farming operations, responded "frost that might occur anytime during the growing season."<sup>40</sup>

Hayter has shown why this is the case:

The absence of a mountain barrier to the north allows the influx of cold arctic air, while other features ... include long distance from warm

Figure 9. Isoline of 90 Frost Free Days\*

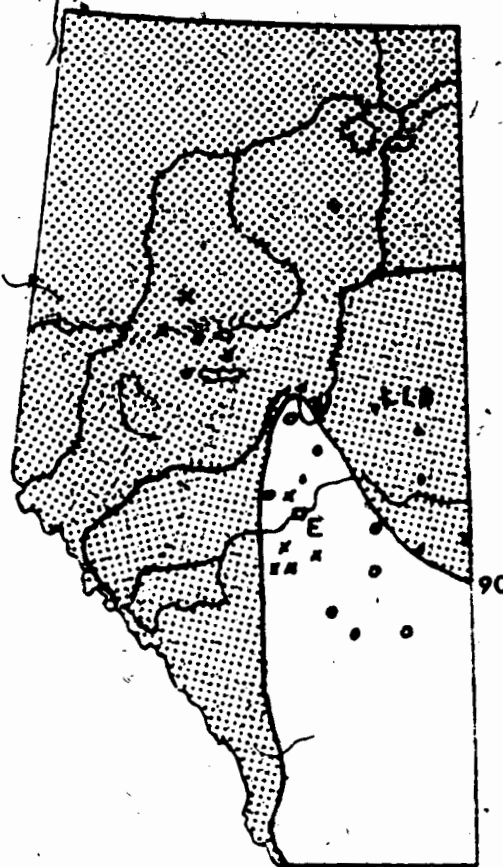
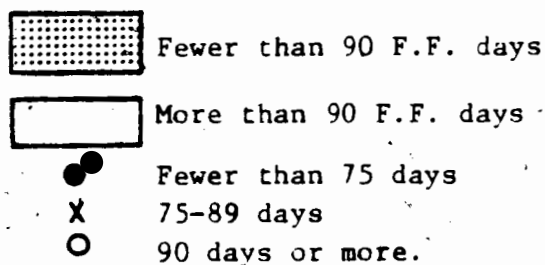
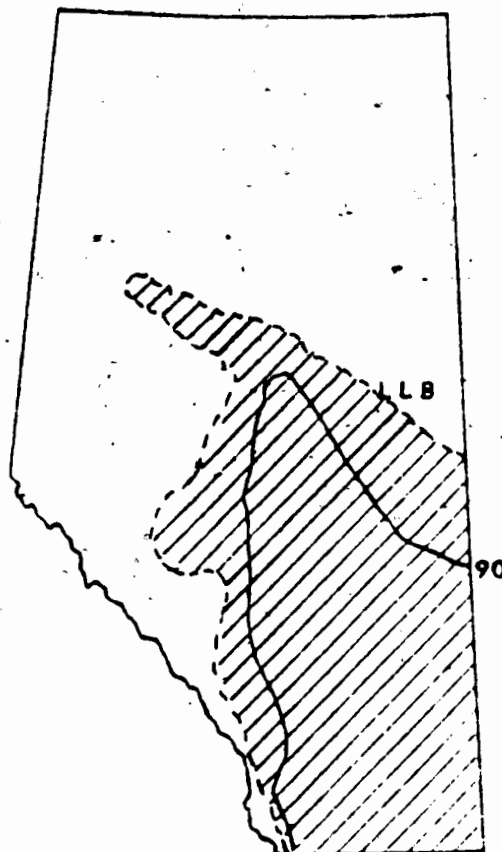


Figure 10. Distribution of Land Under Farms in Relation to Areas Free of Frost for Fewer or More Than 90 Days\*

\* Source: Hozack, '27.



areas thus reducing heating by advection. Two basic types of frost, radiation and advection frosts, results from a combination of factors. Advection frost occurs when cold air masses move into the region from the north. From a topographical point of view such frosts are frequently widespread and can be associated with strong winds. This was the case, for example, on June 10, 11, and 12 of 1969 when cold air from a high pressure system located to the west of Hudson Bay, reduced temperatures by as much as 12°F. below freezing, even causing frost in the southern part of the Province. Radiation frosts occur normally under stable high pressure conditions, when nocturnal radiation reduces the temperature below freezing. These frosts are associated with clear skies, calm winds, and frequently an inversion of temperature. Lower areas are most prone to radiation frosts. Frosts can also occur as a combination of these two types, when, for example, cold air blows in during the day and the wind drops at night. In this case radiation effects emphasize the existing low temperatures.<sup>41</sup>

Summer frosts are not infrequent in northeast Alberta, and Hozack found that "the first fall frost for 1968 occurred on the nights of August 12-13 when [I] was camped on the north shore of Beaver Lake."<sup>42</sup> He found that "the intensity of the frost was such that the windshield of the car required scraping at 8:30 a.m. on the morning of August 13."<sup>43</sup> Hozack mentions that

Longley and Louis-Byne, in making a study of the Springdale district of Alberta, found a decrease in temperature of 3.6°F in the vicinity of muskeg areas. The Springdale area is one of till ridges, valleys and muskegs not unlike the Lac La Biche area. They conclude that many of these areas would seldom go a month without experiencing freezing temperatures. It is therefore possible that many areas exist throughout the Lac La Biche regions where due to favourable or unfavourable microclimatic factors the seasons are either lengthened or shortened for agriculture.<sup>44</sup>

Hayter found from his temperature traverses that in general micro-climatological temperatures were below those reported by the official weather stations. Therefore, the frost-free seasons for the area are

inaccurate.

The findings from Hayter's traverses at Meanook, Lac La Biche, and Athabasca are recounted, in part, as being representative of northeast Alberta (see Figure 11).

The Meanook Sample Area

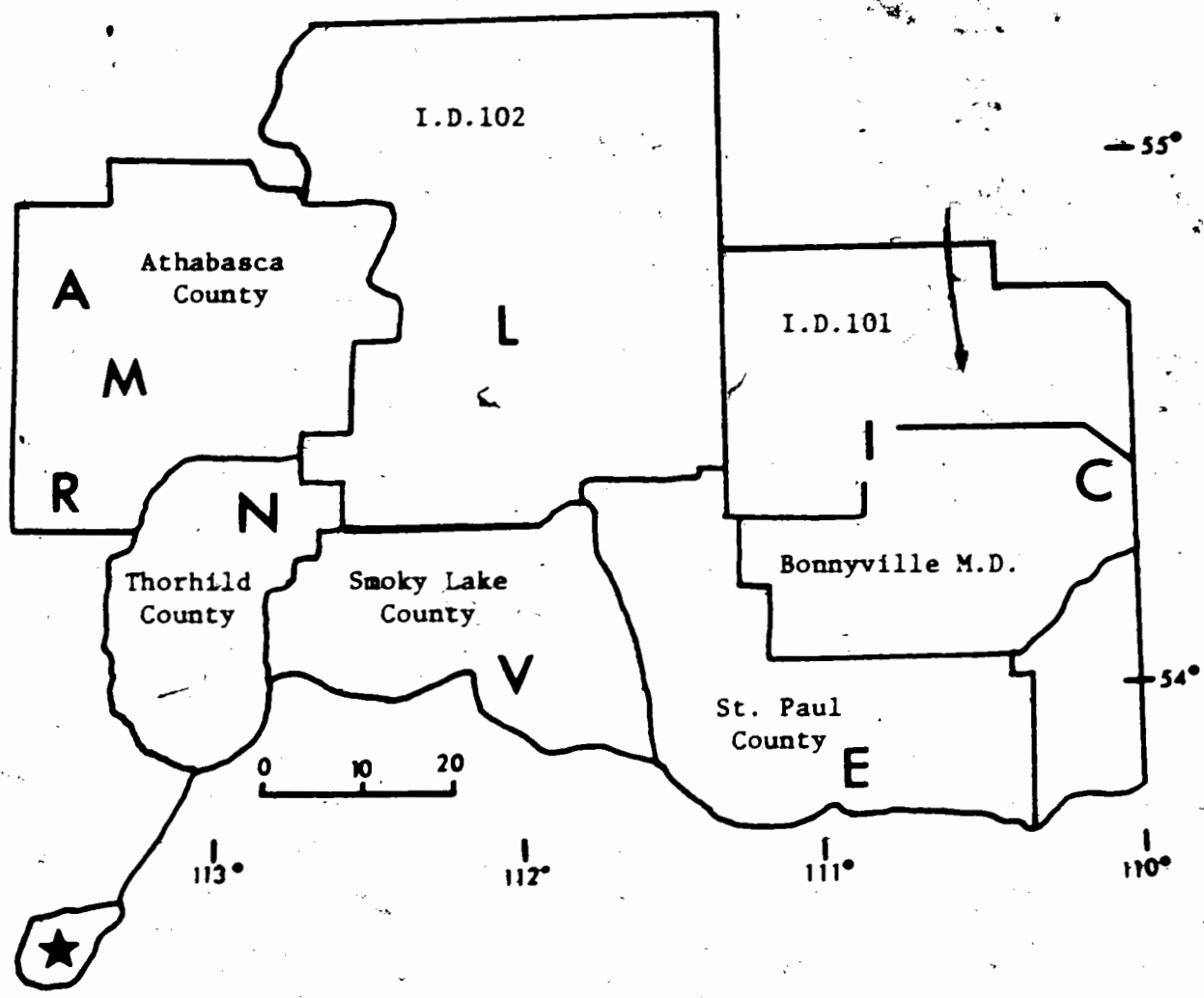
The area is situated within Athabasca County, and its coordinates are: NW 1/4 33/65/23; SW 1/4 33/64/23; NE 1/4 33/65/22; and SE 1/4 33/64/22 west of the fourth meridian (see Figure 4). Hayter noted that the official temperature records for the ten-year period "... certainly give a charitable impression of the frost-free season for such an area (see Table 1)."<sup>45</sup> In this ten-year period

Meanook has not recorded a frost-free season less than 106 days (1959) nor a single frost occurrence in June, July or August. On the contrary, on three occasions frost-free seasons of over 140 days have been registered (1960, 1961, and 1967) and the first fall frost has not occurred till October on three out of the ten years under study. On the basis of the records of these last ten years there is no risk of frost in spring after June 1 or before August 31 in the fall.<sup>46</sup>

Hayter found, however, that the temperature profile resulting from his traverse of the area revealed two marked inversions along Prince Creek and the Tawatinaw River -- the inversion in the Tawatinaw valley amounted to 3.0°C (5.4°F) and the inversion along Price Creek was found to be 4.6°C (8.1°F) lower than that of the weather station. The only locality over Hayter's entire traverse with a temperature similar to that recorded by the station was the plateau top, i.e., the spatial extent of areas with temperatures similar to those of the station is extremely limited. Over the greater part of his traverse route, temperatures were at least 2.5°C (4.5°F) lower than the station temperature. "Areas with temperatures



Figure 11. Hayter's Study Area\*



- |             |                |
|-------------|----------------|
| A Athabasca | L Lac La Biche |
| M Meanook   | R Rochester    |
| N Newbrook  | I Iron River   |
| V Vilna     | C Cold Lake    |
| E Elk Point | ★ Edmonton     |

\*Source: Hayter, 22.

Table 1. Meanook Frost-Free and Killing Frost-Free Season\*

	Frost-Free Period (Days)		Date of Last Spring and First Fall Frost	
	32°F	28°F	32°F	28°F
1959	107	139	May 25	September 9
1960	143	157	May 19	October 9
1961	120	124	May 13	September 10
1962	113	123	May 13	September 3
1963	120	163	May 20	September 17
1964	119	181	May 14	September 10
1965	109	155	May 20	September 6
1966	143	165	May 13	October 3
1967	145	163	May 11	October 3
1968	125	133	May 18	September 20
<b>Averages</b>	124	150	May 17	September 18
			May 7	October 4

\*Source: Hayter, 267.

similar to the station are all above the 2225' contour and areas with temperatures at least  $4.5^{\circ}\text{F}$  below the station temperature are generally below the 2175' contour."<sup>47</sup> The cross-sectional maps drawn from Hayter's traverse "... suggest most strongly that the Meanook temperature records are not representative of the surrounding area."<sup>48</sup>

#### The Lac La Biche Sample Area

The Lac La Biche sample area was within Improvement District 102 when Hayter traversed the region (see Figure 6), and the coordinates are identified as being: NW 1/4 36/66/15; SW 1/4 36/66/15; NE 1/4 36/66/14; and SE 1/4 36/66/14 west of the fourth meridian (see Figure 4). Hayter has shown that the data from Table 2 indicate a marginal average frost-free period during 1959-68. Very short seasons were recorded in 1968 (60 days), 1965 (72 days), and 1967 (90 days) -- all occurred after 1964.

According to Mr. Ed. Higham, meteorological inspector for northern Alberta, the instrument shelter was much more heavily protected by trees and shrubs until then than is the case [in 1969], and he feels that this vegetation protection was quite significant in reducing heat loss at night. 1968 was the only year when a frost in July or August was recorded (August 13) and this was also the only year with a killing frost-free season of less than 100 days. On the basis of the 1959-68 data the probability of spring frosts after May 15 is 90% and June 1 is 40%. The chance of a fall frost before August 31 is only 10% and by September 10 the chances are 60%.<sup>49</sup>

For the most part, Hayter found during his traverse that temperatures were  $1.1^{\circ}\text{C}$  to  $2.2^{\circ}\text{C}$  ( $3-4^{\circ}\text{F}$ ) lower than the station, and in certain hollows the difference was nearly  $5.0^{\circ}\text{C}$  ( $9.0^{\circ}\text{F}$ ). This area is characterized by a series of sharp ridges and long shallow hollows, and there is a considerable amount of cold air drainage except in the vicinity of Lac La Biche and Missawabi Lakes. He concludes from his traverse that "unfortunately the

Table 2. Lac La Biche Frost-Free and Killing Frost-Free Season, 1959-68\*

	Frost-Free Period (Days)		Dates of Last Spring and First Fall Frost			
	32°F	28°F	32°F	28°F	32°F	28°F
1959	107	139	May 25	September 9	May 13	September 29
1960	124	157	May 25	September 26	May 5	October 9
1961	108	123	May 17	September 2	May 13	September 13
1962	101	123	May 24	September 2	May 8	September 8
1963	116	156	May 27	September 10	May 20	October 23
1964	122	151	May 11	September 10	April 28	September 26
1965	72	108	June 23	September 3	May 21	September 6
1966	109	156	June 7	September 24	April 30	October 3
1967	90	111	June 23	September 21	June 4	September 23
1968	60	90	June 14	August 13	May 15	August 13
<b>Averages</b>	101	131	June 1	September 10	May 13	September 21

\*Source: Hayter, 269.

higher ridges tend to be wooded, whilst the shallow, fairly level ground is substantially farmed. In conclusion, the records of the Lac La Biche station underestimate considerably the severity of the frost hazard within the sample area."<sup>50</sup>

#### The Athabasca Sample Area

This area is located in Athabasca County, and the coordinates are: NW 1/4 34/67/24; NE 1/4 34/67/23; SE 1/4 33/66/23, and the southwest corner of lot 21, west of the fourth meridian (see Figure 4). Hayter found that this meteorological station, known officially as Athabasca II, recorded during the ten year-period a significantly longer frost-free period than the old Athabasca station. "This latter station, now disbanded, was sited 15 miles to the southeast of the station considered here, and obviously tended to record the effects of cold air drainage more than the Athabasca II station."<sup>51</sup> Hayter did not use the records of the Athabasca station because the records were intermittent after 1959 and finally stopped in 1965. Table 3 compares the mean minimum temperature of the two stations in the summer of 1961.

Table 3. Mean Minimum (°F) Temperatures, 1961\*

	June	July	August	September
Athabasca	44.9	44.1	45.8	32.4
Athabasca II	50.5	49.5	49.6	34.4

\*Source: Hayter, 228.

Table 4 shows that the records of the Athabasca II station indicate an average frost-free season. The shortest frost-free periods were recorded in

Table 4. Athabasca II Frost-Free and Killing Frost-Free Season, 1959-68\*

	Frost-Free Period (Days)		Date of Last Spring and First Fall Frost	
	32°F	28°F	32°F	28°F
1959	104	119	May 28	September 9
1960	123	149	May 16	September 16
1961	117	121	May 16	September 10
1962	115	124	May 10	September 17
1963	113	154	May 27	September 10
1964	123	135	May 10	September 4
1965	73	117	June 23	October 3
1966	141	155	May 15	September 23
1967	110	138	June 14	August 9
1968	56	129	June 14	June 14
Averages	106	134	May 27	September 10

\*Source: Hayter, 270.

1968 (55 days) and 1965 (72 days), and all other years received more than 100 days frost-free. In terms of killing-frost, each year received more than 115 days. The probability of spring frosts after May 15 is 70% and 30% after June 1, and the probability of a fall frost before August 31 is 10% which increases to 60% by September 10. No killing frosts were recorded in June, July, or August, and the probability of a killing frost after May 15 is 10% and a fall frost by September 10 is 40%.

Hayter's traverse was undertaken during a period of heavy mist, and the lowest temperature was recorded crossing Baptise Creek between the Lake and the Athabasca River. "This is a low lying area where the land is cold and damp so that heat gains are small with the result that this area is frost prone."<sup>52</sup> He found that "on the lower land and in the areas of bush, slight drops in temperature were registered," and "... conjectured that on calm, clear nights without mist these variations would have been greater."<sup>53</sup> Hayter concluded that "... it is probable that as a result of the local site conditions associated with the meteorological station, the frost hazard in this sample area is underestimated by the records of the Athabasca II station."<sup>54</sup>

Microclimatological variations in temperature are strong in northeast Alberta. Not only have variations of up to forty days of frost-free weather been noted at stations,<sup>55</sup> Hayter has convincingly demonstrated that these do not adequately reflect the vagaries of the climate in their particular region.

The average weather pattern for the study area is shown in Table 5 for a period of thirty years. The average of annual temperatures between the two stations is 33.85<sup>0</sup>F, and the average of their annual precipitation is 18.05 inches. The concentration of rainfall in the summer months during

Table 5. Temperature and Precipitation by Month, 1931-1960\*

Month	Athabasca		Lac La Biche	
	Temperature (Mean °F)	Precipitation (Inches)	Temperature (Mean °F)	Precipitation (Inches)
January	1.6	1.17	1.4	1.03
February	6.2	1.97	6.7	0.94
March	17.2	0.85	18.1	0.87
April	36.6	0.82	36.2	1.02
May	48.8	1.80	50.1	1.36
June	55.3	2.77	57.4	2.64
July	60.5	3.00	62.3	2.83
August	57.9	2.50	59.5	2.74
September	49.4	1.39	50.0	1.80
October	38.8	0.84	39.4	0.78
November	21.4	1.03	21.2	0.97
December	7.6	1.13	8.5	1.05
Total	33.5	18.27	34.2	17.83

\*Sources: Athabasca data from Jansson, 4. Lac La Biche data from Hozack, 20.



the period of highest temperatures produces a relatively high precipitation efficiency.<sup>56</sup> Jansson suggested that "variations in mean annual precipitation of up to 2.0 inches appear to be of little consequence to agriculture," and that "only in years where precipitation falls below 16 inches does severe drought loss result."<sup>57</sup>

Agriculture, as an outdoor occupation, is severely limited by frosts in the study area. In addition, soils, identified by Schultz as the basic resource of agriculture,<sup>58</sup> are another problem presented to the northeast Alberta farmer.

#### The Soils

The soils of what came to be known as the "prairie provinces" of Canada gained an international reputation during the nineteenth century for their unusually excellent fertility and productivity. That reputation resulted from an examination of some of the deep humus-rich grassland soils of the Canadian Prairies, especially Manitoba where rainfall is somewhat higher and more consistent than it is in much of the open prairie of Saskatchewan and Alberta. The organic matter content was the best indicator of soil productivity in those days. Most of the early settlers on the prairies obtained good crops from the virgin soils on which they farmed, and in the rush of settlement on the prairies much of the good grassland soils was quickly taken up wherever moisture conditions were reasonably satisfactory. Much of this land has been devoted to constant grain production for more than a half-century without the application of any kind of fertilizer -- and still it produces fairly good yields.<sup>59</sup> But such chernozemic soils are not the soils of northeast Alberta.

The predominant soils in the study area are gray wooded of the podzolic order. There are also some pockets of dark gray and dark gray wooded soils

in the region (see Table 6 for major soil groups farmed in Alberta). As with all podzolic soils, gray wooded soils are characterized by an impoverished gray layer at or near the surface.

Table 6. Major Soil Groups Farmed in Alberta\*

(Millions of Acres)	Total	Arable	Occupied	Cultivated
Brown	12	2.5	10	3
Dark Brown	10	4.7	8	5.3
Black	15.5	11.5	15	8.5
Dark Gray and Dark Gray Wooded	9	6.8	5.5	3.5
Gray Wooded	50	15	8	4

\*Source: Bentley, *et al.*, 12.

Gray wooded soils have developed under cooler conditions where more effective precipitation than in the grasslands has resulted in leaching of minerals to lower horizons. In its natural state, a gray wooded soil has a surface layer of organic materials consisting mainly of recently fallen leaves and/or needles (leaf mat) on the surface, called the L horizon, which is underlain by a felty or fibrous mat of partly decomposed organic material. The most decomposed layer is called the H horizon, whereas the partly decomposed layer is called the F horizon. The L, F, and H horizons may vary from one to five or more inches in thickness. Underlying these horizons is a dark layer, a mixture of humus and mineral matter, called the Ah horizon. This Ah horizon is the productive portion of any soil for agriculture. Unfortunately in gray wooded soils this horizon is always less than two inches and usually less than one inch thick. 60, 61

The Ae horizon is the most distinctive layer in a gray wooded soil, and it is the cause of many problems encountered in farming these soils. The Ae horizon is gray in color, low in organic content, and breaks apart in the horizontal plane, i.e., it has a platy structure. This horizon varies from four to twelve inches in thickness. The gray color results from the low humus content and the effects of centuries of leaching. Rain dissolves the chemicals formed from leaf and needle decomposition, and as the water seeps down into the soil the dissolved chemicals slowly act on the clay, silt, and sand in the mineral part of the soil. Very slowly some of the clay is moved downward from near the surface and the materials that are left become grayish in color because of the action of the chemicals on them. The development of the Ae horizon is a very slow process taking hundreds or even thousands of years. When dry the Ae horizon is hard and crushes to an ash-like or flour-like powder. If the gray mineral matter of the Ae horizon is very wet it acts like a heavy paste. When a gray wooded soil is cultivated, the L, F, H, and part of the Ae horizons are mixed by the plowing. The grayness of a field is an indication of how intense the leaching of that soil has been, and it also indicates to a certain extent how thick the leaf mat and the Ah horizon were. <sup>62</sup>

The Bt horizon, the layer commonly called the subsoil, is usually brown, grayish brown, or brownish dark gray in color. This horizon contains the clay and some of the other minerals leached out of the Ae horizon. Because of the increased swelling and shrinking resulting from the higher clay content, this horizon has both vertical and horizontal lines of breakage. As a result, the lumps constituting the natural soil structure in the Bt horizon usually have sharp angular edges and a shape that is rather block-like. When they are dry these soil lumps are so hard that roots may have

difficulty penetrating this soil layer.<sup>63</sup>

Gray wooded soils are the least fertile of the major soil groups in Alberta. The soils are particularly deficient in plant nutrients, and Figure 12 shows the limitations placed on agriculture by the soils in the study area. It should be noted that there are no class 1 soils in the study area. There are three small areas of class 2 soils southeast of Athabasca; class 3 soils confined primarily to the western half of the study area; more than 25% organic soils (muskeg); and a high percentage of class 4 and 5 soils in the eastern half of the study area. It is painfully evident that the soils are among the worst.

Bentley, *et al.*, illustrated the difference between gray wooded and grassland soils by writing "... even with poor farming methods the grassland soils usually produce good crops whereas good farming methods must be followed to obtain satisfactory crop yields on Gray Wooded soils."<sup>64</sup>

(Emphasis original). The farmers of the gray wooded soils face an additional disadvantage with regard to the grains they might happen to grow, i.e.,

*serious consideration is now being given ... to a ban on export of wheat grown on Gray Wooded soils because, on the average, the protein content of wheat grown there is appreciable lower than that of wheat grown on open prairies.*<sup>65</sup> (Emphasis original).

### Vegetation

The natural vegetation of the study area is in the broad category known as the Sub-Arctic and Northern forest<sup>66</sup> or more commonly as Boreal Mixed-wood<sup>67</sup> that includes balsam, birch, fir, pine, poplar, spruce, tamarack, willow, and muskegs. The vegetation in the study area includes the aspen poplar (*Populus tremuloides*), balsam poplar (*Populus balsamifera*) -- also known as "balm of Gilead," alder (*Alnus rubra*), black spruce (*Picea mariana*), jackpine (*Pinus banksiana*), tamarack (*Larix laricina*), paper birch (*Betula*

Figure 12. Soil Capability for Agriculture\*



Scale: 1:570,000

- 1 - Soils in this class have no significant limitations in use for crops.
- 2 - Soils in this class have moderate limitations that restrict the range of crops of require moderate conservation practices.
- 3 - Soils in this class have moderately severe limitations that restrict the range of crops or require special conservation practices.
- 4 - Soils in this class have severe limitations that restrict the range of crops or require special conservation practices, or both.
- 5 - Soils in this class have severe limitations that restrict their capability to producing perennial forage crops, and improvement practices are feasible.
- 6 - Soils in this class are capable of producing perennial forage crops, and improvement practices are not feasible.
- 7 - Soils in this class have no capability for arable culture or permanent pasture.
- 0 - Organic soils (not placed in capability classes).

\*Source: Soil Capability for Agriculture - Canada Land Inventory (1973).

*papyrifera*), willow (*Salix amygdaloides*), and muskegs (*Sphagnum*, *Hyprum*).

Also found in the study area, to a much lesser extent, are balsam fir (*Abies balsamea*), white spruce (*Picea glauca*), and lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*). Table 7 shows the vegetation by township.

The better drained areas have the poplars, pines, birch, and white spruce as the dominant vegetation mix. The predominant tree in this mix is the aspen poplar. In the poorly drained areas, the dominant vegetation mix is black spruce, tamarack, willow, and muskeg.

The first problem posed for the northeast Alberta farmer by the vegetation is the cost of clearing the land. The various types of tree cover are presented in Table 8, and the approximate costs for clearing are presented in Table 9. The approximate costs for clearing, listed in Table 9, are at 1971 prices, and they have probably escalated along with all other services in the province. It should also be recognized that the ball and chain operation, listed in Table 9, is restricted to large areas in that it swathes 40 to 70 feet. This method also has the disadvantage of removing all growth where small patches of vegetation might best be left because of topography or erosion hazards.<sup>68</sup>

The costs for clearing the vegetation (\$19.00 - \$46.00 per acre) are extremely high for a farmer who might never realize a profit from his or her investment, because of the climate and soils in the region. The vegetation, then, is only one more limitation to agriculture in northeast Alberta. Out of three classes of naturally occurring phenomena, each presents a problem to the farmer of the study area. There is also no respite from the fauna.

#### The Fauna

Northeast Alberta farmers find themselves at the mercy of the daily

Table 7: Topography and Vegetation by Township

Location	Topography	Vegetation	Location	Topography	
68/24/4	Level	Poplar, willow, spruce and jackpine	66/24/4	Rolling	Spru
68/23/4	Level	Poplar, willow, birch and spruce	66/23/4	Undulating	Spru
68/22/4	Level	Spruce, poplar, and willow brush	66/22/4	Rough and broken to level	Popl
68/21/4	Gently rolling	Poplar, spruce, and birch	66/21/4	Undulating	Tama
68/20/4	Gently rolling	Poplar, spruce, willow, and tamarack	66/20/4	Rolling	Popl
68/19/4	Gently rolling	Brulé, poplar, spruce, and tamarack	66/19/4	Rolling	Spru
68/18/4	Gently rolling	Spruce, tamarack, brulé, and muskeg	66/18/4	Gently rolling	Popl
68/17/4	Level	Poplar and willow scrub	66/17/4	Rough and hilly	Popl
68/16/4	Level	Poplar and spruce	66/16/4	Rough and hilly	Spru
68/15/4	Rolling	Spruce, poplar, and willow	66/15/4	Level	Popl
68/14/4	Slightly rolling	Jackpine, spruce, and poplar	66/14/4	Rolling	Popl
68/13/4	Level to rolling	Poplar, willow, and spruce	66/13/4	Rolling	Popl
68/12/4	Level	Spruce, tamarack, poplar and, willow brush	66/12/4	Rolling	Spru
67/12/4	Rolling	Poplar, spruce, tamarack, birch, and willow	65/12/4	Rolling	Popl
67/13/4	Rolling	Poplar	65/13/4	Rolling	Popl
67/14/4	Rolling	Poplar, spruce, and tamarack	65/14/4	Rolling	Popl
67/15/4	Slightly Rolling	Poplar, willow, and scattered spruce	65/15/4	Rolling	Spru
67/16/4	Rolling	Poplar and willow brush	65/16/4	Rough rolling and hilly	Popl
67/17/4	Level	Spruce, poplar, willow, birch, and tamarack	65/17/4	Rough and hilly	Popl
67/18/4	Level	Poplar, spruce, and muskeg	65/18/4	Rolling	Spru
67/19/4	Undulating	Spruce, poplar, jackpine, birch, willow brush, and muskeg	65/19/4	Rolling	Spru
67/20/4	Level	Spruce, tamarack, poplar, willow, birch, and mostly muskeg	65/20/4	Undulating	Popl
67/21/4	Undulating	Poplar, spruce, and willow	65/21/4	Rolling	Popl
67/22/4	Level	Spruce, willow, poplar, tamarack, and birch	65/22/4	Rough and rolling, broken by ravines	Popl
67/23/4	Level	Poplar, willow, spruce, and tamarack	65/23/4	Undulating	Popl
67/24/4	Level to rolling	Birch, poplar, spruce, tamarack and willow scrub	65/24/4	Rolling	Spru

Topography and Vegetation by Township

Vegetation	Location	Topography	Vegetation
Poplar, willow, spruce and jackpine	66/24/4	Rolling	Spruce, poplar, and muskeg
Poplar, willow, birch and spruce	66/23/4	Undulating	Spruce, tamarack, poplar, and willow
Spruce, poplar, and willow brush	66/22/4	Rough and broken to level	Poplar, willow, alder scrub, and willow scrub
Poplar, spruce, and birch	66/21/4	Undulating	Tamarack, spruce, poplar, and willow
Poplar, spruce, willow, and tamarack	66/20/4	Rolling	Poplar, willow, and spruce
Spruce, poplar, spruce, and tamarack	66/19/4	Rolling	Spruce, poplar, and muskeg
Spruce, tamarack, birch, and muskeg	66/18/4	Gently rolling	Poplar, willow, spruce, and tamarack muskegs
Poplar and willow scrub	66/17/4	Rough and hilly	Poplar, spruce, tamarack, and jackpine
Poplar and spruce	66/16/4	Rough and hilly	Spruce, poplar, tamarack, birch, and willow
Spruce, poplar, and willow	66/15/4	Level	Poplar, willow, tamarack, spruce, and birch
Jackpine, spruce, and poplar	66/14/4	Rolling	Poplar, spruce, and tamarack
Poplar, willow, and spruce	66/13/4	Rolling	Poplar
Spruce, tamarack, poplar and, willow brush	66/12/4	Rolling	Spruce, tamarack, birch, poplar, and willow
Poplar, spruce, tamarack, birch, and willow	65/12/4	Rolling	Poplar and willow
Poplar	65/13/4	Rolling	Poplar, spruce, birch, and tamarack
Poplar, spruce, and tamarack	65/14/4	Rolling	Poplar, willow, and balsam of Gilead
Poplar, willow, and scattered spruce	65/15/4	Rolling	Spruce, tamarack, poplar, and birch
Poplar and willow brush	65/16/4	Rough rolling and hilly	Poplar, willow, tamarack, and birch
Spruce, poplar, willow, birch, and tamarack	65/17/4	Rough and hilly	Poplar, willow, spruce, tamarack, birch, and jackpine
Poplar, spruce, and muskeg	65/18/4	Rolling	Spruce, poplar, and birch
Spruce, poplar, jackpine, birch, willow brush, and muskeg	65/19/4	Rolling	Spruce, tamarack and poplar
Spruce, tamarack, poplar, willow, birch, and mostly muskeg	65/20/4	Undulating	Poplar, spruce, tamarack, and willow
Poplar, spruce, and willow	65/21/4	Rolling	Poplar, willow, spruce, tamarack and brush
Spruce, willow, poplar, tamarack, and birch	65/22/4	Rough and rolling, broken by ravines	Poplar, tamarack, spruce, and willow
Poplar, willow, spruce, and tamarack	65/23/4	Undulating	Poplar, willow, spruce, tamarack, and muskeg
Birch, poplar, spruce, tamarack and willow scrub	65/24/4	Rolling	Spruce, tamarack, birch, alder, poplar, and willow scrub



Table 8. Types of Tree Cover Classification\*

Cover Type	Trees per Acre	Average Diameter
1 light	250-1000	up to 2"
2 medium	1000-3000	4 to 6"
3 heavy	750-2000	4 to 8"
4 heavy	500-1500	6 to 14"

\*Source: Bentley, *et al.*, 38.

Table 9. Approximate Costs of Clearing and Breaking -- Dollars Per Acre in 1971\*

Type of Cover	Clearing and Piling		Breaking including Burning		Discing and Floating		Total Cost
	Method	Cost	Method	Cost	Method	Cost	
Type 1	Rotary Mower (no piling)	\$ 5.00	Disc	\$ 7.00	Disc	\$ 7.00	\$19.00
			Moldboard	9.00	Moldboard	7.00	21.00
			Rotovator	18.00	Rotovator	---	23.00
	Side Cutter	10.00	Disc	7.00	Disc	7.00	24.00
	(piling in same operation)		Moldboard	9.00	Moldboard	7.00	26.00
	"V" Cutter	12.00	Rotovator	18.00	Rotovator	---	28.00
		Disc	7.00	Disc	7.00	26.00	
		(separate piling operation)	9.00	Moldboard	7.00	28.00	
			18.00	Rotovator	---	30.00	
Type 2	"V" Cutter	15.00	Disc	8.00	Disc	8.00	31.00
	(separate piling operation)		Moldboard	10.00	Moldboard	8.00	33.00
	Walking	20.00	Rotovator	20.00	Rotovator	---	36.00
	(separate piling)		Disc	8.00	Disc	8.00	36.00
			Moldboard	10.00	Moldboard	8.00	38.00
			Rotovator	20.00	Rotovator	---	41.00
Type 3 and 4	Walking Down	25.00	Disc	10.00	Disc	9.00	44.00
	(separate piling operation)		Moldboard	12.00	Moldboard	9.00	46.00
	Ball and Chain	10.00	Disc	10.00	Disc	9.00	29.00
	(no piling)		Moldboard	12.00	Moldboard	9.00	31.00
	Ball and Chain	15.00	Disc	10.00	Disc	9.00	34.00
	(separate piling operation)		Moldboard	12.00	Moldboard	9.00	36.00

\*Source: Bentley, et al., 38.

vagaries of the weather. They find that *with enough capital* it is possible to improve the soil quality to some degree. However, these farmers, too frequently, find themselves in a competition with the fauna for the same space, with the likelihood furthermore of the animal being protected by statutes. The range of fauna found throughout the study area is common to all northeast Alberta. Too extensive to list here, the mammalian and avian fauna in Jansson's study of the Athabasca Office District (Figure 8) are listed in Appendix A.

Jansson's pioneering study on the response of farmers to depredation by wildlife<sup>69</sup> is the most comprehensive treatise on the animal problem as faced by the agriculturalist of northeast Alberta. Having noted that "animal depredation on agriculture is a worldwide problem," he suggests that "... every farmer will suffer some [damages] because of his dependence on a natural environment that usually contains animals."<sup>70</sup> Six million dollars was the estimated loss to waterfowl depredations in 1968, but this figure seems somewhat conservative -- especially since Jansson found that many farmers in his study sample "... were willing to accept up to \$500 worth of duck damage without reporting any trouble ..."<sup>71</sup> to authorities.

Overall, the major damage is said to be caused by ducks and other waterfowl. "Although wheat and barley are damaged almost equally for any given year in terms of acres and bushels, a preference is shown for barley in that its acreage is only about one-half that of wheat. Damage to oats is relatively minor."<sup>72</sup>

It is possible, however, that the beaver -- protected by statutes from undue harassment -- causes more damage than waterfowl in certain parts of northeast Alberta. Even though the dam-building activities of the beaver increase in the late summer and early fall, the flooding of fields and

pasture access routes is a year-round problem<sup>73</sup> that has never been adequately assessed. Several taped interviews from the study area reveal much hostility towards this national symbol for the uncalculated damage it causes. In addition to flooding fields, the beaver removes stooks from fields.

The third most troublesome animal to the northeast Alberta farmer is the bear. Bears rip open granaries, kill and injure sheep and steers, damage beehives, eat stoked crops, and trample grainfields. Coyotes kill and eat poultry, steers, and sheep. Weasels kill poultry. Moose break fences and browse on swathed and stoked crops, and so does the elk.<sup>74</sup>

Jansson has shown that the continued preservation of big game and beaver that damage or destroy agricultural commodities is

jeopardized unless new settlement is stopped and present management is intensified. Further clearing and drainage will result in increased damage for a short period and then the extirpation of the animals as a reaction to that damage. This presupposes that ... a man-managed ecological balance between farming and wildlife is possible.<sup>75</sup>

## DISCUSSION

The background to the political history of Alberta shows that Canada, as a youthful nation with plenty of land on which the government needed to settle people to demonstrate its sovereignty, borrowed the idea from the United States that a quarter-section of land would make a viable farm. While the government was successful in establishing a uniform land policy and providing settlement opportunities, no consideration was given to the degree of climatic differences manifested latitudinally from the Forty-Ninth parallel northward. The evidence presented in this chapter demonstrates that the government's policy decision made in Ottawa was stretched beyond good judgement when applied to settlement for agricultural

purposes in the study area, i.e., the physical environment is hostile to success in the agricultural pursuit followed by farmers in northeast Alberta -- grain growing.

The question of the government's success in attracting people to settle is examined more thoroughly in the next chapter. However, it is clear from data presented that there is more involved here than governmental policy for measuring success. The severe frost hazards, poor soil qualities, cost of clearing vegetation, and wildlife depredation must all be considered in overall success of the government's "public lands policy." Indeed, an easily reached conclusion, from the data on the physical environment, is that the government's policy precluded success through lack of adequate preparation and planning.

It is perhaps difficult to understand why anyone would inhabit such a hostile environment, and the reasons probably have much to do with why the people came in the first place. Some were seeking success in the economic sphere, some of them were feeling injustices, and others came for reasons known only to themselves. The conclusion that must be drawn from the picture presented by the physical data is that the people are "mesmerized," i.e., there is a force that keeps them locked into the region.

The following chapter, therefore, looks at settlement sequence stemming from the government's "public lands policy" and "boosterism." Additionally, the question of success is examined from two angles -- occupancy and generational linkages. These provide the basis for the social conditions as they evolved in northeast Alberta.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>HOLMGREN, Eric J., "Seventy Years a Province!" *Heritage*, Vol. 3, No. 6 (1975), pp. 4-5; 10.

<sup>2</sup>"An Act Respecting the Public Lands of the Dominion," *Acts of the Parliament of Canada*, (1872), Chapter XXIII, pp. 56-90. Brown Chamberlain Law Printers for Canada, Ottawa. Further references to this source will be cited as "Public Lands Policy" with page number(s). VOGELANG, Robin R., *The Initial Agricultural Settlement of the Morinville - Westlock Area, Alberta*, unpublished M.A. Thesis (1972), p. 32. University of Alberta, Edmonton, has written that the "Dominion Lands Act of 1872 was based on the American Homestead Act of 1862." However, Vogelang does not suggest the lengths to which the Canadian government went to insure *bona fide* settlers on the land. The following is an example of what the Canadians could learn from the American Homestead Act: "Our government, always generous in its encouragement of Western migration, had outdone itself in the Homestead Act of 1862, which gave a tract of 160 acres free of charge of any head of a family who would cultivate it for five years. In a little over ten years after the passage of the act 40,000,000 acres of our public land (an area equal to more than one fourth the surface of France) were given away, ostensibly as 'homesteads,' but actually often to 'land grabbers' or 'land sharks.' These men, by submitting fraudulent lists of 'settlers' to the land office, accumulated immense estates, which contained invaluable resources of timber, minerals, and water power. Their spirit was expressed in the words of one of the Montana land sharks, 'We who are on the ground intend to get whatever land there is lying around.' The discovery of copper, silver, and gold in Montana, Colorado, Idaho, Dakota, Wyoming, and Nevada enhanced the value of these public lands a hundredfold, and put into private purses wealth that would have been sufficient to maintain our government." MUSSEY, David S., *An American History* (1911), p. 512, Ginn and Company, Chicago. The "Public Lands Policy" of 1872 is adequate testimony that the Canadian government learned the lessons of the American experience well.

<sup>3</sup>WOOD, V.A., "Alberta's Public Land Policy, Past and Present," *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 3, No. 4, Part 2 (1951), p. 737.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>MACGREGOR, James G., *A History of Alberta* (1972), p. 187. Hurtig Publishers, Edmonton.

<sup>7</sup>The following information is extracted from "Public Lands Policy," pp. 57-60.

<sup>8</sup>Stone contends that "... the quarter-sections could be sub-divided further into sixteen ten acre lots." STONE, D.N.G., *The Process of Rural Settlement in the Athabasca Area, Alberta*, unpublished M.A. Thesis (1970), p. 62. University of Alberta, Edmonton. The "Public Lands Policy," however, contains no such legal terminology.

- <sup>9</sup>"Public Lands Policy," pp. 61-62. The location of the "Fertile Belt" is not specified. Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 64, however, wrote that the fertile belt was the "... area which extended from the forty-ninth parallel northward to the North Saskatchewan and Souris River valleys." Therefore, the Hudson's Bay Company had no claim to land north of Township 60 except for that which it had reserved prior to the establishment of the "Public Lands Policy."
- <sup>10</sup>"Public Lands Policy," p. 62. Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 63, wrote that the revenues derived from the school lands "... in the form of rentals, leases and interest derived on deferred payments were used by the pioneer communities to alleviate the often heavy burden of education costs. If school lands commanded a high enough price they were often sold by auction at the discretion of the Department of the Interior. Martin (1939) has stated that The revenues from the school lands have been the highest, the cost of administration the lowest, the endowment as a whole perhaps the most praiseworthy and discerning among all the forms of general land policy..."
- <sup>11</sup>"Public Lands Policy," pp. 65-67. Only seven of the eighteen sections are recounted here. Vogelesang, quoting from an official governmental publication of 1885, shows that the regulations further "requires a homesteader to reside six months in each of the three years on the homestead. The erection of a habitable house, the breaking of 30 acres and the seeding of 20 acres (must occur) before patent may be applied for." VOGESANG, Robin R., *The Initial Agricultural Settlement of the Morinville - Westlock Area, Alberta*, unpublished M.A. Thesis (1972), pp. 12-13. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- <sup>12</sup>"Public Lands Policy," p. 68
- <sup>13</sup>"Public Lands Policy," pp. 69-70.
- <sup>14</sup>"Public Lands Policy," pp. 70-80.
- <sup>15</sup>"Public Lands Policy," pp. 80-88.
- <sup>16</sup>STONE, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-189,
- <sup>17</sup>VOGELESANG, Robin R., *The Initial Agricultural Settlement of the Morinville - Westlock Area, Alberta*, unpublished M.A. Thesis (1972), p. 45. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- <sup>18</sup>WOOD, *op. cit.*, p. 741.
- <sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 739.
- <sup>20</sup>BENNETT, John W., *Northern Plainsmen* (1969), p. 20. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.
- <sup>21</sup>This area is frontier in the sense of its marginality for agricultural production rather than its location with regard to the marketplace.

- <sup>22</sup> Government of Alberta and the University of Alberta, *Atlas of Alberta* (1969), p. 9. University of Alberta Press, Edmonton. Further references from this source will be cited as *Atlas of Alberta* with page number(s).
- <sup>23</sup> HAYTER, Roger, *The Frost Hazard for Agriculture in Northeast Alberta*, unpublished M.A. Thesis (1970) p. 19. University of Alberta, Edmonton. This study maintains the usage of northeast Alberta with the understanding that agricultural settlements, rather than geographic coordinates, are under investigation.
- <sup>24</sup> HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 14. HAYTER, *op. cit.*, p. 164, noted that "In Sweden the margin of agriculture has been considerably pulled back as a result of strong government pressure. In Canada, Government pressures have tended to work in the opposite direction and marginal rural areas constitute one of Canada's regional problems."
- <sup>25</sup> *Atlas of Alberta*, p. 63.
- <sup>26</sup> Department of Social Services and Community Health, *Profile on Regional Public Assistance Caseloads for the Lac La Biche Regional Office April 1973 - March 1975* (1975), p. 4. Confidential Report prepared by the Research and Planning Branch, Edmonton.
- <sup>27</sup> EIDT, Robert C., *Pioneer Settlement in Northeast Argentina* (1971), *Supra*, pp. 40-43. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
- <sup>28</sup> SCHULTZ, Wolfgang M., *The People and Resources of Northeast Alberta*, (1966), Bulletin 2, p. 28. Department of Extension, University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- <sup>29</sup> VANDERHILL, Burke G., "Observations in the Pioneer Fringe of Western Canada," *Journal of Geography*, Vol. 57, No. 9 (1958), pp. 431-441, and "The Direction of Settlement in the Prairie Provinces of Canada," *Journal of Geography*, Vol. 58, No. 7 (1959), pp. 325-333.
- <sup>30</sup> Each author is responsible for contributions to this study in one way or another. Additionally, some more general studies of Alberta have been executed that are useful in the context of Alberta culture as focused herein. These include Geoffery A. Lester's M.A. Thesis, *The Distribution of Religious Groups in Alberta, 1961*, published as pages 57 and 59 of the *Atlas of Alberta*; Margaret E. Crawford's M.A. Thesis, *A Geographic Study of the Distribution of Population Change in Alberta, 1931-1961*, which contributes to pages 50-51 of the *Atlas of Alberta*; and Hugo P. Stibbe's M.A. Thesis, *The Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Alberta, Canada, According to the 1961 Census*, published as pages 56 and 58 of the *Atlas of Alberta*.
- <sup>31</sup> One of the best examples of this official position was written by the Superintendent of Canadian Immigration, SCOTT, W.D., "The Negroes," *Canada and its Provinces*, Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., Vol. 7 (1914), p. 531. Brook Company, Toronto. For information regarding the Canadian Government's official position with regard to black immigrants, see SESSING, Trevor W., "How They Kept Canada Almost Lily White," *Saturday Night*, September (1970) pp. 30-32.



<sup>32</sup> *Atlas of Alberta*, p. 7.

<sup>33</sup> *Atlas of Alberta*, p. 8.

<sup>34</sup> HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>35</sup> STONE, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-28.

<sup>36</sup> The widening of Pine Creek in 1975 was one such attempt to drain some of the muskeg areas along the left bank.

<sup>37</sup> HAYTER, *op. cit.*, see especially Appendix B, pp. 204-276.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>39</sup> HOZACK, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-38. HAYTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-16; 33-82. Cf. WILLIAMS, G. Daniel V., "Physical Frontiers of Crops: The Example for Growing Barley to Maturity in Canada," in *Frontier Settlement*, R.G. Ironside, V.B. Proudfoot, E.N. Shannon, and C.J. Tracie, eds. *Studies in Geography, Monograph 1* (1974), pp. 79-91, University of Alberta, Edmonton, for a recent discussion of this debate.

<sup>40</sup> This kind of statement occurred on six separately taped interviews at Athabasca and Amber Valley, Alberta, in July of 1970.

<sup>41</sup> HAYTER, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>42</sup> HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* This author camped on the north shore of Beaver Lake on August 12, 1975, and found that frost was in evidence on the morning of the 13th, but not to the extent reported by Hozack.

<sup>44</sup> HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 23,

<sup>45</sup> HAYTER, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 205-205.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 221-222.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*,

- 55 JANSSON, Michael C.; *Farmer Response to Depredation by Wildlife on Agriculture in the Athabasca Area*, unpublished M.Sc. Thesis (1970), p. 3. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- 56 HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 57 JANSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- 58 SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
- 59 BENTLEY, C.F., HENNING, A.M.F., PETERS, T.W., and WALKER, D.R., eds., *Gray Wooded Soils and their Management*, Bulletin B-71-1, Seventh Edition (1971), p. 20. University of Alberta and Canada Department of Agriculture, Edmonton.
- 60 HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 65
- 61 BENTLEY, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p. 17
- 63 *Ibid.*
- 64 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 65 *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- 66 FULLARD, Harold, ed., *World Patterns* (1971), p. 15. Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago.
- 67 LA ROI, George H., HAMSON, Cyril G., FALLER, William F. and NYLAND, Edo, "The Boreal Forest," *Alberta: A Natural History*, W.G. Hardy, ed., (1971), p. 153. Hurtig Publishers, Edmonton.
- 68 BENTLEY, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- 69 JANSSON, *op. cit.*
- 70 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- 71 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- 72 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- 73 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- 74 *Ibid.*, pp. 51-55.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

CHAPTER IVSOCIAL CONDITIONS AS THEY EVOLVED

The previous chapter addressed the significant underlying influences of the Province's political history. In addition, it has shown that the physical factors of the environments, especially climatic conditions and soil quality, are definite constraints on the successful pursuit of commercial agriculture in northeast Alberta -- at least for the production of cereal grains.

This chapter addresses the evolving social conditions in the study area, and it looks at success from the points of occupancy (including institutional development) and generational linkages. First, there is a continued discussion of the national government's land policy, and of how the attitudes that developed around that policy influenced the settlers in northeast Alberta. Secondly, there is a discussion of the propaganda and "boosterism" regarding the agricultural productivity of the environment, which led people into the area. The third area of concern for this part of the study is a critical look at the role of railways in settlement. Fourthly, the notions surrounding the "push-pull" factors of settlement are addressed. Finally, a twenty-five percent sample of the fifty-two townships is used to examine sequential settlement in the study area. This chapter of the study, then, isolates the salient socio-cultural characteristics that are responsible for the traditions surrounding the development of agriculture in northeast Alberta.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DOMINION LANDS ACT OF 1872<sup>1</sup>

The Hudson's Bay Company had politically administered and successfully profited from an established fur-trading enterprise for 200 years before

relinquishing Rupert's Land to the Dominion of Canada.

Since the main purpose of the Hudson's Bay Company was fur trading rather than colonization, the latter could only be fostered to the detriment of the former. It is easy to understand, therefore, that the company not only discouraged colonization and land settlement, but in many cases took active measures to prevent it.<sup>2</sup>

The purchase of Rupert's Land, and its subsequent transfer to the settler through the "public lands policy," marked the advent of a "clear-cut experiment in agricultural colonization"<sup>3</sup> for western Canada.

The introduction of the free homestead system, which granted the individual settler entry onto one quarter section of land for a ten dollar fee,<sup>4</sup> served to fulfill the Dominion Government's objectives of filling the "vast empty" spaces of the western interior as quickly and efficiently as possible. This was one way to curb the territorial ambitions of the United States, and it worked.<sup>5</sup>

It is important to note at this juncture that the study area begins some 400 miles north of the 49th parallel, that its settlement is a 20th century phenomenon, and that the socio-cultural significance of the "public lands policy" in the study area stems from attitudes developed in much more agriculturally favorable and politically sophisticated situations. These factors should be borne in mind while noting that settlement in Alberta ensued from the "public lands policy."

The primary problem faced by the Dominion government for settling the land was the question of where to get the people to fill in the territory. This problem was solved through the government's immigration policy. Immigrant settlers from the United States, central and southern Europe came to the Canadian west by the thousands to help the Dominion government establish its suzerainty.<sup>6</sup>

MacGregor, perhaps better than any other person, has developed the

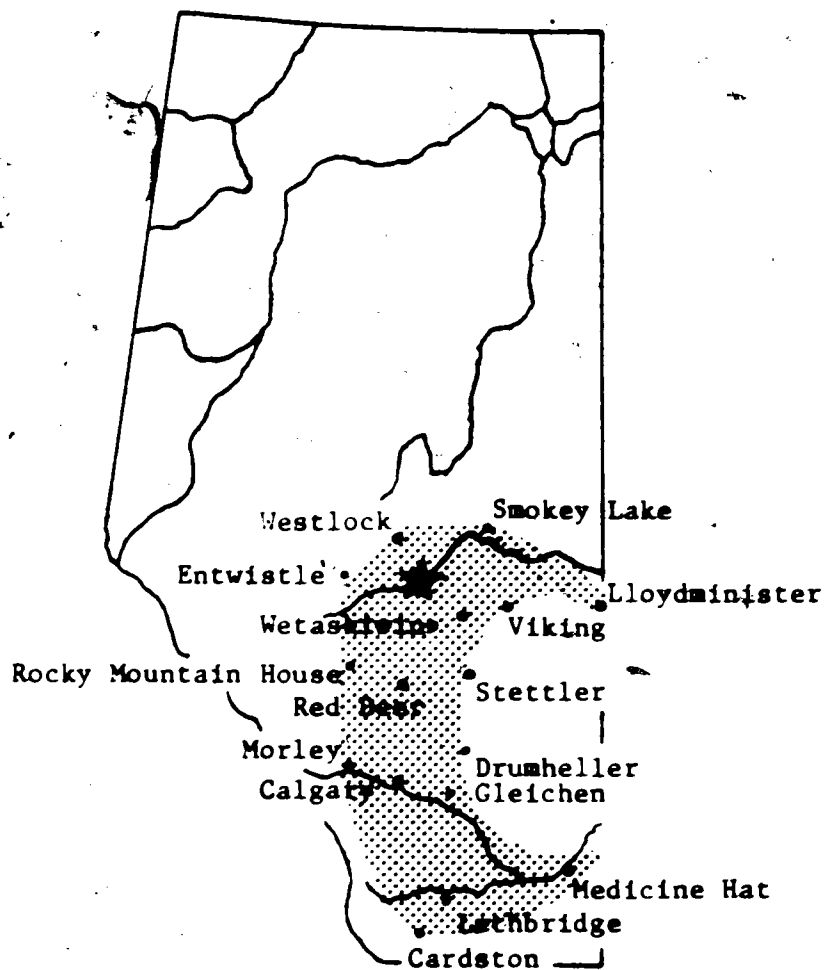
conceptual essence of the "public lands policy" and how it influenced immigration and settlement in Alberta.<sup>7</sup> He suggested that three of the earliest groups came to Alberta fleeing persecution, and these were the Mormons from the United States in 1886, the Germans from Russia and Austria in 1889, and the sorely pressed Ukrainians from their ancestral lands in Galicia and Bukowina in 1895. Others, MacGregor suggested, came to Alberta in the hope that the new land would give them greater scope for their talents, notably the large influx of Scandinavians in 1892 and 1893, the Parry Sounders in 1892, the French in 1891, and the Anglo-Saxons who seemingly just drifted in to help design the cultural mosaic that is Alberta.

The immigrant Germans who arrived in 1889 were advised to try their luck on the dry and treeless plains at Dunmore near Medicine Hat (see Figure 13). They had been given all the land they desired -- miles of it ready to plough, and free of stick or stump. This group moved in a body to the lands of greater rainfall around Edmonton after two years of little or no rainfall in the Medicine Hat area.<sup>8</sup>

MacGregor is most eloquent in describing the Ukrainian immigrations to Alberta. He recounts that Iwan Pylypow and Wasyl Eleniak were the forerunners, and that Joseph Oleskow bent all his energies towards peopling Canada's prairies with his compatriots. For the flavor, one of his passages is worth quoting at length. Pylypow, Eleniak, and Oleskow were

... the forerunners of thousands of their kind, who liking the wooded lands of the Saskatchewan valley, came to subdue and to love them. Ever onward they pressed, filling the Beaverhill Creek, flowing over the flat lands around Beaverhill Lake and Whitford Lake, swarming over the rich lands of the Willingdon country, hewing their way into the forest along the south bank of the Saskatchewan River and hacking their way into the woods north of it. Over Eagletail ... they scrambled. The Snipe and the Snake hills scarcely slackened their stride. Neither did the stony, glaciated lands between the Vermilion River

Figure 13. The Settlement Crescent, 1906\*



\*Source: MacGregor, 175.

and the mighty Saskatchewan around Plain Lake and Beauvallon, nor the sandy sites of Slawa Creek, nor even the long glacial gouges around Angle, Landon and Raft Lakes. Until 1905 nothing could stop this influx of people devoted to the soil and exulting in obtaining it free of monetary costs. They only stopped then because settlers of Anglo-Saxon stock had worked west from the Lloydminster Barr Colony and north from the new railway passing through Vermilion and had taken the land farther east.<sup>9</sup>

The most numerous Scandinavian colonies were recruited largely from their European homelands. Some of these, however, were recruited from the United States. These immigrants settled near Olds, and took up nearly three hundred square miles east of Wetaskiwin (see Figure 13).

The group of Anglo-Saxons who turned their backs on the poor Ontario lands and moved to Alberta were called the Parry Sounders, according to MacGregor. They arrived in the spring of 1892 and chose the lands east of Edmonton for settlement. Many more Parry Sounders settled in between Edmonton and Lloydminster between 1892 and 1894. It was these Parry Sounders who kept the relatively well-off Norwegians from Minnesota and the Dakotas contained around Viking (see Figure 13).

MacGregor states that the first of Father Morin's French colonists passed through Edmonton in 1891, and that the convoy consisted of twelve wagons bringing sixty-five immigrants to the vicinity of St. Albert where land had been reserved. However, Vogelesang has suggested that while this area was primarily settled by French-speaking peoples, there are "no recognized pre-planned groups of French settlers [in] the Morinville district, [and] many were attracted there solely because there were other French-speaking settlers already there."<sup>10</sup> Whatever the actual story of the initial settlement process of the French-speaking people is, MacGregor is clear in his statements regarding their origins: Quebec, France, Belgium and Michigan.

MacGregor says that group settlement is easier to reconstruct than individual family settlement. Actually these family groups, mainly of Anglo-Saxon origin, who came in laden with little more than cheerful optimism, were far more numerous than the group settlers of other ethnic backgrounds. This factor is significant in that it is partially responsible for the beliefs developed by many persons regarding the environment's economic propensities.

Individuals, individual families, and group settlers came under the provisions of the "public lands policy." MacGregor introduces myth and folklore into this discussion when he claims that all the settlers followed the railway. That is,

In the south, before they began slicing up the sod and piling it up to form the walls and roofs of their first house, they naturally went only as far from the railways as they need to go. In the north, likewise gnawing their way into the timber and building their shacks with logs, they pushed back from the railway only as far as the nearest vacant quarter.<sup>11</sup>

This is an unfortunate bit of folklore that is patently untrue. There were no grants of land for railways north of township 60 in northeast Alberta, and the Canadian National Railway line reached Athabasca a full year after the peak of homestead claimants in 1911. The Alberta and Great Waterways Railway line (now known as Northern Alberta Railways) did not reach Lac La Biche until about 1919. The most unfortunate aspect of this mythmaking is that MacGregor clearly contradicts it when he correctly shows that the Canadian Northern Railway line headed "into the Redwater River Valley and in the sand hills near Clyde, crossing the height of land between the Saskatchewan River and the Athabasca Watersheds, it set down the Tawatinaw valley to follow the homesteaders to Athabaska Landing."<sup>12</sup> (Emphasis added).



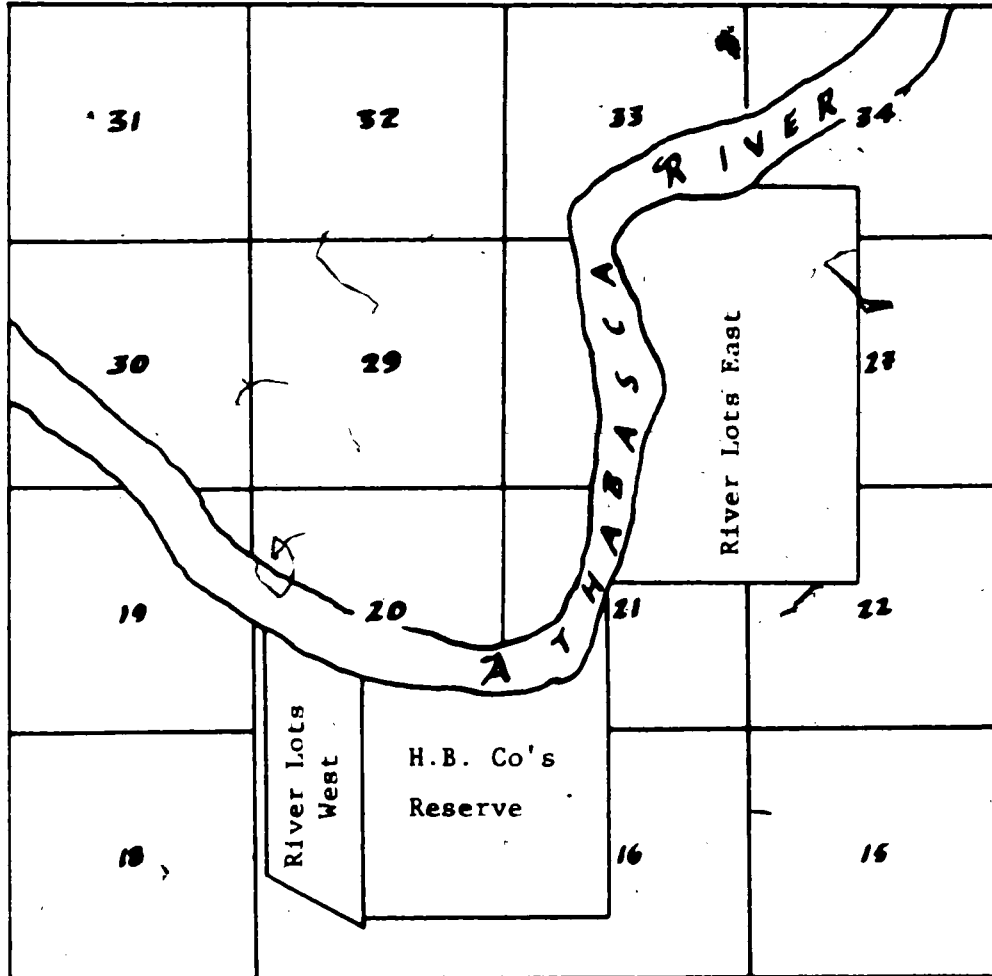
Clifford Sifton, who was appointed minister of the interior by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1897, was in charge of Canada's "public lands policy" and its immigration policy simultaneously. "His policy was a single-minded drive to fill the West with immigrants from any country where he could draw them."<sup>13</sup> Under Sifton's guidance, the population of Alberta rose from about 30,000 in 1895 to more than 73,000 in 1901. The immigrants had come to settle on the land, and eighty-four percent were classed as rural.

The study area, however, was far from the mainstream of this settlement activity which was engineered by Sifton's immigration and land policies. The northernmost arc of settlement by 1906 coincided roughly with the zone where the climatic base for agriculture changes for the worse -- the North Saskatchewan River as it flows from Edmonton. Figure 13 illustrates where the bulk of settlement was located in 1906, and it demonstrates the degree to which settlers had pushed beyond the northern boundary for successful agricultural production.

Agricultural settlers, nevertheless, were passing through the study area at Athabaska Landing<sup>14</sup> by 1900 on their way to the Grande Prairie and Peace River areas.<sup>15</sup> One of the reasons that no settlement was taking place in the Athabasca area at that time was because the Northwest-Hudson's Bay Company controlled the Landing. Athabaska Landing was a major break-of-bulk and important transportation and distribution centre for the fur trade.<sup>16</sup> It was a bustling trans-shipment and navigation depot, and the Company officials were hostile to agricultural settlers. The Hudson's Bay Company occupied the site on which the commercial centre of the Town of Athabasca is at present located (see Figures 14 and 15 for areal comparisons).

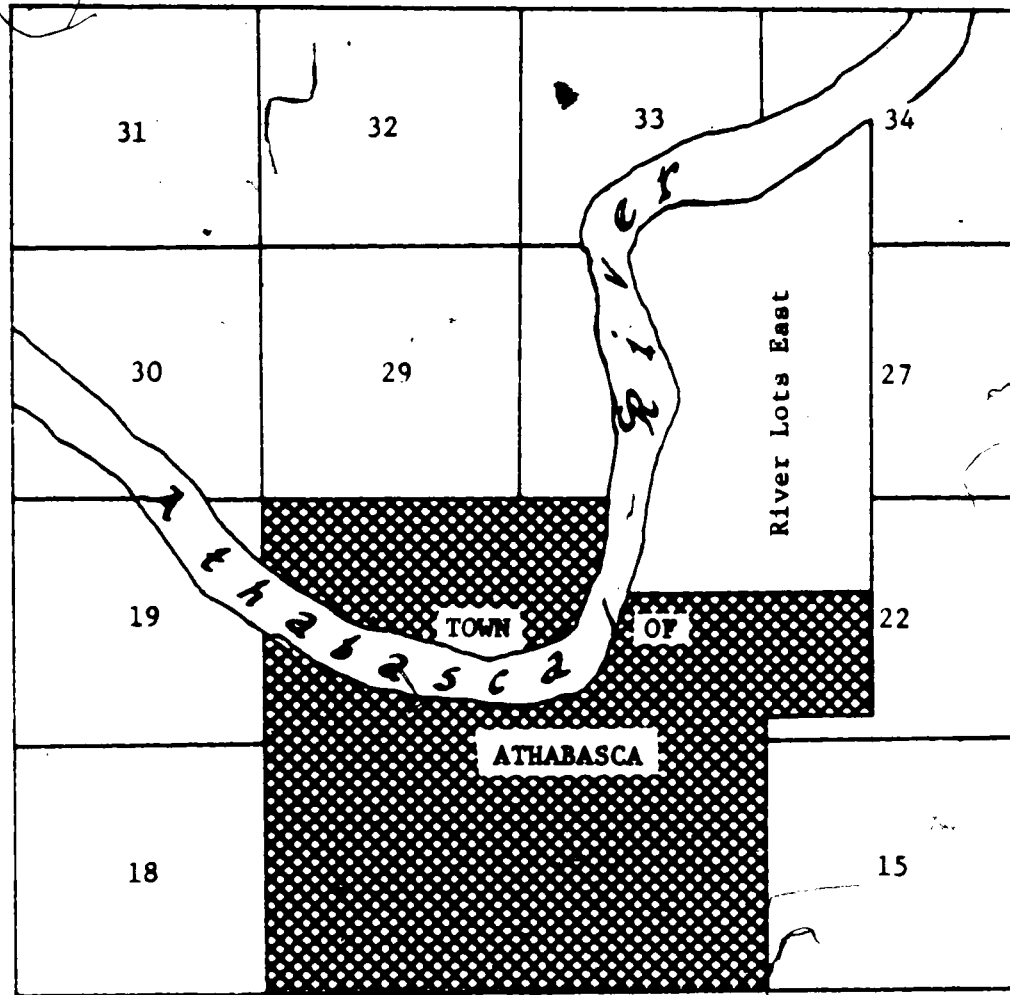
Agricultural settlers would not be long denied the opportunity for

Figure 14. The Hudson's Bay Company Reserve, 1908\*



\*Source: Plan of Township 66 Range 22 West of the Fourth Meridian.

Figure 15. The Town of Athabasca, 1970\*



\*Source: Cadastral Map of Athabasca Country, 1970.

attaining free grants of land in the study area, however. By the time the first agricultural settlers were passing through the Landing, the township had been surveyed and platted twice, years before there was a push for agricultural colonization in northeast Alberta.

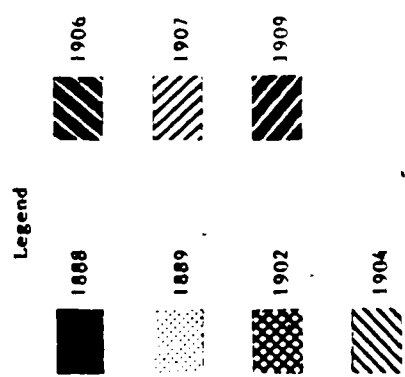
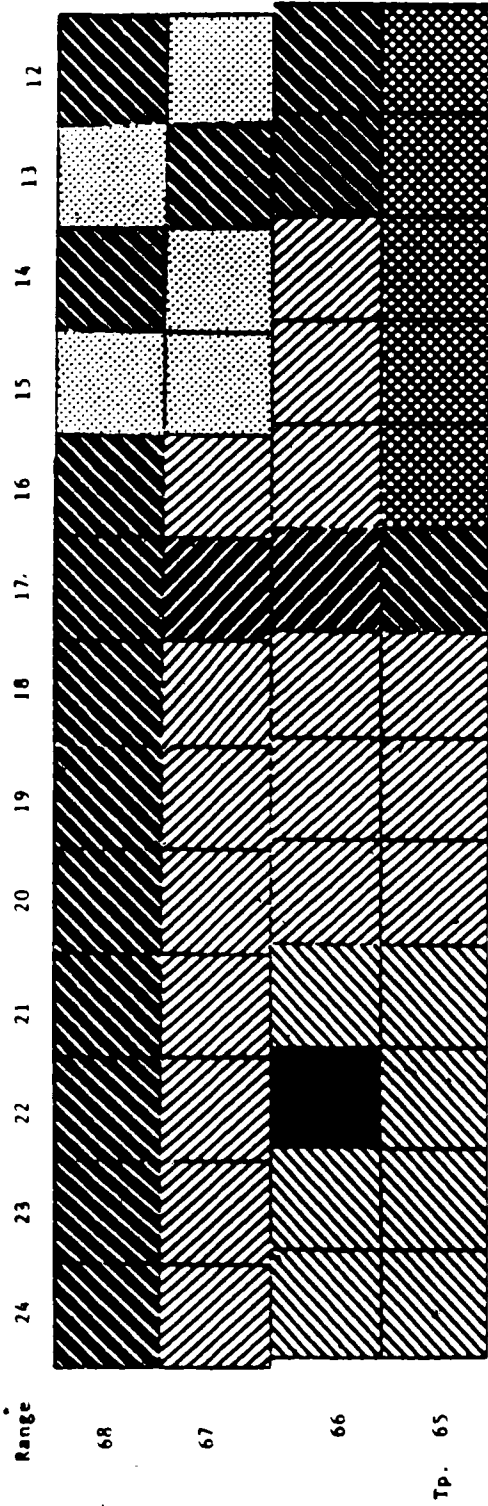
Much of the activity regarding land in the study area centered around the orderly surveying and platting of the land to fulfill the dictates of the "public lands policy." By the time Joseph M. Wasmer filed a homestead claim on June 7, 1905 for the southeast quarter of section 6 Township 66, Range 22 West of the Fourth Meridian, the township had been surveyed on four different occasions.<sup>17</sup> Each township, though outside the mainstream of settlement during the early period, had been platted by 1909 (see Figure 16). This meant that those who came seeking free grants of land, well beyond the margins for successful agricultural production, would have their tenure rights guaranteed by the national government.

The important item here is the development of a particular psychology resulting from the government's guarantee coupled with favorable reports about the productivity of the northeast Alberta environment. Settlers in relatively more favorable climatic zones, such as Mission Lac La Biche, were to some degree responsible for the development of attitudes surrounding the possibilities for commercial success.

#### ENTICING FOLK TO THE STUDY AREA - PROPAGANDA

Nearly all settlement in northeast Alberta occurred during the twentieth century, but there was some settlement in the eastern part of the study area prior to the government's "public lands policy." The attitudes of the Hudson's Bay Company officials, notwithstanding, the early history of settlement in the area is associated with the growth of the Roman Catholic church in the Lac La Biche area southward to Saint

Figure 16. Plats of the Study Area by Year\*



\*Source: Alberta Department of Lands and Forests, Township Plans.

Paul (des Métis).

The only real colonizing agent in the study area, before the arrival of the settlers in this century, was the church, i.e.,

The start of agriculture effectively dates from the establishment of Lac La Biche Mission in 1853. The original efforts were directed towards the Métis population in an effort to settle the roving bands left behind on the Plains by the decline of the fur trade.<sup>18</sup>

Agricultural successes around these missions are notable because they aroused in other persons positive expectations of the environment for agricultural production, e.g., "The success of these farms was such that they acquired a reputation as an 'unfailing supply of wheat, both for the Catholic missions of the area, and for general use'."<sup>19</sup> Hozack suggested that "the explanation of this extremely favourable view seems to lie in the fact that the Mission lands were right down on the lake shore and so experienced milder climatic conditions."<sup>20</sup>

It is not possible to gauge with accuracy the influence of the reports from the missions as propaganda, affecting the consciousness of settlers in the twentieth century, but there was undoubtedly some influence. It is likewise impossible to determine to what degree friends and relatives have been responsible for motivating others to partake of free lands in northeast Alberta. There were no great wars, except for the Boer War (1899-1900), displacing persons on a grand scale at the turn of the century, and there seems to have been no good economic reason for settling these agriculturally marginal areas. Therefore, some sort of propaganda effect may have been influential. The following section examines the role of propaganda, that is, information that might induce people to come to northeast Alberta -- the production of which was dominated by the people of Athabasca.

### Advertising

It is of interest to note that by 1926 the total number of settlers in the Prairies Provinces from the United States was only slightly fewer than that of all the immigrants who had arrived from central, southern, and eastern Europe combined.<sup>21</sup> This was no doubt attributable to Clifford Sifton's immigration policies regarding those who would most likely be successful in a Canadian context. Numerous immigration agencies had been opened in the United States, Great Britain, and the Continent of Europe by 1901. Literature advertising the attractions of the Canadian West was scattered broadcast; free land for the farmers and profitable employment for the laborer became the inducements to attract people to Canada.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to the government's promotional literature, local newspapers and Boards of Trade in smaller communities (such as Athabasca) proclaimed the limitless economic opportunities available within their areas. At Athabasca, for example, the following inducement appeared on January 7, 1911:

If you are thinking about investing in real estate anywhere, or thinking of going into business in any new town, do not make any move before writing for information about Athabaska Landing. This commands more navigable water than any other town in Canada. It has natural gas. It has coal all around it within ten miles. It is located in the best farming country in the west, not excepting Peace River.<sup>23</sup>

The initial target for entrepreneurial talent at Athabaska Landing was commerce and trade. After all, Athabaska Landing had served as a trans-shipment depot and distribution centre since 1883, and at the turn of the century the people envisioned that it could well become the dominant service centre for the north. Indeed, undocumented reports have suggested that the people of Athabasca entertained hopes of having the capital of the province located on the banks of the Athabasca River.<sup>24</sup>

The Publicity Committee of the Athabaska Landing Board of Trade published a pamphlet in 1910, which demonstrated that

By dividing the Province of Alberta into Northern and Southern districts it will be found that Athabaska Landing is situated just twenty-five miles north of such a divisional line, and on the Athabasca River. This natural position makes Athabaska Landing the entrance to the northern country either by trail or waterway. All roads to the north and the famous "Last Great West," commence at Athabaska Landing and in a very short time steel rails will also run northward from here.<sup>25</sup>

The pamphlet continued, asserting that

The eyes of the entire world are at present turned to western Canada in general and Alberta in particular and more particularly to Northern Alberta. Why is this district receiving so much attention? Because the incoming agriculturalists and ranchers are looking for homes, the capitalists for new fields of investment, the prospectors for new undeveloped territory, the manufacturers for new markets, the wholesalers for new distributing centres, the tourist for new scenes of wild grandeur, the labourers for steady employment, the farm hands for opportunities to obtain the fundamental principles of successful farming, the younger people for a young country and the older people for pleasant climate. All these classes will find such opportunities in Athabaska Landing and immediate vicinity.<sup>26</sup>

The propaganda extolling the virtues of the area by the Board of Trade, however, was preceded by the publication of the *Northern Light*, Athabaska Landing's first newspaper, in November of 1908. The *Northern Light* marked the advent of the centre's promotional fever. The editor, the Reverend F.W. Moxhay, visualized the Landing as destined to become the true centre of the north and the Embryonic Babylon of the West. The *Northern Light* was replaced by the *Northern News* in January of 1909, and the new editor, Mr. J.C. McQuarrie, boasted that it was the most northerly weekly newspaper east of the Rocky Mountains to serve the interest of Athabaska Landing and the Last West.<sup>27</sup> These propaganda developers were thoroughly convinced that



the Landing would flourish as the primary distribution centre for the vast and developing northern territory.

The seeds of illusion were sown deeply, and broadcast widely. The local entrepreneurial talent was sophisticated enough to realize that the village's function as a break-of-bulk depot would not necessarily encourage rapid urban development. Therefore, the local capitalists embarked on a course of action to draw industry, trade and commerce northward from the flourishing centre of Edmonton. On the basis of words alone, the local newspaper, shortly after the Board of Trade's *pamphlet* distributions, boldly asserted that within the near future Athabaska Landing would become the third largest city in Alberta. The local newspaper and the Board of Trade advertised the excellent investment opportunities available in the *landing* with such conviction that heavy investments in real estate were made within the village and land far removed from the core of settlement was sub-divided and sold to unknowing private investors.

The entrepreneurs cited the wealth of natural resources awaiting private exploitation, and they stressed the importance of the town as a transportation centre. Transportation became an increasingly important selling point when the Landing had been assured railway access to the outside markets of the world. Indeed, the 1909 announcement that the Canadian Northern Railway would extend their line northward from Morinville to the Landing served to strengthen the promotional patter. Behind every attempt to lure capital investment was the promise of a rail connection to the outside world. The boosters saw Athabaska Landing becoming the railway centre of central Alberta, and the inland port for over three thousand miles of waterway which extended northward to the Arctic Ocean.<sup>28</sup> The Board of Trade's *pamphlet* advertised that

the next few years will see great activity in railroad construction in this district. The A. & G.W. railway to the east of here is already under construction. Construction work will soon commence on the Edmonton-Athabaska Landing Branch of the Canadian National Railway. This line will in the near future be extended to Grande Prairie and Ft. Vermillion. This work means a ready market for the farmers grain and good employment between seeding and threshing times.<sup>29</sup>

Resistance to that kind of inducement would be difficult for many vaguely dissatisfied with her or his economic condition, and it was to the hopes for economic betterment that the promoters played.

The discovery of coal and gas in the Athabasca area prompted the promoters to predict that the Landing would be a flourishing industrial mecca, because gas was viewed as the source of cheap power for lighting and fuel for the anticipated industries. Of the anticipated industries for the town, a fish processing plant, a pulp mill, lumber mills, brick and cement factories, and flour mills, only two saw-milling firms were established. In the case of lumbering, the boosters ignored objective reality by declaring that the timber resources have as yet only been touched owing to the lack of an outside market. This pronouncement was issued even though repeated forest fires had levelled or severely charred the better stands of spruce and tamarac in the vicinity of the Landing.

The air of optimism projected by the promoters was occasionally challenged by those citizens of the town and district who accused the local boosters of phoney advertising. These critics suggested that the real estate men were guilty of inflating property values, and creating adverse impressions about the townsfolk among those who had been mulcted in these real estate schemes, for people who purchased lots through the mails found upon inspection that they had made a bad investment and left the town disgruntled. *Absit omen* was the cry of the promoters, because "... if there are any places

on the map where nature intended a city this is one of them."<sup>30</sup>

The promotion of an agriculturally based economy was initially adjunct to commerce and trade. However, when the first cereal grains had been grown successfully in the area, the potential for an agriculturally based economy was pursued with no less vigor than the promotion of commerce and trade. The *Northern News* hailed the Athabasca area as the agricultural garden district of central Alberta. The Board of Trade's pamphlet advertised that "seeding was commenced this year in March -- grain has been sown here the last week in May and fully matured and ripened before the first frost of all. This is a long range of seeding time."<sup>31</sup>

The "garden district myth" is at least one basis for the development of the marginal agricultural character of northeast Alberta. The *Northern News* was responsible for developing, propagating, and institutionalizing the myth of the region's productivity; on the basis of the 1910 yields, the Athabasca promoters were convinced that the growing qualities of the soil produced wheat in the district that was superior to that grown in the central part of the Province. With the successful crop reports of 1910, the editor of the *Northern News* encouraged

... both the incoming and established homestead entrants ... to grow wheat, the crop that would "Boom the Landing." The newly signed Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States and the promise of a railway linkage were further incentives to raise wheat which could now be sold competitively on the "free market" throughout the world.<sup>32</sup>

Even though the Board of Trade advertised "several valleys in the district that are especially suitable for mixed farming,"<sup>33</sup> the claim of the *Northern News* was that "the best wheat country in the west ... surrounded Athabaska Landing."<sup>34</sup> On the basis of one successful crop year (1910) the *Northern News* boldly asserted that the choicest soil existed in each of the

cardinal directions from the town's centre. Stone has clearly articulated the force of this institutional rhetoric, i.e., such highly generalized statements about the productiveness of the environment from one crop year "... were completely divorced from reality, yet they served to instill optimism in the future of agricultural settlement in the area."<sup>35</sup> (Emphasis added).

A critical examination of the Board of Trade's pamphlet and the *Northern News*' propaganda blitzkrieg demonstrates conclusively that the promoters' *illusion of grandeur* for Athabasca was based on the probability of railway linkages. The motivators of capital investment envisioned the day when Athabasca would be the distribution focus for all of northern Canada, i.e., Athabasca would function as the key railway centre for all goods and services to and from the north.

Opinions differ as to whether railways followed settlers or if railways were responsible for settlements. It is likely that either of these could have been the case, neither, or both. While it is possible to identify some of the influences of the Canadian Pacific Railway in southern Alberta on settlement patterns and processes with some degree of accuracy, the role of railways in central and northeast Alberta is much more complex than simplistic ascriptions would have us believe. Indeed, one of the salient characteristics of railway building and operations in central and northeast Alberta is the role of legislative politics,<sup>36</sup> which, for the most part, were completely divorced from the need of farmers to get their produce to wider markets. The next section, therefore, examines the role of railways that were envisioned, those that came to be, and some results of the coming of the railroads.

## RAILWAYS IN NORTHEAST ALBERTA

The Dominion government ceased the granting of land to railway companies in 1893 -- years before the systematic platting of each township in the study area for settlement. There were, consequently, no grants of land for railroad construction in northeast Alberta. The Alberta and Great Waterways Railway (A. & G.W.R.) line, which reached Waterways (Fort McMurray) in 1924,<sup>37</sup> was the most significant roadbed constructed through the settled portions of the study area. The A. & G.W.R. was not constructed for the purpose of helping agricultural settlers get their produce to wider markets. Its completion gave the Edmonton capitalists access to the heart of the Athabasca oil sands and other resources of the north.

The Alberta legislature, in 1909, pursuing a popular policy, guaranteed over twenty-five million dollars for the Canadian Northern, Grand Trunk Pacific, and A. & G.W.R. companies to construct 1,761 miles of feeder lines to connect with the trans-continental lines that would pass through Edmonton.<sup>38</sup> While this policy had special implications for northern development, the promoters of Athabasca assured themselves that these appropriations specifically meant an imminent rise in the prosperity of the town because of its special location on the banks of the Athabasca River.

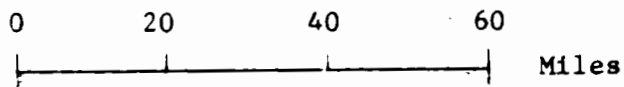
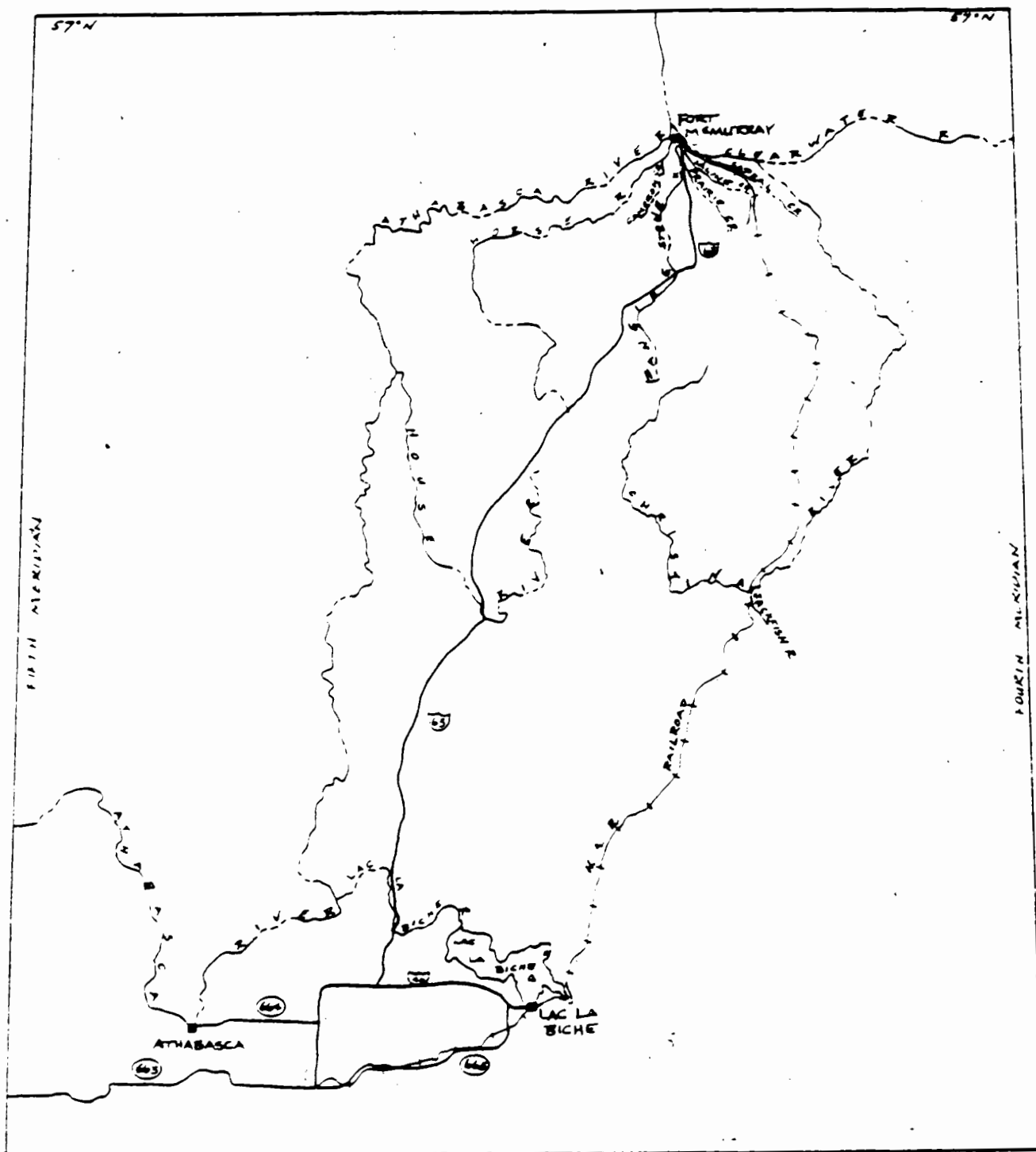
There is no evidence that there were promoters promoting the eastern part of the study area around Lac La Biche for settlement, trade, or railroads. The Athabasca promoters, however, envisioned access to at least six railway connections: (1) The Trans-Canada Pacific and Hudson's Bay Railway Company had allegedly planned to construct a rail line through Athabasca from Hudson's Bay to the Peace River country; (2) The Canadian Pacific Railway had supposedly proposed an extension from Wilkie and Lloydminster to the town; (3) The Canadian Northern Railway was supposed to be in the process

of building a line from North Battleford to Athabasca in 1911; (4) The Edmonton Dunvegan and British Columbia Railway (E.D. & B.C.R.) was supposed to pass through Athabasca as the tracks were completed from Edmonton to the Peace River area; (5) Athabasca was assertedly to be connected with the A. & G.W.R. to the east of the town; and (6) The Canadian Northern Railway line was purportedly to be completed from Morinville to Athabasca to give the town its third rail link with Edmonton.<sup>39, 40</sup>

Only three of the six railway lines envisioned by the promoters of Athabasca came into existence, and only one of these came to the town. The E.D. & B.C.R. line that was being built to the town of Peace River from Edmonton reached Mirror Landing (Smith), fifty-six miles northwest of the Athabasca promoters' dream spot, in 1914. The tracks had followed a north-northwest pathway along the Pembina and Athabasca Rivers, by-passing the town of Athabasca by many miles.<sup>41</sup> The E.D. & B.C.R. reached the town of Peace River in 1916, and the construction of the railway was responsible for the creation and development of one town -- High Prairie. The Athabasca promoters thought the initial line of the A. & G.W.R. line would be extended northeastward from their town, but they were wrong again. The route skirted the area entirely as it passed through Lac La Biche (see Figure 17). The Canadian Northern Railway's extension from Morinville was the only line to reach the town of Athabasca, in November of 1911, and that was not enough of a stimulus to generate the growth that the promoters had envisioned. Sixty-five years after its completion, the town of Athabasca was in danger of losing this railway line (see Appendix B).

It is unlikely, then, that the railway influenced settlement in northeast Alberta. This picture is clear in the vicinity of Athabasca, but is much less clear in the eastern part of the study area. The settlers in the

Figure 17. Transportation Routes to Fort McMurray from the Study Area



eastern portion of the study area came in the 1930's, and probably came because of greater rainfall rather than the railroad's presence in the area. This latter settlement resulted from internal migrants from the southern part of the province who had been "dried out" in the Palliser Triangle.<sup>42</sup> The next section examines the "push-pull" factors of settlement in this adverse agricultural region to gauge more accurately the operational psychology of the folk in northeast Alberta.

#### THE "PUSH-PULL" FACTORS FOR SETTLEMENT IN NORTHEAST ALBERTA

Aside from propaganda extolling the virtues of northeast Alberta, the environment held at least three natural attractions, or pull factors, for different groups of people. For the internal migrant settler from the Palliser Triangle, the attraction was adequate rainfall (without regard for soil quality and the frost hazards). The French immigrants to the study area from Michigan found adequate acreage for expansion (without regard for soil quality and the frost hazards). For the only group of people to settle *en masse* during the early settlement period in the study area, the blacks from Oklahoma, the attraction was an environment free from intense social hostility (without regard for soil quality and the frost hazards).

Studies by Langemann and Stevenson have shown that the factors of migration<sup>43</sup> are frequently influenced by perceived threats to the settlers' way of life, i.e., forces impinging on the community or group push them from an area. The following examples look at three of these push-pull situations.

##### Internal Migrants

Hozack found that uneconomic farms in the southeastern part of the province were abandoned during the 1930's as a result of a succession of "dry years." Many of the farmers migrated to the Beaver River area of north-



east Alberta as refugees. These internal migrants moved northward to areas of higher effective precipitation and cheap or free land.<sup>44</sup> These settlers were reacting to the adverse weather conditions of the southeast without a consideration of weather conditions, beyond rainfall, in north-east Alberta.

It is easy to understand, nevertheless, that people would be involved in the "push-pull" situation without an understanding of its implications. Hozack found that the farm population in his study area increased by sixty percent between 1931 and 1941,<sup>45</sup> and this increase was essentially based on the notion that an area of greater rainfall would eliminate the problems with which the farmers had to contend -- droughts -- in southeastern Alberta.

#### The French Immigrants from Michigan

This author was informed that settlers around Plamondon were from the United States and spoke French because of the influence of French speakers in the area from Quebec.<sup>46</sup> However, it is known from other sources that the immigrant settlers were French speaking when they arrived from Provemont (now known as Lake Leelanau), Michigan.<sup>47</sup>

Unlike the internal migrants situation, the reason for the French immigration to the Plamondon area is not clear-cut, i.e., the history of the movement is not clearly documented. Eileen Sehn's community profile of Plamondon, however, suggests that the farm holdings were small in the Provemont area, the families were large, and there was little room for expansion.<sup>48</sup> However, the *Chronological, Genealogical, Historical Calendar of Plamondon, Alberta*<sup>49</sup> does not confirm Sehn's assertion, and so the reasons why the settlers came to the Plamondon area are unclear. The chance to acquire 160 acres for ten dollars might well have been the

sufficient condition for pulling the immigrants to northeast Alberta.

#### The Afroamerican Immigrants

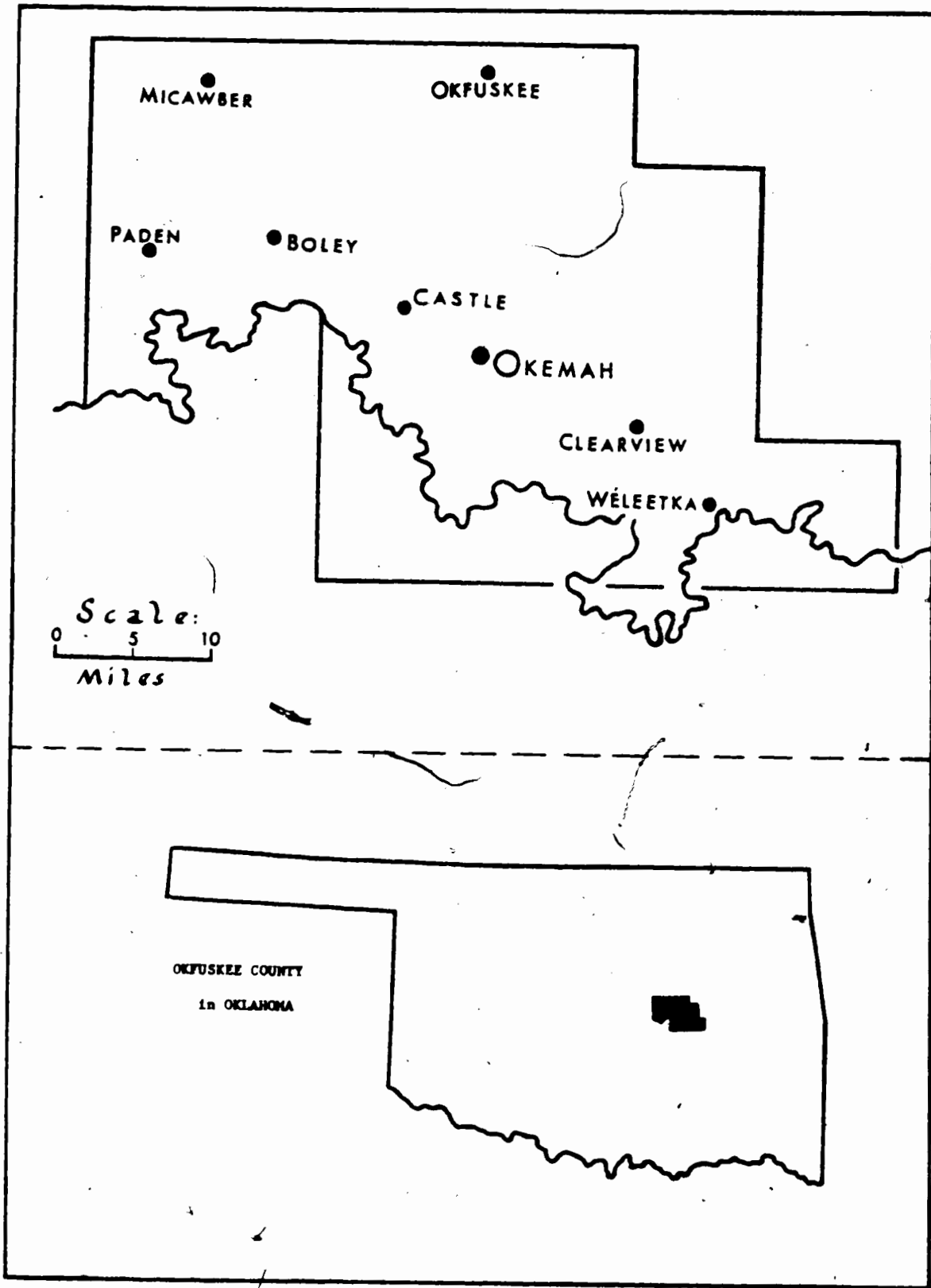
The Afroamerican immigrants differ from the French and internal migrants in that the blacks were refugees fleeing from white racism, i.e., it was the pressure of white racial prejudice that was responsible for the emigrations of black people from Oklahoma between 1910 and 1913. Nearly all of these people had migrated previously to Oklahoma Territory or Indian Territory, and the Canadian refuge was designed to be the last in their search for peace and freedom. The origin of the Afroamerican immigrants was, for the most part, Okfuskee County Oklahoma<sup>50</sup> (see Figure 18). The following information provides an extensive review of the "push-pull" factors affecting these immigrants to northeast Alberta.

#### Socio-Cultural Background, Okfuskee County

Colonization schemes for black people were popular devices proposed for ridding "white" society of black people from the United States during the 19th century. A number of isolated migration schemes had arisen before 1900.<sup>51</sup> Upon the union of the Oklahoma and Indian Territories, Oklahoma became a state within the United States in 1907. Statehood, and what developed as a result, was probably the greatest factor influencing emigration movements of black people from the State of Oklahoma in its first decade of existence. However, in the documented history of Oklahoma, no subject is so poorly covered as the emigrations from Okfuskee County between 1910 and 1913. Students of Oklahoma black communities seem unfamiliar with such movement, and in fifty-one volumes of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* the subject is simply not discussed. It will be necessary, therefore, to reconstruct the background of the emigration in the pages that follow.

The development of legal institutions following a southern United

Figure 18. Okfuskee County, Oklahoma



States model regarding the separation of blacks and whites,<sup>52</sup> the development of social institutions to enforce the legal system through such ritualized atrocities as lynchings, and other social injustices such as denying black persons the right of franchise, are part of the skeleton on which the Oklahoma social system grew and developed. Mellinger has suggested that the development "... southern racism, Western style, was not a peculiar occurrence, but rather the logical result of a collision of ... Western and Southern historical elements in 'Progressive Era' Oklahoma."

Hill<sup>54</sup> has suggested that black migrations into the two Territories from throughout the South were designed as a solution to the *race problem* in the United States because black people were acutely aware that the Civil War had not settled the issue. Indeed,

... both racial groups, dissatisfied with the Old South were yearning for a better place to live ... both had an abounding faith in the frontier where land was free and opportunities unlimited ... both groups were racially tolerant toward each other, believing that separation of the races was not only expedient and desirable but absolutely necessary.<sup>55</sup>

Bittle and Geis concurred. They noted that

Many of these all-Negro communities ... in the Oklahoma area ... were not constituted as racial ghettos. The Negro felt strongly that ... isolation from ... whites constituted a positive and workable solution to his difficulties, and he embarked upon the founding of these communities with visions of self-realization and fulfillment.<sup>56</sup>

The development of these black towns and communities allowed the inhabitants to develop a psychological state of euphoria. Only twenty years before the enactment of the infamous "Grandfather Clause" in Oklahoma, Edwin P. McCabe, following a black nationalist ideology, proposed

to make Oklahoma a black state within the Union. The idea was impressive enough to attract attention from the *New York Post*, which printed on its front page in 1892:

The movement to make Oklahoma a Negro State, which the white settlers were first disposed to ridicule, is being managed with a great deal of skill. The man who is engineering it is Edwin P. McCabe, ex-State Auditor of Kansas, who asked the Republicans of that state for a second term of office only to be cast out of the party. The political disappointments, together with a great deal of ostracism at Topeka, determined McCabe, who is said to be almost a white man in appearance and highly intellectual, to found a Negro state. He called to his 'colonies' and executed the plan with so much energy that when Oklahoma was thrown open to settlement, 10,000 Negroes crossed the border to get a foothold in the New country. They came, of course, largely from southern states.

To help the cause, McCabe established a newspaper in the interest of his race. This 'organ' he distributed all through the South as well as Oklahoma. It boldly advocated the plan of dispossessing the whites of political power. The idea fascinated the southern Negroes and they continue to make up colonies in spite of the planters who saw the labor in their field dwindling in number. At the present writing, there are seven large colonies of Negroes in Oklahoma, and within the next sixty days, there will be upward of sixty colonies established if McCabe's plans do not miscarry. There are said to be 200,000 Negroes in the South organized for settlement in Oklahoma. A few years may see two Senators at Washington.<sup>57</sup>

There was no black state, and black communities and townsfolk quickly learned who controlled territorial governments. The visions of "self-realization and fulfillment" reached only partial fruition, and for a short period of time in the State of Oklahoma. BITTLE and Geis wrote thusly of the famous black dream of power:

The fate of many of the all-Negro communities testifies to the fact that this vision was not practical under the prevailing conditions and racial climate. Over the years, after a slow abatement of the first enthusiasms, all-Negro communities have steadily lost

population, and many have ceased to exist. The discrepancy between the aims and aspirations of the all-Negro communities and the actualities of their life histories illustrates vividly the lengths to which the Negro would be permitted to go -- the real limits of his social tether -- even if he did not come into direct conflict or contact with the white group. It illustrates the measures which the whites would employ racial conflict once the seeking of the same goal by the two racial groups became manifest.<sup>58</sup>

The story of the social milieu that had developed in Okfuskee County and Oklahoma by 1910 had its roots in the decline of Indian Territory as a Nation and the socio-cultural developments after statehood. Before the development of Indian Territory, F.G. Speck observed that

about the first notice that we have of the presence of [blacks] among the Indians is in 1798-99, when Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, an agent of the United States for Indian Affairs, stated that at the time of his visit to the Creek town of Eufaula (Yufala) several of the Indians there possessed Negroes, presumable slaves. Hawkins informs us that some of the Negroes were taken during the Revolutionary War and others were given to the Creeks by the agents of Great Britain in payment for their services. It is further stated by Hawkins, who was interested in observing the economic conditions of the Creeks, that where the Negroes were there was more industry and farms were better.<sup>59</sup>

On January 19, 1830, the State of Mississippi promulgated "An Act to extend the laws of the State of Mississippi over the person and property of the Indian resident within its limit." One of the arguments for this act was that the Choctaws "harbored runaway slaves in the nation."<sup>60</sup> Jeltz noted that "the Five Civilized Tribes ... became slave holders for the same reason as their white neighbors,"<sup>61</sup> and that "the Choctaws and Chickasaws came to possess runaway black slaves soon after Africans and Europeans settled in their midst. Prior to their removal in 1831, a census of the Choctaws showed 512 black slaves,"<sup>62</sup> and "by 1833 nearly 12,500 Choctaws had been

moved to eastern Oklahoma."<sup>63</sup> That is to say, from the earliest years of Indian Territory, blacks constituted a certain component of the Five Civilized Tribes whose growth and development followed the model provided by the U.S. government. The Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws modeled their social and legal institutions more closely to the "Americans" than did the Creeks and Seminoles. Among the Creeks and Seminoles, black people were often the linguistic mediators between the Native Americans and the white "Americans."<sup>64</sup>

When the war between the States occurred, the Five Civilized Tribes were coaxed into siding with the confederation of Southern States to protect the institution of slavery. It was a mistake. The results: The Indians lost their rights as independent nations within the Territory. A multiplicity of problems developed during the period of Reconstruction regarding freedmen. Finally, the lack of control exercised by the governments of the tribes and the United States were settled by the Dawes Commission<sup>65</sup> which alienated the tribes, as collectives, from their lands by allotments to individuals -- those blacks and whites who had immigrated into the Territory claiming their share of land, which they generally received.

Those immigrant black persons to Indian Territory must have been especially pleased when the Territory was proposed as the State of Sequoyah<sup>66</sup> in 1905 to join the United States. However, as with the proposed black state of Oklahoma, the red state to be developed from Indian Territory never came to pass. Maxwell observed that the rejection by the U.S. Congress of the bid for statehood "... marked the final culmination, in a spectacular form, of a tableau of broken treaties with a weak minority in this country by the United States Government."<sup>67</sup>

Many of the blacks who entered the Indian and Oklahoma Territories

had come from Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and South Carolina. Many of these folk would emigrate from the State of Oklahoma, and their destination would be Alberta. When these black people entered the Territories, there was general agitation for the union of the Territories to enter the United States as a single state. Most of the rural blacks, many of whom would migrate between 1910 and 1913, were unconcerned with the political happenings in the Territories. They would, nevertheless, be affected by the practical outcomes of those political struggles. Those blacks who lived in towns such as Boley, Clearview, and Langston were concerned lest they be left out of the political processes. It was the people in those towns who participated in or protested against or worked for political parties until 1910 when they were disenfranchised by the "Grandfather Clause" of the Oklahoma Constitution.<sup>68</sup>

The story of Chief Alfred C. Sam's *Back to Africa Movement* is the prime source of information on the black society of Oklahoma in the period under consideration. Bittle and Geis, writing on the *movement* and Oklahoma society, noted that

... quite apart from its local, human interest, it contains much significant material on the social conditions of the time and place at which it occurred. It tells much about the people who rejected any involvement. It tells both of the blacks and the whites, the latter structuring the lives of the former and creating in large measure, their discontents.<sup>69</sup>

This structuring came about as a result of people in the black towns becoming a perceived threat to white supremacy in county and state politics. The color and political lines in Okfuskee County were actually drawn before Oklahoma entered the Union as a State in 1907, and it was because of their desire for self-determination that blacks held tenaciously to the vision of authority over their own towns and perhaps their attachment to the County



since the dreams of the black and red states had "gone with the wind."

The black men in towns such as Boley and Weleetka participated fully in the elections for the constitutional convention of 1906, and the freedom with which they were allowed to cast their ballots reinforced their hopes for full participation as citizens after statehood. The results of the election, however, carried an ominous warning for the white men in the 79th district, because the election results showed the black electors voting as a solid Republican block. According to Bittle and Geis, "The Negro settlement, united in its franchise, held the key to the area's strength. It had to be dealt with forcefully and decisively."<sup>70</sup>

The Democratic controlled convention of 1906 had little sympathy for the dream of the people in Boley of becoming the county seat, and decided on Okemah or Weleetka, with Okemah being designated as the temporary seat pending the outcome of a future election. The blacks formed an alliance with the white Republicans, and through it began to participate with a powerful voice in county political circles. In August of 1907, when the Republican convention was held in Okemah to nominate a slate for county offices, "difficulties ensued because of black and white factionalisms."<sup>71</sup> This was the beginning of the end of black participation in Oklahoma politics. With the rise of anti-black sentiment in the Democratic legislature and the county election board, the white Republicans began to show their real character in the face of the Democratic power structure.

Black men, however, voted without restrictions in the election that determined on Okemah as the permanent county seat. This election occurred near the end of August, 1908. It was the last election that blacks would participate in, without contest, until the mid 1960's.

The social reality between blacks and whites in the new State of

Oklahoma developed early. A black man was lynched in December, 1907, at Henryetta, Okmulgee County -- forty miles east of Okemah and only five miles from Okfuskee County. Early in 1908, the legislature enacted a state law segregating blacks and whites in railroad cars. This law was tested in the courts with the final opinion being rendered in 1911:

The United States Circuit Court of Appeals, sitting in St. Louis, ruled that the "Jim Crow" railroad laws in Oklahoma were not, as five Negro complainants had charged, in conflict with the tenets of the 1906 Enabling Act. The majority decision held that the Negroes' allegations were "too vague and uncertain to constitute a case of action either in equity or at law." Judge Walter Sanborn dissented and observed, in lament, that "the statute clearly discloses that the patent intention of the legislature of Oklahoma was to exclude ... every colored passenger from coaches and cars occupied by white persons."<sup>72</sup>

In 1910, blacks were denied the right to vote by the "Grandfather Clause."

In some areas of Okfuskee County, black people were forced to leave their land by "commercial clubs" engaging in Ku Klux Klan type activities. Bittle and Geis noted that in

... commenting upon the Negro's lot in the United States in 1910, [J. Saunders Redding] has accurately summed up the situation which now applied in Oklahoma:

"The mass of Negroes were beaten creatures, convinced by the unassailable testimony of their position of their inherent inferiority, and more than half convinced that they got from the white man no worse than they deserved. A quarter of a century later, a white Southerner, William Alexander Percy, who lived through these times, summed up the effect upon whites, 'To live habitually as a superior among inferiors, be the inferiority intellectual or economic, is a temptation and a hubris, inevitably deteriorating'."

"Voteless and voiceless, alien to and barred from the sources of liberalism, shackled by proscriptions in economic life, ridiculed with relish, lynched with impunity, more and more it seemed to Negroes that their black sins were a badge of shame, a curse

of God. A paralyzing psychosis of defeatism gripped them."

There were but two alternatives for the Okfuskee [County blacks]. One was acceptance of the situation as it had developed; the other was escape. Acceptance became the solution for those who were now too tired, too timid, or too cynical to try to re-create a new dream. It also became the solution for those who still entertained hope of bettering the situation and who refused to face the reality of their position.<sup>73</sup>

From *Territories* where "racial self-fulfillment" was the dream to a *State* that never materialized favorably; Bittle and Geis had previously commented that

it seems evident ... that the degree of disillusionment encountered by Oklahoma Negroes was perhaps as intense a Negro disillusionment as has ever been felt in this nation, and that this disillusionment was proportional to the degree to which the Negroes had achieved a partial fulfillment of their wish to control their own destiny.<sup>74</sup>

This socio-cultural background, then, is the basis of the "push" factors for the black migrations to northeast Alberta. They were "pulled" to the study area because it offered a place where dreams could be pursued without the same social restrictions.

#### The Migrants Pulled

Several years after the white men of Okfuskee County began tightening the noose of discrimination and exclusion upon the blacks, three men<sup>75</sup> made a trip to Alberta seeking a place of refuge for those whose dream had been betrayed in Oklahoma and who dared to dream again. William Toles said that his granddad, Nimrod Toles, was part of a three-man delegation that sought out land for colonization by the Okfuskee County blacks:

He was looking for land like the colour he was used to back in the States, kind of a redish land. He kept walking north of Edmonton -- there

were very few settlers in there then -- but that was black sandy loam, and he wasn't used to that, you see. He was looking for a more reddish land -- that's what they say the land was back in the States. So, he kept walking (Parson Sneed turned back after they had walked thirty miles). *This land [at Amber Valley] was as close to the type he was looking for!* -- the kind he was used to back in the States. It's what they call a grey bush soil.<sup>76</sup> (Emphasis original)

The potential emigrants were searching for more than a respite and reddish land, however. They were seeking a place of refuge where they could lead their lives unhampered by racist restriction on their existences. The Okfuskee County environment was economically, politically, and socially hostile to black people. Alberta was the promised land for the people willing to dream of a place for peace. Escape from the realities of the Oklahoma environment was the only choice for the people who wanted to maintain their dignity as human beings; escape to a place where dreams could be pursued unhampered was all that made sense.

Okfuskee County, source of the emigrants from Oklahoma, had been part of the former Creek Nation in Indian Territory. The migrants, few of whom had been in the source area more than five years,<sup>77</sup> came mostly from around Clearview and Weleetka (Figure 18). Some of these emigres had tried other locations before turning to the Oklahoma or Indian Territory. When interviewed in an effort to uncover some of the idealism associated with black migration and colonization movements in North America, Mrs. Katie Melton<sup>78</sup> disclosed that her parents had been part of a colonization scheme to Mexico that had failed. She also reported that her grandmother had been in both Kansas and Oklahoma on two separate occasions before returning to North Carolina to stay.

The emigrants who were interviewed were unanimous as to why they left

Oklahoma. They were used to freedom from social constraints, and wanted to recapture that feeling in northeast Alberta. What remains unclear from the interviews is how the emigration movement was organized if, indeed, there was a clearly defined and organized movement.

Mrs. Mapp, another early settler interviewed, suggested that there was some organization involved, but she is not certain of the details. She reports that

I don't know how they all got together. I guess there was a meeting somewhere and a lot of those people who lived there in Oklahoma, they was farmers out there, y'know, and I guess they hear of both this emigre and of these people going to Canada and I guess they come to the meeting and I guess this one'd tell that one and that one'd tell that one until they all got together. And, I guess, and they went to the town or whatever there was to see if they could all get together and how much money they'd have to have, y'know, to go. And they all got tickets and they got on the train and left.<sup>79</sup>

She was more emphatic as to the point of origin of the emigration: Weleetka. However, the majority opinion on the origin of the emigration indicates Clearview, but each could be partly correct insofar as the emigrations commenced in 1910 and continued through 1913.

The immigrants to Amber Valley made it quite clear to the interviewer that they were forced to leave Oklahoma because of social rather than economic forces, i.e., they were not poor people, in the economic sense, looking for free land. These were, for the most part, successful farmers who left Okfuskee County to preserve "a way of life." In 1912, Mr. Mapp chartered a freight car to ship his stock and goods to Alberta. He said that "there was 'bout forty-some-odd come up as a group 'bout the First of May 1912, and I chartered a car."<sup>80</sup>

Mrs. Map said that carloads of black people came to Edmonton in 1911:

"They brought the stuff in freight cars, you know. In one train, they put what they had -- the household goods and the stock -- and then they had the other train for the people to sit on."<sup>81</sup> *The Manitoba Free Press*, reporting on the black migration to the Canadian prairies in 1911, reported that "nearly all are said to have owned and operated farms. The leader's name is Sneed, and he is reported to be worth \$40,000 with about \$10,000 in his possession."<sup>82</sup> The study area, therefore, offered an attraction for this group of people.

Considering the fact that the 1971 census showed more than 11,000 persons here (Figure 19), the environment offered attractions for other settlers even though it is impossible to discern what those attractions were for each settler. The next section, nevertheless, examines some of the sequential settlement in northeast Alberta with the intent to assess the time of the settlers' arrival and in order to gauge why they have remained in this environment which is so seemingly hostile to commercial agricultural pursuits.

#### SEQUENTIAL SETTLEMENT -- A TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT SAMPLE OF THE STUDY AREA

Contrary to the popularly held belief that settlers chose to settle near communication routes (trails and railways),<sup>83</sup> Stone's analyses of the relationships between time of initial homestead entry and selected distance variable<sup>84</sup> found that cultural variables such as trails were relatively insignificant to the initial settlement process in his study area. Thus

The Edmonton - Athabaska Landing Trail was undoubtedly the most travelled overland transportation artery that passed through any portion of the study area, prior to agricultural settlement. The degree of relationship between initial homestead entry dates and the actual distance of the eight-five parcels of land from the Trail were relatively weak. A linear correlation coefficient of +0.249 (significant at only the 0.01 level of confidence) revealed the

Figure 19. Resident Population by Township, 1971\*

Range	24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12
68	54	73	135	141	46	150	79	131	355	41	75	173	13
67	88	96	166	96	25	178	222	183	129	145	488	313	88
66	211	153	1994	107	76	101	68	64	30	133	1986	384	19
65	167	111	339	156	121	653	28	137	86	120	76	121	70

\*Source: Alberta Department of Highways and Transport, Census Map, 1974.

relative unimportance of the Trail as a primary consideration of the early homesteaders locational decision.<sup>85</sup>

The present examination of the evidence, therefore, uses a twenty-five percent sample of the fifty-two townships, as shown in Figure 20, to gauge as realistically as possible the settlement sequence in northeast Alberta.<sup>86</sup> The accounts of this sequential settlement are shown below.

Township 66, Range 22

It is no surprise that the first land titles in the study area were those granted to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1888. These titles, however, were granted because the Company purchased the lands from the Crown, and there is no record of free grants it received in the township.

The first agricultural settlers entered the township in 1905. Table 10 shows the number of claimants by year until 1937 -- the effective ending date of the "public lands policy" in this township. Figure 21, when compared to Table 10, shows how misrepresentative of the true agricultural settlement sequence a presentation of the data can be; there was no agriculturally oriented settlement in the township even though the chorographic map shows settlement taking place between 1888 and 1905. The fifty-seven claims entered between 1905 and 1910, shown in Table 10, represent a decisive majority of homestead claimants during the life-span of the "public lands policy." Ninety-five percent of the land claims, homesteads and purchases, had been made by 1914. The data from Figure 21, however, would lead one erroneously to believe that the "coming of the railway" was in some way responsible for agricultural settlement in the township.

Although the thirty-five land transactions of 1911 were possibly motivated by the local newspaper's propaganda, the records show that two of the transactions were sales to the Village of Athabasca for 13.5 and 16



Figure 20. Twenty-Five Percent Sample of the Study Area

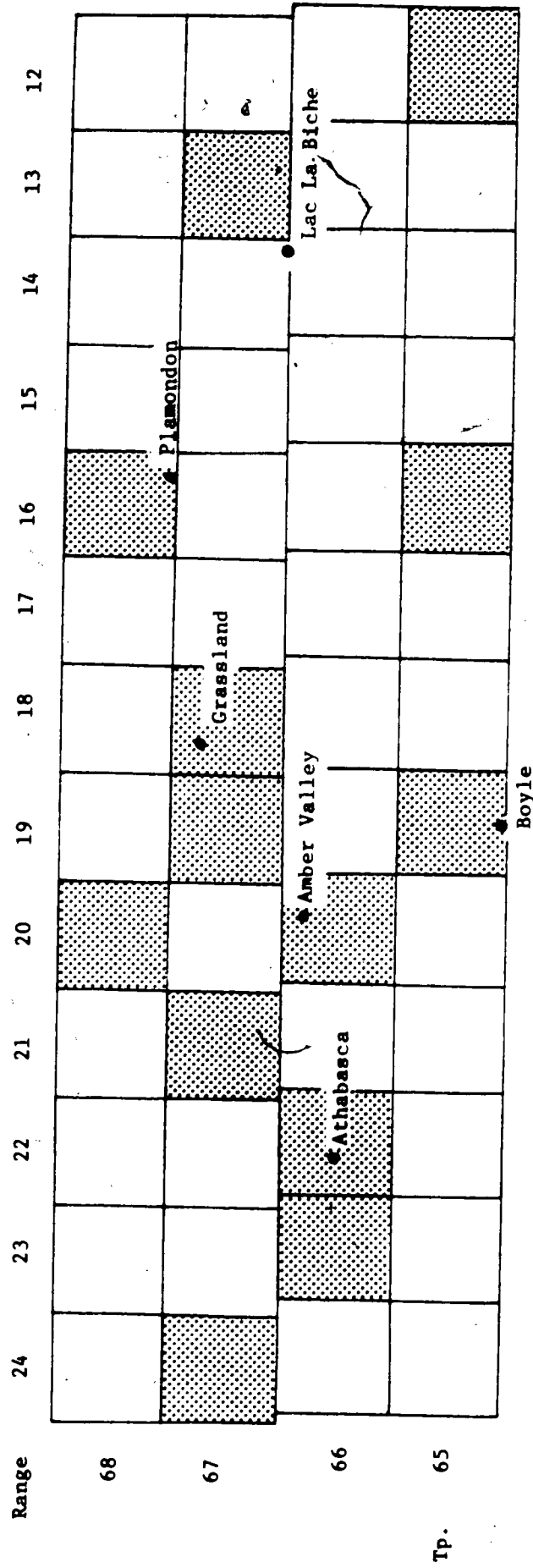
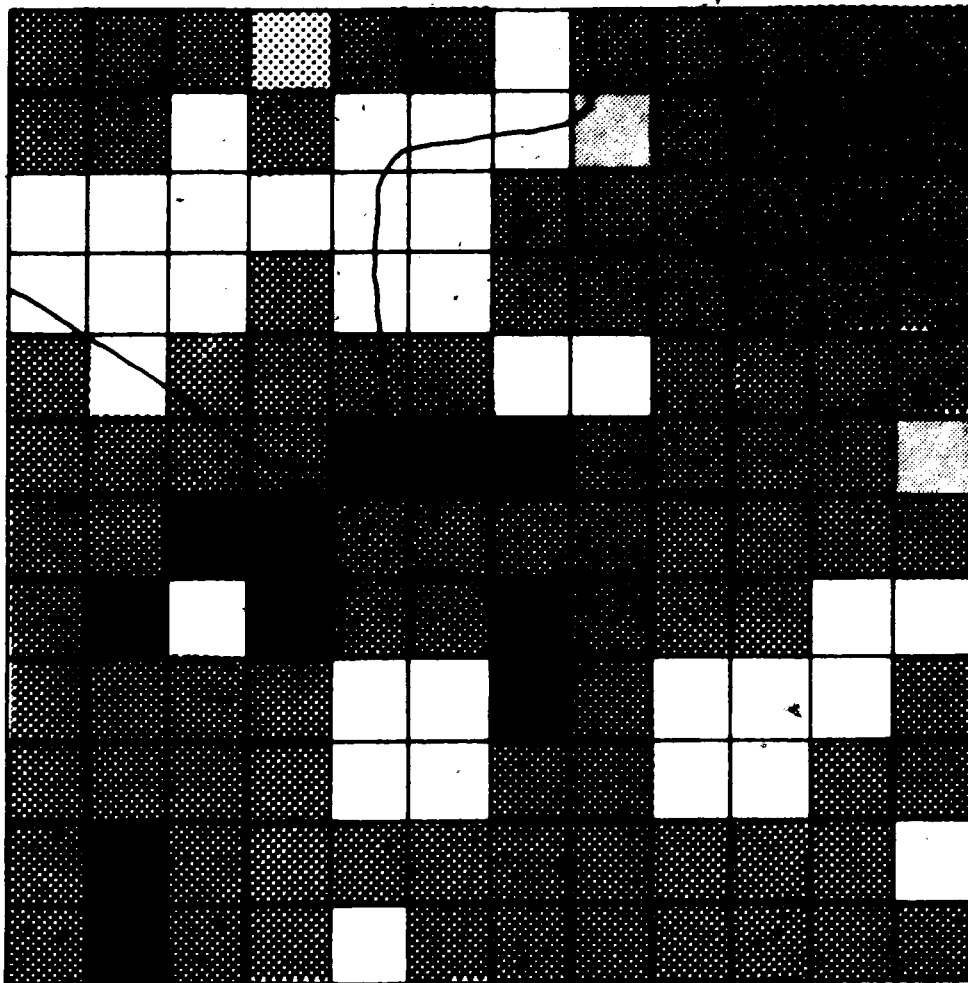



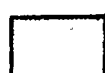



Figure 21



-  1888-1905
-  1906-1917
-  1930
-  1931 & 1937
-  Unclaimed

31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1888-1937 for T66 R22W M4

Table 10. Land Claimants by Year - Township 66 Range 22\*

Year	Number
1905	7
1906	8
1907	4
1908	9
1909	17
1910	12
1911	35
1912	11
1913	2
1914	1
1915	0
1916	0
1917	3
1930	1
1931	1
1937	1

\*Source: Appendix C

acres; five other Crown land sales, beyond that for Athabasca, were also recorded; sixteen settlers purchased lands from the Hudson's Bay Company; and there were only twelve settlers claiming lands under the provisions of the "public lands policy" during this year.

The cadastral record of T66, R22 (Appendix C) makes no statement on the origin of persons, and it gives no reason as to why they came here to settle. The record does, however, show that settlement in the township was basically an individual or family venture.

Township 66 Range 23

The data for this township, and succeeding townships, differ from those presented in T66, R22 in that only those claimants expressly for agricultural lands under some provision of the "public lands policy" are included

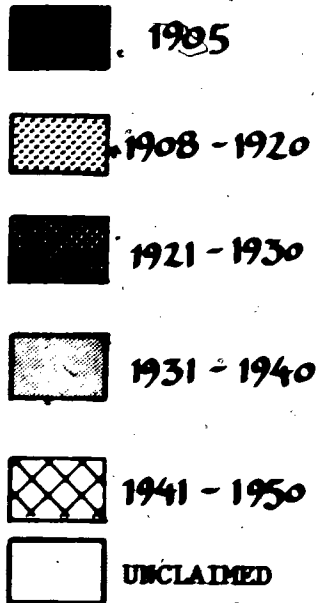
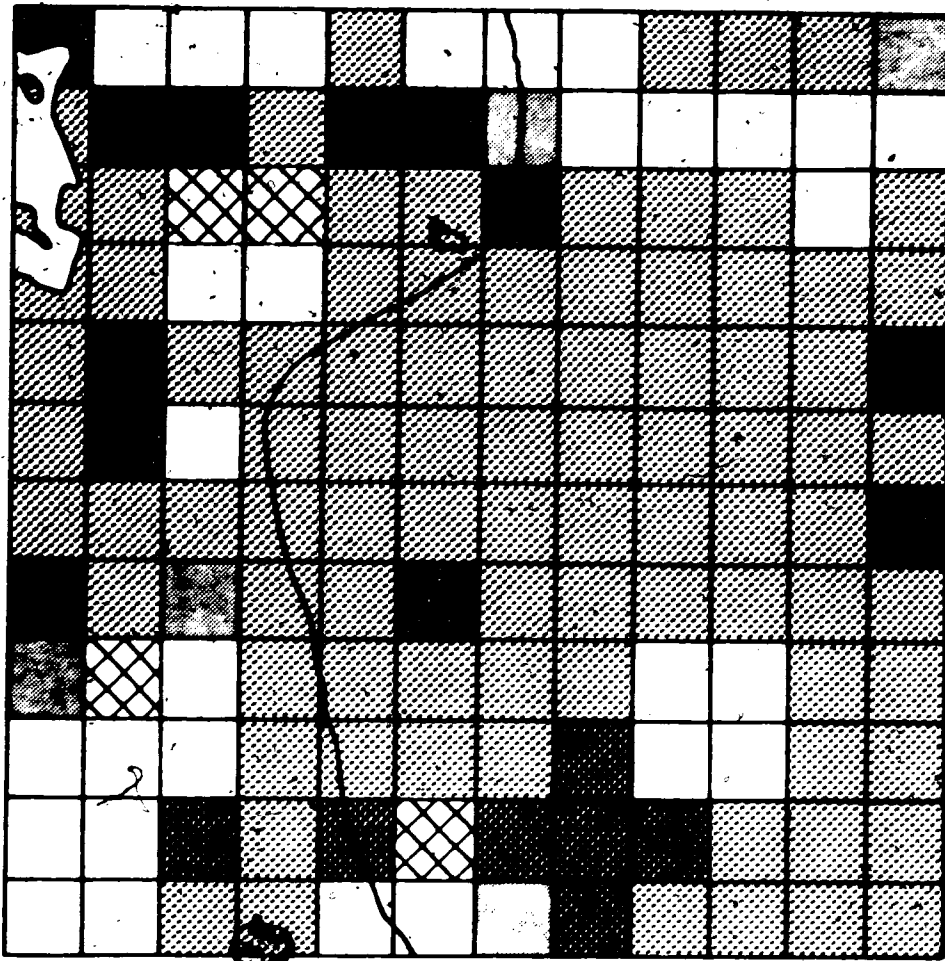
in Tables 11 through 22. No land sales of any kind are included in the tables, because it is not possible to determine if the buyers were interested in agriculture or speculation.

Figure 22 graphically illustrates the sequence of settlement from 1905 through the expiration of the homestead policy in 1939. The ten-year period, 1941 to 1950, is included for purposes of comparison with the decades preceding it. Figure 22 clearly shows that the height of settlement activity was between 1908 and 1920.

Table 11, on the other hand, breaks this activity down to an annual level so that actual sequence can be observed by year. Once again, as with T66, R22, the data show that the height of settlement activity occurred before the coming of the railway in November, 1911. It is perhaps of interest to note, in passing, that eight of the thirty homestead claims in 1910 were filed by South African Veterans, and two of the eighteen in 1911 were also South African Veterans. Nine of the seventeen quarter-sections claimed between 1921 and 1934 were settled on the basis of the Soldier Settlement Board's authority to help former military personnel establish themselves on the land. In some cases the Soldier Settlement Board only helped secure title to the lands that some persons had had before going into the military service. To determine to what extent this latter proposition is the case is beyond the scope of this study.

Table 11 demonstrates, conclusively, that sixty-seven of the eighty-eight land claimants between 1905 and 1945 had been settled by 1916, i.e., seventy-six percent of all land claimants had filed by 1916. An examination of Appendix C, in order to discover the origin of persons, shows that the names are northwest European -- British, German, and Scandinavian. However, it gives no information about the area from which they came. The

Figure 22



31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1905-1950 for T66 R23W M4

data from T66, R23, as do the data from T66, R22, show that the settlement sequence was more or less a family affair.

Table 11. Agricultural Land Claimants by Year - Township 66 Range 23\*

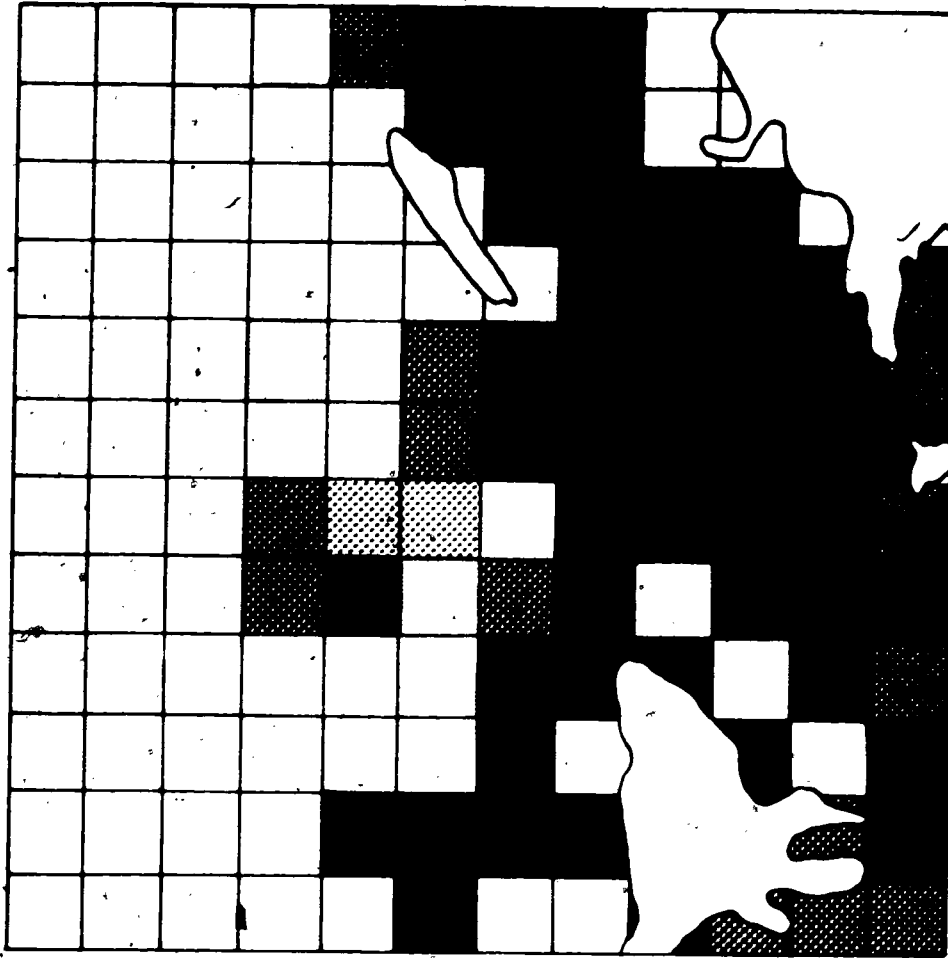
Year	Number
1905	1
1908	1
1909	13
1910	30
1911	18
1912	6
1913	1
1914	1
1916	1
1917	1
1921	1
1922	1
1924	3
1925	2
1926	5
1927	3
1929	1
1934	1
1937	1
1938	1
1945	1






\*Source: Appendix C.

Township 67 Range 24

The sequential settlement in this township closely parallels that of the two previous townships (see Figure 23). There is one difference, however, and that is the peak of settlement that occurred in 1912 rather than before the end of 1911. Table 12 clearly shows that seventy-one percent of all settlement took place between 1908 and 1915, i.e., forty-seven of sixty-six claims.

Figure 23



-  1908-1920
-  1921-1930
-  1931-1940
-  1941-1950
-  UNCLAIMED

31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1908-1950 for T67 R24W M4

Table 12. Agricultural Land Claimants by Year - Township 67 Range 24\*

Year	Number
1908	5
1910	2
1911	10
1912	24
1913	3
1914	1
1915	2
1917	2
1918	1
1921	2
1922	1
1924	1
1927	1
1928	4
1929	4
1930	1
1931	1
1936	1

\*Source: Appendix C

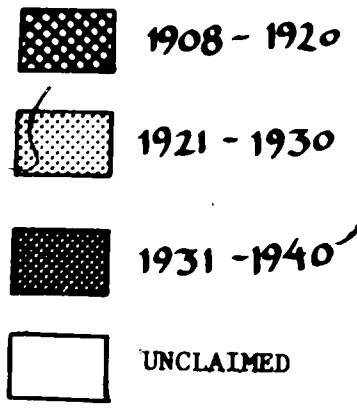
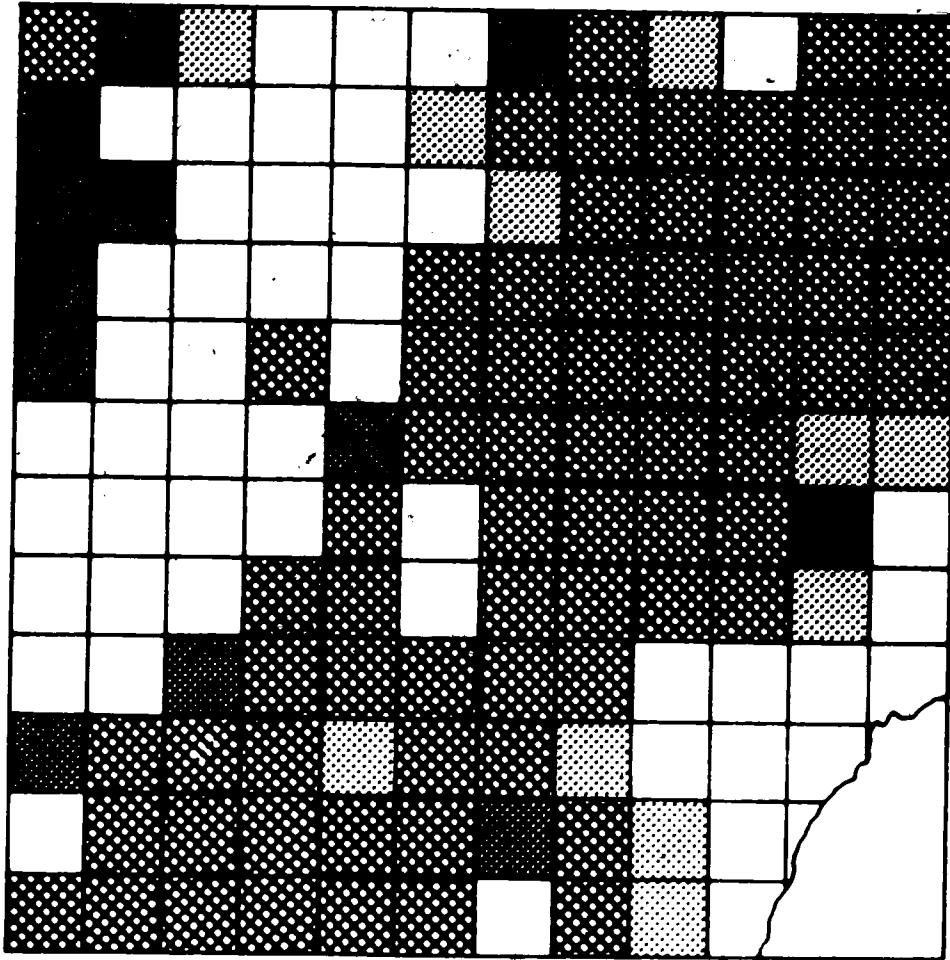
Overall, the data are similar to those from the previous townships. The record does not show, and there are no other data available to suggest origin or why the people came to the study area, and there are too many possibilities to speculate on the nearly twenty-five percent French surnames in this township.

#### Township 66 Range 20

This is the township in which many of the refugees from Okfuskee County, Oklahoma settled. It differs from the previous townships in that settlement is shown as a result of community expansions. Figure 24 illustrates the pattern of settlement, and Table 13 details that sequence.



Figure 24



31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	25
18	17	16	17	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1908-1940 for T66 R20W M4

Table 13. Agricultural Land Claimants by Year - Township 66 Range 22\*

Year	Number
1908	3
1909	3
1910	12
1911	16
1912	13
1913	11
1914	2
1915	1
1916	1
1917	1
1919	1
1920	5
1923	1
1924	1
1925	1
1926	1
1927	3
1928	1
1929	3
1930	1
1932	1
1934	1
1936	1
1937	2
1938	1
1939	1

\*Source: Appendix C

The earlier discussion addresses the issue of origins of the people who settle in the township in great detail. In this township, 66/20, there was never any discussion about coming as a result of the potential for the railway or economic opportunity. The black persons who settled in this township, as has been established in preceding sections of this study, did so for the social and political freedom that they thought they would be allowed to enjoy.

Township 67 Range 13

This township encompasses part of the town of Lac La Biche, and it was chosen because it contains the heart of commercial activity in the town. However, this portion of Lac La Biche is not the first settled. The most imposing feature of T67, R13 is the lake, which is shown in Figure 25. The figure also shows the pattern of settlement from 1909 to 1950.

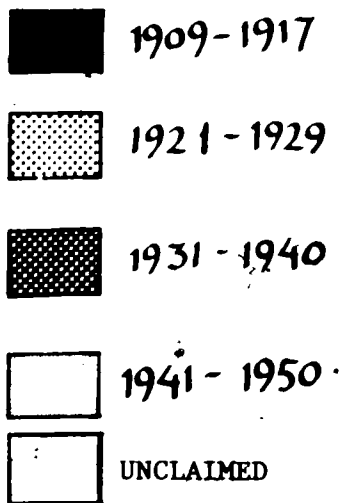
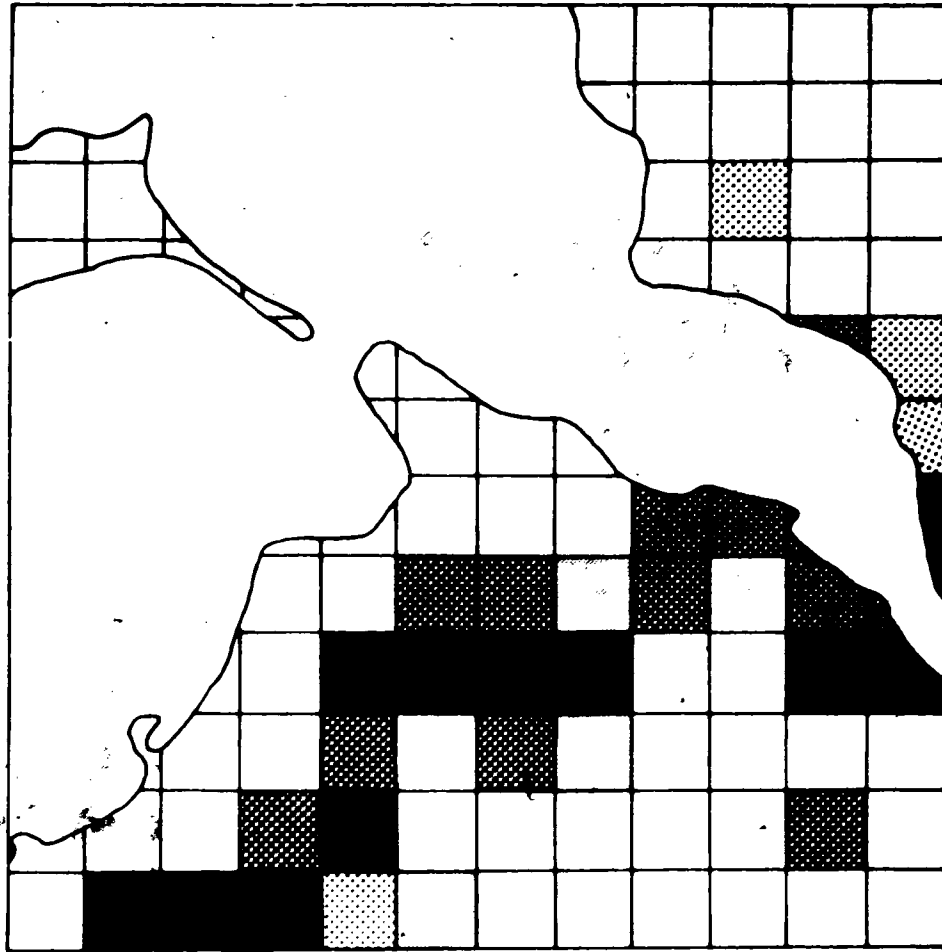
Table 14 illustrates the slow pace of settlement for the township, e.g., there were only twenty-six settlement claims filed between 1909 and 1939. Thirty-two percent of the claims were filed between 1909 and 1916, twenty-one percent between 1917 and 1929, and thirty-nine percent between 1931 and 1939. In addition, there were only two agricultural leases let between 1941 and 1950 -- these were let in 1941 and 1947.

Table 14. Agricultural Land Claimants by Year - Township 67 Range 13\*

Year	Number
1909	1
1913	1
1914	5
1915	2
1916	1
1917	1
1921	1
1928	2
1929	1
1931	2
1935	1
1936	1
1937	3
1938	3
1939	1
1941	1
1947	1

\*Source: Appendix C

Figure 25



31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1909-1950 for T67 R13W M4

While there are more than thirty percent French surnames in this township, it has not been possible to determine if they are Métis or other immigrant French folk. The cadastral record does not reveal information on the origin of the settlers.

Township 67 Range 21

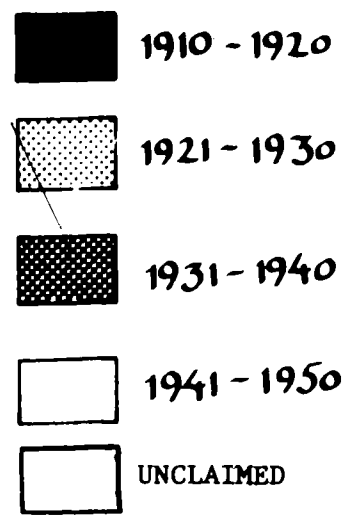
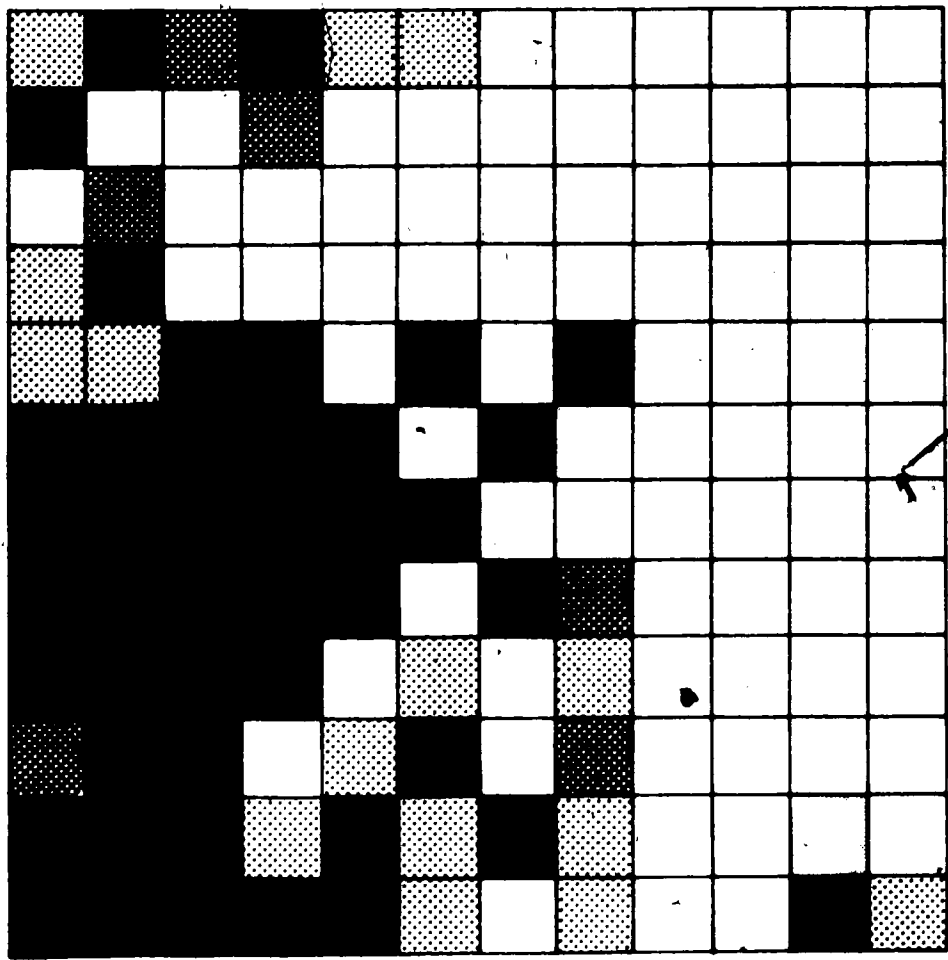
This township, in the vicinity of Athabasca, has a pattern similar to that of T66, R23 (see Figure 26). Table 15 details the sequence of settlement, and it shows that the year 1911 was the one of greatest settlement activity. More than ninety percent of the settlers in this township have surnames of northwest European origin, including more than twenty percent French. Data on origin of persons, however, are unavailable.

Table 15. Agricultural Land Claimants by Year - Township 67 Range 21\*

Year	Number
1910	1
1911	18
1912	6
1913	6
1915	2
1916	1
1917	3
1918	1
1920	4
1921	2
1924	1
1927	1
1928	8
1930	1
1931	1
1933	1
1937	1
1938	1
1948	1

\*Source: Appendix C

Figure 26



31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1910-1950 for T67 R21 W. M4

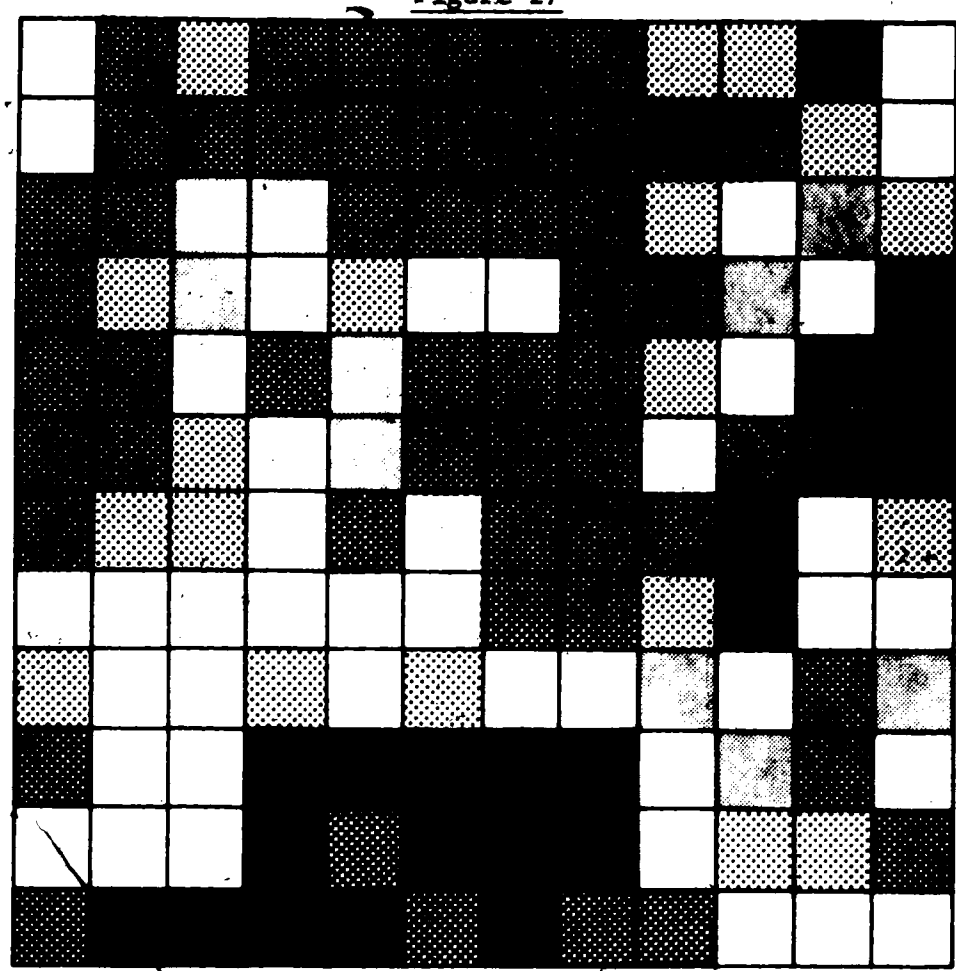
The curious rise in the settlement pattern of 1928 was in some way influenced by the Soldier Settlement Board. It secured four of the eight homestead claims for former military personnel. The remaining four, however, were part of the normal evolutionary settlement activity in T67, R21. Seventy percent of the settlement activity had been completed by 1920, and except for the 1928 rise, the pattern is indicative of community expansion. The one claim in 1948 was in some way part of the military establishment's role in land settlement, i.e., the claim was a Veteran's Homestead Lease.






Township 67 Range 19

A dramatic change is shown in this township, i.e., it is different in sequence occupancy and resulting pattern from the earlier ones. There is one similarity, however, and that is that settlement commenced in 1910 -- about the same time as in the other townships. Figure 27 and Table 16, nevertheless, show how much of this settlement occurred between 1921 and 1930. While approximately sixteen percent of the settlement was established between 1910 and 1917, nearly sixty-four percent happened between 1921 and 1930. In the five-year period between 1926 and 1930, there were fifty-three land claimants -- mainly Ukrainian surnamed folk.

The reasons for this *en masse* settlement are unknown, but the cadastral abstract shows that a land title for a two-acre cemetery site was issued to the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Parish of Holy Trinity on 16 Apr 36 in the northeast quarter of section 21. A site of .99 acre was secured by the Parish on 30 May 40 in the southwest quarter of section 34. These data suggest that the Ukrainians in this township were in some way organized around the Church. The real circumstances of this situation, however, demand further investigation.

Figure 27



-  1910 - 1920
-  1921 - 1930
-  1931 - 1940
-  1942 - 1949
-  UNCLAIMED

31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1910 - 1949 for T67 R19 W M4



Table 16. Agricultural Land Claimants by Year - Township 67 Range 19\*

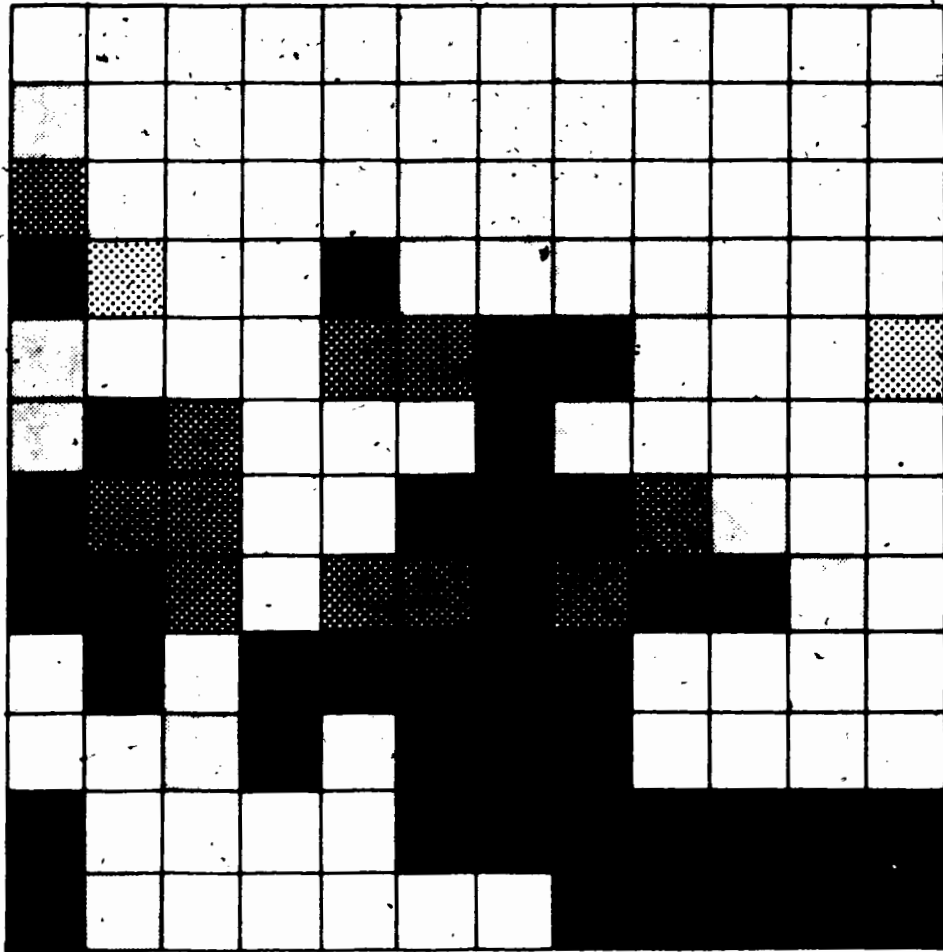
Year	Number
1910	2
1912	2
1913	5
1914	5
1917	1
1921	2
1922	1
1923	3
1924	1
1925	1
1926	8
1927	10
1928	10
1929	12
1930	13
1931	3
1932	3
1934	1
1935	1
1936	3
1937	2
1938	3
1940	1
1946	3
1949	1






\*Source: Appendix C

Township 68 Range 16

Many of the settlers to this township came from Provemont, Michigan, and are briefly identified in the discussion on immigrants. Figure 28 shows the pattern of settlement between 1911 and 1949. Appendix C (the cadastral record for T68, R16) demonstrates the natural expansions of families in the township. Table 17 illustrates sequential settlement by year. The Village of Plamondon is located in this township, and the current

Figure -28



-  1911 - 1920
-  1925 - 1930
-  1934 & 1937
-  1943 - 1949
-  UNCLAIMED

31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1911 - 1949 for T68 R16 W M4

inhabitants are primarily descendants of French immigrants from Michigan.

Table 17. Agricultural Land Claimants by Year - Township 68 Range 16\*

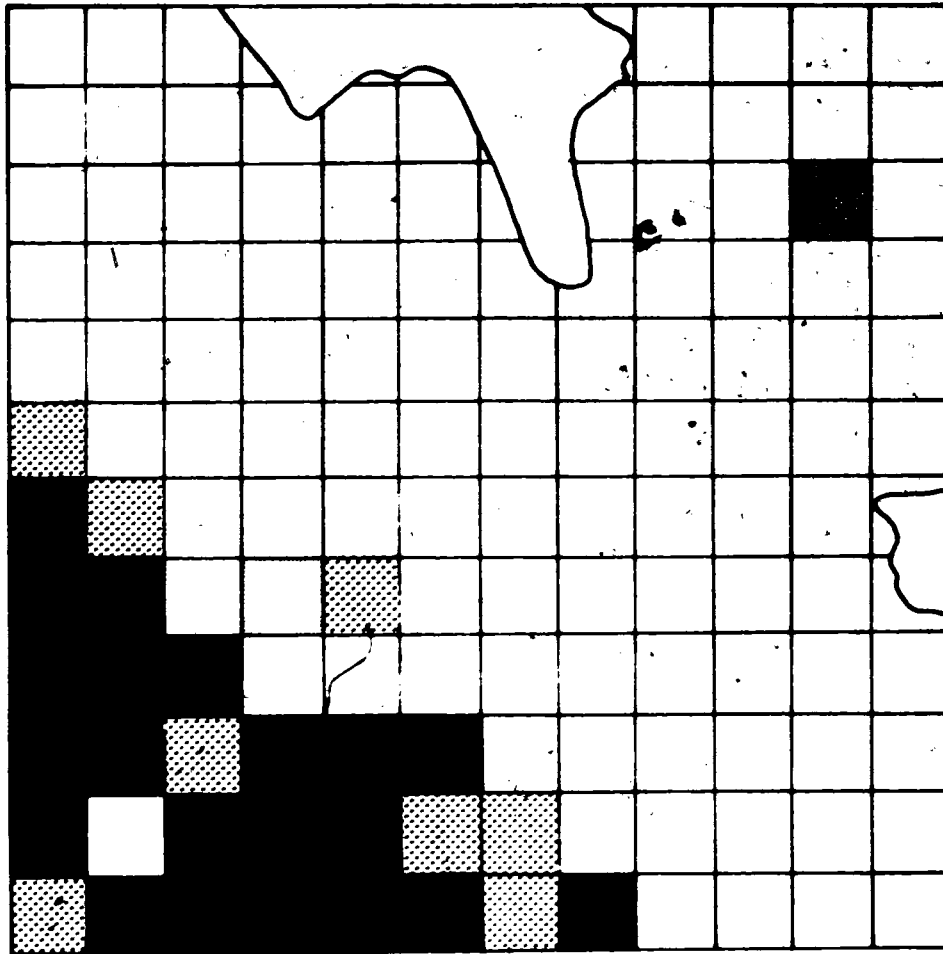
Year	Number
1911	12
1912	6
1913	7
1914	5
1916	2
1917	3
1920	3
1924	1
1926	1
1928	3
1929	3
1930	1
1934	1
1937	1
1943	2
1945	2
1946	2
1949	3




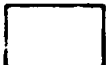

\*Source: Appendix C

Township 65 Range 12

This is one of the more sparsely settled townships in the study area (see Figure 29). It has a total of twenty-seven land claimants between 1911 and 1941. Of the three land claims in 1911, two were South African Veteran claims, and three of the five 1928 claims were by the Soldier Settlement Board. Table 18 illustrates that sequential settlement commenced in 1911, and by 1916 fifty-two percent of the total number of claims had been filed. While this township is more than ten miles to the northwest of Caslan Métis Colony Number 7, it is possible that the Colony has had something to do with the overwhelming number of French surnamed folk in this

Figure 29



-  1911 - 1919
-  1928 - 1929
-  1938
-  1941
-  UNCLAIMED

31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1911 - 1941 for T65 R12W M4

township.

Table 18. Agricultural Land Claimants by Year - Township 65 Range 12\*

Year	Number
1911	3
1912	1
1913	4
1915	2
1916	4
1917	1
1918	1
1919	1
1928	5
1929	3
1938	1
1941	1

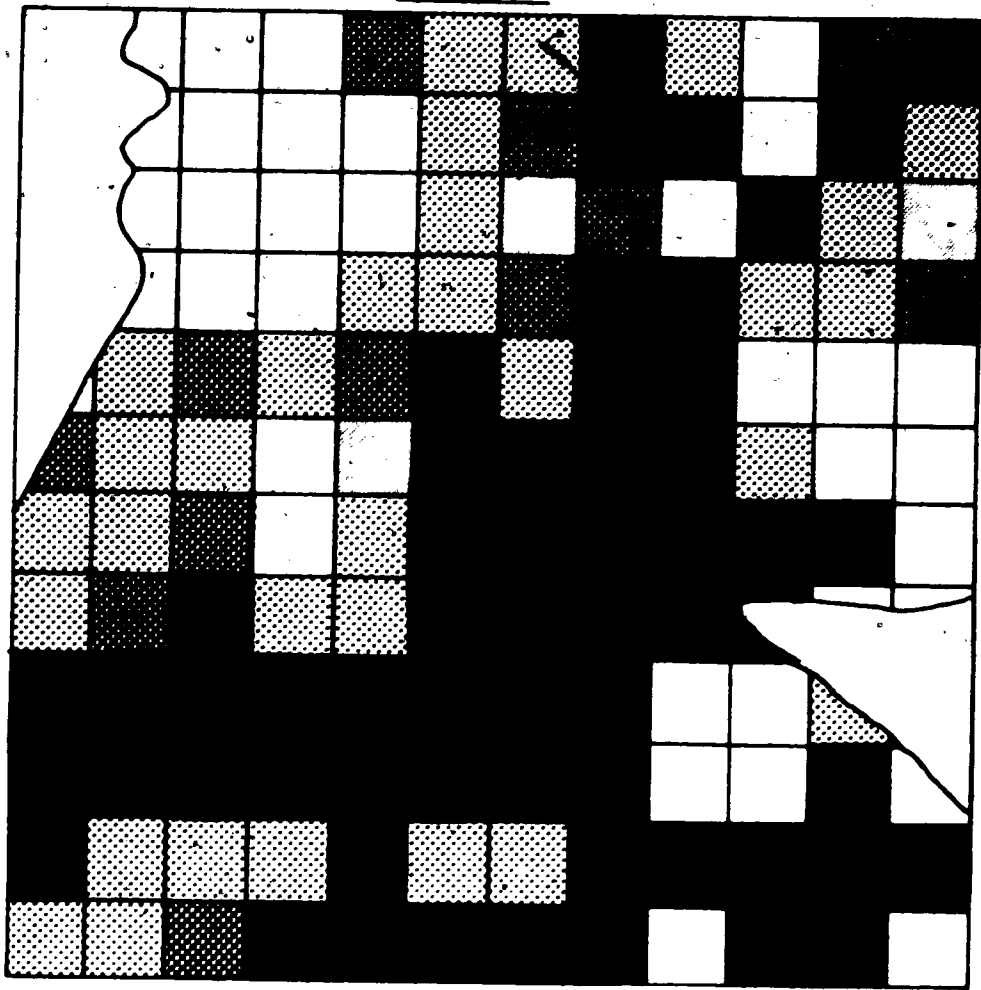
\*Source: Appendix C


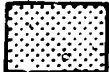
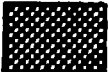


Township 65 Range 19

The Village of Boyle is located in this township. Appendix C shows that the majority of the settlers are of European origin -- about forty percent, judging from the surnames, appear to be Ukrainians. There is a Ruthenian Greek Parish of Holy Trinity cemetery located in the northwest quarter of section 27, which was established 25 Nov 35. There is no record of a church being established in this township, but it is possible that the Ukrainians in this township were in some way connected to those who settled in T67, R19.

Figure 30 and Table 19 illustrate the pattern and sequence of settlement in T65, R19 between 1912 and 1946. It is of some interest to note that the peak of settlement activity occurred at least four years before the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company purchased lands in 1918 for the railway tracks that traverse this township. The rise in settlement activity in 1928 cannot be explained on the basis of the Soldier Settlement Board's

Figure 30



-  1912 - 1920
-  1921 - 1930
-  1931 - 1940
-  1945 - 1946
-  UNCLAIMED

31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1912 - 1946 for T65 R19 W M4

influence. It was responsible for only two of the ten claims in 1928.

Table 19. Agricultural Land Claimants by Year - Township 65 Range 19\*

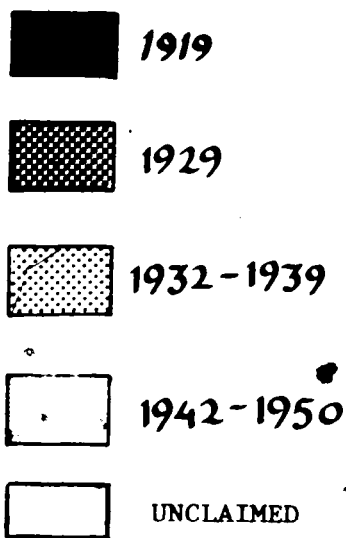
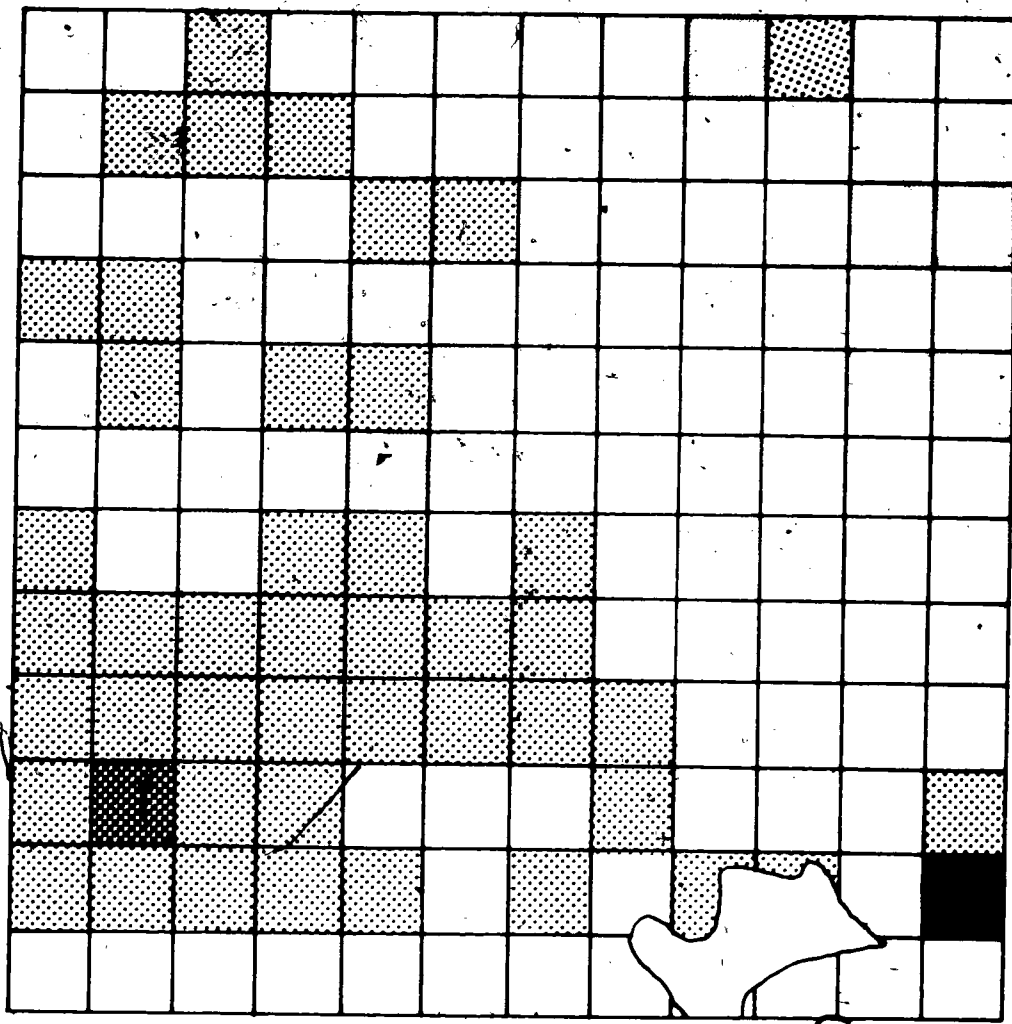
Year	Number
1912	8
1913	4
1914	30
1915	3
1917	2
1919	1
1920	6
1921	3
1922	2
1923	1
1925	1
1926	3
1927	3
1928	10
1929	3
1930	8
1931	2
1932	6
1933	1
1936	1
1937	2
1938	1
1939	1
1946	1

\*Source: Appendix C

Township 65 Range 16

The most outstanding characteristic in this township, as shown in Figure 31, is that the pattern and sequence of settlement activity occurred in the 1930's. This is the first township selected to illustrate agricultural settlement in northeast Alberta where the bulk was established after 1930 -- to be more accurate, between 1932 and 1939. The total settlement during

Figure 31



31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1919-1950 for T65 R16W M4



this period accounts for eighty-three percent of land claimants, and the surnames of Ukrainians are prominent. There is a two-acre cemetery site in the southwest quarter of section 18, which was established by the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada in 1937.

This township is, indeed, an area where the railway was established before the bulk of settlers. However, the railway tracks were laid some twelve to fifteen years before this 1930's settlement activity. The period of intense railway building activity was in 1918, and the first homestead claim was filed in 1919. Table 20 details the sequential settlement.

Table 20. Agricultural Land Claimants by Year - Township 65 Range 16\*

Year	Number
1919	1
1932	15
1933	5
1934	6
1935	2
1936	2
1937	4
1938	8
1939	2
1941	1
1942	1
1947	1
1948	1
1949	3

\*Source: Appendix C

Township 67 Range 18

Grassland is located in this township. As with the examination of T67, R19, this township shows intense settlement activity in the 1920's. Fifty-three claims were filed between 1922 and 1930 (see Table 21), and

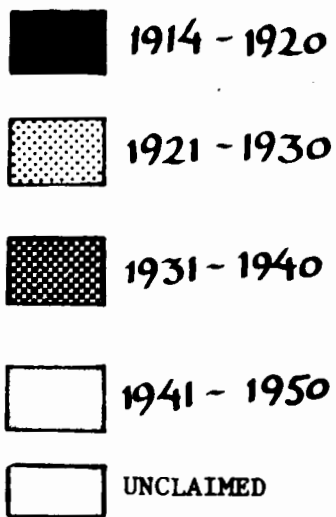
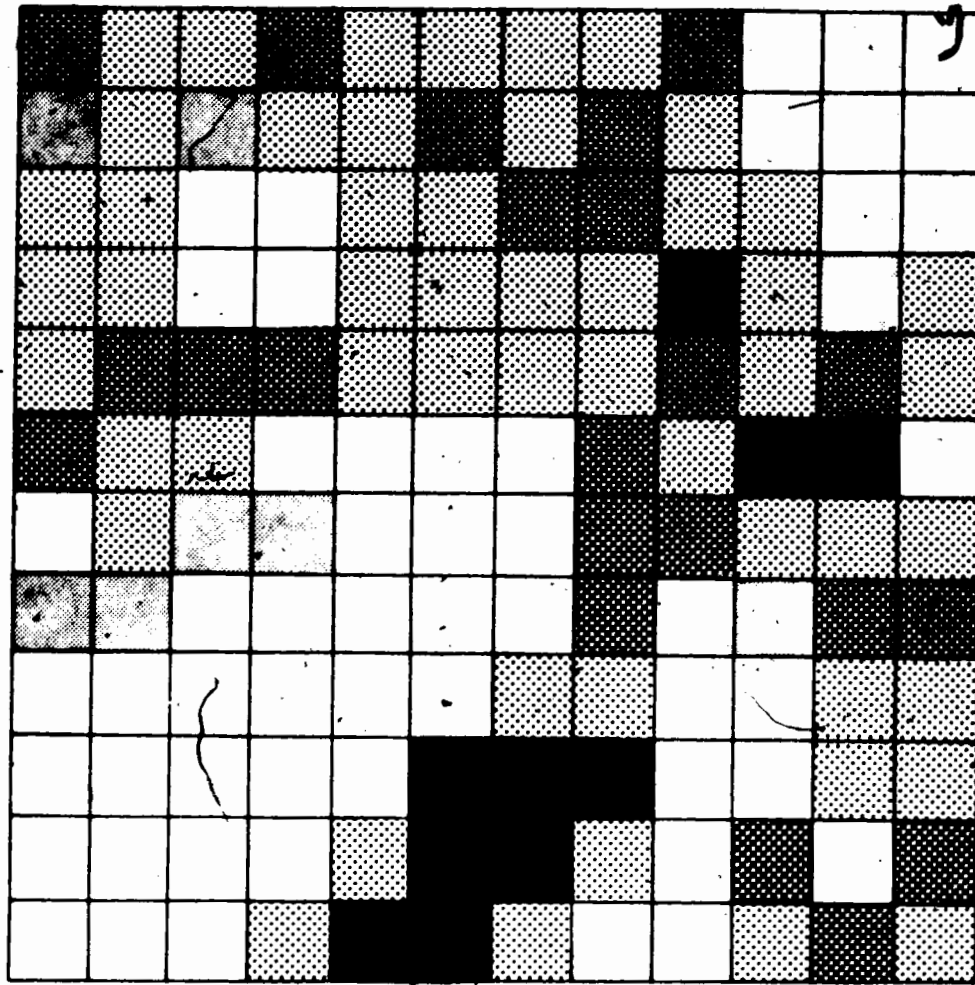
fifty-one percent of all claims were filed between 1922 and 1929. In the nine-year period between 1931 and 1939, there were twenty-two claims entered for a total of thirty-one percent of the settlers. This township is again similar to T67, R19 in that a large percentage of the settlers have Ukrainian surnames. However, they differ in their church affiliation. The Rutherian Greek Catholic Church of Blessed Sacraments established a church and cemetery on 1.68 acres on 23 Sep 48 in the southeast quarter of Section 1. Figure 32

Table 21. Agricultural Land Claimants by Year - Township 67 Range 18\*

Year	Number
1914	6
1915	1
1920	3
1922	1
1923	7
1924	4
1925	7
1926	5
1927	3
1928	10
1929	9
1930	7
1931	4
1932	6
1933	2
1934	2
1935	3
1936	1
1937	1
1938	2
1939	1
1941	1
1946	2
1947	2
1949	1

\*Source: Appendix C

Figure 32



31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1914-1950 for T67 R18W M4

illustrates the settlement pattern.

Township 68 Range 20

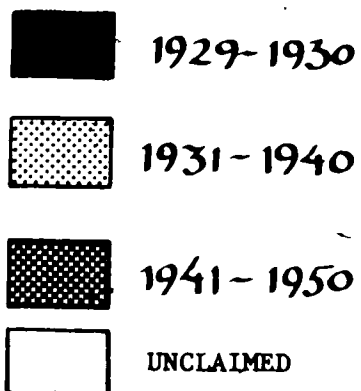
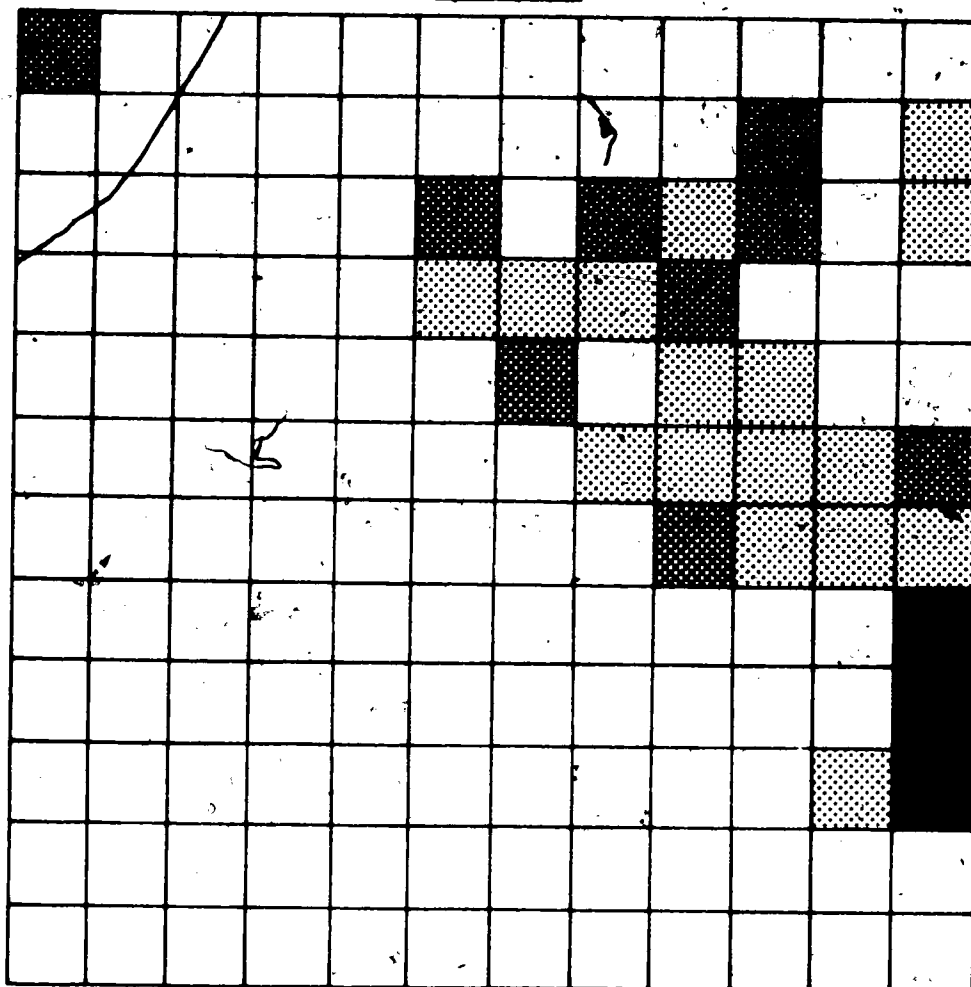
Of the thirteen townships examined, this one has the least number of settlement claims during the life of the "public lands policy" of the federal government which was continued by the Alberta government until 1939. The Alberta government ceased granting free homestead in that year and inaugurated an agricultural lease policy. Sixty-eight percent of the land claims in this township were filed between 1928 and 1939, and the remaining thirty-two percent happened after the expiration of the "public lands policy." The cadastral record shows that nearly all are persons with Ukrainian surnames. Table 22 illustrates the sequence of settlement, and Figure 33 shows the resulting form.

Table 22. Agricultural Land Claimants by Year - Township 68 Range 20\*

Year	Number
1929	2
1930	1
1931	4
1932	1
1933	1
1934	1
1937	4
1938	5
1940	1
1945	1
1947	2
1948	2
1949	3

\*Source: Appendix C

Figure 33



31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Settlement Pattern 1929 - 1950 for T68 R20W M4

The settlement data from the twenty-five percent sample of the study, when viewed in the context of occupancy, give us an opportunity to discuss success from two vantage points. The following discussion, then, looks at success from those angles.

#### DISCUSSION

The people who came to settle in northeast Alberta did so for various and sometimes very different reasons, but it is clear that they were drawn to this region, in part, by the government's guarantee of tenure rights. The role of "boosterism," however, is also seen as a prominent inducement for attracting settlers to northeast Alberta. Agricultural success in a minor area such as climatically favorable land around Mission Lac La Biche, and the development of the garden district myth at Athabasca, set the stage for the region's social conditions.

It was Sifton's immigration policy that produced the influx of immigrants after 1896, and by 1906 all of the best agricultural lands in Alberta had been settled. The factor that emerges quite clearly from the twenty-five percent sample is that the settlement sequence was by no means uniform. Some of the settlers from the Palliser Triangle were involved in settling the study area during the middle and late 1930's even though many areas were being settled about 1910.

The data presented in this chapter are sufficient to make judgements about success. Appendix C shows, on the average per township, that it took the individual claimant six years to obtain patent for the land, which indicates that the people who settled this area struggled for the lands they obtained. In terms of occupancy, it is clear that the folk were successful.

However, the raw data contradict this notion of success. For example, when the resident population by township in 1971 is compared with the twenty-five percent sample of the study area, the loss of population in the rural areas where fertility rates are highest challenges the notion of successful occupancy. Some examples are illustrative: Of the sixty-five claims in T67, R24 between 1908 and 1950, the population in 1971 was 88; of the ninety-two claims in T67, R18 between 1914 and 1950, the population in 1971 was 222 -- more than half of these were at the settlement of Grassland; of the 653 people in T65, R19 in 1971, 385 of these were in the Village of Boyle even though 104 land claims were made here between 1911 and 1941.

The question of success which must be addressed here is that involving people rather than numbers. Three groups were identified in this chapter as seeking success in northeast Alberta, and they are used to address the question of success in occupancy and generational linkage.

The internal migrants, who were refugees from the drought conditions of southeastern Alberta, were unsuccessful in their pursuits of economic betterment. They left lands that were climatically marginal, from the standpoint of precipitation, and moved to an area with a low degree of infrastructural development and severe frost hazards. While Hozack attributes this failure to the small size of farms,<sup>87</sup> this author attributes the lack of success to poor planning which includes the growing of cereals as a cash crop.

The Afroamericans, on the other hand, are successful as a group. Their successes began as soon as they arrived in the study area, i.e., one measure of their success was escaping the intense social hostility of the Oklahoma environment. There were other successes among the Afroamerican

immigrant group, especially the institutional and generational development centered about Amber Valley.

These refugees established a school, churches, post office, social clubs, baseball team, and offered a two-day picnic during the summer as a function for all blacks in Alberta to attend. Two generations are established at the site, but the third generation stands as a question mark as the Amber Valley community is now an integral part of northeast Alberta rather than a unique and isolated area.

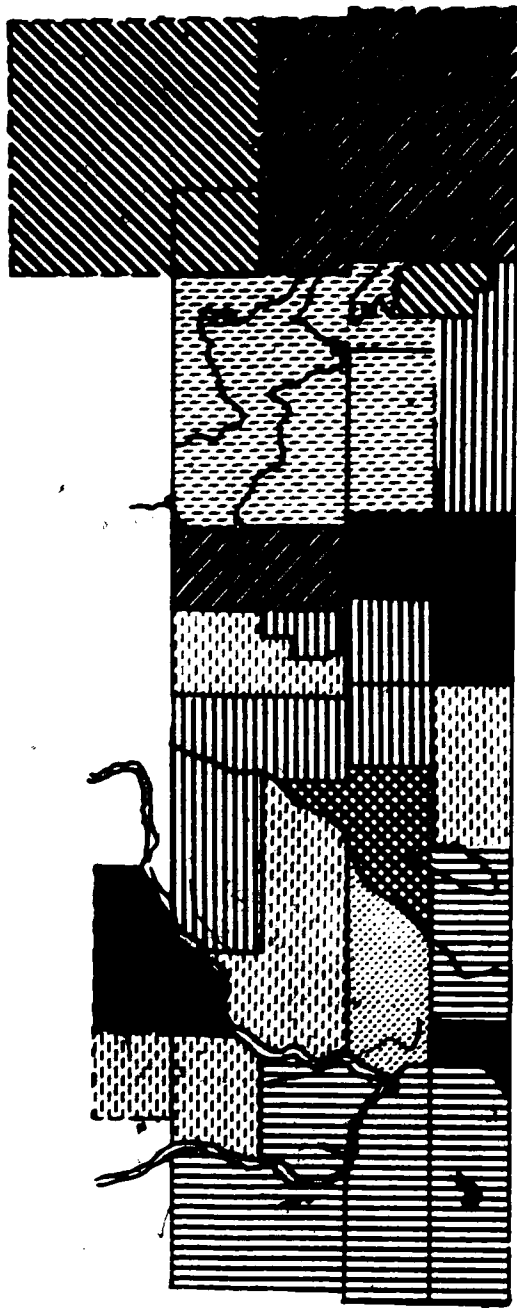
The French from Michigan, like the Afroamerican immigrants, are successful as a group. Even though their reasons for immigrating are unclear, the French immigrants established a church, school, post office, and the Village of Plamondon. Generational linkages and institutional developments are evident in the settlement. Indeed, the Plamondon Historical Society and District Museum have been established to insure the continuation of past traditions.

It becomes evident that there were other successes in northeast Alberta, but the degree of those is unknown. In terms of occupancy, it is of interest to note the pattern of ethnic distributions in Figure 34. While this pattern is significantly different from a comparable-sized area in rural Alberta,<sup>88</sup> it reflects the sequential occupancy of the land in northeast Alberta.<sup>89</sup> Figure 35 shows what the predominant religion was for this same area in 1961.

The significant factors in this chapter, then, revolve around the three natural attractions provided by the environment: rainfall, acreage, and refuge. But the environment offered more than those enumerated characteristics. The environment provided an abundance of naturally occurring resources from which the immigrants could sustain themselves.



Figure 34. Ethnic Distributions by Federal Electoral Districts, 1961\*



More than 50% Black

More than 50% British

More than 50% French

More than 50% Native Peoples (Indians)

More than 50% Polish

More than 50% Ukrainian

25-50% British

25-50% French

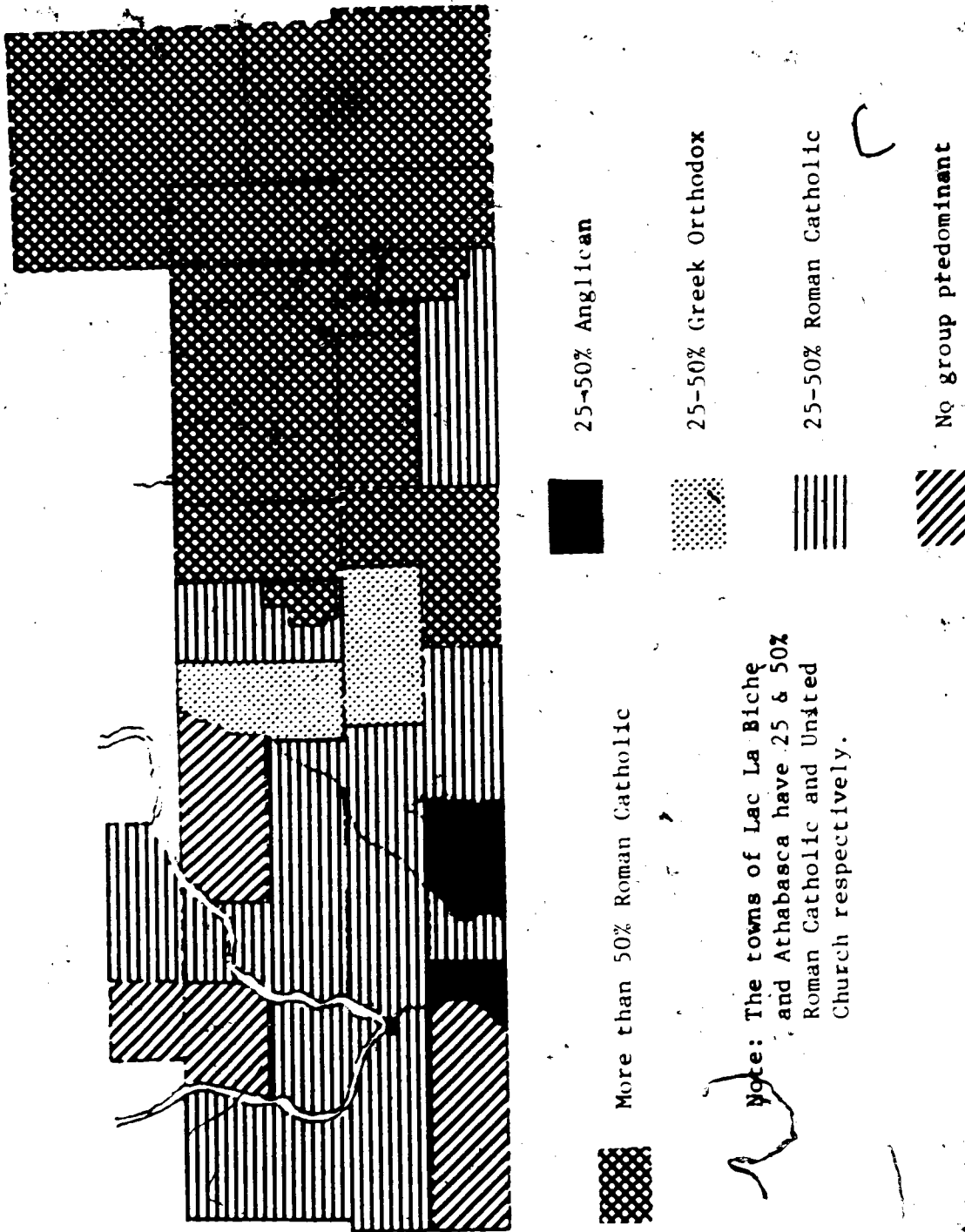
25-50% Native Peoples (Indians)

25-50% Ukrainians

No Group Dominant

\*Source: Atlas of Alberta, 56.

Figure 35. Predominant Religion by Enumeration Area, 1961\*



Source: Atlas of Alberta, 57

Spruce trees were used to construct the first log buildings, tamarac trees were used for posts because they hold water without rotting readily, and poplar trees were used for fuel. In addition, saskatoon and blueberries provided these settlers to northeast Alberta with an opportunity to put away preserves for the winter. Deer and moose satisfied certain meat requirements, and fish was always available in the many lakes, streams, and ponds.

It is possible that this subsistence-level of existence colored the outlook of many immigrant settlers. They came for the positive attributes, which subsistence and free land provided, and ignored the negative aspects of northeast Alberta. While there are successes in the study area, in general, it was the false expectations of the environment's productivity for commercial agriculture that undergirds this region's marginality. Tragically, these expectations are not limited to the past. Few northeast Alberta farmers will admit that they live in an area of agricultural marginality.

While this chapter has set the stage for understanding the background to the social conditions, and looking at ways of viewing elements of success, the following chapter presents a picture of economic poverty in the region. The question of success, according to governmental officials, is very relevant at this juncture. Who is responsible for the plight of the people in northeast Alberta?

FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup>The Dominion Lands Act of 1872 is "An Act respecting the Public Lands of the Dominion," *Acts of the Parliament of Canada* (1872), Chapter XXIII, pp. 56-90. Brown Chamberlain Law Printers for Canada, Ottawa. Further references to this source are cited as the "public lands policy."
- <sup>2</sup>WOOD, V.A., "Alberta's Public Land Policy," *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 33, No. 4, Part 2 (1951), p. 736.
- <sup>3</sup>STONE, D.N.G., *The Process of Rural Settlement in the Athabasca Area, Alberta*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis (1970), p. 62. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- <sup>4</sup>*Supra*, Chapter III, p. 73.
- <sup>5</sup>WOOD, *op. cit.*, 736, quoting from the *Correspondence of Sir John A. MacDonald*, has shown that the then Prime Minister of Canada said that the people of the United States "are prepared to do all they can short of war to get possession of the Western Territory and we must take immediate and vigorous steps to counteract them." Wood has further suggested that "by 1900 the threat of an invasion from the United States had passed..." (p. 737).
- <sup>6</sup>It should be borne in mind that foreigners could not receive patent for land in Canada, i.e., "... the settler or ... claimant shall be entitled to a patent for the land, provided such claimant is ... a subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization." *Supra*, Chapter III, p. 73.
- <sup>7</sup>The following information, attributed to MacGregor, is from James G. MacGregor, *A History of Alberta* (1972), pp. 163-177. Hurtig Publishers, Edmonton.
- <sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 165. WOOD, *op. cit.*, p. 737, wrote that "prior to the transfer of the Western Territory to Dominion control several surveys were made by qualified men of the day to determine the suitability of the area for settlement. Some of the reports submitted were contradictory, but the general consensus of opinion was expressed by Captain John Palliser, who stated that the area forming a triangle of southeastern Alberta and southwestern Saskatchewan was unsuited for agricultural settlement."
- <sup>9</sup>MacGREGOR, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
- <sup>10</sup>VOGELESANG, Robin R., *The Initial Agricultural Settlement of the Morinville - Westlock area, Alberta*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis (1972), p. 48. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- <sup>11</sup>MacGREGOR, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
- <sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.
- <sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 174.

- <sup>14</sup> STONE, *op. cit.*, p. 40, noted that "the name of the settlement was changed, from 'Athabaska Landing' to 'Athabasca' in 1905. The 'k' in 'Athabaska' was eventually replaced by a 'c.' The town of 'Athabaska' was referred to as 'Athabaska Landing' throughout the early fur trading period and the initial agricultural settlement period..."
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61.
- <sup>17</sup> Alberta Department of Lands and Forests, *Plan of Township 66 Range 22 West of the Fourth Meridian*. The four occasions were May 1888; August 20, 1897; July 27, 1904; and September 30, 1904. The last survey of record is July 18, 1907.
- <sup>18</sup> HOZACK, William J., *The Spatial Pattern of Farming Near Lac La Biche, Alberta*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis (1969), p. 50. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61.
- <sup>21</sup> WHITELEY, A.S., "Peopling of the Prairie Provinces of Canada," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (1932), p. 244.
- <sup>22</sup> McARTHUR, D.A., "Immigration and Colonization in Canada, 1900-1930," *Pioneer Settlement: American Geographical Society Special Publication Number 14*, (1932), p. 24. W.L.G. Joerg, ed. Worcester, Mass.
- <sup>23</sup> *The Northern News*, Saturday, January 7, 1911, p. 4. *The Northern News* proudly proclaimed that it was "published in the interest of Athabasca and the last best West."
- <sup>24</sup> Mr. F.P. Begory, Superintendent of Schools at Athabasca, suggested in a *personal communication* (14 Aug 75) that the people of Athabasca had entertained hopes of having the capital of the province located here. Michael C. Jansson, author of *Farmer Response to Wildlife Depredation ...*, property owner in northeast Alberta, and employed by the government of Alberta, suggested in a *personal communication* (13 Sep 73) the same notion. However, it has been impossible to find documented evidence to substantiate these claims.
- <sup>25</sup> *Go To Athabasca Landing*, a pamphlet published by the Publicity Committee of the Athabasca Board of Trade, reprinted in *The Northern News*, April 21, 1910; also reprinted in STONE, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-186. Further references to this source will be cited as *Pamphlet*.
- <sup>26</sup> *Pamphlet*.
- <sup>27</sup> STONE, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>29</sup> Pamphlet.

<sup>30</sup> STONE, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-70.

<sup>31</sup> Pamphlet.

<sup>32</sup> STONE, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-72.

<sup>33</sup> Pamphlet.

<sup>34</sup> STONE, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> MacGREGOR, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-211; 235.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 247.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>40</sup> STONE, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>41</sup> *Atlas of Alberta*, p. 120.

<sup>42</sup> MacGREGOR, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-258; 266-267.

<sup>43</sup> See the following as examples involving push factors: STEVENSON, W. Iain, *The Role of Myth in Welsh Settlement in Patagonia*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis (1974), pp. 1-10 and 58-59. Simon Fraser University, Burnaby; and LANGEMANN, Ralph E., *M.A. Essays*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis (1971), pp. 14-21. Simon Fraser University, Burnaby. See also, LEE, Everett S., "A Theory of Migration," *Demography*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1966), pp. 47-57 for an adequate comparative discussion of the factors involved in migrations.

<sup>44</sup> HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 55. MacGREGOR, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-267.

<sup>45</sup> HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>46</sup> Anonymous, District Agricultural Office, Lac La Biche, 23 Jul 76.

<sup>47</sup> SEHN, Eileen, "Plamondon: A Community Profile," Unpublished Paper prepared for upgrading instruction at Alberta Vocation Centre, Lac La Biche (1977).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>49</sup> The Museum Committee's *Chronological, Genealogical, Historical Calendar of Plamondon, Alberta* is a document that was created for the July 1-3 Plamondon Homecoming in 1973. There are more than three hundred pages devoted to various aspects of settlement and community development. The document, however, is far from organized, and it is not possible to develop a comprehensive understanding of that area's development. The Museum Committee's *document*, for example, suggests that a group headed by Joseph Plamondon arrived and founded Plamondonville on July 28, 1908, but the cadastral record of Township 68 Range 16 West of the Fourth Meridian (Appendix C) shows that the official date of entry on the land began in 1911. The *document*, nevertheless, contains some good information that should be pursued in the future.

<sup>50</sup> John W. Morris of the Geography Département, Norman: University of Oklahoma (1972) provided the following information on the physical background of Okfuskee County:

"... it lies in the Sandstone Hills region of Oklahoma. The bed rock is sandstone and shale of Pennsylvania age. These strata generally have a slight westward dip. The surface of most of the country is hilly due to the resistance of the sandstone ledges which rise as east facing escarpments above the flats which are underlain by shales. Drainage is into the North Canadian River which meanders through much of the southern part of the country, and Deep Fork which touches the northern part of the county. Both have several small tributaries. Originally a large part of the county was timbered, although some of the flats were prairie. This prairie land was the first ploughed and planted. The average yearly rainfall is 35-38 inches with the maximum occurring in late spring or early summer. January temperatures average between 35° and 40° F., and July temperatures average 80° and 85° F. The growing season averages 220 days/year. Cotton and corn were the chief agricultural products when the Afroamericans emigrated."

<sup>51</sup> In addition to the removal thrusts of the American Colonization Society that had definite influence on U.S. society in terms of colonization schemes for black people during the 19th century, see the following as less well-known examples: PEASE, William H. and PEASE, Jane H., "Organized Negro Communities: A North American Experiment," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (1962), pp. 19-34; SCHIEPS, Paul J., "Lincoln and the Chiriqui Colonization Project," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1952), pp. 418-453; HOWAY, F.W., "The Negro Immigration into Vancouver Island in 1858," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1935), pp. 101-113; RIPPY, J. Fred, "A Negro Colonization Project in Mexico: 1895," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1921), pp. 66-73; WESLEY, Charles H., "Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negroes," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1919), pp. 7-21; and LANDON, Fred C., "The Buxton Settlement in Canada," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (1918), pp. 360-367.

<sup>52</sup> For the development of Oklahoma Territorial statutes regarding the segregation of blacks from whites in schools, a legacy bequeathed to the

State of Oklahoma, see BALYEAT, Frank A., "Segregation in the Public Schools of Oklahoma Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (1961), pp. 180-192.

- <sup>53</sup> MELLINGER, Philip, "Discrimination and Statehood in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (1971), p. 340. The logical system, of course, refers to those with the power to determine the logic versus the illogic.
- <sup>54</sup> HILL, Mozell C., "The All-Negro Communities of Oklahoma: The Natural History of a Social Movement," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (1946), pp. 263; 268.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- <sup>56</sup> BITTLE, William and GEIS, Gilbert, "Racial Self-Fulfillment and the Rise of an All Negro Community in Oklahoma," *Phylon*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1957), p. 248.
- <sup>57</sup> HILL, *op. cit.*, p. 261. There is no known way of checking on the accuracy of the population estimates made in this article.
- <sup>58</sup> BITTLE and GEIS, *op. cit.*, p. 248.
- <sup>59</sup> SPECK, F.G., "The Negroes and the Creek Nation," *Southern Workman*, Vol. 34, (1908), p. 107.
- <sup>60</sup> DeROSIER, Arthur H., Jr., "Negotiations for the Removal of the Choctaw," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1960), p. 96.
- <sup>61</sup> JELTZ, Wyatt F., "The Relations of Negroes and Choctaw and Chicasaw Indians," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (1948), p. 29.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- <sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.
- <sup>64</sup> SPECK, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-110. Cf., Kenneth W. Porter, "John Caeser: Seminole Partisan," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (1946), pp. 190-207.
- <sup>65</sup> MOORE, Junius B., "The Survey of Indian Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (1950), pp. 445-451: "There were a number of reasons why the United States wishes to convert Indian Territory into a State, and to bring the Five Civilized Tribes ... under its direct control. First many white people had come into the Territory and were asking for a share in the government, from which, as non-Indians, they were excluded. Another, which seemed more serious, was since the United States laws were not in force in Indian nations, many criminals were evading justice by escaping to its borders. And further, the United States wanted to meet the demand, on the part of the country in general, that unused lands be open for settlement. So in 1893 the government took the first step toward converting Indian Territory into a State by appointing



the Dawes Commission to work among the Indians to persuade them to allow their property, which had been held in common, to be divided among the individual members of the tribes and to accept United States citizenship."

<sup>66</sup> For the details of the development of this proposed State, see: MAXWELL, Amos, "The Sequoyah Convention," Part I, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (1950), pp. 161-192; and MAXWELL, Amos, "The Sequoyah Convention," Part 2, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1950), pp. 299-340.

<sup>67</sup> MAXWELL, Amos, "The Sequoyah Convention," Part 2, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1950), p. 333.

<sup>68</sup> The "Grandfather Clause," aimed at eliminating the voting rights of blacks, was submitted to the Oklahoma Voters by the State Legislature on August 2, 1910. It read:

No person shall be registered as an elector of this state or be allowed to vote in any election held herein unless he be able to read and write any section of the Constitution of the State of Oklahoma; but no person who was, on January 1, 1866 or at any time prior thereto entitled to vote under any form of government, or who at that time resided in some foreign nation and no lineal descendant of such person shall be denied the right to register and vote because of his inability to so read such sections of the constitution.

The result of the vote was black disenfranchisement.

<sup>69</sup> BITTLE, William and GEIS, Gilbert, *The Longest Way Home* (1964), p. 13. Wayne State University Press, Detroit.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34-39.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>74</sup> BITTLE and GEIS, "Racial Self-Fulfillment and the Rise of an All Negro Community in Oklahoma," *op. cit.*, p. 260.

<sup>75</sup> Nimrod Toles and Henry Sneed are two of the reported three-man delegation, but the third man's name has been lost to memory of those who migrated and their descendants. Records concerning this movement have either been lost or never existed. The latter seems likely from what was reported by respondents at Athabasca, Amber Valley, Edmonton, and Vancouver.

<sup>76</sup> TOLES, William, *Interview*, Amber Valley, July (1970).

<sup>77</sup> A survey on the origins of the immigrants to Amber Valley was taken during the months of July and August at Amber Valley and Edmonton (1970). There are roughly thirty hours of tape of fifteen individuals that will be deposited in the Amber Valley Community Centre's Library in 1979.

- 78 Mrs. Melton believed that her parents had participated in the colony described in "A Negro Colonization Project in Mexico: 1895," cited in footnote 51 above. Mrs. Katie Melton, *Interview*, Amber Valley, August (1970).
- 79 Mrs. Susie (Hinton) Mapp, *Interview*, Edmonton, July (1970).
- 80 Mr. Thomas Mapp, *Interview*, Edmonton, July (1970).
- 81 Mrs. Mapp, who was Susie Hinton and ten years of age in 1911, arrived with the largest group of immigrants. The black immigration of 1911 to Alberta is known in the Amber Valley Community as the "big immigration," Mapp, *op. cit.*
- 82 "Negroes Seeking Homes in Canada," *Manitoba Free Press*, March 22, 1911.
- 83 In addition to the folklore propagated by MacGregor in the last chapter, Vogelesang, *op. cit.*, p. 14, postulated that "after the First World War settlement on a large scale began to take place in North Central and Northern Alberta. Large settlement schemes offered by the main railroad companies and assistance from both the Provincial and Federal Governments greatly encouraged settlement in the new areas." This contention, however, is contrary to the facts.
- 84 STONE, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-97.
- 85 *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.
- 86 The data from which Figures 21 through 33 and resulting analyses are derived is from Appendix C.
- 87 HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- 88 *Atlas of Alberta*, p. 56.
- 89 JANSSON, Michael C., *Farmer Response to Depredation by Wildlife on Agriculture in the Athabasca Area*. Unpublished M.Sc. Thesis (1970), p. 10, University of Alberta, Edmonton, called the 1961 census data on ethnicity of "questionable value," because all residents have been assigned an ethnic group on the basis of the most recent foreign origin in the direct male line of the individual. The consequence of the classification system, he correctly argues, is that no one is a Canadian. Figure 34 is included, nevertheless, to illustrate a pattern for the study area, and it provides a basis from which other researchers can operate.

CHAPTER VAGRICULTURAL POVERTY IN NORTHEAST ALBERTA

In terms of understanding the initiation for agricultural settlement in northeast Alberta, the most important single factor was governmental land policies for and within the Province. The roles of "boosterism" and propaganda, however, played a significant part in attracting agricultural settlers to this environment for the production of cereal grains. Indeed, the *garden district myth* was cited as a key in the development of the region's marginal character, i.e., the institutionalization of the "myth" concerning the cereal grain growing qualities of the soils contributed, in some unquantifiable measure, to the expectation of commercial success by the agricultural settlers.

The lure of propaganda was strong. While it was clearly shown that the Afroamericans were seeking to attain certain ideological aims, there was no overriding factor to suggest why this marginal agricultural environment was chosen for settlement by other persons before the 1920's. While the 1930's settlement in the eastern part of the study area was in large measure associated with the "dried out" farmers moving into this area for the greater amounts of rainfall, why the large numbers of Ukrainians settled in the study area during the 1920's and 1930's remains to be determined. It is perhaps reasonable to assume, in the words of Ironside, *et al.*, that "... the original reason why man came to this frontier [was] the desire to own one's own land."<sup>1</sup>

This chapter, then, features and analyzes the factors contributing to the economic marginality that developed in the study area, i.e., agricultural poverty. The factors contributing to agricultural poverty are in large measure related to settler expectations of reality and the development of

relative "well being" as measured by income. Hozack, quoting a study by T.W. Schultz, has shown that "poverty of whole communities did not generally exist under pioneering conditions because levels of living were essentially similar, even though people were often exceedingly poor by present day standards."<sup>2</sup> While Menzies' 1965 study of *Poverty in Canada* has shown that "... the social problem of rural poverty cannot be isolated from the total problem of poverty in Canada,"<sup>3</sup> Hayter's 1970 frost hazard for agriculture in northeast Alberta study identified "The poverty of agriculture [as] particularly important because agriculture constitutes the major source of regional income."<sup>4</sup> In other words, the problems of agriculture in northeast Alberta are integral to the political economy of Canada, and as such demand a solution for the welfare of the nation.

The historic agricultural practices which developed in the study area are responsible for the economically-marginal conditions associated with agricultural endeavors. These practices, for the most part, seem to have been based on the propaganda blitzkrieg and the notion of *what one could do if only he or she had the land on which to engage the processes of production* with little or no regard for the overwhelming physical factors of the environment that would militate against successful agricultural pursuits.

While Schultz has eloquently postulated that "... it is not established beyond reasonable doubt if it is the barrenness of nature, or the social history of false beginnings and capital-starved frustrated settlers which accounts for the present state of agriculture."<sup>5</sup> Such an assertion is absurd. The author's position is meaningless, e.g., the barrenness of nature must necessarily relate to how people apply techniques for coaxing the land into producing. Indeed, the northeast Alberta environment is as useful for growing corn as wheat, but both are out of place here. The physical environ-

ment limits the range of choice for agricultural success, but those physical restrictions do not stop people from making attempts to create "a silk purse from a sow's ear." In other words, the social history of false beginnings might well be related to agricultural production expectation as easily as it could be isolation from governmental authorities. With the exception of the internal migrants from the Palliser Triangle, there is no evidence that settlers required governmental capitalization (or assistance) to become established in northeast Alberta. Therefore, we must look at probable attitudes to assess the region's development into marginality.

As unlikely as it sounds in the face of the physical constraints imposed by the environment, few farmers encountered in northeast Alberta are willing to admit that they are attempting to produce commodities that are unsuited to the region. In the final analysis, then, this chapter focuses on the significance of attitudes, as acted upon realities, which influenced the development of the agriculturally marginal conditions under which the people exist.

#### DEVELOPMENT INTO MARGINALITY (BELIEFS ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT'S PRODUCTIVITY)

The problems of agriculture in northeast Alberta are related to income, i.e., the farmer has difficulties in gaining satisfactory returns from capital and labour investments. Hozack, commenting on the internal migrants from the Palliser Triangle to the eastern part of the study area in the 1930's, noted that the farmers who left climatically marginal farms where precipitation was too sparse, settled in an area that had adequate rainfall but "were destined to become economically marginal within twenty years due to the small size of the farms."<sup>6</sup> The government of Canada, recognizing the problem of farm income, which is frequently thought to be associated with farm size, established the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development

### Administration (ARDA) in 1961

... to alleviate some of the desperate social and economic problems endemic in rural Canada, problems such as low income levels, high underemployment and unemployment and poor educational attainment, with their related problems of inadequate health services and a basic lack of social amenities.<sup>7</sup>

That is, the government established the ARDA as a result of its understanding that the technological revolution had radically changed the nature of rural poverty. However, the problems of income and the nature of poverty have been, and continue to be, masked by attitudes about the "way things are" down on the farm. For example, "The astounding increases in agricultural productivity and the obvious affluence on the better farms [has] rendered agricultural poverty largely invisible to urban eyes..."<sup>8</sup> where decisions about farm policies are made.

Travis W. Manning, in an address to the Agricultural Advisory Committee of the University of Alberta, Edmonton, on May 3, 1963, suggested that agricultural production grew rapidly since 1940 largely because of the development and adoption of new technology. He further suggested that the strong agricultural production demand pressures during World War II and immediate post-war years induced farmers to seek all available means for expanding output, which they did. And as farm labor became more scarce, farmers turned increasingly to mechanization at greater capital outlays. Thus, as the prices for purchased farm supplies increased rapidly, farmers were forced to seek ways of cutting costs and maximizing production. These cost-cutting efforts have generally taken the form of adopting more new technology and using more purchased inputs in production to compete successfully by increasing output.<sup>9</sup> In other words, the large proportion of fixed costs for production can only be reduced on a unit basis by the expansion of output and achieving greater economies of scale.

While Manning addressed the general farm income problem in Canada, one farmer in the study area pointed to these hard facts from a personal perspective on a generalized collective plight:

Back in the thirties, good ol' horse days, you see folks go off and get those horses. Get them harnessed, and be ready for seven o'clock. Now you can't get up late now that you don't have horses. You buy a tractor for \$10,000 [in 1971] and you can't sleep. Who gon' pay for it? You can't pay for it sleeping. A fellow with a tractor can make time, but you can't get ahead 'cause you got that overhead expenses. The tractor -- \$10,000. Average combine, if you buy it new -- \$12,000. So how can you sleep? So you go to work now at four o'clock, and try to work the clock around again. Horse you work from seven to six, then you feed 'em -- raise your own feed. Twenty-four hours a day with that machinery!<sup>10</sup>

As the northeast Alberta farmer moved away from the more subsistence-level production into the commercial economy, he has pushed himself closer to margins of poverty. In a sense, the increasing technologies that have been applied to farming operations are responsible for the farm income problem in the specific sense that the cost of equipment is more expensive in the study area than it is in the southern part of the province, because "the farmers [up here] have less time to do the same job so generally they have [to purchase] larger equipment."<sup>11</sup> Developing into poverty conditions becomes painfully evident when it can be seen that it costs more to farm poor land than it does to farm good land.

The government, in its own way, is to some degree responsible for helping to make the realities of the farm income problem. In his Eastern Canada Farm Survey, Menzies defined farms with a cash income of fewer than \$2500 as *non-viable*, farms with cash sales between \$2500 and \$4999 as *viable*, and farms with cash sales of more than \$5000 as *economic*. He found, however, that more than one-third of the "viable" farms were candidates for absorption or abandonment.<sup>12</sup>

One of the consequences of the government-sponsored Eastern Canada Farm Survey was the agreement reached between federal and provincial ARDA officials to establish \$3750 farm cash income as the poverty line. These income dollars suggest that fully forty-one percent of the farms in northeast Alberta were above that level in 1966 (Figure 36). While not all farms in northeast Alberta are marginal, the ARDA figure borders on the absurd.

That is, it is questionable if the \$3750 poverty line figure represents anything more than an averaged reality in the minds of ARDA officials, because it leaves the subject of yearly capital outlay for production mute with little likelihood of gaining that kind of information and knowledge in the near future. For example, of the eighty-five agricultural-population linkage characteristics developed by the Census of Agriculture Division, Statistics Canada, not one is related to capital outlay.<sup>13</sup>

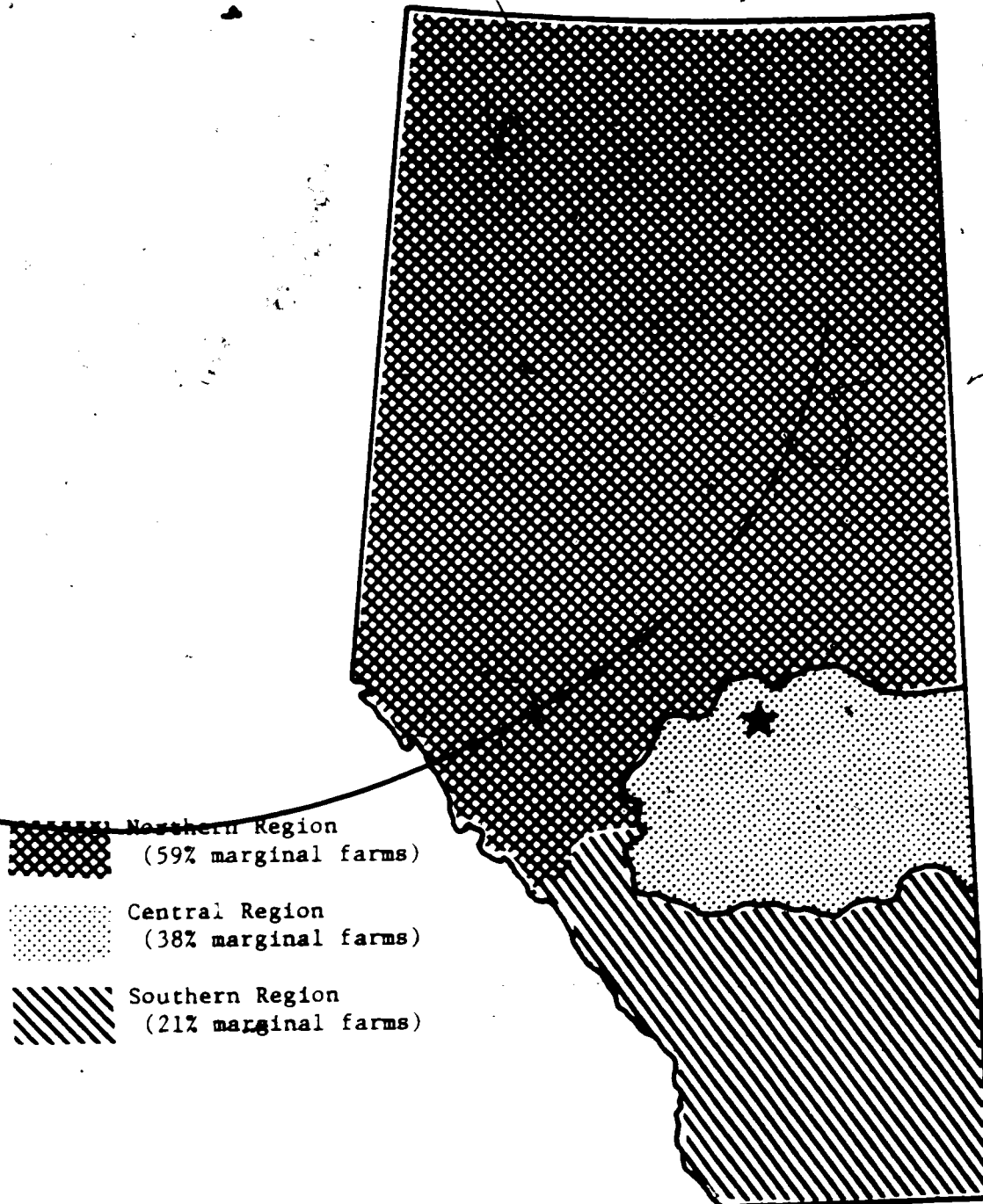
In addition to helping mask the problems faced by the farmers in northeast Alberta, the government is in some measure responsible for helping to create the plight of uneconomic farms. Wood's analysis is worth restating at this juncture; he noted that

allowing settlement under the homestead policy on any available land, regardless of location, tended to scatter settlement, with the result that it was difficult to furnish the necessary social services. Taxes were charged from the date of the homestead entry, and many homesteaders found that by the time they obtained title, taxes had accrued beyond their ability to pay and the municipal authorities were forced to foreclose.

The Homestead policy was based on the premise that every 160 acres, or with a preemption, every 320 acres of land in western Canada were an economic unit capable of supporting a farm family. Unfortunately, this was often not true, due to the nature of the soil and climatic conditions in the areas settled, and due to the economic conditions and state-of-the-arts, as pertaining to agriculture, in existence of the time. This is evident by the fact that between 1905 and 1930 nearly 40 percent of the people obtaining homestead entries failed to obtain title.



Figure 36. Distribution of Marginal Farming in Alberta, 1966\*  
(Farm Income Fewer than \$3750)



\*Source: Hozack, 6.

The assumption that each 160 acres or 320 acres were an economic farm unit also meant that all of the social services such as roads, schools, and even towns and villages were developed on the basis of one family per 160 or 320 acres. Taxation was on the expected productivity, with the inevitable result that many settlers lost their land by tax recovery proceedings and foreclosures by mortgage companies due to unpaid debts. Finally, in some areas a re-adjustment in land use was one of the fundamental problems facing the province when the natural resources were transferred in 1930.<sup>14</sup>

The government's policy of rapid settlement without regard for the land capabilities was beginning to show weakness as early as 1891 in the Palliser Triangle,<sup>15</sup> and yet this arid section was almost completely settled by 1916 despite previous warnings of possible consequences. The indiscriminate settlement of land without regard for its adaptability for agricultural production and without regard for its ability to support necessary social systems has been an historical tendency in Alberta. During the 1930's, the defects of the homestead policy began to pyramid.<sup>16</sup> Much of the better land was already settled, and it was more and more difficult to find a suitable quarter-section of land. Many homesteaders were on relief, and the Alberta government was responsible for their welfare.

Farmers wishing to relocate from the Palliser Triangle could obtain a loan of \$600 to move their possessions, but this did not provide the farmer with the necessary capital to participate in the new farming culture that was evolving in the late 1930's.<sup>17</sup> While these farmers moved into the study area that has adequate rainfall, the soils are poorer. Requiring a loan suggests a severe shortage of capital, and settlement on the worst soils ensured the basis for marginal farms -- supported by the government's politics rather than information based on the capabilities of the land.

Indeed, the warnings in the literature, replete with requirements for successful agricultural settlement and development, have been, in general,

ignored. These requirements include choosing the right settlers, physical site preparation before their arrival, settlers' investment capital, organization of social activities, acreage per settler family, and the conditions of tenure. With the exception of the latter, none of these conditions was met for settlement in northeast Alberta, as the foregoing discussion has demonstrated.

In addition to the government's role in developing the marginal agricultural environment in the study area, scholars have played a part. For example, agro-meteorological interpretations of northern fringe areas point to the fact that wheat is grown inside the Arctic Circle, but, as Hayter points out, "none indicates the relative poverty of northern agriculture and the role played in physical restrictions."<sup>18</sup> While the agro-meteorologist visualizes his approach as a revelation of potential without regard for socio-economic implications, newspapers and students are likely to propagate the potential as reality. Crawford provides a good example for this contention: "Even with a fairly short growing season and with the risk of frosts, satisfactory agriculture [in northern regions] is possible with attention to soil conservation."<sup>19</sup>

Finally, the procedures of the settlers themselves are primarily responsible for their income problems and the region's development into an environment of agricultural marginality. The roots of the problem lie with the "garden district myth" and the extension of wheat culture from the more southerly parts of the province. Many of the farms in northeast Alberta are economically marginal just because of their emphasis on the production of cereal grains, especially wheat.

Crops which are best suited for this region are those which are hardy and fast maturing, such as forage crops and hay. Schultz lamented that "the

virtual absence of cool weather, short-season crops like potatoes and rutabages as a complement to feed grains is unusual in this location."<sup>20</sup>

Cereals, however, can be grown in the study area when the weather conditions are unusually favorable. Hozack found that the long-term statistics show that the Lac La Biche region has had as good or even better wheat and barley yields than anywhere else in Alberta.<sup>21</sup> However, the yield statistics say nothing about grades nor the consideration to ban the export of wheat grown on Gray Wooded soils because, on the average, the protein content of wheat grown there is appreciably lower than that of wheat grown on open prairies."<sup>22</sup> The region is climatically marginal for cereals, but economic incentives, coupled with the possibility for economic success, make the farmer a gambler. The principal reason that there are so many gamblers in this frost-prone region is that the effects of frost are not fully reflected in the existing yield data for wheat and barley, and farmers are still influenced by myth and folklore about the grain growing qualities of the soils in northeast Alberta. In the "bad" years, more than the normal amounts of planted acreage are abandoned, and yield data are calculated on the basis of harvested acreage -- *the failures are never counted.*<sup>23</sup>

Hayter found that rape has become an increasingly important crop to the farmers in the study area because it is a cash crop in demand, and not because rape is a relatively short season crop. He found, however, that "rape is frequently sown on the lower land, which is more subject to frost,"<sup>24</sup> which substantially negates the positive contributions that it could make toward commercial success in farming ventures.

Northeast Alberta is an agricultural frontier that has too many farmers engaged in uneconomic production of cereals based on the potential for commercial success through myth, hope, and faith. A critical examination of

the physical factors of the environment would give many of the farmers an opportunity to see that much of the land farmed is simply not suited for agriculture. However, the need for owning land experienced by many of them is a critical factor in making the proper assessment with regard to abandonment of farms and pursuit of another more profitable undertaking such as wage labor.

In the broadest sense, the development into agricultural marginality is ingrained in the very fabric of the society of northeast Alberta. This development into marginality has been structurally aided by the Alberta government's statistics. That is, the problems of income and marginal farming result from the attitudes of the inhabitants, and these are supported by the government's influences on the market economy. Indeed, *ignoring crop failures* and reporting successes paints a rosy picture in a barren land. With regards to that picture, Ironside and others suggest that

... prairie farmers outside of the frontier areas  
 ... could probably produce 50 percent more cereal  
 and livestock products easily and more cheaply.  
 In terms of volume of production the closure of all  
 frontier farms might not even be noticed on a  
 prairie or even a provincial scale!<sup>25</sup>

Therefore, the questions *not* raised by the statistics compilers should be borne in mind as the next section examines some agricultural profiles in the region.

#### PRODUCTIVITY IN NORTHEAST ALBERTA

The poverty of agriculture in northeast Alberta is, in addition to the problems of income which are influenced by market factors beyond this frontier, based on crop failures, i.e., the failures of cereal grains to reach the degree of ripeness to be marketable commodities and return sufficient capital to the farmer. Hayter found in 1970 that "it is impossible

to determine the crop damage caused by frost for any period in the past for Alberta or for any political division within Alberta for the simple reason that such records do not exist."<sup>26</sup> Consequently, the failures in agriculture must be extrapolated from the published data on productivity. Figures 37 and 38 provide the background for the initial discussion because it is in relationship to other areas of the province that the study area is agriculturally and economically marginal. Subsequent examination is based on smaller units.

#### The Agricultural Economics Data Base

Table 23 identifies the lower end of the economic class of farms by region in Alberta for 1971. Based on the ARDA's poverty line (\$3750), it can be seen in Table 23 that a smaller percentage of marginal farms existed in Region 6 at the census date for 1971 than for 1966. Figure 36 illustrates that fifty-nine percent of the farms were marginal in 1966, and Table 23 demonstrates that thirteen percent fewer or forty-six percent were marginal farms in 1971. While these statistics would be heartening if they reflected reality, they tend to mask, obscure, and create false impressions. For example, of the Indian Reserves in C.D. 12 (Figure 37) in 1971, eighty-one percent returned fewer than \$2500 to the operators (Table 24). This is not insignificant in that more than twenty-one percent of the total Indian Reserves in Alberta are here, and primarily in I.D. 18.

Table 24, economic class of farms based on size, residence, and tenure of operator, and Table 25, based on area, use of land, population, capital, and equipment provide a basis for comparisons within northeast Alberta. They also form the skeleton onto which the production statistics can be placed.

Tables 24 and 25 should be compared with Figures 5 and 37 to gain the proper perspective on location. Table 24 shows that only twenty-four percent

Figure 38.  
Agricultural Reporting Areas

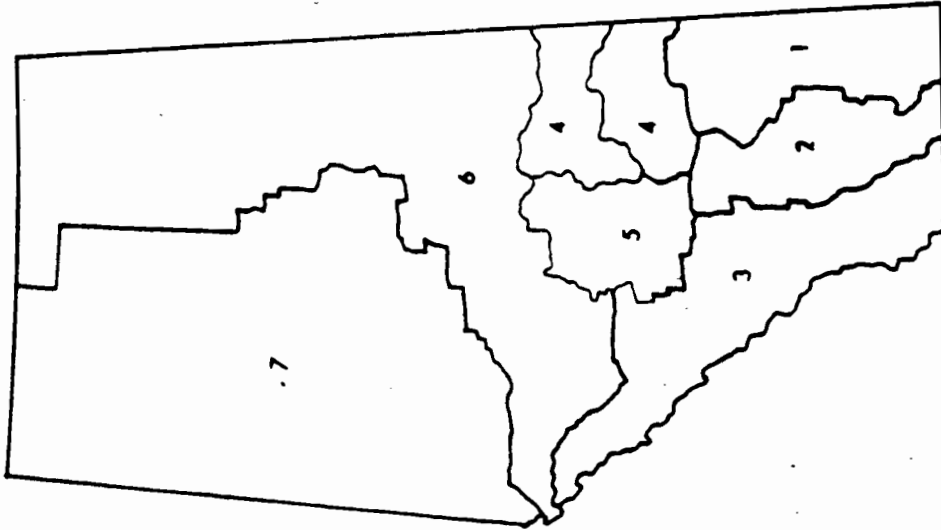


Figure 37.  
Census Divisions

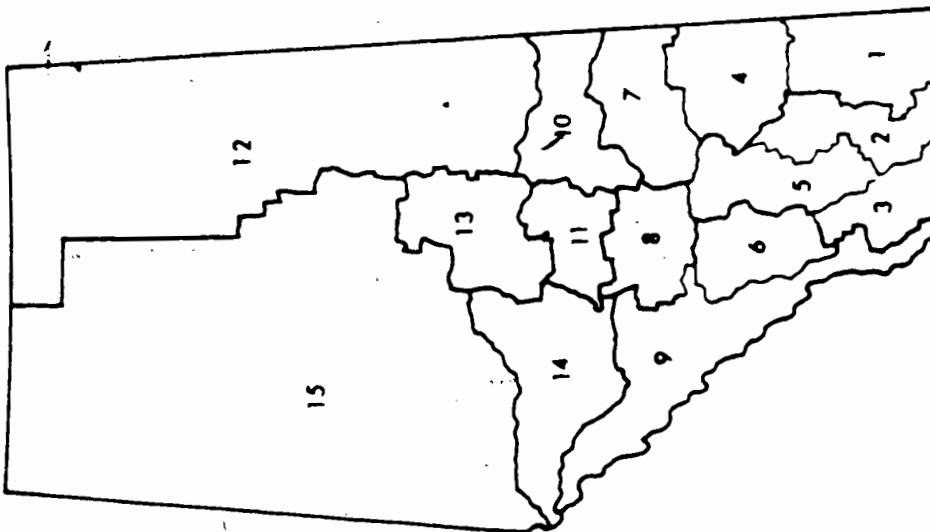


Table 23. Poverty Class Farms by Region, Alberta, 1971 Census\*

	Farms With Sales Between \$50 and \$3749				Total Number	Total Farms	
	50-249	250-1199	1200-2499	2500-3749			
Region #1	225	337	1,471	428	1,461	8,996	(16%)
Region #2	385	407	494	490	1,776	8,232	(22%)
Region #4	554	896	1,073	1,054	3,577	12,401	(29%)
Region #5	614	1,136	1,418	1,174	4,342	11,506	(38%)
Region #6	1,206	1,708	1,742	1,308	5,964	12,875	(46%)
Region #7	806	1,119	1,236	988	4,149	8,898	(47%)
Indian Reserves	33	73	60	35	201	294	(68%)
Province	3,823	5,674	6,494	5,477	21,468	62,702	(34%)

\*Source: Gary Berger, 22 July 76.



Table 24.  
Farms Classified by Economic Class, Size, Residence, and Tenure\*

Subdivision	All Census Farms	Value of Agricultural Products Sold			Non-resident Farms	Tenure			Size of Farm (Acres)										
		Under \$2,500	\$2,500 to 4,999	\$5,000 and Over		Owner	Tenant	Part Owner Part Tenant	-3	3-9	10-69	70-239	240-399	400-559	560-1,119	1,120-1,599	1,600-2,239	2,240-2,879	+2,880
Division Number 12	3,530	1,354	705	1,465	377	2,215	155	1,160	9	26	84	606	779	639	1,114	197	108	18	50
I.D. 18	787	375	171	237	94	446	45	294	6	11	19	114	140	115	261	49	41	11	20
Indian Reserves	64	52	6	6	-	58	3	3	-	-	5	24	12	9	9	2	3	-	1
Division Number 13	5,978	1,956	1,248	2,770	526	4,167	211	1,600	8	39	118	1,235	1,633	1,189	1,418	210	60	28	20
Alberta County 12	1,152	468	266	418	102	774	39	339	2	4	10	196	286	222	378	45	13	4	2

\*Source: Statistics Canada, Agriculture: Alberta, Catalogue 96-710, Vol. 4 - Part 3 (Bulletin 4.3-3) May 1973, pp. 49-3 and 49-4.

Table 25.

## Area, Use of Land, Population, Capital, and Equipment\*

		Census Div. 12: I.D. 18	Census Div. 13: Athabasca County 12		
		Total Area	642,211	610,111	
U S E I N O F A C E S L A N D	Improved Land	Under Crops	138,421	249,496	
		Pasture	24,972	46,605	
		Summer Fallow	83,382	65,535	
		Other	8,708	10,927	
	Unimproved Land	Woodland	51,659	53,742	
		Other	385,069	183,807	
			Farm Population	3,330	4,323
			Total Value	36,650,100	52,325,800
FARM CAPITAL IN DOLLARS		Land Use and Buildings	18,320,500	31,675,000	
		Machinery and Equipment	6,667,600	12,300,200	
		Automobiles	406	756	
		Trucks	796	1,345	
		Tractors	1,286	1,986	
		Grain Combines	423	846	
		Hay Balers	339	492	
		Farms Reporting Milking Machines	55	122	

\*Source: Statistics Canada, Agriculture: Alberta, Catalogue 96-710, Vol. 4--Part 3  
(Bulletin 4.3-3) May 1973, pp. 50-3 and 50-4.

of the farms in Census Division Number Twelve are located in I.D. 18, and only nineteen percent of the farms in Census Division Number Thirteen are located in Athabasca County. Table 25, on the other hand, illustrates the value of land in I.D. 18 and Athabasca County.

The value of land per acre that can be interpreted from the table (based on fixed and declining farm capital in dollars) demonstrates that the figures are \$85.76/acre in Athabasca County and \$57.07/acre in I.D. 18. This difference in dollar amount (\$28.69) suggests that there is widespread variation within the region and locally. That is, while I.D. 18 only had 138,421 (22%) of its 642,211 acres in production during 1971, Athabasca County farmers had 249,496 (41%) of their 610,111 acres under crops. This new dimension casts a different light on the subject. Indeed, taking the area under crops divided into the total farm capital in dollars shows that the dollar value/acre under crops is reversed and by a wider margin: \$264.77/acre in I.D. 18 and \$209.73/acre in Athabasca County with a difference of \$55.04/acre. Table 25 also demonstrates that in the area of improved land, Athabasca County has *more* than I.D. 18: 21,633 more acres in pasture, 32,153 more acres in summer fallow, and 2,264 more acres in the "other" unidentified category. It is somewhat surprising and contrary to expectations that the earlier settled Athabasca County's capital valuation is less than that of the more recently settled and established I.D. 18. When the farm population is placed in the valuation mix, it shows that capital valuation per person in 1971 was \$11,006.04 for I.D. 18 and \$12,104.05 for Athabasca County. The \$1098.01 difference is relatively insignificant, and heightens the element of surprise of farm valuation in northeast Alberta. It underscores the relative uniformity of the region's poverty conditions and marginal agricultural character on the basis of fixed and declining capital.

Table 24 heightens the understanding of that relative uniformity. Using the criteria established by Menzies (and used by Statistics Canada) for classification purposes, only twenty-nine percent of the farms in I.D. 18 and thirty-six percent of the farms in Athabasca County are economic operations; fifty percent in I.D. 18 and forty-one percent of Athabasca County are non-viable; and twenty-one percent of the farms in I.D. 18 and twenty-three percent of the farms in Athabasca County are viable from the census data.

Table 26, which details data on livestock and field crops, gives a broad overview of animals kept and acres planted. While Table 27 gives comparative data for Athabasca County, the creation of I.D. between census periods makes comparisons impossible. When Table 26 is compared to Table 24, a pattern of obfuscation emerges, e.g., the value of agricultural products sold identifies neither crops nor livestock, and of the field crops in acres planted, no statistics focus on production from these acres.

The data from Table 27 indicate favorable signs in that the total number of acres for production increased as the number of farms decreased for Athabasca County. While more than forty-six percent of the land remains devoted to the production of cereals and oilseeds, the table demonstrates that headway was made in developing cattle and forages on Athabasca County farms between 1961 and 1971.

The data from Table 28, on the other hand, present some formidable problems when they are compared to the data from Tables 24 and 26. It is evident that the District Agricultural Extension Office at Lac La Biche is using a quantitatively different statistical measure than that used by the Alberta Department of Agriculture in Edmonton for I.D. 18. No explanation is offered for these differences, but they serve to demonstrate the pattern of

Table 26.

## Livestock and Certain Field Crops\*

Subdivision	Livestock (Number)						Certain Field Crops (Acres)									
	Cattle			Pigs	Sheep	Hens and Chickens		Horses and Ponies	Wheat	Oats	Barley	Rye	Flax seed	Mixed Grains	Total Tame Hay	Rapeseed
	Total	Milk Cows	Total			Hens and Pullets										
Division Number 12	166,497	10,488	117,361	6,184	309,742	85,219	4,154	72,638	12,404	166,809	904	798	51,176	218,232	71,254	
I.D. 18	33,520	1,460	13,930	1,678	58,980	19,298	1,229	7,016	18,258	20,387	55	362	7,601	63,899	10,952	
Indian Reserves	2,411	39	131	23	1,170	368	259	2,709	2,075	8,880	30	-	85	1,422	505	
Division Number 13	231,679	19,756	215,546	15,537	586,134	186,739	4,091	52,338	144,878	463,273	853	343	47,597	393,043	164,783	
Athabasca County 12	34,465	2,600	26,525	2,956	114,703	36,534	655	15,064	24,838	72,238	144	484	6,859	81,495	43,683	

\*Source: Statistics Canada, Agricultural Alberta, Catalogue 96-710, Vol. 4 - Part 3 (Bulletin 4.F.3) May 1973, pp. 51-3 and 51-4.

Table 27.

Athabasca County 12 Agricultural Profile\*

Total Farms		Number by Gross (\$) Income		
1961 - 1971		Fewer than 2500	2500-4999	More than 5000
1,465	1,152	468	266	418

## Livestock ('000 head)

Cattle		Milk Cows		Swine		Sheep		Poultry	
1961 - 1971		1961 - 1971		1961 - 1971		1961 - 1971		1961 - 1971	
26	36	6	3	30	27	3	3	180	115

## Crop Production ('000 acres)

Total Area		Improved		Grain		Forage		Oilseed		Fallow		Other	
1961-1971		1961-1971		1961-1971		1961-1971		1961-1971		1961-1971		1961-1971	
586	610	315	373	148	119	73	128	8	144	73	66	13	16

## Selected Statistics, 1971

% Farmers with Gross Income Fewer than \$5,000.00 = 63.7

% of Land Cultivated = 61.0

% of Cultivated Land in Cereals = 34.4

% of Land in Oilseeds = 11.8

% of Cultivated Land in Fallow = 17.7

## Cattle

Average Number per Farm = 31  
Cultivated Acres per Head = 10.4  
Forage Acres per Head = 3.6

## Swine

Average Number per Farm = 24  
Cultivated Acres per Head = 13.8

\*Source: Gary Berger, demonstration agent, District Agricultural Extension Office, Athabasca, July 22, 1976.

Table 28. IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT 18  
AGRICULTURAL PROFILE\*

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<i>Crop Land</i>		<i>Livestock</i>
Under Crops	138,044 acres	16,852 - Cows )
Pasture	46,497	12,000 - Yearlings
Summer Fallow	15,800	1,540 - Pigs
Other	6,173	600 - Sheep
Woodland	26,694	500 - Horses
Other	268,782	
Wheat	4,630	310 Farmers
Oats	120,865	280 with Cattle
Barley	13,955	
Rye	36	
Flax	520	
Mixed Grains	5,016	
Tame Hay	42,173	
Rape	7,228	

\*\*\*\*\*

Most farms are mixed with cattle and coarse grains predominating.

The majority of farms are 320 to 480 acre size with some of the larger cattle operations having additional lease land to use as pasture.

Most farms owner operated with immediate family providing labour. Outside labour is very seldom used. A number of younger farmers work out during the winter months to provide extra money for brushing new land and other forms of expansion. The large majority of farmers have an off farm source of income with either themselves or their wives working out part or full time.

There are 2 or 3 commercial bee men in the area.

There are several mink farms in the Lac La Biche area with a large number of trap lines. There are also several commercial fishermen in the area who supply fish to the mink ranches and for human consumption.

There is also a sod farm in the district.

(May 1976)

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\*Source: District Agricultural Extension Office, Lac la Biche, July 26, 1976.

obfuscation.

In his study of crop production risk in Alberta, Love recognized six measures or strategies to counteract risk and uncertainty. One of those was "diversification of enterprises including livestock as well as crop production as sources of income."<sup>27</sup> Love's study, however, is devoted to the production of barley, wheat, and oats throughout each census division within the province. These have been reproduced for Census Division 12 and 13 as Tables 29 and 30.

Table 29 shows that 1951 was the best income producing year for farmers in Census Division 12 for barley, oats, and wheat. This best of twenty-one years followed several years of poor production. It should be remembered that barley is almost as sensitive to frost as wheat, and will, in general, reflect similar production patterns. An exception to this case was 1958 when more wheat was produced per acre than barley. Carefully scrutinized, these data tell much about the frost hazards and soil qualities of northeast Alberta. They hardly suggest lucrative agricultural enterprises.

Table 30 differs from Table 29 in that the best year for overall crop production and income generation was 1966. Indeed, Census Division 13 does not reflect the radical fluctuations that are experienced in Census Division 12. However, it does indicate that the farmers in Census Division 12 would probably fare much better economically if they had been engaged in a forage cattle regime rather than relying heavily on barley and wheat during the twenty-one year period contained in Tables 29 and 30.

One of the major problems of large quantities of statistical data is that they distort reality beyond recognition. Consequently, smaller units have been selected to portray more adequately the variations within the study area. Four census enumeration areas have been selected to illustrate



Table 29. Annual Yields, Prices, and Gross Incomes for Barley, Oats, and Wheat  
for Census Division 12, 1946-1966\*

Year	Yield (bushels per acre)			Price (dollars per bushel)			Gross Income (dollars per acre)		
	Barley	Oats	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Wheat
1946	23.4	31.8	18.1	.57	.44	1.58	13.39	13.84	28.63
1947	25.7	35.3	20.8	.94	.66	1.56	24.27	23.15	32.38
1948	14.5	19.0	11.2	.90	.60	1.55	13.07	11.32	17.36
1949	13.7	18.2	10.6	1.13	.65	1.58	15.44	11.81	16.74
1950	13.0	18.1	10.6	1.00	.64	1.49	12.96	11.59	15.80
1951	38.5	49.6	29.2	1.00	.63	1.54	38.45	31.43	44.98
1952	36.2	52.0	28.9	.93	.54	1.49	33.64	28.17	42.94
1953	34.4	48.9	25.9	.74	.52	1.21	25.62	25.29	31.42
1954	19.4	27.5	13.9	.79	.53	1.00	15.40	14.70	13.88
1955	23.1	37.1	20.7	.79	.57	1.26	18.29	21.11	26.02
1956	26.7	42.8	24.3	.70	.44	1.06	18.82	18.65	25.76
1957	22.8	34.0	21.1	.69	.44	1.18	15.85	14.91	24.91
1958	11.4	17.2	14.8	.71	.49	1.27	8.09	8.37	18.80
1959	31.8	43.1	25.9	.67	.56	1.23	21.36	24.26	31.86
1960	24.1	44.4	25.8	.74	.55	1.52	17.74	24.46	39.31
1961	27.8	41.7	22.7	.97	.53	1.68	26.99	24.49	33.04
1962	18.6	32.2	19.0	.83	.51	1.48	15.46	16.91	28.08
1963	25.0	38.5	20.0	.90	.56	1.68	22.44	19.49	33.67
1964	18.0	27.2	13.1	.97	.65	1.45	17.45	15.28	19.06
1965	27.5	37.0	18.5	.98	.66	1.60	26.93	24.15	29.64
1966	26.1	31.7	17.7	.98	.66	1.66	25.70	29.78	29.35

Stat. Measures

Low	11.40	17.20	10.60	.57	.44	1.00	8.09	8.37	13.88
High	38.50	52.00	29.20	1.13	.66	1.68	38.45	31.43	44.98
Mean	23.89	34.63	19.66	.85	.56	1.43	29.35	19.25	28.03
Yr.-to-yr. change as % of mean Std. Deviation	30.87	27.73	25.13	.14	.07	.21	36.84	31.26	29.04
	7.53	10.63	5.79				7.38	6.22	8.93

\*Source: Crop Production Risk in Alberta, p. 37.

Table 30. Annual Yields, Prices, and Gross Incomes for Barley, Oats, and Wheat  
for Census Division 13, 1946-1966\*

Year	Yield (bushels per acre)			Price (dollars per bushel)			Gross Income (dollars per acre)		
	Barley	Oats	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Wheat
1946	28.7	41.1	24.5	.53	.44	1.58	16.56	18.03	38.64
1947	23.6	35.7	23.0	.95	.66	1.54	22.51	23.66	35.36
1948	18.5	28.4	17.2	.92	.60	1.54	17.07	17.12	26.49
1949	18.1	25.9	15.2	1.16	.66	1.54	21.04	17.06	23.47
1950	13.6	21.5	10.0	1.02	.65	1.47	13.87	13.97	14.65
1951	36.0	51.1	27.5	1.00	.64	1.49	36.12	32.82	40.99
1952	33.8	49.8	29.0	.95	.55	1.48	32.03	27.60	42.98
1953	34.4	50.7	29.5	.73	.53	1.22	26.67	26.97	35.88
1954	21.3	29.7	17.8	.81	.55	1.02	17.16	16.34	18.20
1955	25.1	39.5	23.2	.84	.59	1.27	21.08	23.13	29.39
1956	29.9	48.7	26.2	.76	.47	1.14	22.67	22.87	29.89
1957	27.4	39.2	23.5	.73	.45	1.19	20.01	17.55	28.04
1958	25.3	36.4	23.9	.73	.50	1.25	18.52	18.03	29.90
1959	31.2	44.9	27.2	.70	.57	1.23	21.84	25.60	33.58
1960	24.2	40.7	24.6	.75	.56	1.51	18.19	22.71	37.09
1961	31.2	49.8	25.7	1.00	.59	1.66	31.12	29.60	42.76
1962	29.8	46.4	24.1	.84	.54	1.46	25.12	25.03	35.21
1963	26.6	40.5	21.9	.91	.51	1.68	24.08	20.75	36.84
1964	31.0	46.0	25.3	.98	.59	1.45	30.23	26.98	36.71
1965	24.3	36.1	24.0	.99	.66	1.59	24.15	23.90	38.24
1966	36.6	50.1	30.4	1.01	.66	1.67	36.98	33.25	50.68
Stat. Measures									
Low	13.60	21.50	10.00	.58	.44	1.02	13.87	13.97	14.65
High	36.60	51.10	30.40	1.16	.66	1.68	36.98	33.25	50.68
Mean	27.17	40.58	23.51	.88	.57	1.43	23.67	23.00	33.57
Yr.-to-yr. change as % of mean Std. Deviation	21.07 6.09	20.23 8.75	16.82 4.94	.14	.07	.19	26.49 6.46	23.56 5.43	19.16 8.47

\*Source: Crop Production Risk in Alberta, p. 40.

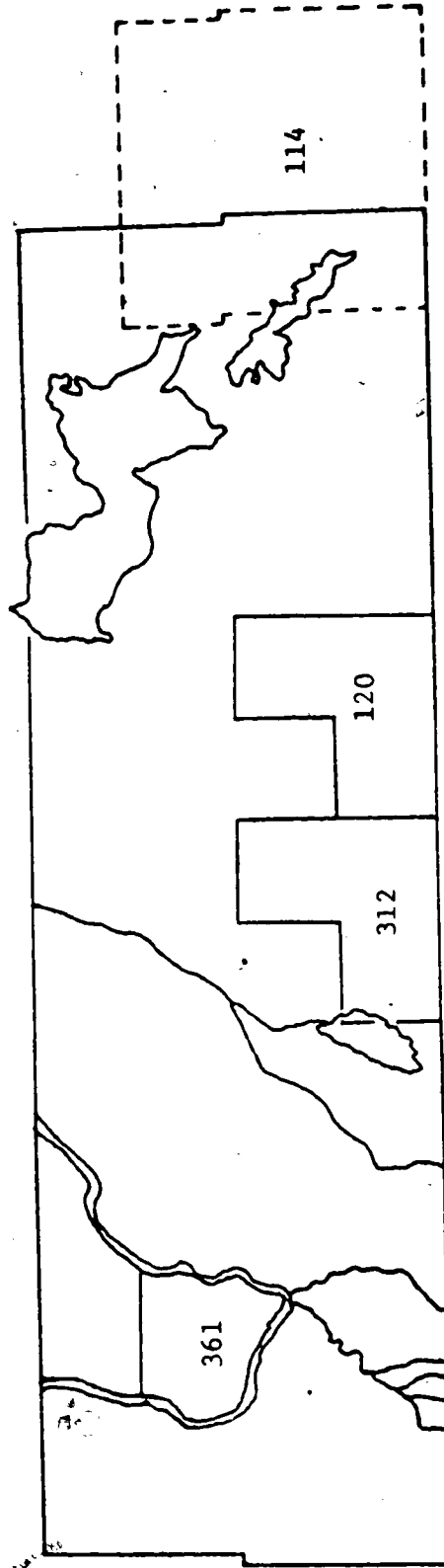
the different characteristics found within these agricultural margins (Figure 39).

Table 31, when compared to Figure 39, illustrates that the largest enumeration area (114) has the lowest population (209) and the fewest number of farms (21). Enumeration area 120, on the other hand, has the highest population figure (253), and second from the bottom with total number of farms. Enumeration areas 312 and 361 appear equally balanced with population and number of farms.

Enumeration area 114 is overpopulated. That is, there are 9.95 persons per farm, and there are few if any farms in marginal agricultural environments that can support that kind of population. One might well expect a cattle-producing area to be somewhat labor intensive, but Table 33 demonstrates that this enumeration area has the fewest number of cattle of the remaining three. These are the data that show the relative "well being" of agricultural pockets within a particular region. That is, enumeration area 114 has the highest percentage of population per farm acre, the most rented land, the least number of acres for all crops except oats cut for hay and rapeseed (it surpasses enumeration area 120 in these categories). Unfortunately, it is probably climatically less suited for rapeseed than any place within the study area. The high incidence of rented land might well have some bearing on the agricultural pattern of enumeration area 114.

Table 31 shows the total area of harvested forage seed and oats cut for hay. Note the lack of information for other acreage harvested. The forage seed crops harvested in the study area were alfalfa (*Medicago sativa*), alsike seed (*Trifolium hybridum*), brome grass (*Bromus inermis?*), red clover (*Trifolium pratense*), sweet clover (*Trifolium fragiferum?*), and timothy (*Phleum pratense*).

Figure 39. Outline of Census Enumeration Areas 114, 120, 312, and 361 for 1971\*



\*Source: Transportation Alberta, 1974.

Table 31. Farms, Acres Planted, and Population in 1971\*

	E N U M E R A T I O N			A R E A
	114	120	312	
Province 48 Electoral District 815				361
Total Number of Farms (8)	21	49	55	54
Total Acres of Farms (13)	19,712	23,484	26,221	28,294
Land Owned, Area (18)	10,343	19,646	20,447	25,189
Land Rented, Area (23)	9,369	3,838	5,744	3,105
Farms Represented, Owned Only (28)	8	36	34	43
Farms Represented, Owned and Rented (38)	11	10	21	9
Total Wheat Area (43)	105	187	592	745
Spring Wheat (48)	105	131	595	745
Oats for Grain, Area (63)	686	818	946	1,223
Barley, Area (68)	664	770	3,236	4,096
Mixed Grains, Area (73)	330	142	275	866
Alfalfa & Alfalfa Mixtures, Area (123)	1,543	3,252	1,640	2,036
All Other Tame Hay, Area (128)	1,216	1,405	1,961	1,727
Oats Cut for Hay (133)	240	186	253	161
Other Fodder Crops, Area (138)	-	80	74	72
Flaxseed, Area (143)	-	10	10	-
Rapeseed, Area (158)	190	93	2,443	1,487
Total Area Harvested, Forage Seed (568)	-	239	106	255
Population	209	253	229	219

\*Source: Charles E. Sterling, Statistics Branch - Marketing Division, Alberta Department of Agriculture, Edmonton, 22 Jul 76.

The data presented in Table 31 are, for the most part, repeated with different categorizations in Tables 32 through 37. They show that enumeration areas 312 and 361 dominate the statistics relating to "well being." However, these fall woefully short when compared to favorable agricultural regions in the province as indicated in Table 23.

#### THE CHANGING CHARACTER OF AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES, AN EVALUATION

The district agricultural officers at Athabasca and Lac La Biche have suggested that it is possible to make a good living at farming northeast Alberta, but they stress that it requires a change in what the farmer produces. Farmers must get away from cereals, especially wheat, into a complex involving the production of oilseeds, forages, and animals.

While some students of the problem of agriculture in northeast Alberta believe that the future of the farmer lies with larger farm units,<sup>29</sup> Gary Berger does not concur. In response to questions designed to gain some comprehension of what farm size had to do with economic success, Berger responded that

I don't think you can say [how much land it takes to make it on a farm]. I don't think it's a real question. There's a guy outside of town making a living off five acres. Growing hogs. Buying his grains -- all the land he requires is right where his barn sits. It depends on the entrepreneurial talent of the farmer. Some guys have twelve -- fifteen quarters, and they would make more money if they managed half that much land and did a better job of it. Management and animals are keys to economic betterment [in northeast Alberta].<sup>30</sup>

It is impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy the effects of the district agricultural officers' efforts to push farmers away from cereals into a basic animal economy. The personnel in each district office has, however, been prodding persistently since 1961. The increase of ten thousand head of cattle in Athabasca County (Table 27) between 1961 and 1971 is the

Table 32. Age of Operators and Size of Farms\*

	Enumeration Area		
	114	120	312
Province 48 Electoral District 815	114	120	361
Age of Operator-Farms Reporting (1138)			
Under 25 years (1143)	2	3	2
25-34 years (1148)	5	9	2
35-44 years (1153)	3	10	14
45-54 years (1158)	8	13	22
55-59 years (1163)	1	5	3
60-64 years (1168)	-	3	6
65-69 years (1173)	1	3	3
70 yrs & older (1173)	1	3	2
Farms Operated Privately by Individual (1178)	19	43	50
Partnership (1183)	2	4	3
Incorporated, Family (1193)	-	2	7
Size of Farm (1208)			
70-239 acres (1223)	1	9	15
240-399 acres (1228)	3	14	15
400-559 acres (1233)	2	7	9
760-1119 acres (1238)	2	6	8
1120-1599 acres (1243)	-	9	10
1600-2239 acres (1253)	2	-	1
2240-2879 acres (1258)	2	-	-

\*Source: Computation - 3 Picture 59(9), Statistics Branch - Marketing Division, Alberta Department of Agriculture (1976).

Table 33: Animal Census\*

	Province 48 Electoral District 815			
	114	120	312	361
Total Cattle (708)	1,163	1,444	1,764	2,113
Cows and Heifers, 2 Years and Over (713)	597	673	781	928
Heifers, 1 Year and Under 2 years (718)	70	207	191	204
Steers, 1 Year and Over (723)	10	74	214	220
Bulls, 1 Year and Over (728)	20	20	35	33
Calves Under 1 Year (733)	466	460	543	728
Calves and Heifers Raised for Milking (738)	30	49	115	170
Heifers, 1 Year and Under 2 for Milking (748)	5	6	18	31
Number of Cows Milked Yesterday (753)	13	40	75	134
Pounds of Milk Produced Yesterday (758)	405	847	2,096	4,810
Farms Representing Milking Machines (1083)	-	1	5	8
Number of Beef Cows (743)	567	624	666	758
Cattle on Feed (828)	148	92	289	397
Total Pigs (763)	420	601	1,554	1,199
Pigs, 6 Months and Over (768)	133	245	326	418
Pigs, 3 to 6 Months (773)	143	272	467	608
Pigs, Under 3 Months (778)	144	84	761	173
Sows Kept for Breeding (783)	37	52	177	102
Total Sheep (788)	-	121	60	229
Horses and Ponies (803)	50	12	29	12
Other Livestock (823)	-	5	320	40
Total Chickens, Pullets, etc. (833)	583	4,753	4,582	6,000

\*Source: Charles E. Sterling, Statistics Branch - Marketing Division, Alberta Department of Agriculture (1976)



Table 34. Improved and Unimproved Land

	Enumeration Area			
	114	120	312	361
Province 48 Electoral District 815				
Total Improved Land, Area	5,989	10,488	16,559	17,959
Cropland, Area	4,974	6,944	11,429	12,413
Farms Represented, Cropland	18	48	53	52
Improved Pasture, Area	663	1,735	1,788	2,081
Farms Represented, Improved Pasture	7	24	32	30
Summer Fallow, Area	248	1,064	2,990	3,251
Farms Represented, Summer Fallow	6	24	42	37
Other Improved Land, Area	214	745	392	214
Farms Represented, Other Improved Land	18	35	42	29
Total Unimproved Land, Area	13,723	12,996	9,622	10,335
Woodland, Area	620	2,466	1,211	3,232
Other Unimproved Land, Area	13,103	10,530	8,411	7,103
Farms Represented, Other Unimproved Land	20	43	48	37
Unimproved Pasture, Area	12,703	4,951	4,420	2,571
Farms Represented, Unimproved Pasture	19	25	28	19
New Breaking, Area	25	84	50	15
Farms Represented, New Breaking	1	4	2	4
Improved Land - District Farms Reporting (1268)				
10-69 acres (1283)	2	9	3	7
70-129 acres (1288)	-	6	6	8
130-179 acres (1293)	2	10	8	6
180-239 acres (1298)	4	4	12	30

Table 35. Area Fertilized and Area Sprayed or Dusted for Weed Control

	Province 48 Electoral District 815		
	114	120	312
Total Area Fertilized	83	103	1,628
Wheat Fertilized, Area	-	7	71
Oats Fertilized, Area	22	55	30
Barley Fertilized, Area	65	-	729
Rapeseed Fertilized, Area	-	-	511
Tame Hay Fertilized, Area	-	20	165
Improved Pasture Fertilized, Area	-	22	72
Other Fertilized, Area	12	-	50
Area Sprayed or Dusted for Weed Control	12	165	1,190
			4,028
			165
			609
			2,079
			226
			390
			409
			145
			1,210

Table 36. Automobiles, Trucks, Tractors, and Combines

	Enumeration Area			
	114	120	312	361
Province 48 Electoral District 815				
Total Number of Automobiles	3	20	34	34
Number Manufactured before 1961	-	4	4	6
Number Manufactured, 1961 or later	3	16	30	28
Farms Representing any Automobiles	3	19	32	30
Farms Representing any Automobiles or Trucks	15	42	48	52
Total Number of Trucks	22	41	53	63
Number Manufactured, 1961 or later	14	30	28	37
Farms Representing any Trucks	14	33	41	45
Total Number of Tractors	26	68	94	91
Number Manufactured, 1961 or later	11	16	32	40
Farms Representing any Tractors	16	46	52	52
Total Number of Grain Combines	8	18	43	42
Farms Representing any Combines	7	18	37	39
Total Number of Self-Propelled Combines	6	6	35	32
Number Manufactured, 1961 or later	4	4	11	20
Farms Representing Self-Propelled Combines	6	6	34	31
Total Number of Pull Type Combines	2	12	8	10
Number Manufactured, 1961 or later	-	5	1	5
Farms Representing Pull Type Combines	2	12	8	10

Table 37. Swathers, Balers, Harvesters, Electric Motors, and Hired Labour

	Province 48 Electoral District 815		
	114	120	312
Total Number of Swathers (993)	7	7	31
Farms Representing any Swathers (998)	7	7	29
Total Number of Self-Propelled Swathers (1003)	3	1	16
Number Manufactured, 1961 or later (1013)	2	1	11
Farms Representing Self-Propelled Swathers (1018)	3	1	16
Total Number of Other Type Swathers (1023)	4	6	15
Number Manufactured, 1961 or later (1033)	3	4	5
Farms Representing Other Type Swathers (1038)	4	6	15
Total Number of Hay Balers (1043)	11	17	24
Number Manufactured, 1961 or later (1053)	6	13	17
Farms Representing Hay Balers (1058)	10	17	24
Number of Forage Crop Harvesters (1063)	-	1	3
Number Manufactured, 1961 or later (1073)	-	-	1
Total Number, Electric Motors 1 h.p. and over (1093)	3	14	21
Total Weeks of Hired Labour (1098)	88	54	235
Weeks of Male Labour (1103)	88	54	235
Number of Year-Round Workers (1113)	-	-	2
Residence on Farm - Reporting (1118)	16	38	45
5-8 months (1123)	-	4	3
1-4 months (1128)	2	1	2
Non-Resident (1133)	3	6	5
			233

probable result of the push for a cattle complex in the study area.

An apparently successful farmer, who utilizes the services of the demonstration agents from the Athabasca district agricultural office, was interviewed during the month of August, 1975, in an attempt to gauge any degree of basic change in the agricultural regime that might be moving the area into a healthy agricultural state. This example was chosen because it represents a successful farming venture in an established marginal agricultural environment. That is, if success breeds success, then this discussion should provide an example for others to follow.

The population of this farm is three - a man, a woman, and an early school-age child. This population sometimes increases to four when the son, in his early twenties, returns to help with farm chores during the summer. Hired help is rarely used, because this farmer has found it unreliable and wanting.<sup>31</sup>

This farmer, in his late forties, was born and raised not two miles from his present homesite. His father was an early pioneer into the area, 1910, and this farmer has his roots in the soil which he cultivates. His wife has similar orientation even though she came from a different region of the province.

This farm is located in Census Division 13, and the farmer owns 800 acres of land of which 700 were in production or summer fallow in 1975. The crops and acres planted that year were: 150 with barley, 60 with oats, 40 with wheat, and 90 with rape. The equipment used to cultivate these acres was identified as: Combine (Massey 410), three tractors, disc, plow, harrow, rake, swather, vibren shank (to kill weeds), baler, manure spreader, auger (grain loader), weed sprayer, feed grinder, and three trucks. It is clear that this farm is not marginally capitalized.

The basic agricultural mix for this farm over a fifteen year period is profiled in Table 38. It is important to note that this farmer planted no wheat five times during the period. This must be viewed as significant since wheat commands a good cash price, and all historical traditions support its growth. It is apparent that this farmer understands the necessity for diversity, and the sign in front of his home proudly announces to the world that it is a mixed farm. The experiments with wheat and rape between 1971 and 1975 indicate his willingness to gamble with those high paying cash crops.

This farmer reported that the average yield per acre and average price per bushel for selected crops were as follows:

Barley: 25 bushels/acre @ \$1.50/bushel  
 Oats: 40 bushels/acre @ \$1.25/bushel  
 Wheat: 20 bushels/acre @ \$3.00/bushel  
 Rape: 10 bushels/acre @ \$3.50/bushel

When these yield data are compared with Table 30, they show this farmer reaping 2.17 bushels of barley below the mean for C.D. 13, the average number of bushels of oats, and 3.15 below the mean for wheat. No yield data were available for comparisons with rape. The closing prices from these commodities on August 15, 1975 were: barley \$2.75, oats \$1.57, wheat \$3.30, and rape \$7.19.<sup>32</sup>

This farmer has seventy-five acres of improved pasture and 150 acres of bush pasture for milk cows and beef cattle. He reported that he did not know how many head he owned because of the "worry" associated with keeping count. The hog pasture occupies a two acre site, which includes the buildings. Few fowl are kept on this farm. Of the animals raised by this farmer, approximately 25 head of cattle per year are sold at an average price of \$0.20 per pound

Table 38. Grains Planted and Animals Kept Over Fifteen Years  
on a Farm Near the Centre of the Study Area

	Barley	Oats	Wheat	Rape	Cattle	Hogs
1961	X	X	X		X	X
1962	X	X	X		X	X
1963	X	X	X		X	X
1964	X	X			X	X
1965	X	X			X	X
1966	X	X	X		X	X
1967	X	X	X		X	X
1968	X	X	X		X	X
1969	X	X	X		X	X
1970	X	X	X		X	X
1971	X	X			X	X
1972	X	X		X	X	X
1973	X	X	X		X	X
1974	X	X			X	X
1975	X	X	X	X	X	X

liveweight, and approximately 30 hogs per year are sold at an average price of \$0.30 per pound dressed.

These production statistics suggest that this is an economic enterprise. It should be pointed out, however, that this is unusual for farm operations in northeast Alberta, i.e., this kind of farm represents an exception to the rule. The value of focusing on this kind of enterprise is that it points out that economic success is possible in the region. It is necessary that farmers have the necessary capitalization and management enterprise, coupled with the right combination of animals and grains, to coax the environment into producing.

#### DISCUSSION

The northeast Alberta farmer has historically decided what to plant and grow for sale in the market economy. This has usually been based on historical circumstances, i.e., the influences of previous environments, successes of the past, folklore of past successes, and the chance for success based on market factors. Some demonstration agents of Alberta Agriculture believe that farming enterprises are becoming more systematic, and extension personnel from government and industry provide information and opinions for those who are willing to listen to the probabilities for marketing their produce. The objective viewpoint suggests that more than the movement into a basically animal economy, away from the production of cereals, is required for commercial success in northeast Alberta.

Theoretically, farmers have choices in marketing their cereal grains to livestock producers, the Canadian Wheat Board, or the open market system, but, realistically, the quality of most cereal grains produced in the study area is only suitable for livestock. As these products are rejected with greater frequency by the Canadian Wheat Board and other marketing outlets,



farmers will be forced into the production of coarse grains for livestock production.

Alberta Agricultural workers in northeast Alberta believe that there is big potential for livestock production. There are good areas for pasturage, and there are also good forage yields throughout the region. Consequently, extension personnel are attempting to divert farmers from cereal to feed grains with some degree of success. With constant prodding by the officers at Lac La Biche and Athabasca, there was a tremendous increase in cattle production between 1961 and 1971 (see Figure 18 as an example). The price slump in 1976, however, created some disturbances among cattle producers, but the extension officers believe that the survival of farming as an economic venture depends on increasing cattle production now and in the future. But price fluctuations in the beef industry suggest that cattle provide no economic panacea for the folk in northeast Alberta.<sup>33</sup>

Extension agents in the study area believe that farming is, nevertheless, becoming increasingly healthy in northeast Alberta as a result of diversification. The agents also believe that people within ten years of retirement, the older generation, are not really concerned with maximum production nor maximum income because they are into farming as a style of life rather than relative "well being." These agents believe that younger farmers, with a farm background, are probably doing a better job of farming with regard to diverse production than the older generation: The younger farmers have higher debts to pay, and they need more money to operate; these younger farmers must generate more money, and the products they raise must bring this cash into their enterprises. Few farmers in northeast Alberta, however, can attain and sustain the necessary capital flow to compete with more favorably situated farmers in southern Alberta.

Ironically, the greatest stimulus for agricultural change in the study area was not motivated by the Department of Agriculture agents. The stimulus for agricultural changes in northeast Alberta stems from the development of the Athabasca Tar Sands. That development has put pressure on land owners to pay their taxes or lose their holding, which has stimulated production to some degree. But more importantly, the Tar Sands development has changed the character of the northeast Alberta environment, and this theme is developed more fully in the next chapter.

This chapter has shown how the agricultural practices adopted in the study area were unsuitable for the climatic and soil conditions. That is, wheat and barley culture were introduced by people who immigrated to this frontier from areas that were more favorably disposed for growing cereal grains. The lack of commercial success in northeast Alberta developed on the basis of the wrong crops for the environment. This lack of commercial success must, however, be viewed in another context: People have survived in this agriculturally marginal situation; in terms of "well being," they were in more economically favorable situations when these folk were closer to subsistence. In other words, when the poverty of agriculture is seen in relationship to why people migrated to this frontier situation understanding the nature of success is enhanced.

An example in this chapter shows that it is possible to maintain an economically viable farming operation in the study area. However, the requirements usually include an off-farm income and strict management techniques.<sup>34</sup> The farm income problem will not, in general, be resolved on the farm. The farm income problem will be resolved when government and industry force the northeast Alberta farmer to produce those specialty crops which will always be in demand such as hay, trees, and dairy products.

In conclusion, the factors of settlement, a majority of the people more or less drifting onto the land, coupled with the factors of development, farmers pursuing an agricultural regime unsuitable to the northeast Alberta environment, are responsible for the overall marginality and economics in the study area. If government and industry can combine their forces, then they can force the farmer into more lucrative commercial enterprises. This combining of forces is likely to occur in northeast Alberta as a result of the Tar Sands development.

The subjects of areal development and change in northeast Alberta, the socio-cultural environmental situations, are treated in the following chapter. It looks at northeast Alberta society and comments on the varying degrees of success attained therein.

FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> IRONSIDE, R.G., PROUDFOOT, V.B., SHANNON, E.N. and TRACIE, C.J., "Frontier Development and Perspectives on the Western Canadian Frontier," *Frontier Settlement*, The University of Alberta Studies in Geography, Monograph 1, Edmonton (1974), p. 32.
- <sup>2</sup> HOZACK, William J., *The Spatial Pattern of Farming Near Lac La Biche, Alberta*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis (1969), p. 66. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- <sup>3</sup> MENZIES, M.W., "Introduction," *Poverty in Canada: Its Nature Significance and Implications for Public Policy* (1965), no page number. Manitoba Pool Elevators, Winnipeg.
- <sup>4</sup> HAYTER, Roger W., *The Frost Hazard for Agriculture in Northeast Alberta*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis (1974), p. 24. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- <sup>5</sup> SCHULTZ, Wolfgang M., *The People and Resources of Northeast Alberta*. Edmonton: Department of Extension, University of Alberta, Agricultural Economics Research Bulletin 2 (1966), p. 34.
- <sup>6</sup> HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- <sup>7</sup> MENZIES, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- <sup>9</sup> MANNING, Travis W., *The Canadian Farm Income Problem*. Edmonton: Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Alberta, Ag. Ec. Misc. Publ. No. 1 (1963), p. 6. Manning was Professor and Head of the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, in 1963. His discussion is the best encountered for isolating the realities of the farm income problem. However, Manning's discussion aggregates Canadian farms on a national and gross provincial basis, and this hardly addresses the need for specific information and knowledge about a particular region such as northeast Alberta. While he discussed the buying power of the farmer in 1962 compared to 1939 indexes, Manning does not deal with the problem of annual capital outlays.
- <sup>10</sup> EDWARDS, Kenneth, *Interview*, Amber Valley, April (1971).
- <sup>11</sup> BERGER, Gary, Demonstration Agent, District Agricultural Extension Office, Athabasca, 22 Jul 76.
- <sup>12</sup> MENZIES, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- <sup>13</sup> FREEMAN, W.G., "An Introduction to the Agriculture - Population Linkage Program," *Canadian Farm Economics*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1976), pp. 11-16.
- <sup>14</sup> *Supra*, Chapter III, p. 76.
- <sup>15</sup> WOOD, V.A., "Alberta's Public Land Policy, Past and Present," *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 3, No. 4, Part 2 (1951), p. 745.

- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 740.
- <sup>17</sup> HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- <sup>18</sup> HAYTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.
- <sup>19</sup> CRAWFORD, Margaret E., *A Geographic Study of the Distribution of Population Change in Alberta, 1931-1961*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis (1962), p. 80. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- <sup>20</sup> SCHULTZ, Wolfgang M., *The People and Resources of Northeast Alberta*, Edmonton: University of Alberta, Agricultural Economics Research Bulletin 2 (1966), p. 39.
- <sup>21</sup> HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 18. SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-56.
- <sup>22</sup> *Supra*, Chapter III, p. 106.
- <sup>23</sup> HOZACK, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- <sup>24</sup> HAYTER, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
- <sup>25</sup> IRONSIDE, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122. Failures of any kind are difficult to detect from the provincial records, e.g., this author's attempt to comprehend something of the quitting rate of homesteaders was unsuccessful. There is no way to determine if persons left the land because of frustration (under-capitalization), futility (getting some worthwhile economic returns was not in the foreseeable future), or whatever. In a discussion with a person who had been economically successful in the Athabasca area, this author was informed that the educational opportunities for her children were not provided at the level she wished. Thus, she moved to Vancouver. [Mrs. Leona (Phillips) Gibson Risby, *Interview*, Vancouver, August (1975).]
- <sup>27</sup> LOVE, Harold C., *Crop Production Risk in Alberta*. Edmonton: University of Alberta, Agricultural Economics Research Bulletin 5 (1970), p. 1.
- <sup>28</sup> The following seven tables (31-37) are from "Computational - 3 Picture 59(9)," and were provided by Charles E. Sterling of the Statistics Branch - Marketing Division, Alberta Department of Agriculture, 22 Jul 76. The numbers appearing within the parantheses on each table is the computer position number. The population figures for the four enumeration areas are extracted from the Census Map of Alberta Transportation (1975).
- <sup>29</sup> SCHULTZ, *op. cit.*, ff. HOZACK, *op. cit.*, ff.
- <sup>30</sup> BERGER, Gary, Demonstration Agent, District Agricultural Office, *Interview*, Athabasca, 22 Jul 76.
- <sup>31</sup> The names of these persons have been omitted to protect their privacy.
- <sup>32</sup> Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, "The Closing Grain Price Broadcast for 15 August 1975," *Broadcast Number Twenty*, Edmonton.

- 33 For the uncertainties and risks involved in the production of beef and price variations in that industry for southern Alberta, see LOVE, Harold C., "Income Variation in Beef Production: A Budget Study of Feeder Calf Production in Southern Alberta, 1946-1965," Edmonton: University of Alberta, Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology Research Bulletin 1 (1970).
- 34 The rains in August and September of 1977 and 1978 caused thrashed grains to sprout in the fields, which means that grain production for those years was negligible. Only a good-sized off-farm income and crop insurance can offset this kind of loss. Management, under these circumstances, is fairly useless.

CHAPTER VITHE SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

While the three preceding chapters focused on developments in terms of political background, physical limitations, propaganda for enticing settlers, settlement sequence, and agricultural poverty, this chapter analyzes areas which are representative of the panoply of the socio-cultural environment that accounts for the regional psychology. In a real sense, the criteria for success in these agricultural margins go beyond commercial production. The notion of commercial success was attacked in this thesis as being unrepresentative of the range of possible successes that might be attained by settlers, and the essence of this chapter essentially analyzes population maintenance and institutional survival.

The warp and woof are joined to create the weave of the fabric that is northeast Alberta. This focus, then, on the socio-cultural situations and circumstances are keys to understanding of human pursuits that have been in some instances successful in the face of adversity and marginality. These situations and circumstances revolve primarily around formal and informal institutions which are characterized by such items as schools, folklore, ethnicity, occupations, churches, religion, and access to goods and services. These notions are viewed through an assessment of *community*.

Community is defined, in this context, by those characteristics which include wide-ranging specifics such as the role of railways as institutions in the fortunes and misfortunes for the study area's inhabitants, and the effect of outside institutional decision on behavior and belief as these "outside" notions influence community ideas, ideals, and beliefs. The socio-cultural environment is primarily the story of political maneuverings wedded to myths and folklore.

Before any examination of community is presented, however, it is necessary to look at some demographic data for northeast Alberta. These are designed to focus on population maintenance, which, in turn, help establish levels of success based on institutional survivals.

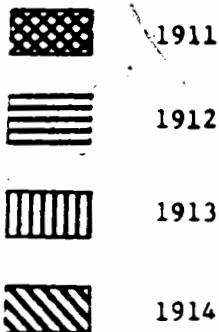
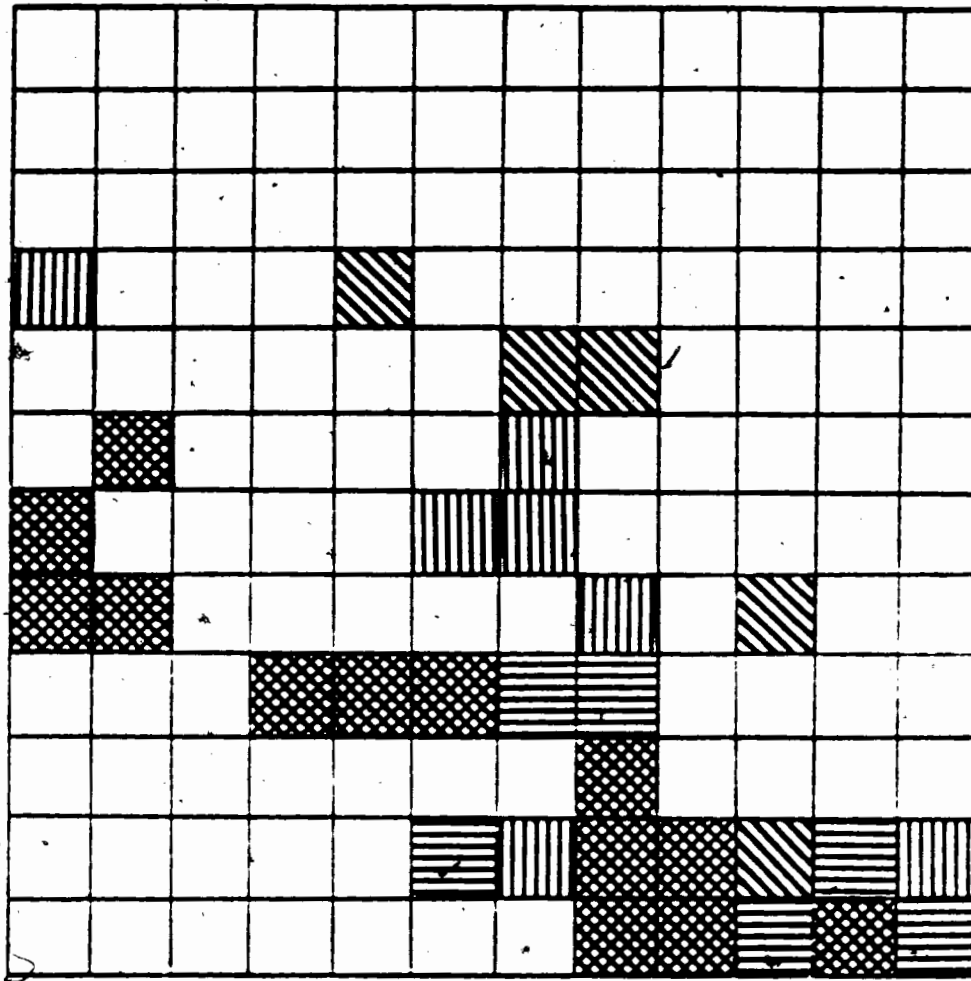
Margaret Crawford's geographic study of the distribution of population change in Alberta between 1931 and 1961 demonstrates that while there was no continuous population decline in any census sub-division during the period of her study,<sup>1</sup> there were cycles where declines in the study area were notable. For example, there was a population decrease in the agricultural margins of northeast Alberta between 1956 and 1961.<sup>2</sup> Lamont and Proudfoot's study of population changes in northern Saskatchewan and Alberta between 1961 and 1971, on the other hand, shows that the farm population decreased in Alberta Census Divisions 12-15 (Figure 37) by 12,249. That is, the 1961 farm population of 81,657 was 69,408 in 1971.<sup>3</sup> They noted that "the general decline in farm population [was] accompanied by a decline in the rural non-farm population and an increase in the population in incorporated centres."<sup>4</sup> This broad generalization holds for the study area, but not for each community.

The French at Plamondon are used as an example of success in terms of population maintenance and institutional developments in this agriculturally marginal region. Figures 40 through 43 are the bases for this discussion.

Figure 40 shows the early settlement form in township 68, range 16. While the reasons for settlement are unclear, the pattern shows that the settlers clustered in three areas during 1911. The overall pattern for the early years of settlement shows the result of how the settlers dispersed themselves or filled in the adjacent quarter-sections of land. Eighteen more quarter-sections had been settled upon the expiration of the "public lands policy" in 1939. This development is clearly shown in Figure 41. It shows



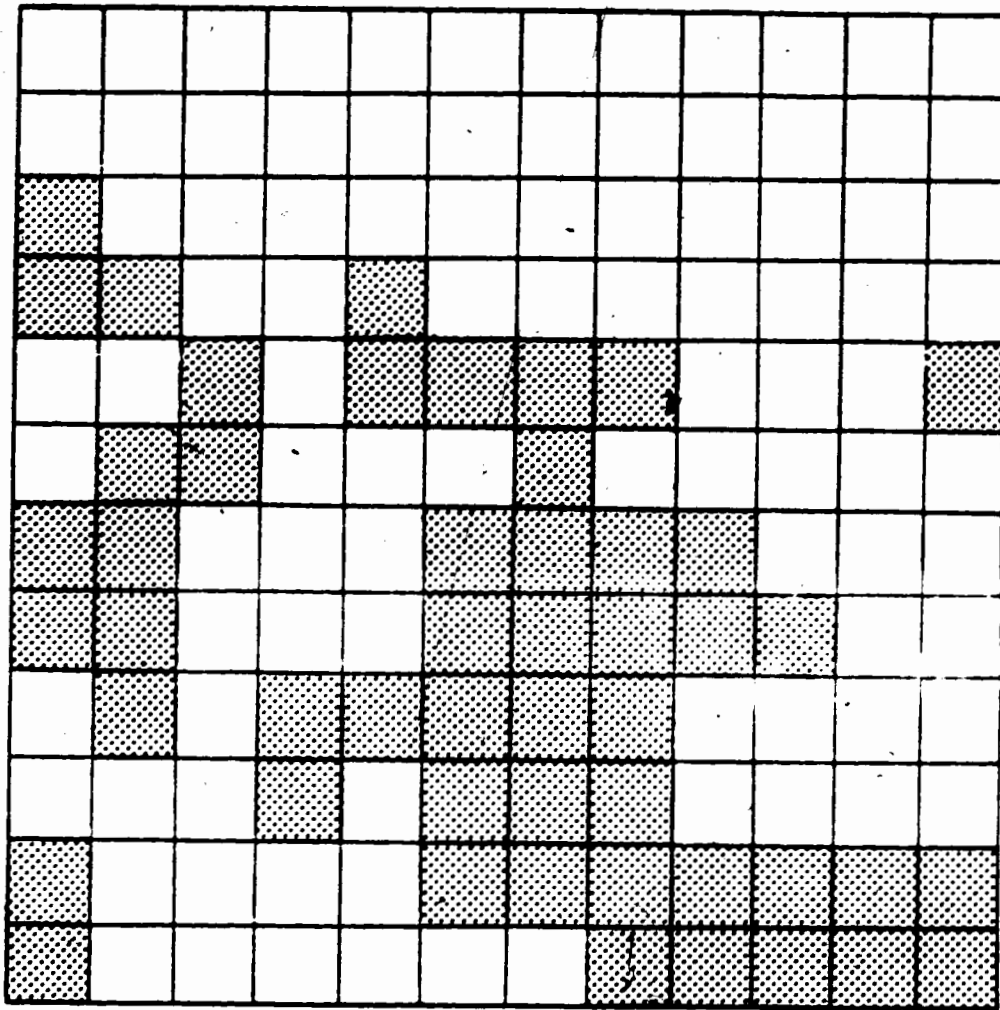
Figure 40. Early Plamondon Area Settlement (T68 R16)\*



31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

\*Source: Appendix C.

Figure 41. Plamondon Area Settlement (T68 R16), 1939\*

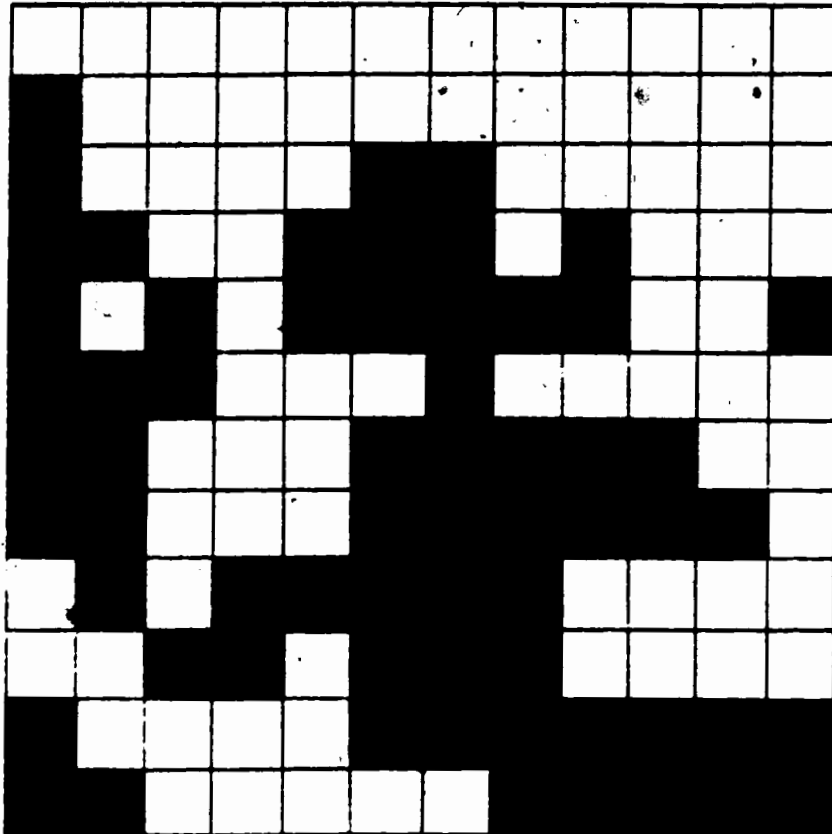


I  
N  
D  
E  
X

31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

\*Source: Appendix C.

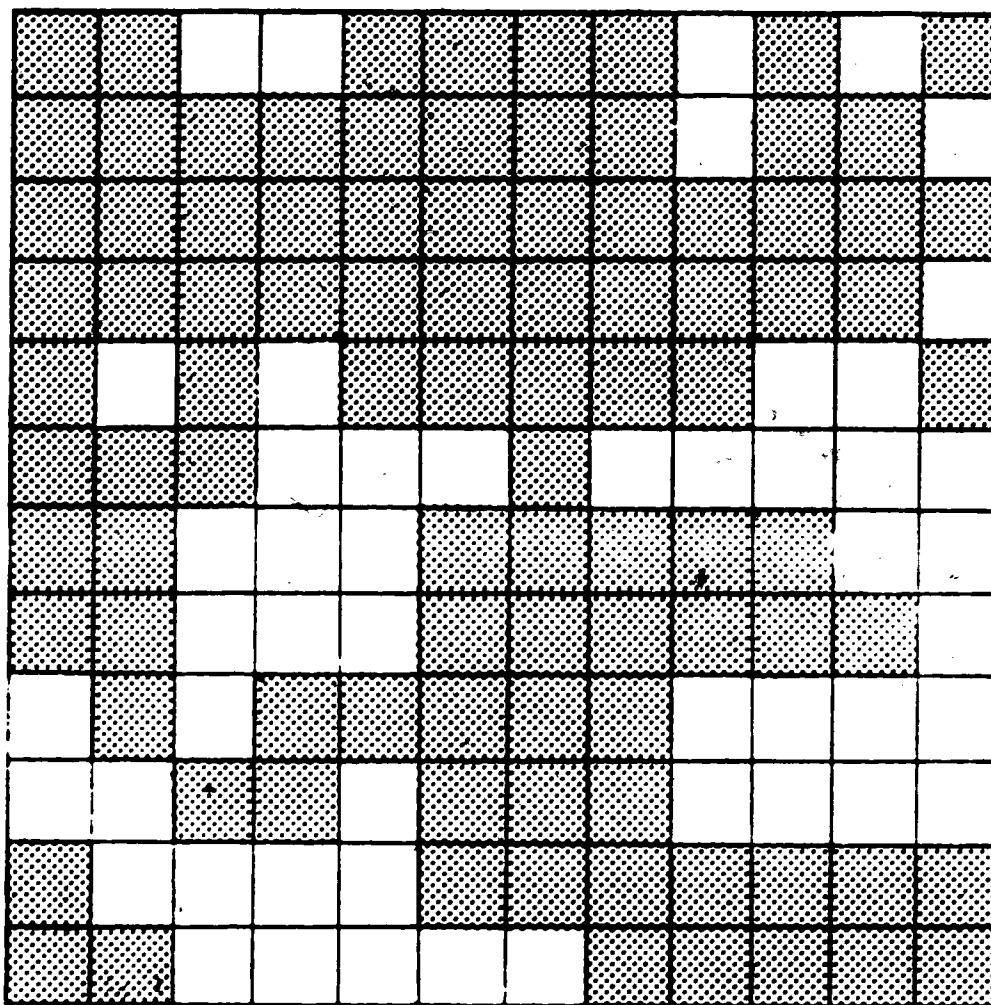
Figure 42. Plamondon Area Settlement (T68 R16), 1950\*



31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

\*Source: Appendix C.

Figure 43. Plamondon Area Settlement (T68 R16), 1977\*



31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

\*Source: Arthur J. Girard.

continued expansions in spite of frost hazards, which, in one sense, indicates that these settlers were either engaged in a subsistence economy or other economic pursuits to support their farms.

Twelve years after the conclusion of the "public lands policy," 2196.8 more acres were settled in the Plamondon area (Figure 42). This is not insignificant in that it suggests continued rapid expansion -- though slower than the twenty-eight years between 1911 and 1939. That is, the pace of settlement amounts to 267.54 acres per year for the twenty-eight year period, 1911-1939, and 199.71 acres per year during the eleven year period, 1940-1950. The story of successful settlement and development in this township is in large measure the result of the Plamondon families expansions through 1950. The Plamondons held, by that time, 3029.07 acres of the 9013.93 acres settled (excluding Hudson's Bay Company land), i.e., thirty-four percent of all settled land in the township. Four families, Dube, Gaganon, Gauthier, and Plamondon, held fifty-four percent of all settled acreage in 1950.

During the twenty-seven year period, 1951-1977, land openings continued at a pace beyond expectations for this environment.) Approximately 4,800 acres were claimed under agricultural lease policies. This amounts to about 177 acres per year over the twenty-seven year period, which exceeds the expansion rate between 1940 and 1950. In those twenty-seven years, the Bourassa families dominate the statistics in expansions. They established themselves on 1,760 acres or thirty-seven percent of the land opened for farming operations. The Ulliac families established themselves on 1120 acres while the Gauthier, Piquette, and Plamondons settled 960, 800, and 800 acres respectively.<sup>5</sup> The overall settlement pattern, 1911-1977, is shown in Figure 43.

Institutional developments among the French settlers in this area are

focused in the Village of Plamondon (see Plate 1). These include schools, a Catholic Church, hotel, two construction companies, a slaughterhouse, and other institutions and services. These successful enterprises are based on tenacity and a willingness to face and endure the hardships posed by the northeast Alberta environment, and the institution that has been developed to tell that story to future generations was the 1975 public opening of the Plamondon and District Museum depicted in Plate 2. It is impossible to enumerate all the levels of success attained by these French immigrants, but clearly population maintenance is evident from the institutions which have developed in Plamondon.

It is useful, at this juncture, to look at another example of settlers in northeast Alberta to see if land expansions are necessary for institutional development. The Afroamerican immigrants to township 66, range 20 provide a basis for establishing that factors other than commercial agricultural production are necessary for understanding success. Indeed, as it was established in Chapter IV, the reasons for immigration of the various groups differed even though the only clearly presented case was that of the Afroamericans. They, however, have not attained the same measurable levels of success as the French immigrants have achieved. Or, did they not?

Figure 44 shows the early settlement form for the Afroamerican immigrants between 1910 and 1913, the early settlement period. They established themselves mainly along the margins of Pine Creek, and these Afroamericans had formed a school district (Toles #2895) by the end of 1913. Sixty-seven quarter-sections of land were settled during this 1910-1913 period. However, fourteen of these quarter-sections were abandoned by 1930. This resultant settlement form is shown in Figure 45, and it suggests farm abandonment and institutional decline.



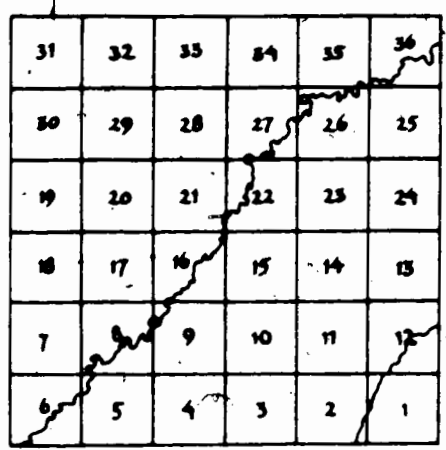
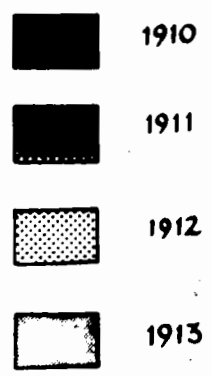
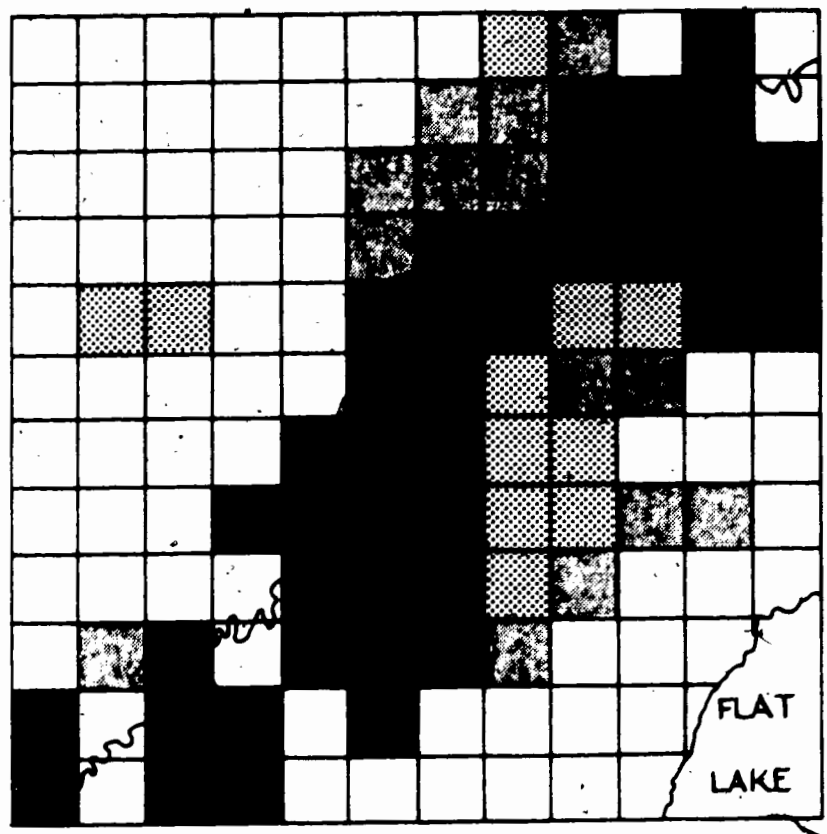
Plate 1. This is a photograph of the Village of Plamondon. The steeple in the centre (rear) of the picture is the Catholic Church. Plamondon is the focal point and gathering place for the French settlers in township 68, range 16. (This photograph was taken by the author in July, 1976.)



Plate 2. The Museum Committee of Plamondon was formed in 1971. Its purpose is to insure that the history of settlement and development in the area is preserved for future generations. The Plamondon & District Museum was opened to the public in 1975. (This photograph was taken by the author in July, 1976.)

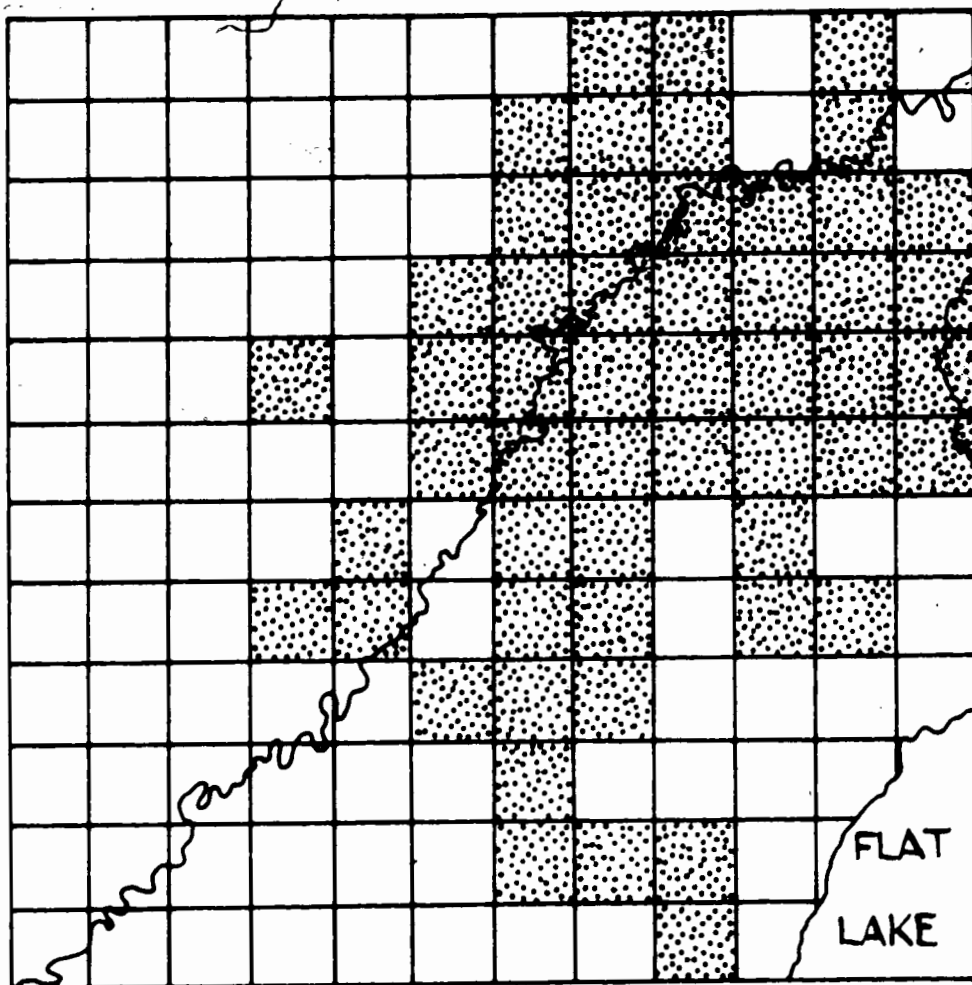


Figure 44. Settlement in the Amber Valley (T66 R20), 1910-1913\*



\*Sources: Appendix C and Field Research.

Figure 45. Settlement Pattern in the Amber Valley Area (T66 R20), 1930\*



31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

\*Sources: Appendix C and Field Research.

Indeed, Figure 46 indicates that by 1973 only forty-nine percent of the land settled by the immigrant Afroamericans was still owned and farmed by black folk. These data clearly show that in the sixty-two years between 1911 and 1973 the settlers were not successful in maintaining an adequate population to sustain the development of institutions. This notion, however, is contradicted by the message presented in Plate 3.

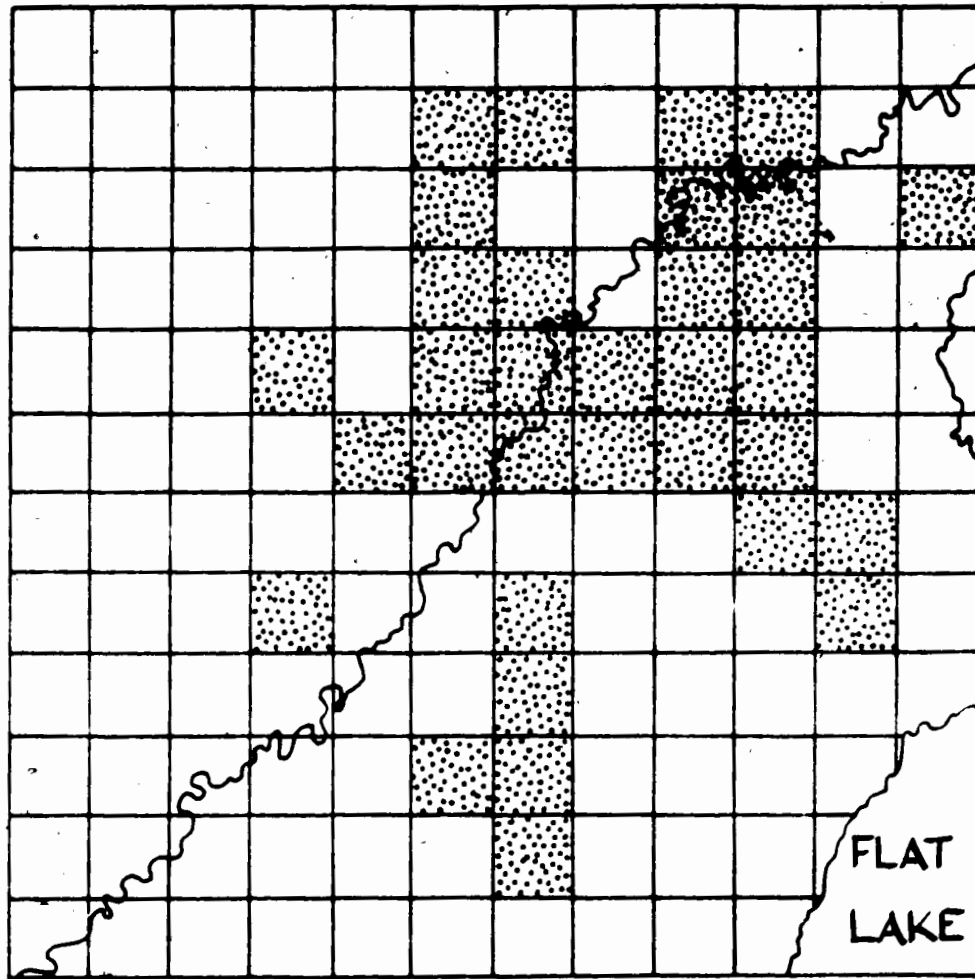
This brief demographic picture, presented by way of the French and Afroamerican communities, provides a basis to examine the socio-cultural situations of the northeast Alberta environment. It should be remembered that *community* is defined in this study by those social and institutional characteristics which are meaningful in the lives of the study area's inhabitants. It was in the various historic communities that successes were attained or failure was evident.

#### COMMUNITY

An historic overview of northeast Alberta shows that the concept of community, not unlike the notion of urbanization in the Canadian census,<sup>6</sup> has changed through time. In addition to specified "special areas," the Province of Alberta's municipal structure identifies thirty counties, eighteen municipal districts, twenty-four improvement districts, ten cities, 103 towns, and 167 villages.<sup>7</sup> The study area includes portions of one county (Athabasca) and one improvement district -- twenty-four (see Figure 5). Contained within the study area are two towns (Athabasca and Lac La Biche), and three villages -- Boyle, Island Lake, and Plamondon (see Figure 4). With the possible exception of Plamondon, none is associated with the historic notion of community in northeast Alberta.

However, if one is in the habit of ascribing hierarchy to places, then

Figure 46. Settlement Pattern in the Amber Valley Area (T66 R20), 1973\*



31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

\*Source: Author's Unpublished Field Research Notes, 1973.

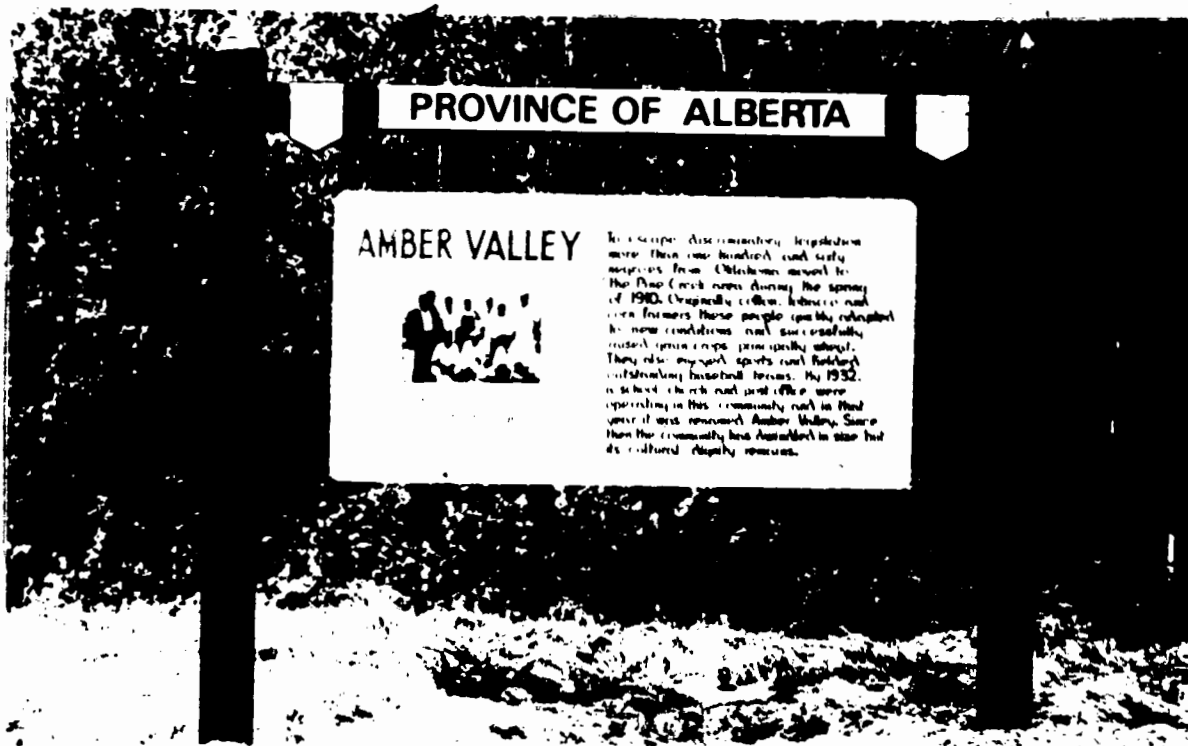


Plate 3. This sign reads: *To escape discriminatory legislation more than one hundred and sixty negroes from Oklahoma moved to the Pine Creek area during the spring of 1910. Originally cotton, tobacco and corn farmers these people quickly adapted to new conditions and successfully raised grain crops, principally wheat. They also enjoyed sports and fielded outstanding baseball teams. By 1932, a school, church, and post office were operating in this community and in that year it was renamed Amber Valley. Since then the community has dwindled in size but its cultural dignity remains.*

This memorial was dedicated by the Honourable Horst Schmid, Minister of Culture for Alberta, on 9 Sep 78. (This photograph was taken by the author at the dedication ceremonies.)

Athabasca and Lac La Biche could be viewed as minor regional service centres. This would also be the case with Boyle and Colinton, because grains are trucked to elevators in these locations. In the traditional sense of hierarchies of communities, little or no meaning is associated with that notion and the historic community in the study area.

The historic community in the study area revolved around the school, and the current notion of community in northeast Alberta is the folklore that has evolved from memories of what those schools were. That is to say, the ideology which has developed around what the local school was in the study area communities is the essence of an idea of the historic community. Local schools might well play a similar role throughout rural North America. Nevertheless, the current idea of the historic community is supported by the Government of Alberta's Department of Culture, Youth, and Recreation, which sponsored the June 16-18, 1972 "cultural heritage conference" for the retention of multi-culturalisms in Alberta.<sup>8</sup> It is, therefore, possible to understand that the role of outside political institutions is inextricably linked to the current dimensions of any and all communities in the study area and throughout the Province. This was not always the case, and schools provide the best example for understanding the historic community in the study area and northeast Alberta. The following section, consequently, provides an elaborate framework and explanation of what schools were in focusing community activities.

#### The School (Mainspring in Community Development)

Control over the function of education, as shown in the literature in Chapter II of this study, is looked to as the primary vehicle for instilling "the folk way of life" in many agricultural communities. And the locally controlled community school is usually designated as the institution which

acts as a catalyst for any group of people in frontier situations — marginal or otherwise. The local school was the catalytic agent for communities in the study area. It provided the arena where the political battles of the community were fought. The school was the place where notions of how good "we" are and how bad "they" are were expected to be taught. It was, in fact, the primary socializing institution for the community. Communities focused on and developed in and around "their" school, and to misunderstand the essence of this idea is to miss the point of the historic community in northeast Alberta.

The school, as an idea and a physical entity, influenced the ideological and practical development of other institutions such as the post office and roadworks. This does not mean that the schools were places where all was harmonious in a community. Indeed, they were more often places where battles were fought between factions than places where educational attainments were achieved by pupils.

Many, if not most, community battles were fought over money to some degree or another, i.e., money frequently worked its way into ideological disputes or vice versa. While most of the folk in northeast Alberta would invest their hearts and souls in the development of the school as an institution, they would not invest their money readily with the prompt payment of taxes. This money collection situation led H.L. Larson, superintendent of schools in Athabasca County, to write in 1967 that "the coterminous boundary concept has for the most part streamlined tax collections [in northeast Alberta], it has not necessarily clarified the necessity for taxes."<sup>9</sup> Local school boards had the authority to expropriate land for non-payment of taxes, but there is no known case that such ever occurred in the study area.<sup>10</sup>

The matter of money affected the working relationships between school boards and teachers. Money was also a source of conflict between those who wanted to use school facilities and not make payment for same, e.g., those who held prayer meetings or political gatherings. The lack of money was usually at the heart of fights between teachers and school boards, but this was not always the case. The conflict between the Spruce Valley School District Number 4652 and a teacher, W.H. Kordoski, provides an example from 1934. Friction arose between Mr. Kordoski and community members because a Ukrainian nationalistic segment wanted free use of the school as a community centre for social functions and political rallies. The result of Kordoski's objection to such activities caused the passing of a motion at the annual meeting to reduce his salary.<sup>11</sup> More often than not, however, the lack of money created deep chasms between teachers and school boards. A case from Amber Valley is illustrative: The school board met on March 26, 1937,

... for the purpose of making some arrangement with Mrs. A.H. Cromwell in answer to a letter from the A.T.A. [Alberta Teachers Association] concerning her salary. The Board went to Mrs. Cromwell and she agreed to accept \$200.00 before the 15th of April and \$100.00 later, and she also agreed not to push the board for the balance of her salary this year.<sup>12</sup>

The *Recordbook* does not suggest what the teacher's salary for the year was, but records from previous years suggest that the wage was between seventy and ninety dollars per month. On the basis of a ten months school year, the teacher would be short \$500.00 at the end of the term at eighty dollars per month.<sup>13</sup> The gulf between teachers and school boards, which revolved around the lack of money, was usual and standard throughout north-east Alberta. This situation finally led to intervention into local communities by outside institutional authority to insure that the community



schools met their contractual obligations to teachers.<sup>14</sup>

The matter of money, however, was not the only method by which outside institutional authority entered local communities. One of the early problems faced by the folk around Lahaieville provides an example from the early period of settlement. The settlers in the Lahaieville School District Number 2637

... were largely French Canadians, and wanted to operate a French language school. However, the year after the school opened [1914], new settlers arrived and were opposed to the idea. At the election for trustees, George Cook ran against George Castonguay and won by one vote. At the time elections were conducted by public voting (the voter wrote the name of the candidate on the ballot and signed it). Mr. Castonguay protested the election, claiming one of the voters being the common-law wife of Pat LaRocke, was ineligible. School Inspector LeBlanc was sent by the Department of Education to settle the dispute, and declared the election valid. The Board was given orders to conduct the school according to the curriculum laid down by the Department of Education.<sup>15</sup>

It is clear from this example that outside institutional authority sees it as a duty to mediate unresolved internal conflict in a community. However, the community loses a part of its integrity when this happens, and the "threat" of outside institutional authority intervening in local affairs must be understood as playing a role in the development of the historic community in northeast Alberta. *Clover and Wild Strawberries* provides only the example cited above where outside institutional authority was called upon to stem the tide of nationalism.

The school population was drawn from a four square miles area, and they were called four by four schools to indicate that geographic area. These schools focused the élan of the community despite threats from outside authority. As the teacher was the cause of much consternation with local school board officials, that same teacher was frequently the organizing

force in the community. For example, Mrs. C. Day, who taught at Calling Lake and Richmond Park in the 1930's, wrote to her niece that

our only organized school sport ... was softball. We usually put on a concert or something to raise money to buy ONE ball a year. We hewed our own bats out of the bush and beat the ball to a mush. But we would simply strip it, wind string, old cloth strips, binder twine or most anything, put the cover back and set it up again.

I also had a Sunday School [at Richmond Park] -- up to 72 people in it, both children and adults. We would write the hymns on the blackboard and my fiddle served as organ. For one year I had a night school class of 32 adults who were trying to learn English.<sup>16</sup>

Mrs. Cromwell recalled one particular element of success that grew out of the Amber Valley School:

The Good Community League was a wonderful idea, and it was successful. That school break in the winter was a good time to get them going. The Good Community League was one of the main things that helped to bring the people together as a community. We used to take up history and acting and so on. I would prepare for discussing different characters among the coloured race who were outstanding in Canada and the United States. It was getting them interested in their own race to bring that out.<sup>17</sup>

It was usually the teacher that served as catalyst for bringing services to the community. For example, a post office was generally the outgrowth of community gatherings at the school site with the input of the teacher. At these same sites came ideas and notions about pioneer clubs, social clubs, sports clubs, singing groups, and the panoply of community life. The groups and clubs became agents for the community when vying with other communities for recognition and prestige.

The school building was usually the first place that was used as a house of worship for the faithful in many communities. Frequently this situation caused some strained relationships between those who thought

religion and education should be separate entities. The school site, nevertheless, provided the physical arena where the various factions could fight these ideological and political battles.

The historic community in northeast Alberta, then, can be seen as that community which was structured by the particular four by four school. No community, however, could develop and prosper on ideology alone. The next section, work and residence, addresses the question of how the people of northeast Alberta gained a living from this barren land to support their ideological aims.

#### Work and Residence (Past and Present)

Historically, and presently, nearly every able-bodied male worked away from the farmstead during some portion of the year. This time away from the farm was between four and eight months of each year (see Table 28). Historically, these wage labor jobs took men into Edmonton to work at packing houses, or into the bush to engage in logging operation, work on railway beds, and other kinds of jobs such as the service worker shown in Plate 4. In other words, men labored away from the fountainhead, and the women usually kept the farmstead operating as they raised the children.

The current dimension of work and residence has changed something. This change has resulted from improvements in the transportation network in northeast Alberta, i.e., men work for lumbering operations between one and two hundred miles from home, but they usually return on weekends. There are also more job possibilities open for wage earners closer to home as depicted in Plate 5. Indeed, with the development of the Athabasca Tar Sands, gas compressor stations are being constructed and operated in the study area. Klaus Scheffler of the Alberta Department of Social Services at Athabasca remarked that "no able bodied person who wanted to work was out of [wage

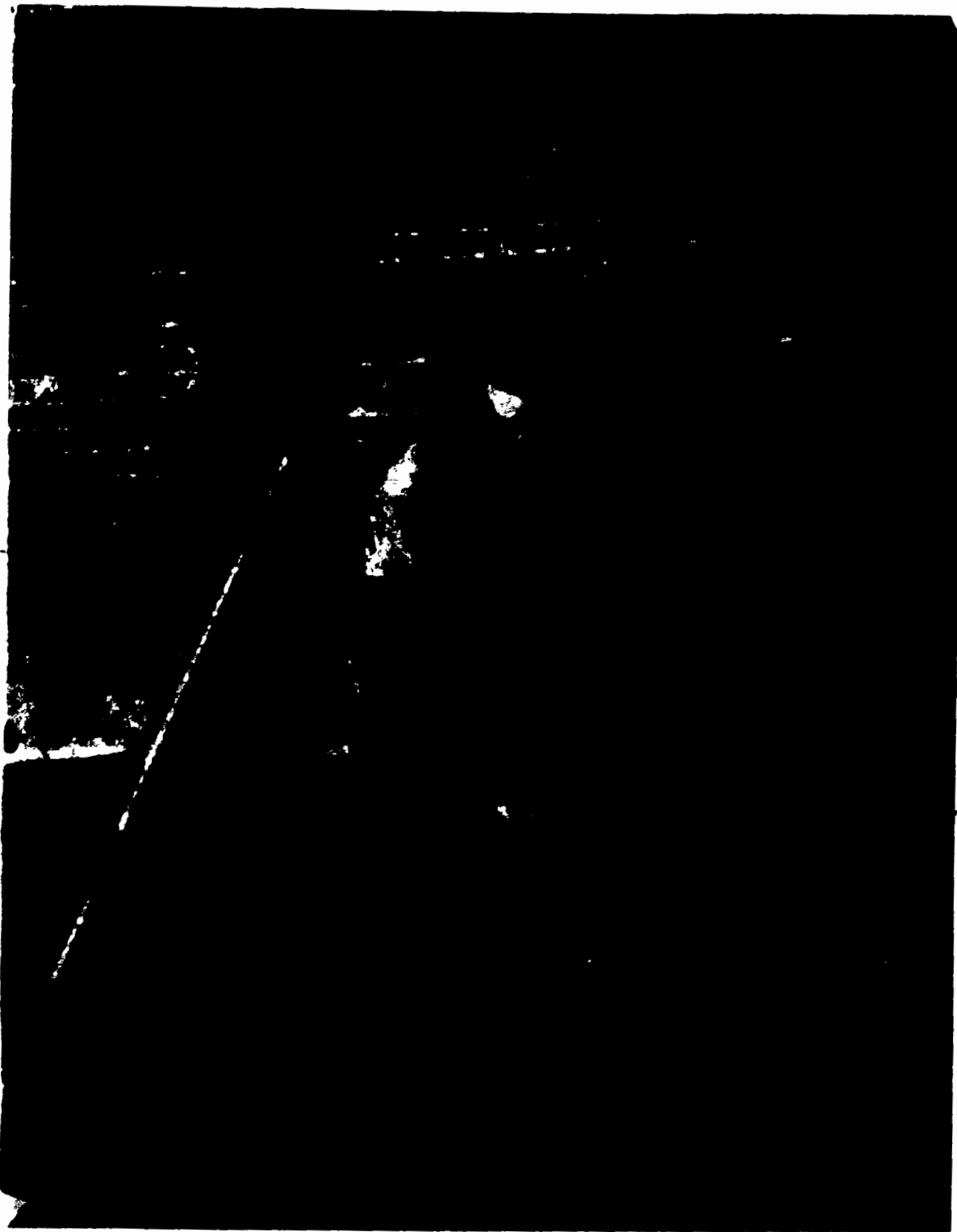


Plate 4. This picture, taken in the spring of 1913, shows Mr. James Walter Gibson at work with an unidentified patient at the Royal Alexander Hospital in Edmonton. Northeast Alberta farmers work in various capacities during the winter months. (This photograph is from the collection of Mrs. Leona Risby of Vancouver, British Columbia.)



Plate 5. This photograph, taken by the author in September of 1975, show how the contemporary north-east Alberta maintains an economic existence. As the grains are being crushed for animal feed, the school bus stands ready for the transporting of pupils to the Athabasca schools. This same farmer frequently works in the bush when schools are out of session.

labor] work who wanted to work in 1976."<sup>18</sup> This rosy employment picture, according to several Athabascans, would continue well into the future,<sup>19</sup> because pipeline construction/tar sands development/gas compressor operations were creating demands for service services. There are some reasons to be optimistic about economic development in northeast Alberta, at least in the developing service sectors.

New motels have been constructed at Athabasca and Boyle. Professional services such as veterinary medicine, generally unavailable prior to 1973, have become established in the study area. The growing services are primarily for the townsfolk and tourist, but they provide jobs for anyone.

The Tar Sands development has created a major revolution on the landscape, i.e., more governmental intervention is evident from the pace of rural electrification, the availability of telephone service, the developing highways network, and, most importantly, the pressures that have been brought to bear on landowners to pay their taxes or have their land confiscated. The Tar Sands development has put pressure on the housing market, which has stimulated the construction industry in the study area. However, with few sites on which to build, the people in the construction industry have forced the governmental officials, in many instances, to follow the dictates of the law regarding the tax recovery act.<sup>20</sup>

The pressure for residential housing in northeast Alberta has created a boom market for sellers. Gary Berger said that the reason why the pressures were being brought to bear on the ownership of land was that

... people who went to McMurray couldn't find a place to build a house or couldn't afford to build a house [were] coming in here and buying a quarter-section and moving their families [to the Athabasca-Boyle-Lac La Biche area] -- going to McMurray to work for the week and coming back for their weekends. There has been a fair amount of this since '75.<sup>21</sup>

The pressure for residential housing has also forced the reassessment of properties, at least in Athabasca County. Alan Hunter, past-Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, said that the Town was attempting to expand eastward, but the County was resistant to that notion (because the two governments do not work well together for solving mutual problems). He suggested, however, that property values were being assessed adequately in 1976:

Taxes jumped substantially in 1976. Most of the [Baptise] Lake properties were assessed ten times what people had paid in '75 -- ten to fifteen years late. Town lots in Athabasca were going for \$1,100 in 1975, and those same lots were \$7,500 in 1976.<sup>22</sup>

Table 39, Occupied Dwellings by Tenure for Athabasca and Lac La Biche, presents the picture of housing prior to the rapid expansion and development of the Tar Sands.

Work and residence, then, have never been static in the study area. The changes that have been occurring since 1973, however, are much more substantial than any other time in the history of the area - including World War II. The dynamics of work and residence have shifted in that farmers no longer leave the fountainhead for long periods to engage in occupations beyond farming. The wage labor is what kept the northeast Alberta farmers focused on their historic communities, and it has kept the marginally agricultural environment in existence. This discussion suggests that part-time farming is a viable way of life for the northeast Alberta folk and one that provides more than a satisfactory livelihood.

Another ideological aspect of existence that has supported the historic notion of community in the study area is religion. Northeast Alberta lies in the upper reaches of the Canadian "Bible Belt," and that factor has to some degree influenced the current dimensions of the historic community.

Table 39. Occupied Dwellings by Tenure\*

Town	1961			1966			1971			Percentage Change 1961 - 1971		
	Total	Owned	Rented	Total	Owned	Rented	Total	Owned	Rented	Total	Owned	Rented
Athabasca	403	251	152	448	277	171	517	325	192	28.3	29.5	26.3
Lac la Biche	301	175	126	360	205	155	458	235	223	52.2	34.3	77.0

\*Source: Statistics Canada, Housing, 1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-727, Vol. 2 - Part 3 (Bulletin 2.3-2) June 1973, pp. 3-1 and 3-8.



### Churches and Religion

Walter B. Rogers has suggested that religion holds a central place in developing regions, and that no institution, beyond the church, is as well-fitted to explain the meaning of life and to direct the motives of the people.<sup>23</sup> He suggested in a later study, however, that one of the problems associated with the rural church was *overchurching* -- too many churches for too few people.<sup>24</sup> Historically, there were more church congregations than there were schools in northeast Alberta. As congregations developed the funds, they built their own houses for holding worship service. Consequently, overchurching is a reality in the study area. Plates 6 and 7 are examples of churches where worship services are rare or non-existent.

Rogers found that the rural church and its members in Canada had similar characteristics to those found in the United States. These are briefly summarized with nine points:

1. Women generally show more active interest in the rural church, both by attendance and membership, than men.
2. Participation in the rural church is more common among older residents than among younger ones.
3. Geographical factors and place of residence affect church membership.
4. Participation in the rural church is related to length of residence in a particular community.
5. In general, farm ownership is more favorably associated with church membership than farm tenancy.
6. Persons with higher incomes and higher class status show a more active interest in the rural church than persons with lower incomes and lower class status.
7. In the local community, persons belonging to the dominant ethnic group participate more in church activities than persons from minority groups.
8. Church members in rural areas usually have more formal education than do nonmembers.
9. As a rule, persons who participate in rural church activities also participate in other community activities and organizations.<sup>25</sup>



Plate 6. This panoramic view of Donatville shows an abandoned Catholic Church on the east side of the highway, a sign which reads *Donatville*, and a building on the west side of the highway that is a home, general store, and post office. (This photograph was taken by the author in August, 1973.)

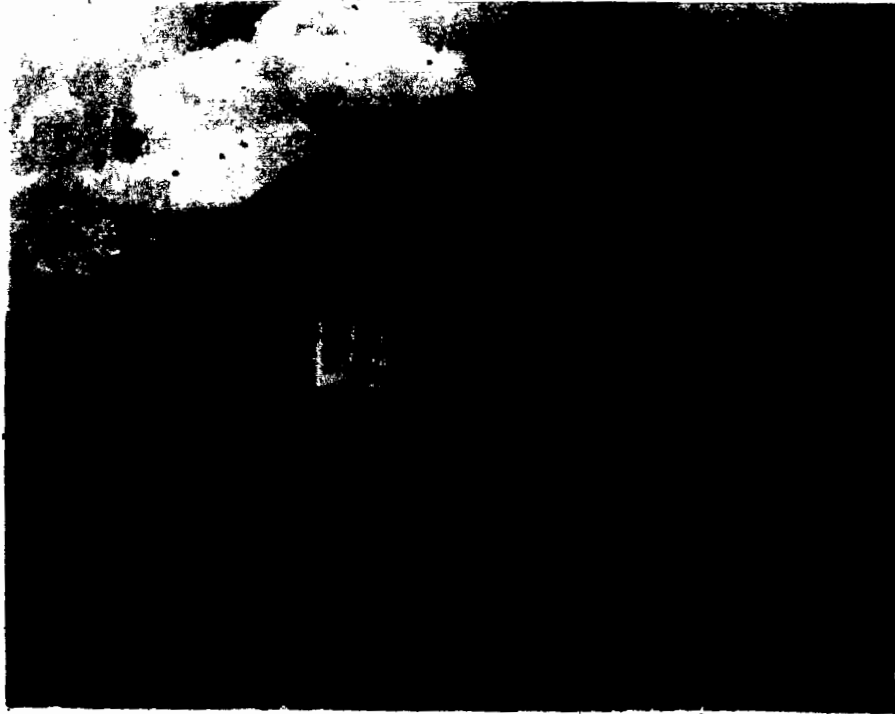


Plate 7. This picture is of the Nondenominational Church at Amber Valley. Church services were rare between 1965 and 1974. It served primarily as a place to gather for special "homecomings," funerals, and weddings. Since 1975, the infrequent church services are held in the Amber Valley Community Centre. (This photograph was taken by the author in July, 1970.)

Mrs. Risby, a former resident near Athabasca, believes that church membership has nothing to do with religion. She said that between 1910 and 1935 that most of the settlers

... didn't do any "drinking" at all in those days. If you were caught drinking, you would have been considered a very bad person. They were just God-fearing people. They lived their Christianity, they didn't talk it. They lived it! Everybody shared. If you wanted a house built, everybody went and helped each other that way. A hog or steer that was killed in the summertime was shared with every neighbour according to the size of the family. I have no regrets in sharing with others because I think that's the way God wants us to live. How can we serve God without serving humanity?<sup>26</sup>

Religion in northeast Alberta has been and remains more of an ambitious claim than a formal fact as measured by who goes to church and those who do not go to church. Religion and churchgoing frequently strained relationships in some of the communities in the study area, i.e., the faithful sometimes found themselves at odds with those who worshipped differently. Evangelical dogmatism was responsible for wide differences in the Amber Valley community -- differences that developed in the 1930's and continue into the late 1970's.

Excerpts from a letter are instructive:

... as we are teachers, we must be found taking an active part in church work. We were pleased to do this and for a number of years both Mr. Crosswell and myself were teachers in the Sunday school. All went on quite well until they began to force their method of worship -- shouting, throwing themselves on the floor, and yelling at the top of their voices. The ones who yelled the loudest and prayed the hardest could usually do the meanest things, so we just gently and silently drew out and do our worshipping at home ... So I suppose we are classed as "sinners."<sup>27</sup>

Churchgoing has taken on urban characteristics. Many persons from the more rural areas congregate in Athabasca, Boyle, Grassland, Lac La Biche, and even Edmonton. Church services at a place like that shown in Plate 7 are usually reserved for those times when there are "homecomings." They give

special meaning to the developing folklore about what the historic community was.

Church groups usually vied with educational groups in the four by four communities for establishing social-type clubs. The church groups, however, usually focused their activities around "ladies aid missionary" and "sewing" clubs. As population declines in many of the communities, there are some overtures to join together with other small centres to socialize and reminisce as well as provide spiritual comfort for the ill, aged, and confined. The combined groups from Amber Valley, Paxson, and Grassland are a case in point. Religion continues to be strong and deeply rooted in the psyches of the people of northeast Alberta in spite of their changing pattern of church-going. In general, religion has been stronger than the schools, but it has not had the centralized focus that the schools provided. This fragmentation of the faithful, of course, stems from the varying nature of the types of worship in which the varying congregations engaged.

In addition to the character of the people, the historic community is the character of places. Figure 4 suggests that there are places in northeast Alberta with real character. While this is true in some cases, in others it is no more than a memory -- sometimes not even that, as in the case of Kinikiniik. The following section presents a brief photo essay regarding some of those places.

The Historic Community as Places

While the towns and villages of northeast Alberta are thriving entities, many historic community places have all but disappeared. Some are gone entirely. Community places were extensions of ideas and ideals that were developed by people. This section looks into some of those places.

Plate 8 shows the focus of historic Perryvale. While this place is slightly outside the boundaries of the study area, it adequately represents the fate of many like communities. One of the reasons for the decline of places in many historic communities, aside from school centralization, was the closure of more than 5,000 post offices in Alberta during 1965. The general store was also where the post offices were housed, and the post office made it possible, very often, for the merchant to make a go of it.

The essence of Gourin, as a place, is captured in Plate 9. The spirit of the place is the generalized area that is now focused on the memorial. With only a marker indicating its former existence, there is little wonder that persons in northeast Alberta, within five miles of the memorial, know nothing of Gourin's past.

Plate 10, like Plate 8, shows the abandoned general store, post office, garage, and gas station. This is but a reminder of historic Paxson. It should be pointed out that there is neither memorial nor sign to inform the visitor as to what this abandoned building represents for an historic community. (The main building in Plate 10 is covered with imitation brick).

The building that is being destroyed in Plate 11 represents an anomaly. Buildings in northeast Alberta are usually sold or they are "accidentally" burned. The building once stood as a proud recreation hall for the Grassland folk.

Plate 12, showing the focus of the contemporary community, should be compared with Plate 7, which shows a surviving building of the historic community. The historic community is being wedded to the contemporary community (see Appendix F) as a result of community spirit and to establish a past to be acknowledged by the outside world as shown in Plate 3.



Plate 8. This picture represents the physical focus of the place that is historic Perryvale. This abandoned general store, post office, garage, and gas station is but a reminder of what was once the centre of commerce for local farmers. (This photograph was taken by the author on 20 Jul 76.)



Plate 9. This memorial represents the sum total of Gourin as a place with historical significance. The memorial reads: *EN MEMOIRE DES PIONNIERS FONDATEURS DE GOURIN 1914*. The family names on this memorial are Ulliac, Duigou, Gosperec, and LeRouzic. (This photograph was taken by the author in August of 1975.)



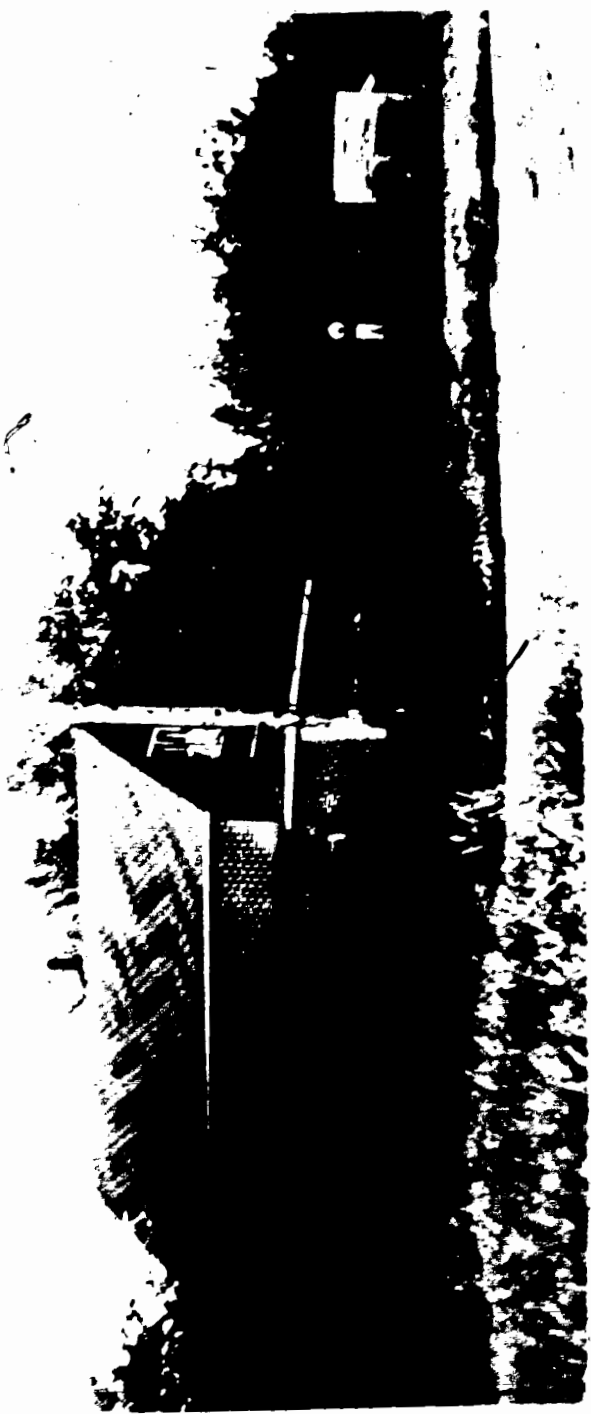


Plate 10. This picture shows the physical focus of historic Paxson. The closure of the school and post office are partially responsible for the local folk abandoning the Paxson Corners after 1965. (This photograph was taken by the author on 13 Aug 73.)



Plate 11. An historic building at Grassland. Few buildings in northeast

Alberta meet this kind of fate--the building is being demolished.

(This photograph was taken by the author on 24 Jul 76.)



Plate 12. This building was erected in 1975. It was opened and dedicated to the proposition that the historic community was alive on 5 Jul 75, and that the future was bright for those who remained. (This photograph was taken by the author on 22 Jul 76.)

The preceding plates are but representative of what the historic communities as physical places were and are. The pictures show that each community, while it had (and has) its own personality as a dynamic entity, was (and is) contained in a web of interdependence with other communities for survival. As the focal points for local communities disappeared from the scene, there was a corresponding rise in the services that the town of Athabasca and Lac La Biche came to serve. Much of the rise in the towns as focal areas began after 1971, when the Alberta Government created varying kinds of district offices at these locations. Since they are important in an assessment of the northeast Alberta character, the next section examines some of their characteristics for an understanding of community.

#### Athabasca and Lac La Biche as Focal Centres

Athabasca and Lac La Biche are much farther apart, ideologically, than the distance of sixty miles would have one suspect. Their histories, of course, are different. The more or less Anglo-Saxon mode of existence has prevailed at Athabasca, and the more or less French-influenced way of life has existed at Lac La Biche. Until the opening of the paved highway number 664 between Athabasca and Donatville, each town was more accessible to Edmonton than to the other. Consequently, little commerce or other activities have existed between the two centres.

Athabasca is the older of the two sites for commercial enterprise. It was established as a trading centre by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1848 -- five years before the establishment of Mission Lac La Biche in 1853. Plate 13 shows Athabasca at River's bend northward, and a Plate of Lac La Biche was not attempted because the town's settlements are too widely dispersed along the lake margins -- covering more than 200 miles!

Each town has the requisite facilities for encouraging participation



Plate 13. This is a panoramic view of the town of Athabasca--looking from the northeast. In the far left margins of this photograph, between the groves of trees, is where the Tawatinaw River flows into the Athabasca, the strong relief features, identified in Chapter III, are clearly evident. (This photograph was taken by the author on 9 Sep 78.)

from the wider region. While the Chamber of Commerce in Athabasca says that the town serves all communities north of the River, the Lac La Biche service area in 1973 was 5,000 square miles serving 10,000 people. One of the main features of each town is the number of churches. There are eight in Lac La Biche (Roman Catholic, Ukrainian Greek Orthodox, Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, United Church of Canada, Evangelical Free Church, Anglican, Greek Orthodox, Canadian Muslim Mosque), and nine in Athabasca (Anglican, Apostolic, Greek Orthodox, Lutheran Services, Missionary Church, Roman Catholic, Ukrainian Catholic, United Church of Canada, Kingdom Hall).

Commerce, historically geared toward the folk in the region, is now being directed toward the tourist as manufacturing industries continue to locate elsewhere. Regularly scheduled air, bus, and train services are available at each location.

One of the major social problems facing communities, always a factor in the success or failure of institutions, is crime. Some of the folk who lived in the historic rural communities informed this author that crime was nearly non-existent when the school was the major institution in the community. That situation has changed with the contemporary scene. Table 40, Figure 47, and Table 41 present data that are representative of the prevailing modes of criminal activity in the towns and districts of the study area. Interesting comparisons can be drawn from these data. Note the contrasts between rural and municipal complaints between Figure 47 and Table 41. The leading category of crime in the Lac La Biche district is assault, which is more than double that of any other category, rural or municipal. The Lac La Biche RCMP reported 194 assaults for 1974, and this no doubt stems from the continuing social isolation experienced by the Métis who are not white, not Native Indian, and non-persons in the *Dictionary of the Canadian*

Table 40. Athabasca Crime Statistics\*

1975/76, April - March 31, Arrests:

With Warrant = 11

Without Warrant, Summary Offences = 63

Without Warrant, Indictable Offences = 56

1976/77, April 1 - March 31, Arrests:

With Warrant = 6

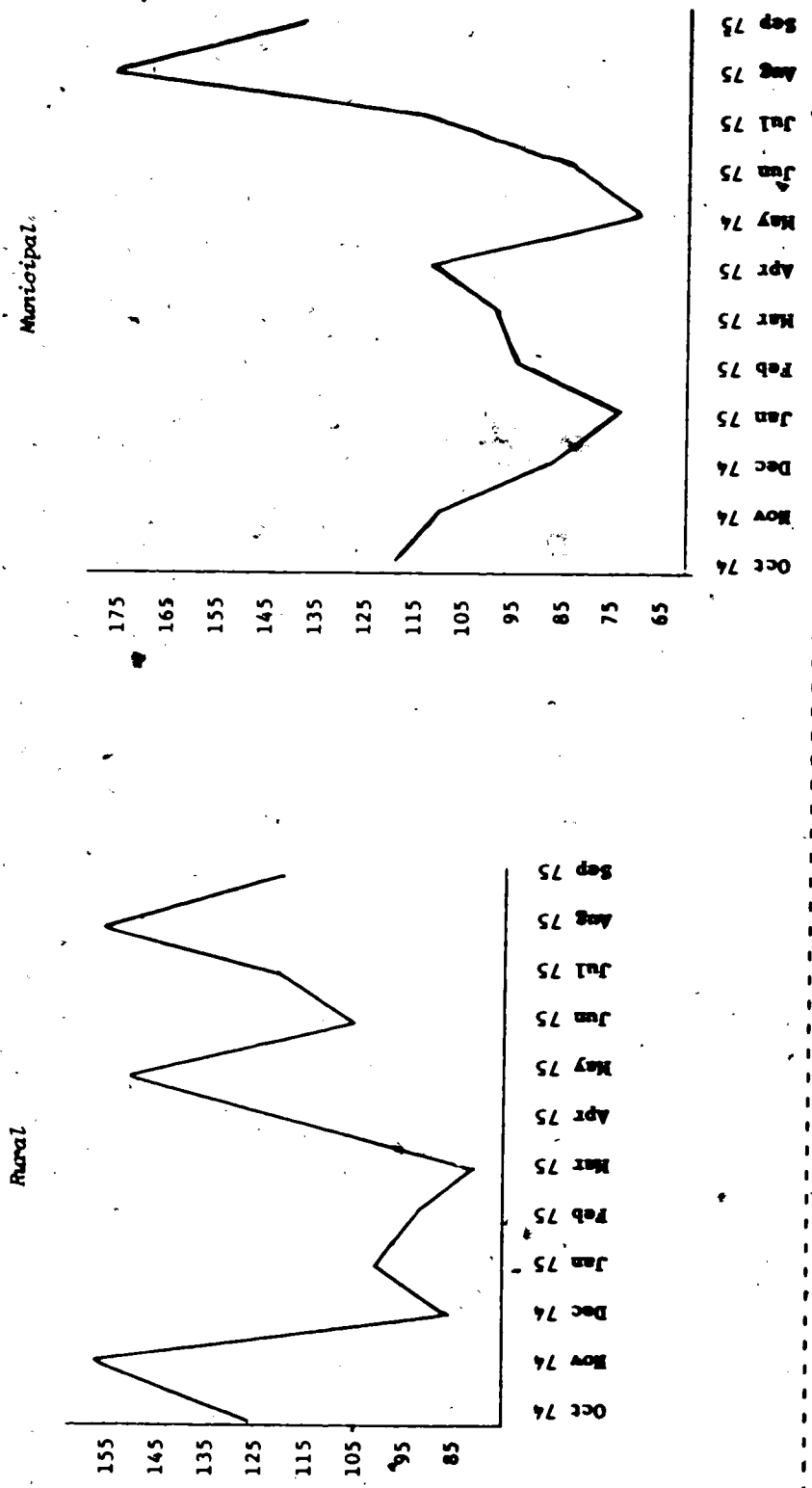
Without Warrant, Summary Offences = 28

Without Warrant, Indictable Offences = 9

Offence	January 1 - December 31	January 1 - July 22
	1975	1976
Homocide		
actual	0	1 (attempt P.O.)
assistance	6	1
Sexual Offences		
actual	0	3
assistance	3	0
Assaults		
actual	36	32
assistance	3	1
Robbery		
actual	0	0
assistance	3	0
Break and Enter		
actual	75	43
assistance	4	1
Motor Vehicle Theft		
actual	36	23
assistance	4	5
Theft Over \$200		
actual	46	13
assistance	7	4
Theft Under \$200		
actual	115	48
assistance	6	2
Frauds		
actual	23	13
assistance	8	2
Impaired Driving		
actual	57	19
assistance	1	1

\*Source: Dave Wenger, R.C.M.P., Officer, Athabasca, July 22, 1976.

Figure 47. Comparisons of Rural and Municipal Criminal Complaints per Month at Athabasca, 1974-1975\*



\*Source: Dave Wenger, R.C.M.P. Officer, Athabasca, July 22, 1976.



Table 41. Lac La Biche Crime Summary for 1974\*

	Town		District	
	Reported	Actual	Reported	Actual
Homicide (003)	2	2	-	-
Sexual Offences (008-009)	4	3	6	2
Assaults (014-017)	57	52	144	142
Robbery (021)	4	1	1	1
Break and Enter (023-025)	60	52	24	24
Motor Vehicle Theft (027-030)	14	10	9	7
Theft Over \$200 (033-035)	10	8	25	23
Theft Under \$200 (037-040)	68	64	71	67
Frauds (043)	8	8	8	8
Impaired Driving (099)	-	-	-	17

\*Source: Respondent No. 08764, Crime Statistics for 1974, R.C.M.P., Lac La Biche, July 23, 1976.

*Sensus.* The major category of crime reported by the Athabasca RCMP in 1975, on the other hand, was "theft under \$200.00." It is clear that the locales within the region are not uniform.

These data stem from one of the primary functions of the towns, which is to collect, collate, and distribute information to the Provincial and Federal Governments. Tables 42 and 43 are illustrative: they present percentage distribution of population by mother tongue in less than meaningful categories, but Table 44, on the other hand, presents ethnic distribution in more meaningful patterns that are reflective of the study area, except in the case of "British Isles." This exception could present some formidable problems to the researcher attempting to understand what British Isles ethnicity is. The names of Afroamericans, Australians, many Canadians, and West Indians are likely to show under this categorization.

The towns of Athabasca and Lac La Biche, nevertheless, serve primarily as bureaucratic outposts for the Provincial Government at Edmonton. Neither place has the historic character that it retained until 1971. Since that time, each town has become less of a gathering place that supports the ideals of the rural lifestyle, and more of a location where services are rendered impersonally. Neither Athabasca nor Lac La Biche; however, will be the primary service centre for northeast Alberta by 1990.

*Unless its growth and development are stopped by the Edmonton politicians, the Village of Boyle will be the star of northeast Alberta. It stands at the centre of communications, highway and railway, between Edmonton and McMurray (see Figure 17), and it will become the major urban focal point. While the star of Boyle is rising, Athabasca will remain the "land of the whispering hills" (see Plate 14), and its citizens will*

Table 42. NUMERICAL and PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION  
in ALBERTA by MOTHER TONGUE\*  
1961-1971

Population (1961)	English		French		Other	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1,331,944	962,319	72.2	42,276	3.2	327,349	24.6
Population (1971)	English		French		Other	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1,627,875	1,263,935	77.6	46,500	2.9	317,440	19.5

\*Source: Statistics Canada, Population: Specified Mother Tongues for Census Divisions and Subdivisions, Special Bulletin 1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-773 (Sp-3) December 1972, p. 1-1.

Table 43. NUMERICAL and PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION of the POPULATION by MOTHER TONGUE  
in IMPROVEMENT DISTRICT NUMBER 18 and ATHABASCA COUNTY NUMBER 12, 1971\*

Subdivision	Total	Number			Percentage		
		English	French	Other	English	French	Other
<u>Division No. 12</u> I.D. 18	8,815	4,535	995	3,325	51.4	10.8	37.7
<u>Division No. 13</u> Athabasca County No. 12	5,615	3,725	150	1,740	66.3	2.7	31.0

\*Statistics Canada, Population: Specified Mother Tongues for Census Divisions and Subdivisions, Special Bulletin 1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-773 (Sp-3) December 1973, pp. 2-85 and 2-86.

Table 44. Ethnic Distributions, 1971\*

Division Number	Total	British Isles	French	German	Hungarian	Italian	Native Indian	Netherlands	Polish	Russian	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Asian	Others and Unknown
Division Number 12														
L.D. 1R	8,915	1,530	1,740	350	10	160	1,245	75	145	20	290	1,020	90	235
Indian Reserves	1,850	95	30	25	-	5	3,660	-	-	-	5	25	-	-
Lac la Piche (town)	1,715	455	320	30	5	50	175	5	55	10	50	350	110	45
Piamondon (village)	190	25	140	10	-	-	5	-	5	-	-	5	-	-
Division Number 13														
Athabasca County 12	5,705	1,740	405	645	15	50	135	30	485	10	425	1,530	-	255
Indian Reserves	510	-	-	-	-	-	505	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Athabasca (town)	1,845	795	175	170	5	25	35	35	100	15	75	350	30	40
Boyle (village)	385	115	20	5	-	-	5	5	45	-	30	115	15	40

\*Source: Statistics Canada, *Population: Specialized Ethnic Groups Census Divisions and Subdivisions*, Special Bulletin, 1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-74 (Sp-4) May 1974, pp. 118-119.  
 Note: This table should include the category "Jewish," but has been omitted here because none is recorded for any area listed above.



Plate 14. This is a picture of the Chamber of Commerce's sign that announces to the world some of the tourist possibilities in the area. (This photograph was taken by the author on 9 Sep 78.)

continue to think about what the town could have been during the early part of this century. They will continue to nurture illusions of grandeur. Lac La Biche, on the other hand, will increase in population as more administrative services are distributed from the town. It will, however, remain essentially a frontier outpost -- a place where Native Peoples, Métis, and the various groups of "whites" will interface superficially.

One cannot conclude a discussion of agricultural settlement in western Canada without acknowledging railways as institutions, because they did, in some non-quantifiable way, have some influence on some settlers. At Athabasca, the belief that the town sat at the crossroads of the Province influenced notions for potential commerce and industry and commerce. It is, therefore, somewhat ironical that only that portion of the railway situated at Athabasca is profitable for the CNR north of Morinville, and it is only a matter of time before that service is discontinued. Produce and livestock will be trucked to Boyle, and Transportation Alberta will build better highways to withstand the additional weights. Boyle will benefit from the added tonnage that will be hauled on the NAR tracks. As the "Tar Sands" develop, more tonnage will be hauled by Northern Alberta Railways.

#### DISCUSSION

The developing dynamics of the towns and villages in the study area are indicative of the current state of community in northeast Alberta -- change. Sixty-five years after the first agricultural settlers preempted land in the study area, northeast Alberta remained agriculturally marginal. In fact, these farmers were more agriculturally marginal in 1975 than they were in 1915. The Socio-cultural situations in the study area have supported the continuation of the region's frontier character through the

historic communities whereby farmers spent and spend a certain portion of the year engaged in wage labor occupation to support their farm habits. Many persons interviewed in the study area suggested that it was the lifestyle that was appealing to them rather than getting ahead economically. This expressed attitude was not among those in the geographic literature relating to success criteria for frontier settlers. There appears to be, however, a certain lawlessness associated with the concept of sustaining a lifestyle when these same folk refused to pay taxes to support their major institution. Alas!

Community, as with sequential settlement, has changed with time. The greatest changes in northeast Alberta have been taking place since 1971, and they were accelerated after 1973. Community in the study area is as much an idea as a physical reality -- historically and currently. That is, community changes with the person to whom you are talking at a particular time of the day or the particular season of the year.

The school remains the focus for the historic community, nevertheless, and in many instances has reached the stature of legend. Work and residence, on the other hand, are not clear-cut, and no ethnic group was found to work exclusively in urban areas while others worked in the bush. Residence in the area for males has involved, and continues to some extent, at least two or more each year.

Churchgoing and religion are as complex as work and residence, but no community was without either. There were, in fact, too many congregations to support the formal churches that were established, and churchgoing in many areas has ceased (see Plate 15). What this really means is that people congregate over greater distances in a centralized location such as Athabasca, Lac La Biche, or even Edmonton. The photo essay suggests that



Plate 15. The abandoned Catholic Church at Donatville. "Rumours" suggest that the church's abandonment resulted from the difficulties between the French Parishioners and the Irish Catholic Priest from Boyle. .(This photograph was taken by the author on 9 Sep 78.)




community as place is, in at least two instances -- Amber Valley and Plamondon, also dynamic, while other places repose or make other changes.

This chapter, then, has shown that notions such as community integrity, independence, generational linkages or cultural continuation, and like ideas are important to the folk in determining their success criteria. The socio-cultural situations in the study area are not unlike cultural exchanges elsewhere as this region is inextricably linked with the other fibers of the Canadian nation. Why many choose to remain in marginally productive agricultural pursuits has much to do with what is thought of as freedom of choice in structuring their own lives.

In a study of farm families around Bonnyville, some "... families felt trapped and resigned themselves to a subsistence existence."<sup>28</sup> While trapped might well be the real reason why many persons remain in farming behind the facade of independence, not one farmer who was interviewed in the study area indicated a willingness to leave the farm. Indeed, at least ten of them had lived and worked varying amounts of time in such places as Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver. At least one woman decided to return to farming after working for twenty years as a store clerk in Winnipeg.

Nevertheless, as the costs for production continue to increase, farmers will be forced to turn to agriculturally productive pursuits. The result of neglecting to get the most from the farm will result in the loss of many farm properties. That is, the price of land is too expensive in contemporary Canadian society to have fallow lands which can be developed. The increasing farm costs will continue to be driven higher by the non-agricultural activities associated with the "Tar Sands" development. Farmers will be forced away from the production of grains, and the region will flourish.



FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> CRAWFORD, Margaret E., *A Geographic Study of the Distribution of Population Change in Alberta, 1931-1961*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis (1962), p. 95. University of Alberta: Edmonton.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65. See also, *Atlas of Alberta*, pp. 50-51.
- <sup>3</sup> LAMONT, G., and PROUDFOOT, V.G., "Recent Changes in Population in Northern Saskatchewan and Alberta," *Frontier Settlement*, The University of Alberta Studies in Geography, Monograph 1, Edmonton (1974), p. 96.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- <sup>5</sup> GIRARD, Arthur J. (Principal - Plamondon School and Community Historian), *Personal Communication*, 16 Dec 77.
- <sup>6</sup> CRAWFORD, *op. cit.*, p. 26, discusses the problems associated with an understanding of meanings. That is, "Detailed study of the progress of urbanisation is difficult because of the changing definition of terms used in the Census, boundary changes in urban areas through annexation of surrounding land, and the fact that rural communities have grown to over 1,000 persons and thus must be classed as urban. Before 1951 [,] the division between rural and urban was based on population size or the form of administrative organisation, or both. Thus, any incorporated settlement, no matter what its population, was classed as urban, and agglomerations which were often much larger in numbers but unincorporated were rural for census purposes. After 1951 [,] size was chosen as the criterion on the basis of which rural and urban populations were to be distinguished, recognising that such division is arbitrary but believing that size is closely related to the type of social and economic organisation likely to develop, and that the larger the community the more urban its activities are likely to be. Thus in 1951 all places with a population of 1,000 or more were classed as urban regardless of the fact that they were, or were not, incorporated." The question of urbanization in northeast Alberta is rather moot, because all areas north of Edmonton fall within its sphere of influence.
- <sup>7</sup> These figures are derived from the "1974 Equalized Assessments for Alberta," *Municipal Counsellor*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1975), pp. 6-8. The counties, municipal districts, cities, towns and villages are listed as Appendix D.
- <sup>8</sup> Alberta Government, Department of Culture, Youth, and Recreation, *Alberta Cultural Heritage Conference Final Report*, (1972), Edmonton, n.p. Item number seven from the group on Canadianism is instructive with regard to the government's role in structuring the outcome of community as an idealistic notion. That is, "We believe that the equation of the word ethnic with immigrant, especially in the twentieth century, has given that word a derogatory connotation. We recommend that the term be retained because everybody has an ethnic background. In fact, ethnicity and respect for ethnicity is one of the chief characteristics which differentiates Canada from the United States (101)." The final recommendation from group eight on language suggested that "in the spirit of multi-culturalism: (a) a course on 'cultures' of Alberta be made compulsory for all students in teachers training at the Universities of Alberta; and (b) a parallel course

be set up by the curriculum department of education for elementary and secondary students of Alberta (109)." It becomes increasingly clear from these examples that nothing escapes the boundaries of governmental bureaucracy.

- <sup>9</sup> LARSON, H.L., "Education in Athabasca," *Clover and Wild Strawberries: A History of the Schools of the County of Athabasca*. George S. Opryshko, ed. Athabasca: County of Athabasca Number 12 (1967), p. 134.
- <sup>10</sup> Mr. F.P. Begory, Superintendent of Schools at Athabasca in 1975, suggested that people are not dislodged from their land as long as they make an honest effort to pay their taxes. In one instance it was suggested that a head of cattle was sold and the proceeds applied to taxes owed was a satisfactory gesture.
- <sup>11</sup> SHYMONIAK, L.R., "Spruce Valley, S.D. No. 4652," *Clover and Wild Strawberries*, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
- <sup>12</sup> This information is quoted from page 148 of the record of the ratepayers and trustee meetings of the Toles School District, Number 2895. It is a battered and tattered storehouse of basic financial and organizational information with missing pages here and there. The record was audited each year by a Provincial Inspector of Alberta Schools or his representative. The record of meetings is included from January 2, 1914 through April 8, 1937. Its greatest importance lies in the fact that it is one of the few records of local school board meetings that has come to light during the early period of settlement in northeast Alberta. Further references to this work are cited as *Recordbook*.
- <sup>13</sup> Between 1919 and 1940, Mrs. Alice H. or Mr. William H. Cromwell taught the pupils at the Amber Valley School. Mr. Cromwell taught during the years 1919, 1921, 1922, 1924, and 1925. Mrs. Cromwell taught during the remaining years, i.e., until 1940. The lowest salary per month was paid during 1933 when the teacher was paid \$700.00 for the ten months school year. *Recordbook*.
- <sup>14</sup> The process by which the educational system of the Province enforced the contractual obligations was through the consolidation of schools in a systematic fashion. The process of consolidation is detailed as Appendix E for the study area.
- <sup>15</sup> "Brief Facts About Lahaieville School," *Clover and Wild Strawberries*, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.
- <sup>16</sup> DAY, Mrs. C., "The Way It Was," *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- <sup>17</sup> Mrs. Alice H. Cromwell, *Interview*, North Vancouver, B.C., October (1970).
- <sup>18</sup> Klaus Scheffler, *Interview*, Athabasca, 22 Jul 76.
- <sup>19</sup> Among these respondents were: Alan Hunter, past-Secretary of the Athabasca Chamber of Commerce; Gary Berger, Demonstration Agent for Alberta Agriculture; H.M. Hendrickson, Bank Manager of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce; Mr. F.G. Begory, Superintendent of Schools at Athabasca; and Dave Wenger of the Athabasca Detachment of the R.C.M.P.

- <sup>20</sup> Section 9 of the Tax Recovery Act establishes that "every parcel with a subsisting tax recovery notification shall be offered for sale by public auction not less than one year, but before the expiry of three years from April 1st of the year in which the tax recovery notification was registered." *Municipal Counsellor, op. cit.*, p. 14. Before the housing pressures ensued in the study area, some persons had paid no taxes over a ten year period.
- <sup>21</sup> Gary Berger, *Interview*, Athabasca, 22 Jul 76. Corrected typescript of interview, 10 May 77.
- <sup>22</sup> Alan Hunter, Past-Secretary of the Athabasca Chamber of Commerce, *Interview*, Athabasca, 21 Jul 76.
- <sup>23</sup> ROGERS, Walter B., *The Role of Religion in Social and Economic Development*, Agricultural Economics Special Report 4, January (1967), p. 1. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- <sup>24</sup> ROGERS, Walter B., *The Rural Church, The Farm Family*, Agricultural Economics Special Report 7, May (1967), p. 4. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.
- <sup>26</sup> Mrs. Leona (Phillips) Gibson Risby, *Interview*, Vancouver, B.C., August (1975).
- <sup>27</sup> CROMWELL, Mrs. Alice H., "Letter to the Athabasca Divisional School Board," Amber Valley, June 30, 1939.
- <sup>28</sup> BUCKMIRE, George E., and ROGERS, Walter B., *Changing Rural Attitudes*, Agricultural Economics Special Report 8, May (1967), pl 16. University of Alberta, Edmonton.

CHAPTER VIICONCLUSIONS

The success criteria established for this thesis deviate from those which appear in traditional geographic studies on frontier groups. While those studies focus on economic development and integration into a wider society, this study identifies concepts related to generational and institutional developments, self-determination and integrity as valid criteria for measuring success for any pioneer group. This thesis has demonstrated that the levels of success that can be attained by pioneer agriculturalists are knowable. And in order for the student of pioneer settlement to understand those successes, this study has shown that criteria must be stated differentially. The question of success involves the opinions and attitudes of public officials, settler groups, individual pioneers, later community members, and "outside experts" who look at economy, self-determination, technology, integrity and institutions from different angles.

Northeast Alberta has provided the arena for contrasts between success and failure. The "public lands policy," under which the study area was settled, predated the establishment of Alberta as a province by more than thirty years, and that policy continues to underpin the economic, geographic, historic, political, psychological, and sociological expressions and dynamics. The government was successful in its program to establish settlers on the land, but the problems which developed in the long-run, such as economic poverty and escalating welfare costs in Enumeration Area 114, reflect a clearly articulated failure on the part of the people to reach levels of success in terms of

building their own institutions and meaningful generational developments on which integrity can firmly rest. The government created the proper conditions for rapid agricultural expansions into areas where none should have occurred, and settlers suffered not so much from breaking the land but in their attempts to raise crops unsuited to the environment in many instances. The very success of settling on the land in many areas of northeast Alberta was the pre-condition for mass failures. An essential conclusion must be reached from governmental settlement policy: that it precluded economic and other successes because of inadequate planning and preparation.

Generational and institutional developments provide a more representative measure for success than governmental policy. They provide different but not contradictory data. While "boosterism" and the "garden district" myth were instrumental in attracting settlers to northeast Alberta, many came because they wanted to own their own land. For others, the environment held a natural attraction.

The internal migrants from the Palliser Triangle came to the study area in the 1930's for the adequate rainfall that was missing in southeast Alberta. These folk were refugees in the sense that their existence was threatened by droughts. Those who wished to relocate to the study area or other parts of the province could obtain a loan of \$600 to move their possessions. Requiring a loan suggests a severe shortage of capital, and the settlement effected by these folk on the worst soils in northeast Alberta ensured their failure to adequately develop lasting institutions. These failures are now closely linked with social welfare policies in the eastern portion of the study area.

Failure to attain success for these internal migrants could have

been predicted. The warnings in the literature about the basic requirements for agricultural settlement and development have been, as a matter of course, ignored in Alberta. The indiscriminate settlement of land without regard for its adaptability for agricultural production and without regard for its ability for supporting the necessary social systems is finally changing in Alberta, but the poverty of agriculture for these folk is the poverty of the people.

Why the French from Michigan settled in the study area remains unclear, but the natural attraction of the environment may have been the motive for acquisition of adequate acreage for families to expand their holdings. These folk settled under the provisions of the "public lands policy," and commenced to establish their institutions. Without an adequate comprehension of why and under what conditions the French left Michigan, it is not possible to make a statement predicting their success or failure. Nevertheless, it is clear from the land expansions between 1940 and 1977 that the community continues to grow and develop.

Using the criteria established for success in this thesis, these folk are highly successful in terms of generational developments. The village of Plamondon is perhaps the best physical expression of success, and the Plamondon and District Museum probably articulates the pride and integrity best.

While the French at Plamondon are seen as a group that is highly successful in terms of occupancy, generations, and institutions, the Afroamericans who settled near Amber Valley demand a different measure. The natural attraction of northeast Alberta to these folk is known, and questions regarding the predictability of success would be different from those about the internal migrants and the French immigrants. The Afro-

americans came to northeast Alberta seeking a respite from social hostilities, and for some of them their safe arrival in Alberta was as much success as they demanded for the moment. Nevertheless, these folk started to develop their institutions shortly after their arrival, and continued until the mid-1950's. It was then that the community declined in population and institutions began to disappear until 1966 when only the church and a dozen families remained.

At the end of 1973, a revitalization movement set in to re-establish the community's past and present integrity. There is much discussion about the historic role of self-determination in the establishment of the community, and signs on the landscape promise a bright future.

The Afroamerican settlers are not as successful as the French in the number of institutions on the landscape nor in maintaining an increasing population and land expansions at the fountainhead. The Afroamericans are, nevertheless, highly successful in terms of generational developments. —How one judges the revitalization movement depends on the analyst. One conclusion suggested by such a movement, however, is that success criteria change through time for the folk. In other words, success is not static.

The three examples related to natural attraction suggest that in order to clearly understand what questions about success should be asked the problem of origin needs to be firmly established. This is accomplished for the Afroamericans in this thesis, but not for the French. Future studies in northeast Alberta should pay particular attention to origins of the folk.

The economic poverty of agriculture in certain regions of the study area has certainly limited the development of key institutions and does



in those cases clearly represent failure. However, the desire to own land and to be engaged in agricultural pursuits is more important to some farmers than agricultural marginality or agricultural poverty. The northeast Alberta farmer actually supports marginal farming by planting crops unsuited to the environment and working away from the farmstead in non-farm occupations for wages. The most significant factor about agriculture in northeast Alberta is not its marginality but that agricultural marginality is actually supported by farmers. In this regard, the notion of self-determination is a feature that stands out prominently in the lives of immigrant descendants who measure their self-worth and their successes by independence as they view that ideal state. Agricultural marginality itself, then, becomes a measure of success in the cases where people have supported it with non-farm wages and are apparently satisfied with their creations.

Generational and institutional developments are key criteria for measuring levels of success attained by pioneer settlement groups. However, to understand human pursuits that are successful in the face of adversity and marginality, the analyst must know something about the socio-cultural circumstances and situations facing the folk. In northeast Alberta, the socio-cultural environment is examined from the standpoint of community in the fortunes or misfortunes of the folk. The focus for communities in the study area was the schools until they were eliminated by the process of consolidation. Before consolidation, the school was the primary institution where the northeast Alberta folk could fully justify to themselves that they were, indeed, in control of their own and their children's destiny. The problem of measuring success based on integrity is by no means easy, but the prevailing folklore suggests that

the notion must be included in criteria designed to understand pioneer agricultural settlements. One conclusion from the northeast Alberta study must follow: that a failure to establish generations and institutions possessing an assured integrity is a failure of frontier pioneer folk.

Successes and failures in the study area are demonstrated by the photographic data of this thesis. What they suggest are new dimensions for understanding success. There is always a possible range for successes that might be attained by a particular group, but the reality of existence demands that we acknowledge that the only real success is continuing adaptation to changing circumstances and situations.

This study, then, has shown that it is possible to develop a procedure for understanding group settlement to determine certain elements of their successes. The main ingredient for this understanding is the pre-migration experience, however, and these data are not always available to the analyst. They should, nevertheless, be required in future studies of northeast Alberta.

This author has discovered that group settlement successes have too many features to be thoroughly examined in one study, and revitalization movements are critical factors in the lives of some folk. There is a need for further clarification of the role played by such movements. Finally, the northeast Alberta study has raised more questions about success than have been answered by this thesis. Among these are the following: Does success go beyond the individual farm family? How long does it take for frontier folk to modify their procedure to fit objective reality? And, is it possible to predict success factors based on the concept of integrity?

APPENDIX A

SELECTED AVIAN AND MAMMALIAN FAUNA

SELECTED AVIAN FAUNA

Family	Sub-Family	Genus Species	Common Name	Occurrence	
Anatidae (Ducks, Geese, Ducks)		<u>Olor columbianus</u>	Whistling Swan	PCN	
		<u>Branta canadensis</u>	Canada Goose	PCSR	
		<u>Anser albifrons</u>	White-Fronted Goose	PCN	
		<u>Anas hyperborea</u>	Snow Goose	CR	
		<u>Anas platyrhynchos</u>	Mallard Duck	CSR	
		<u>Anas strepera</u>	Cadwall	CSR	
		<u>Anas acuta</u>	Pintail	CSR	
		<u>Anas carolinensis</u>	Green-Winged Teal	CSR	
		<u>Anas diaora</u>	Blue-Winged Teal	CSR	
		<u>Nyroca americana</u>	American Widgeon	CSR	
		<u>Spotula clypeata</u>	Shoveler	CSR	
		<u>Aythya collaris</u>	Ring-Necked Duck	PCSR	
		<u>Aythya valisineria</u>	Canvasback	PCSR	
		<u>Aythya affinis</u>	Lesser Scaup	CSR	
		<u>Recurvirostra americana</u>	Common Goldeneye	PCSR	
		<u>Recurvirostra alpestris</u>	Bufflehead	PCSR	
		<u>Clangula clangula</u>	Oldsquaw	PCN	
		<u>Melanitta deglandi</u>	White-Winged Scoter	CSR	
		<u>Oxyura jamaicensis</u>	Ruddy Duck	PCSR	
		<u>Mergus merganser</u>	Common Merganser	PCSR	
		<u>Mergus serrator</u>	Red-Breasted Merganser	PCSR	
	Accipitres	Accipitrinae	<u>Accipiter gentilis</u>	Coshoek	PCR
			<u>Accipiter striatus</u>	Sharp-Shinned Hawk	PCSR
Buteoninae		<u>Buteo jamaicensis</u>	Red-Tailed Hawk	PCSR	
		<u>Buteo swainsoni</u>	Swainson's Hawk	PCSR	
		<u>Buteo lagopus</u>	Rough-Legged Hawk	CR	
		<u>Haliaeetus leucocephalus</u>	Bald Eagle	SRASH	
Circinae		<u>Circus</u>	Marsh Hawk	CSR	
		Falconinae	<u>Falco columbarius</u>	Pigeon Hawk	PCSR
		<u>Falco sparverius</u>	Sparrow Hawk	CSR	
Tetraonidae (Grouse)			<u>Canachia canadensis</u>	Spruce Grouse	PCR
		<u>Bonasa umbellus</u>	Ruffed-Grouse	CR	
		<u>Pediocetes phasianellus</u>	Sharp-Tailed Grouse	CR	
		<u>Phasianus colchicus</u>	Ring-Necked Pheasant	CR	
Phasianidae (Pheasants, Partridges)		<u>Ferdin perdis</u>	Hungarian Partridge	CR	
		<u>Grus americana</u>	Whooping Crane	RRMSR	
Gruidae (Cranes)		<u>Grus canadensis</u>	Sandhill Crane	MSR	
		<u>Larus californicus</u>	California Gull	CSR	
Laridae (Gulls, Terns)		<u>Sterna hirundo</u>	Common Tern	PCSR	
		<u>Columba livia</u>	Domestic Pigeon	CR	
Columbidae (Pigeons, Doves)		<u>Zenaidura macroura</u>	Mourning Dove	PCSR	
		<u>Bubo virginianus</u>	Great Horned Owl	CR	
Strigidae		<u>Nyctaleus alba</u>	Common Nighthawk	PCSR	
Caprimulgidae		<u>Perisoreus canadensis</u>	Gray (Canada) Jay	CR	
Corvidae (Crows, Magpies, Jays)		<u>Cyanocitta cristata</u>	Blue Jay	PCR	
		<u>Pica pica</u>	Black-Blinded Magpie	CR	
		<u>Corvus corax</u>	Common Raven	PCR	
		<u>Corvus brachyrhynchos</u>	Common Crow	CSR	
		<u>Sturnus vulgaris</u>	Starling	CSR	
Sturnidae (Starlings)		<u>Xanthocephalus xanthocephalus</u>	Yellow-Headed Blackbird	PCSR	
	Icteridae (Larks, Blackbirds, Orioles)	<u>Agelaius phoeniceus</u>	Redwinged Blackbird	CSR	
		<u>Euphagus carolinus</u>	Rusty Blackbird	PCSR	
		<u>Euphagus cyanocephalus</u>	Brewer's Blackbird	PCSR	
		<u>Quiscalus quiscula</u>	Common Grackle	PCSR	

Occurrence Code C = Common PC = Fairly Common S = Summer R = Resident M = Migrant

SELECTED MAMMALIAN FAUNA

Order	Family	Sub-Family	Genus Species	Common Name	Occurrence
Insectivora	Soricidae (Shrews)	-	<u>Sorex cinereus</u>	Cinereous Shrew	R
		-	<u>Sorex arcticus</u>	Saddle-Backed Shrew	R
		-	<u>Sorex vagrans</u>	Dusky Shrew	R
		-	<u>Sorex palustris</u>	Water Shrew	R
		-	<u>Microsorex hoyi</u>	Pygmy Shrew	R
Chiroptera	Vespertilionidae (Bats)	-	<u>Myotis lucifugus</u>	Little Brown Bat	R
		-	<u>Lasiorycteris noctivagans</u>	Silver-Haired Bat	R
		-	<u>Eptesicus fuscus</u>	Big Brown Bat	R
		-	<u>Lasiurus cinereus</u>	Hoary Bat	R
Lagomorpha	Leporidae (Hares and Rabbits)	-	<u>Lepus townsendii</u>	White-Tailed Prairie Hare	O
		-	<u>Lepus americanus</u>	Varying Hare	R
Rodentia	Sciuridae (Marmots and Squirrels)	-	<u>Marmota monax</u>	Woodchuck	R
		-	<u>Citellus richardsonii</u>	Richardson Ground Squirrel, Gopher	R
		-	<u>Citellus franklinii</u>	Franklin Ground Squirrel, Bush Gopher	R
		-	<u>Citellus tridecemlineatus</u>	Striped Ground Squirrel, Gopher	R
		-	<u>Eutamias minimus</u>	Least Chipmunk	R
		-	<u>Tamiasciurus hudsonicus</u>	Red Squirrel	R
		-	<u>Glaucomys sabrinus</u>	Flying Squirrel	R
		-	<u>Thomomys talpoides</u>	Pocket Gopher, Mole	R
		-	<u>Castor canadensis</u>	Beaver	R
		-	<u>Peromyscus maniculatus</u>	White-Footed Mouse	R
		-	<u>Synaptomys borealis</u>	Lemming Vole	R
		-	<u>Clethrionomys gapperi</u>	Red-Backed Vole	R
		-	<u>Phenacomys ungava</u>	Phenacomys Vole	R
		-	<u>Microtus pennsylvanicus</u>	Meadow Vole	R
		-	<u>Microtus xanthognathus</u>	Chestnut Cheeked Vole	R
-	<u>Onychomys leucogaster</u>	Muskrat	R		
-	<u>Mus musculus domesticus</u>	House mouse	R		
-	<u>Zapus hudsonius</u>	Jumping Mouse	R		
-	<u>Erethizon dorsatum</u>	Porcupine	R		
Carnivora	Canidae (Wolves and Foxes)	-	<u>Canis latrans</u>	Coyote	R
		-	<u>Canis lupus</u>	Wolf	R
		-	<u>Vulpes fulva</u>	Red Fox	R
		-	<u>Eurosto americanus</u>	Black Bear	R
		-	<u>Martes americana</u>	Marten	R
	-	<u>Martes pennanti</u>	Fisher	R	
	-	<u>Mustela erminea</u>	Short-Tailed Weasel	R	
	-	<u>Mustela vison</u>	Least Weasel	R	
	-	<u>Mustela frenata</u>	Long-Tailed Weasel	R	
	-	<u>Mustela vison</u>	Mink	R	
	Mustelidae	Galioniae	<u>Lutra canadensis</u>	Otter	R
		Taxidiinae	<u>Taxidea taxus</u>	Badger	R
		-	<u>Mephitis mephitis</u>	Skunk	R
		-	<u>Lynx canadensis</u>	Lynx	R
		-	<u>Lynx canadensis</u>	Lynx	R
Artiodactyla	Cervidae (Deer)	-	<u>Terrus canadensis</u>	Elk	O
		-	<u>Odocoileus virginianus</u>	White Tailed Deer	R
		-	<u>Odocoileus hemionus</u>	Mule Deer	R
		-	<u>Alces alces</u>	Moose	R
		-	<u>Rangifer caribou</u>	Woodland Caribou	O

Occurrence R = Resident  
O = Occasional

APPENDIX B

BRIEF SUBMITTED TO THE HALL COMMISSION BY THE  
ATHABASCA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND THE TOWN OF ATHABASCA\*

\*Source: Hal Harrison, Publicity Chairman, *Chamber of Commerce*, Athabasca,  
July 24, 1976.

The Chamber of Commerce of Athabasca and District are greatly disturbed about some of the implications arising from the possible abandonment of the rail line leading into the Town from a junction point at Morinville. Since the economy of the district involved is basically agricultural and the main tonnage of the railway from this point is grain, most of these concerns deal basically with the losses which will accrue to the farmers in our area and the results these losses will have on the district and the town.

While there are many factors to be studied here, much of the basic information we required to give factual economic surveys of the results of rail line abandonment is unavailable to us. This makes our task very difficult in that we are left to deal with generalities rather than specifics.

Mainly, in order to make our brief more specific, we must know the position of the elevator companies operating in our town. Will they stay and become a base for a truck hauling system or will they shut down and force the use of alternate delivery points? The elevator companies have been non-committal on this point.

While we do not intend to deal at length with this subject there are one or two points we wish to point out to the Commission.

First -- whether or not the elevator companies stay and a truck hauling system is established working out of the present elevators we feel that the differences in cost of handling in this manner, through the extra loading, off-loading, as well as the greater costs of shipping long distances by truck, will place an extreme financial burden on the small farmers of our area. This loss of income would greatly affect the economy of the town itself.

On the other hand were the elevators here to close down and force the use of alternate delivery points, the nearest here being Boyle, some 28

miles, then the impact on farmers and town would be increased drastically.

This extra distance to haul, and the bulk of the farmers in the Athabasca area would have the full distance as an extra, would place most of ~~our~~ farmers, with small acreages, in a position of losing money on their operations and therefore would likely have to look for some alternate method of making a living.

With the possible shutting down of the elevators here also comes to the town a much greater loss of business through the shopping of those farmers left on the land, at the alternate delivery point rather than at home.

There also exists some concern regarding possibilities connected with the truck haul of grain in larger trucks and the inherent temptation to use this method from the farm to the terminal rather than from the local elevator to the terminal. This could mean the saving of an extra loading and unloading. If this eventually was realized, the damage caused to the community roads, not built to withstand the tonnages involved would be disastrous in that the cost of repair and upgrading of these country roads would be astronomical.\*

Added to the above items is the fact that with rail line abandonment alone a considerable number of people working for the rail line as maintenance workers, etc., would be put out of work and would probably leave the area, creating a loss of population for the town. This loss would be added to if the elevator companies were also to shut down.

This area, rural as it is, in the past few years has begun to show an

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\* Editor's Note: This contention was ably substantiated by R.M. Comchi, District Engineer of the Maintenance Branch, *Alberta Transportation*, Athabasca, July 25, 1976.



increase in population, rather than a decrease as is registered in many other rural areas. This is traceable to the increasing popularity of the lakes, fishing and hunting areas in our region. This increase, as it continues to grow, could also provide extra business for the railroad, if they were interested in it, in week-end excursion passenger service along the line.

This population increase, especially in the summer months leads us to believe that with assistance from the government there is every likelihood of small industry springing up in this area. This could well be in the ceramics line as the decreasing tonnage of that commodity shipped from here to Medicine Hat is no doubt due to the fact that the extra shipping cost of the raw materials makes the finished articles too expensive to successfully compete. With a part of the plant installed in this area then increased carloadings of finished materials, rather than the clay itself, could be expected from the region, thus increasing the income of the railroad.

We also feel that in the years ahead there is a great possibility of increased tonnage over the line in the form of other commodities, such as gravel, for which there is becoming a distinct shortage in the province. Also this commodity is too heavy and would have to be hauled by rail in order to make its movement feasible.

We also feel that the use of trucks for long distance grain hauling is in direct opposition to the government's stated position regarding the conservation of energy since the railroad makes much better use of the energy expended through their larger loadings and their lesser use of fuel.

In summing up our brief we would like also to state that our investigations brought to light a number of instances involving poor service by the rail line and therefore our belief is that with more salesmanship and

better service the losses to the railroad would not be as high as they state they are. Most of this poor service is through their inability to provide cars when they are needed for shipment of grain or of other commodities.

All in all the above prospects for a severe loss of income and stability to the district farmers and the inherent loss of business and population to the Town of Athabasca leaves us in a position of incurring severe economic losses were the rail line to the town to be abandoned.

APPENDIX C

CADASTRAL RECORDS OF THIRTEEN TOWNSHIPS

Cadastral Record of Township 66 Range 22 West of the Fourth Merid

Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name							
1	NW Home		Apr25/10	159	Feb16/14	Will Williams	13	NE	NWHB	A10158	Feb28/12	79.8	Ac
	SE Home		Apr11/10	159	Jun26/13	Jesse Jones		NW	NWHB	A10157	Feb28/12		Ac
	SW Home		Sep12/10	159	Jan 5/14	Ed Jameison			Home		Jan 8/12		Ma
2	NE Home		Aug20/08	159	Jan19/14	James Rogers/Zike Robinson	14	NE	Home		Nov10/10		Fr
	NW Home		Jul 2/07	159	Aug 9/12	Fernces Skeffington		NW	Home		Jul30/06		Se
	SE Home		Mar11/09	159	Sep 4/13	Alf Rogers		SE	Home		May13/10		Se
	SW Home		Jul10/06	159	Aug22/10	Ed Shank		SW	NWHB	A10004	Feb16/12		Ma
									NWHB	A10073	Feb16/12		Ma
3	NE Home		Apr28/10	159	Jul23/14	George Shank	15	NE	NWHB	10660	Dec12/11	159	Fr
	NW NWHB	A10162	Jan17/12	159	Feb 7/12	Charles Onion		NW	Home		Sep14/08	159	Fr
	NW NWHB	A10085	Jan17/12	159	Feb 7/12	Harriet Lilla McDonald		SE	NWHB	A10059	Oct12/11	159	Ne
	SE Home		Jul 8/09	159	Sep23/21	John Macko		SE	NWHB	A10105	Oct31/11		Ne
	SW Home		Jul20/09	159	Apr 7/14	Wasyl Labowski		SW	Home		Aug12/05	159	Ju
4	NE NWHB	10081	Dec14/11		Mar20/12	Nora Beattie	16	NE	Home		Nov16/06	159	Ma
	NE NWHB	10074	Dec14/11		Mar20/12	Josephine Natomagen		NW	Sale	16322	Jan12/11	21	Fr
	SE Home		Nov 4/07	159	Sep16/11	Alex W. Davidson		SE	Home		Jul30/06	159	Ma
5	NE Home		Feb 6/17	159	May 3/21	Albert Greer		SW	Home		Apr29/07		Ju
	NW Home		Apr 3/11	159	Aug17/14	Warren Richards			Sale	11529			Ju
	SE NWHB	A8903	Apr16/12	159	Jun18/12	Jesse Biggs/Gedeon Douville	17	NE	Sale	11529			Ju
	SW Home		Jan12/11	159	May22/14	Leland D. Green		NW	Sale	11529			Ju
6	NE Home		Nov20/05	159	Feb 6/12	James Mienes			Sale	16607	Nov30/11	13.5	Ju
	NW NWHB	A10591	Sep19/11	159	Oct 7/11	L.M. York (adm.)/J.B. Kenrick		SE	Sale	11529		71.7	Ju
	SE Home		Jun 7/05	159	Apr26/07	Joseph M. Wasmer			NWHB	A10566	Jan30/11		Ju
	SW Home		Apr 4/06	159	May20/13	Lewis H.I. Wood			Sale	16393	Mar30/11		Ju
7	NE Home		Sep24/08	159	Mar 6/12	Conrad A.J. Sundby	18	NE	Home		May13/07	159	Se
	NW NWHB	A10638	Dec 7/11	159	Jan23/12	Mary Ann Ogan/R.B. Ritchie		NW	NWHB	10600	Dec 1/11	159	Ju
	SE NWHB	A10590	Sep19/11	159	Oct 7/11	L.M. York (adm.)/Alexander McLeod		SE	Home		Jun14/05	159	Se
	SW Home		May26/11	159	Sep 4/14	Louis Blue/Frank Blue		SW	NWHB	A10088	Jun26/11	159	Ac
									NWHB	A9851	Jul25/11		Ac
8	NE Home		Apr26/06	159	Dec 2/11	Henry Robinson	19	NW	NWHB	A10592	Sep19/11	159	Ne
	NW NWHB	A10513	Jan31/12	159	Feb17/12	Ursule Montgrand/John Keith		SE	NWHB	A10560	Oct 6/11	159.6	Ne
	SE Home		Aug27/06	154.8	Aug23/12	Felix Dumont		SW	NWHB	A10656	Dec 5/11	159	Ju
	SW Home		Nov13/06	159	Apr 1/12	Peter MacDougall	20	NE	Home		Oct29/09	158	De
10	NE NWHB	A10587	Feb14/12	159	Mar 6/12	Theodore Charles Couture/ H.F. Cul			Sale	8234	Dec 3/09		Ju
	NW Home		May 8/05	159	Nov15/12	Wm. Rennison		NW	Sale	8227	Nov23/09	141.6	Ju
	SE Home		Nov 7/08	159	Jul27/12	Pelix G.W. Kendrick		SE	Sale	11529		43.3	Ju
	SW Home		Jul24/08	159	Oct 6/11	Wm. S. Pratt			Home		Oct29/09		De
12	NE Home		Apr 7/10		Feb13/14	Anneson Morgan		SW	Sale	11529			Ju
	SE Home		Jul12/09		May 5/13	Phillip Lee			Sale	16607	Nov30/11	16	Ju
	SW Home		Mar15/09		Apr23/13	James West	21	NE	Sale	8038	Mar22/09	31.4	Ma
								NW	Sale	11529			Ju
									Sale	16124	Nov18/09		Ju
									Sale	397	Dec 4/06		Fr
								SE	Home		Jul25/05	159	Ma
								SW	Sale	11529			Ju
									Sale	15834	Oct14/08	14.6	Ac
									Sale	16124	Nov18/09		Ju

Cadastral Record of Township 66 Range 22 West of the Fourth Meridian

Area	Date of Sale	Buyer	Section	Acres	Date of Sale	Buyer
10	159	Feb 6/14	Will Williams			
10	159	Jun 28/13	Jesse Jones			
10	159	Jan 2/14	Ed Jamieson			
10	159	Jan 9/14	James Rogers/Zina Robinson			
10	159	Aug 9/12	Percebe Scufflington			
10	159	Sep 6/13	Alf Rogers			
10	159	Aug 22/13	Ed Stoute			
10	159	Jul 23/14	George Grant			
10	159	Feb 27/12	Charles Grier			
10	159	Sep 23/12	Harriet Ella McDonald			
10	159	Apr 1/14	Jane Mack			
10	159	Apr 1/14	Wm. Lamont			
10	159	Mar 27/12	Mrs Beattie			
10	159	Mar 27/12	Josephine Batomages			
10	159	Sep 6/12	Alex. Davidson			
10	159	May 3/12	Albert Green			
10	159	Aug 1/14	Warren Hindle			
10	159	Jun 8/12	Jesse Biggs/Edmond Scouville			
10	159	May 28/14	Deland S. Green			
10	159	Feb 6/12	James Mieses			
10	159	Oct 7/11	L.M. York (adm)/J.B. Kendrick			
10	159	Apr 28/07	Joseph M. Walker			
10	159	May 28/12	Levi Hill			
10	159	Mar 6/12	Conrad A.J. Soudy			
10	159	Jan 23/12	Mary Ann (adm)/F.B. Ritchie			
10	159	Oct 7/11	L.M. York (adm)/Alexander McLeod			
10	159	Sep 4/14	Louis Blue/Pratt Blue			
10	159	Dec 2/12	Henry Robinson			
10	159	Feb 17/12	Theresa Mary Grant/John Keith			
10	159	Aug 23/12	Felix Lamont			
10	159	Apr 1/12	Peter MacDougal			
10	159	Mar 6/12	Theodore Charles Couture/ n.7. Gull			
10	159	Nov 19/12	Wm. Robinson			
10	159	Jul 27/12	Felix G.W. Kendrick			
10	159	Oct 6/11	Wm. S. Pratt			
10	159	Feb 3/14	Annexed Morgan			
10	159	May 5/13	Phillip Lee			
10	159	Apr 23/13	James West			
13 NE	None	A10158	Feb 28/12	79.8	Apr 20/12	Herbert Oms/George T. Browne
	None	A10157	Feb 28/12		Apr 20/12	John Oms/George T. Browne
	None		Jan 8/12		Mar 25/15	Peter Lafave
14 NE	None		Nov 10/10		Feb 16/14	Chester Lachapelle
	None		Jul 30/06		Sep 13/18	Joseph Legace
	None		May 13/10		Sep 7/20	Wick Robbins/Edna R. Nonceville
	None	A10004	Feb 16/12		Mar 2/12	Magnus McCallum/
	None	A10073	Feb 16/12		Mar 2/12	Mary Anabella McDermot/ J.C. McHarris
15 NE	None	10660	Dec 12/11	159	Feb 13/12	Alex Finlayson/Wm. Dussault
	None		Sep 16/08	159	Feb 20/12	David Patouret
	None	A10059	Oct 12/11	159	Nov 23/11	Jan. Orieval Zina Robertson
	None	A10100	Oct 31/11	159	Nov 23/11	Mary Brown / Zina Robertson
	None		Aug 12/05	159	Jul 28/11	Magnus Brown
16 NE	None		Nov 16/06	159	May 14/07	George Shaink
	Sale	16322	Jan 2/11	21	Feb 3/11	Isaac Gagnon
	None		Jul 30/06	159	Mar 27/12	Louis Grandbois
	Sale	11529	Apr 25/07		Jul 28/13	George Hue
					Jul 16/88	H.B.Co.
17 NE	Sale	11529			Jul 16/88	H.B.Co.
	None				Jul 16/88	H.B.Co.
	Sale	16607	Nov 30/11	13.5	Jun 25/12	Village of Athabasca Landing
	Sale	11529		71.7	Jul 16/88	H.B.Co.
	None	A10596	Jan 30/11		Jun 17/11	F.E. Moroney (Guardian of Anne Cardinal)/ J.E. Wood
	Sale	16593	Mar 30/11		Jun 17/11	James H. Wood
18 NE	None		May 13/07	159	Sep 12/11	Joseph A. Daigneau
	None	10600	Dec 1/11	159	Jan 9/12	Mary Bowen/Annie M. Knight
	None		Jun 14/05	159	Sep 30/10	J.A. Serord
	None	A10088	Jun 26/11	159	Aug 14/11	Wm. Manning/Wm. A. Star
	None	A9851	Jul 25/11		Aug 14/11	James Larriere/Wm. A. Star
19 NE	None	A10592	Sep 19/11	259	Nov 8/11	Marie Houle/Wm. Russell
	None	A10590	Oct 6/11	159.6	Nov 25/11	Sarah McRae/David Grandbois
	None	A10634	Dec 5/11	159	Jan 30/12	Albert Oms/Armond Jacques
20 NE	None		Oct 29/09	159	Dec 5/11	Robert Vance
	Sale	8234	Dec 3/09		Jun 7/11	Louis Couture
	Sale	8227	Nov 24/09	161.6	Jul 4/11	John L. Leonard
	Sale	11529		43.3	Jul 16/88	H.B.Co.
	None		Oct 29/09		Dec 5/11	Robert Vance
	Sale	11529			Jul 16/88	H.B.Co.
	Sale	16607	Nov 30/11	16	Jan 25/12	Village of Athabasca Landing
21 NE	Sale	8038	Mar 22/09	31.4	Mar 19/12	Wm. McLeod
	Sale	11529			Jul 16/88	H.B.Co.
	Sale	16124	Nov 18/09		Jan 16/10	Wm. Piche/John C. Fielders
	Sale	397	Dec 4/06		Feb 21/11	John George Fielders
	None		Jul 25/05	159	May 14/07	Edward Villeneuve
	Sale	11529			Jul 16/88	H.B.Co.
	Sale	15844	Oct 14/08	14.6	Apr 8/09	John Fielders
	Sale	16124	Nov 18/09		Jan 7/10	Wm. Piche/John Fielders

Township 66 Range 22 Continued.

22	SE	Home	Oct 24/99	158	Oct 1/12	M. J. Werman	36	WE	Home	Mar 30/11	144	Apr 19/15	James Bruce
	SW	Home	Jul 15/05	158	Mar 1/09	Philip Stana		SW	Home	Feb 24/10	144	Apr 3/13	Phillias Doucet
23	NE	Home	May 23/10		Feb 3/14	George S. Blackwell		SE	Home	Apr 14/14	159	Dec 1/19	Emile Laurin
	NE	Home	May 2/10		Jan 17/16	Charles F. Hardy		SW	Home	Jun 6/10		May 23/18	W. J. Drohin/Isabelle Margaret Young
	SE	Home	Apr 28/10		Aug 19/13	Ms. Blair							
	SW	Home	Oct 9/08		Nov 9/12	Karel Krcovic							
24	NE	Home	Jun 8/17	159	Oct 3/20	Alex Symonore							
	SW	Special	3472	159	Apr 3/15	Harry T. Dubess							
	SE	Home	Jul 3/07	159.7	May 23/17	John George Kueyrbuk							
	SW	Home	Feb 23/11	159	May 25/17	James Lee							
25	NE	Home	Jul 19/17	159	Jul 15/21	Joseph M. Goulet/Mathias Goulet							
	NE	Home	Aug 17/12	159	Feb 1/16	Benjamin Starke							
	SE	Home	Mar 15/13	159	Nov 27/18	Joseph A. Campbell							
	SW	WALK	A.0598	159	Feb 19/12	Wesley Gore A. L. Blaney							
26	NE	Home	Mar 20/11	159	Jan 2/16	Frederick H. Pettelford							
	NE	Home	Aug 15/13	159.8	Nov 23/19	George W. Crawford							
	SE	Home	Sep 22/10	159	Jan 11/15	Thomas E. Young							
	SW	Home	Nov 27/11	159.9	Aug 25/20	Joseph Lebar							
27	NE	SA Home	5158	159.3	Nov 4/13	Walter Milburn							
	Special	3916			Apr 26/14	Walter Milburn							
	NE	SA Home	8831	159.2	Oct 15/16	Walter Milburn							
	SE	SA Home	5358	159.3	Nov 4/13	Walter Milburn							
	Special	3916			Apr 14/14	Walter Milburn							
	SW	SA Home	8831	159.8	Oct 15/16	Walter Milburn							
28	NE	Home	Nov 3/09	158	Dec 19/11	Azaret Gauthier							
31	NE	Home	May 17/11	145	Nov 23/14	Edw. V. Jones							
	NE	Home	May 17/11	147	Nov 23/14	Edward V. Jones							
	SE	WALK	A.0680	147	Mar 18/12	Josephine Delgault/Joan R. Symonore							
	SW	WALK	A.0163	147	Mar 18/12	John Gray/Joseph Baby							
	SW	WALK	A.0185	147	Mar 18/12	Josephine Delgault/Joseph Baby							
32	NE	Special	1260.	144.4	Mar 11/09	S. S. S.							
	NE	Home	May 17/11	144	May 8/15	Edward V. Jones							
	SE	Home	Feb 9/11	158	Aug 4/14	Marion D. Gauthier							
33	NE	Home	Jun 1/11	146	Apr 15/15	John C. Traylor							
	NE	Home	Oct 12/11	142.24	May 15/15	F. R. Veroniga							
34	NE	SA Home	9028	146	Feb 11/13	James Bertrand							
	SA Home	3276			Mar 29/15	Joseph Clifford Bell							
	SE	2nd Home		153.92	Jun 16/16	Les. L. Holland							
35	NE	Home	Jul 26/09	144	May 7/14	Ferdinand Dupord							
	NE	Home	Sep 28/08	145	Nov 25/12	James Bertrand							
	SE	Home	Jun 6/10	159	Jan 12/15	Ms. R. Young							
	SW	Home	Sep 28/08	118.78	Apr 17/13	George G. McKinnon							
	Special	4815			Jun 17/16	C. C. McKinnon							

Cadastral Record of Township 66 Range 23 West of the Fourth Meridian.

Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name	Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name
1 NE	Home		Dec. 5/11		Jan. 4/18	William Blain Scoffield	14 NE	Home		Aug 31/17			Mar 20/22
SW	Home		Jan 11/09		Oct 22/13	Fred Herbert Poilitt	SW	SAV Home	2994	Oct 11/11			May 23/21
SE	Home		May 11/09		Aug 25/30	Geo. W. Hall	SE	Home		May 3/11			Feb 15/21
SW	Home		Jan. 4/09		Mar 30/14	Erye Harold Minna	SW	SAV Home	2994	Oct 11/11			May 23/21
2 SE	Home		Jan 11/09		May 4/21	Berbert Walter Wagenitz	15 NE	Home		Apr 25/11			Feb 16/15
SW	Home		Apr 11/25	159	Jul 13/34	Abner A. Flingley	SW	Home		Mar 30/11			Mar 8/20
SE	Home		Feb 11/09		Jan. 27/12	Wm. Minna	SE	Home		Apr 25/11			Jan 12/15
SW	Home		Nov 17/10		Sep. 5/14	Albert G. Fuggett	SW	Home		Dec 19/10			Jul 31/15
3 NE	Home		Aug 5/30	159	May 20/41	Selmer Bor	16 NE	Home		Jan. 15/14			Nov 19/17
SW	Special	11427			May 3/25	S.S.B.	SW	Home		Jun 11/09			Aug 8/14
SE	Home		May 11/27		May 13/27	Mrs. Bowzaylo	SE	Home		Aug 19/26	159		Nov 14/24
SW	Home		Jul 24/37		Mar. 27/46	Mrs. Nancy Bowzaylo	SW	SAV Home	4531	Nov 2/10			Dec 30/14
4 SE	Ag. Lee.	1185	Jun 17/45	159	Nov. 6/62	Jon. Zarosky	17 NE	SAV Home	6965	Dec 19/10			Aug 24/14
SW	Special	9479			Dec. 6/26	S.S.B.	SW	SAV Home	4531	Nov 2/10			Dec 30/14
5 NE	SAV Home	6555	Nov 27/10		Feb. 6/15	Sina Fjensvold	SW	Home		Aug 22/38	150		Apr 14/44
SW	Home		Apr 23/27		Jun 15/34	Stefan Yanis	18 NE	Home		May 9/12			Oct 7/15
SE	Home		Jun 13/12		Sep. 8/17	Jon. Yanis	SW	Home		Oct 27/10			Jul 16/21
SW	Home		Jun 25/12		Aug 9/16	Wm. B. Hartt	SE	Home		Nov. 4/15			May 4/21
7 NE	Sale		Jul 6/45	159	Sep 4/45	Emil Eliasson	SW	Home		Sep 22/26	157		Jun 4/37
SW	2nd Home		Mar. 6/37	159	Aug. 7/45	Edwin Charles Lewis	19 NE	Soldier		Aug 31/21	159		Sep 23/32
8 SE	Home		Mar 23/11		May 26/16	Ann. Fjensvold	SW	Home		Jul 27/12			May 27/18
SW	SAV Home		Nov 2/10		Feb. 6/15	Sena Fjensvold	SE	Home		Oct 11/26	159		Oct 28/38
9 NE	SAV Home	2054	Oct 24/10		Mar 25/14	Max Pelluet	SW	Home		Apr 29/10			Nov 26/14
SW	SAV HOME	1988	Sep 27/10		Mar 26/14	Jonh. Russell	20 NE	Home		Nov 24/16			Aug 28/22
SE	SAV HOME						SW	Home		Jun 23/11			Aug 27/18
SW	SAV HOME						SE	Home		Jul 14/10			Feb 22/25
10 SE	Home		Sep 27/11		Jan. 1/15	Martin W. Hitchins	21 NE	Home		Nov 22/09			Mar 11/14
SW	SAV Home	6314	Nov 27/10		Jul 3/16	Geo. Fjensvold	SW	Home		May 31/11			Sep 6/27
SE	Home		Aug 3/12		Jun 11/32	Harry Buehl	SE	Home		Sep 1/10			Jun 24/14
SW	SAV Home	6314	Nov 27/10		Jul 3/16	Geo. Fjensvold	SW	Home		Sep 17/10			Mar 10/14
12 NE	SAV Home	A10659	Dec 21/11		Jan. 6/12	Joe. Grey (to Sterling McKinley)	22 NE	Time Sale	9619	Mar 15/13			Oct 10/13
SW	Home		Nov 2/11		Jan 25/16	Carl Ferber	SW	SAV Home	6318	Sep 2/10			Mar 10/14
SE	Home		Aug 26/10		Mar 28/23	Edmund Gaynon	SE	Home		Mar 18/09			Dec 7/12
SW	Home		Jun 8/11		Nov 27/16	Joe. Minnin (to Wm. Minnin)	SW	SAV Home	6318	Sep 2/10			Mar 10/14
13 SE	Home		Apr 10/22		Apr 5/28	Levie S. Bentley	23 NE	Home		Feb 21/10			Mar 5/20
SW	Home		Feb 3/09		Sep 22/10	Kampal Emerson	SW	Home		Mar 30/11			May 22/18
SE	S.M.N.B.	AB493	Nov 10/11		Feb 6/12	Sarah & Chas. Kirkness (legal rep. of Jas. Kirkness heir of Wm. Kirkness)	SE	Home		Nov 2/10			Feb 26/18
SW	Home		Aug 22/10		Nov 13/13	Edwin H. Marsteller	SW	Sale		Nov 2/10			Sep 17/15
										Jan 30/15	2		Mar 25/15
							24 NE	Home		Jun 7/05			Apr 26/10
							SW	Home		Sep 20/09			Mar 1/20
							SE	Home		Feb 16/09			Aug 19/10
							SW	MMS	A10564	Dec 17/11			Jan 18/12

Cadastral Record of Township 66 Range 23 West of the Fourth Meridian

Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name							
5/21		Jan. 4/18	William Blain Scoffield	14 NE	Home	Aug 31/17		Mar 20/22	William MacLeod	
11/109		Oct 22/13	Fred Herbert Politt	NE	SAV Home	2994 Oct 11/11		May 23/21	Jno. Secord	
11/109		Aug 27/10	Geo. W. Hall	SE	Home	May 3/11		Feb 15/21	Steve Tanik	
11/109		Mar 22/14	Bryne Harold Minns	SW	SAV Home	2994 Oct 11/11		May 23/21	Jno. Secord	
11/109		May 4/21	Herbert Walter Wagenitz	15 NE	Home	Apr 25/11		Feb 16/15	Andrew Olson	
11/109	159	Jan 13/14	Alton A. Fingley	NE	Home	Mar 30/11		Mar 8/20	Chas. Corbière	
11/109		Jan 27/12	Wm. Minns	SE	Home	Apr 25/11		Jan 12/15	Amos Olson	
11/110		Sep 25/14	Albert G. Fuggett	SW	Home	Dec 19/10		Jul 31/15	Christian Geo. Fjensvold	
11/130	159	May 15/11	Seimer Nor	16 NE	Home	Jan 15/14		Nov 19/17	Allen J. Dawson	
11/130		May 3/25	S.S.B.	NE	Home	Jan 15/10		Aug 8/14	Jas. Wakefield Glover	
11/130		May 13/17	Nils Bowzaylo	SE	Home	Aug 19/26	159	Nov 14/34	Geo. H. Bentley	
11/130		Mar 12/16	Mrs. Nancy Bowzaylo	SW	SAV Home	4531 Nov 2/10		Dec 30/14	Amos Fjensvold	
11/145	159	Nov 6/12	John Zarusey	17 NE	SAV Home	6965 Dec 19/10		Aug 24/14	Chas. Goupil	
11/145		Dec 6/12	S.S.B.	NE	SAV Home	4531 Nov 2/10		Dec 30/14	Amos Fjensvold	
11/145		Feb 16/15	Sina Fjensvold	SW	Home	Aug 22/38	158	Apr 14/16	Peter Johnson	
11/145		Dec 15/14	Stefar Tarré	18 NE	Home	May 9/12		Oct 7/15	Jos. Henry Patry	
11/145		Sep 28/17	Jno. Yanik	NE	Home	Jan 27/10		Jul 16/21	Francis Joseph Cheadle	
11/145		Aug 9/16	Wm. B. Marty	SE	Home	Nov 14/15		May 4/21	Jos. Arthur Grisvold	
11/145	159	Sep 4/15	Earl Eliasson	SW	Home	Sep 22/26	157	Jul 4/37	Ray Evans	
11/145	159	Aug 27/15	Edwin Charles Lewis	19 NE	Sollier	Aug 31/21	159	Sep 23/32	Fred A. Evans (S.S.B.)	
11/145		May 18/16	Amos Fjensvold	NE	Home	Jan 27/12		May 27/18	Thos. K. Shireman	
11/145		Feb 16/15	Sera Fjensvold	SE	Home	Oct 11/26	159	Oct 28/38	John Yanik Jr.	
11/145		Mar 25/14	Max Pelluet	SW	Home	Apr 29/10		Nov 26/14	Robert F. Truss	
11/145		Mar 26/14	John Russell	20 NE	Home	Nov 24/16		Aug 28/22	Tom Bobocan	
11/145		Mar 26/14	John Russell	NE	Home	Jan 23/11		Aug 27/18	Felix Glement	
11/145		Mar 26/14	John Russell	SE	Home	Jan 14/10		Feb 22/15	Collis Johnston	
11/145		Jan 17/15	Martin W. Mitchins	21 NE	Home	Nov 22/09		Mar 11/14	Albert Lagace	
11/145		Jul 31/16	Geo. Fjensvold	NE	Home	May 31/11		Sep 6/17	Geo. F. Spence	
11/145		Jun 17/12	Marry Buell	SE	Home	Sep 1/10		Jun 24/14	John Russell Leith	
11/145		Jul 31/16	Geo. Fjensvold	SW	Home	Sep 17/10		Mar 10/14	Alexander DeMarre	
11/145		Jan. 8/12	Jno. Grey (to Sterling McKinley)	22 NE	Time Sale	9419 Mar 15/13		Oct 10/13	Edmund Oliver	
11/145		Jan 25/16	Carl Ferber	NE	SAV Home	6318 Sep 2/10		Mar 10/14	Roy C. Knowlton	
11/145		Mar 28/13	Edmund Gaynon	SE	Home	Mar 18/09		Dec 7/12	Robert Robinson	
11/145		Nov 27/16	Jas. Minnin (to Wm. Minns)	SW	SAV Home	6318 Sep 2/10		Mar 10/14	Roy C. Knowlton	
11/145		Apr 5/28	Levie S. Bentley	23 NE	Home	Feb 21/10		Mar 5/20	Leon Soudet	
11/145		Sep 22/10	Samuel Emerson	NE	Home	Mar 30/11		May 22/18	Wm. E. Spence	
11/145		Feb 6/12	Sarah & Chas. Kirkness	SE	Home	Nov 2/10		Feb 26/18	Albert F. Draeger	
11/145		Nov 13/13	(legal rep. of Jas. Kirkness heir of Wm. Kirkness)	SW	Home	Nov 2/10		Sep 17/15	Hans P. Jacobsen	
11/145		Nov 13/13	Edwin H. Marsteller	Sale	Sale	Jan 30/15	2	Mar 25/15	West Athabasca School District Number 3110	
11/145		Nov 13/13	Edwin H. Marsteller	24 NE	Home	Jun 7/05		Apr 26/10	Jos. Amiedee Tobaty	
11/145		Nov 13/13	Edwin H. Marsteller	NE	Home	Sep 20/09		Mar 1/20	Frank Cullion	
11/145		Nov 13/13	Edwin H. Marsteller	SE	Home	Feb 16/09		Aug 19/10	Max Pelluet	
11/145		Nov 13/13	Edwin H. Marsteller	SW	Home	Dec 11/11	A10564	Jan 18/12	Andrew Collin (to Jos. Olivier)	



## Township 66 Range 23 Continued.

25	NE	Sale	10597	Nov27/11	18.3	Jan 8/12	Colin Johnston
		(South of River)					
	SE	Home		Oct22/08		Dec13/09	John Russell
	SW	Home		Feb 4/09		Oct 8/09	Chas. Edward Hilker
26	NE	W/HB	A1777	Oct12/11		Nov13/11	Nancy Isabelle McDonald (to Jas. Smith)
	NW	W/HB	A10108	Jan 4/12		Jan24/12	David Munro (to Robert Vernon Henthesh)
	N 1/2	W/HB	A10181	Jan 4/12		Jan24/12	Edwin Swanson (to Robt. Vernon Henthesh)
	SE	Home		Dec 9/12		Aug22/19	Ernest Servestor
	SW	Home		Jun29/17		Mar 4/21	Jackson Foster
27	NE	Home		Nov 2/11		Dec12/21	Chas. Henry Pratt
	NW	Special	6726			Feb25/27	S.S.B.
	SE	Home		Jan26/11		Mar30/15	Chas. A. Dallas
	SW	Home		May21/09		Nov 5/12	David Wilson
28	NE	Home		Apr27/11		Mar 3/20	Geo. Olfred Hambridge
	NW	Home		Feb17/15		Mar 9/20	Russell Dawson
	SE	Home		Aug 8/10		Jul10/14	Percy W. Spence
	SW	Home		Aug10/10		Jun29/16	Geo. Spence
29	NE	Sale	5149	Apr 1/49	159	Jul 9/49	Percy Walter Spence
	NW	Sale	5125	Apr 1/49	159	May 4/60	George Robacon
30	NE	Home		Nov14/10		Jan26/16	Leonide Mern
	NW	Home		Nov10/10		Apr20/14	Isaac S. Bousman
	SE	Home		Nov10/10		Nov 4/15	Leonard Ladieu
	SW	Home		Sep29/10		Feb13/14	Harry W. Sebree
31	NW	Special	9214			Jul19/26	S.S.B.
	SE	Special	7504			Jul18/26	S.S.B.
	SW	Home		Jun23/13		Dec13/17	George Wm. Koa
32	SE	Home		Dec27/10		Mar17/14	Jean Brunie
	SW	Special	7505			Jul18/24	S.S.B.
33	NW	Time Sale	9551	Sep13/13	57.7	Apr17/18	Wasyl Melnyk
	SE	Special	7227			May 8/24	S.S.B.
	SW	Special	7226			May 8/24	S.S.B.
34	SW	Special	6725			Feb23/34	S.S.B.
35	NE	Home		Jun 5/11		May23/16	Thos. S. Wood
	NW	Home		Sep21/11		Jul10/17	Jas. Horace Wood
36	NE	Home		Jan12/39	148	Feb28/42	Mike Kechalaba
	NW	Home		Aug20/12	148	Feb14/16	E.H. Diggory

## Cadastral Record of Township 67 Range 24 West of the Fourth Meridian

Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name						
1 NE	Home		Oct19/12	105	Aug17/18	Elzer Bruneau	20 NE	Home	June26/36	161	Nov 8/43	
NW	Special	10231			Jul25/28	Soldier Settlement Board	21 NE	2nd Home	May 4/29	161	Jun28/38	
SE	Special	6779		128	Feb26/24	S.S.B.	SE	2nd Home.	May23/29	161	Jan14/38	
SW	Home		Sep19/28	152	May23/35	Frank J. Young	22 NE	Sale	9603	Nov18/13	161	Jul 6/17
2 NE	Home		Mar25/12	125	Jul 4/16	Edward Higgins	NW	Home	Jul23/08	161	Dec20/09	
SE	Sale	12382	Jul19/29	56.7	Sep19/32	Charles H. Jones	SE	Sale	19404	Nov12/15	161	Apr26/11
SW	Home		Nov13/12	155	Aug13/17	Frank Lindsay	SW	Home	Jun 9/13	161	Feb 7/18	
3 NE	Home		Jul27/12	150	Apr23/17	Andrew C. Elsenpetu	23 NE	Home	Jul27/12	161	Sep12/16	
NW	Home		Jul27/12	134	Aug27/17	Josiah Swords	NW	Home	Nov 2/11	161	May11/15	
4 NE	Home		Jun11/28	161	Jan27/36	John Lukaszyk	SE	Home	Apr13/08	161	Jul18/13	
NW	Home		Nov12/14	161	Jun19/19	James Joseph Morris	SW	Home	Aug24/11	161	May11/15	
SE	Home		Jul27/12		Jul 6/17	Charles Patrick O'Neil	24 NE	Home	Nov 9/22	147.8	Dec 2/27	
10 NE	Home		Jul17/12	105	Oct28/38	Mrs. Bella Adams	NW	Home	Nov 6/11	156.1	Nov12/15	
NW	Home		Apr28/13	122	Dec27/26	Patrick Arnault	SE	Home	Nov 4/15	108.2	Dec 1/20	
SW	Home		Dec 4/12	111	Nov25/29	Peter Piche	SW	Home	Jun22/08	161	Jun10/14	
11 NE	Special	10231			Jul25/28	S.S.B.	25 NE	Sale	3488	Feb 4/49	7.7	May 5/49
NW	Home		Mar30/11	118	Jul16/14	Lt. Paul Bruneau	NW	Sale	2820	Apr23/43	38.4	Dec 5/47
SE	Home		Aug21/12	123	Apr 5/16	Frank Nepisank	SE	Home	Aug 2/29	123.6	Jun17/35	
12 NE	Special	13031		157.55	May27/30	S.S.B.	SW	Home	Aug 5/12	91.9	Apr12/17	
NW	Home		Oct19/12	161	Feb11/16	Louis A. Houde	26 NE	Home	Mar29/10	145.7	Dec10/13	
SE	Sale	16848	May30/12	2	Jun24/12	Lahsieville S.D. 2637	NW	Home	Dec27/10	161	Feb23/15	
SW	Home		Dec23/11	161	Feb16/17	Korundur S. Eyford	SE	Home	Jan13/08	161	Jul18/13	
13 NE	Special	13032		154.45	May27/30	S.S.B.	SW	Home	Mar30/08	161	May22/14	
NW	Home		Dec 7/18	161	Aug19/23	Romeo Potvin	27 NE	Home	Jun27/12	161	Oct28/15	
SE	Home		Apr27/17	161	Apr 7/24	Felix Paul Barr	NW	Home	Aug31/11	560.2	Aug17/16	
SW	Home		May23/12	161	May12/16	Alexander Moulin	SE	Home	Jun29/12	161	Oct29/15	
14 NE	Home		May11/12	161	Nov10/15	Edward A Garner	33 NE	Home	Jan12/11	161	Jan26/16	
NW	Home		Nov 6/11	161	Sep13/20	Leo Labranche	NW	Special	11984	161	Oct18/29	
SE	Home		Mar23/11	161	Feb10/15	Elzear Bruneau	SE	Home	Apr 4/17		Nov 8/21	
15 NE	Home		May20/12	161	Feb18/19	George Labranche, Jr.	34 NE	Home	Jul30/12		Dec30/15	
SE	Home		Jan17/13	161	Jan29/16	Alexis Nadeau	NW	Home	Jan12/11		May12/15	
SW	Home		Mar 9/27	159.6	Mar20/40	August N. Sveen	SE	Home	Apr20/12		Dec30/15	
16 NE	2nd Home		Jan29/32	161	Jul 7/38	James A. Henderson	SW	Home	Sep 9/12		Feb28/16	
NW	Home		Oct21/31	161	Sep21/44	Mrs. Betsy Jane Henderson	36 NE	Sale	1830	Dec18/31	6.5	May20/37
SE	Sale	2905	Mar29/44	161	Sep21/44	Harriett Hevera Messenger	NW	Home	May 4/12		Jan25/17	
SW	Home		Jul13/12	161	Jan30/17	Peter P. Hallock	SE	Sale	17752	Apr23/14	5.5	Dec 1/16
17 NE	Special	5616			Oct15/21	S.S.B.	SW	Sale	9707	May23/14	35	May 8/15
SE	Special	5615			Oct15/21	S.S.B.		Home	May27/12		Dec 1/16	

Cadastral Record of Township 67 Range 24 West of the Fourth Meridian

Area	Date of Patent	Name							
2 105	Aug 17/18	Elzer Bruneau	20 NE	Home		June 24/36	161	Nov 8/43	Fred Paquette
	Jul 25/28	Soldier Settlement Board	21 NE	2nd Home		May 4/29	161	Jun 28/38	George LaBranche, Jr.
128	Feb 26/24	S.S.B.	SE	2nd Home		May 23/29	161	Jan 14/38	Leo LaBranche
152	May 23/35	Frank J. Young	22 NE	Sale	9603	Nov 18/13	161	Jul 6/47	Cleophas B. Major
			NW	Home		Jul 23/08	161	Dec 20/29	Cleophas B. Major
125	Jul 4/16	Edward Higgins	SE	Sale	19404	Nov 12/11	161	Apr 25/21	James V. Parvill
56.7	Dec 19/32	Charles H. Jones	SW	Home		Jun 9/13	161	Feb 7/18	George LaBranche
155	Aug 13/17	Frank Lindsay							
			23 NE	Home		Jul 27/12	161	Sep 12/16	Fred McDonald
150	Apr 23/17	Andrew G. Eisenpetu	NW	Home		Nov 2/11	161	May 17/15	Phillip Dufresne
134	Aug 27/17	Jonathan Swords	SE	Home		Apr 13/08	161	Jul 18/13	Joseph A. Labrie
			SW	Home		Aug 24/11	161	May 11/15	Clifton Clark
161	Jan 27/36	John Luraszyk							
161	Jan 19/19	James Joseph Morris	24 NE	Home		Nov 9/22	147.8	Dec 2/27	Clayton Pond
	Jul 6/17	Charles Patrick O'Neill	NW	Home		Nov 6/11	156.2	Nov 12/15	Jacques Baroulet
			SE	Home		Nov 4/15	105.2	Dec 2/22	George Strone
105	Oct 28/18	Mrs. Bella Adams	SW	Home		Jun 22/08	161	Jun 10/14	Ernest A. Barrette
132	Dec 27/26	Patrick Arnault							
111	Nov 29/20	Peter Plouffe	25 NE	Sale	3488	Feb 4/49	7.7	May 5/49	Adolph Bizeh
			NW	Sale	2820	Apr 23/13	38.4	Dec 5/47	Martha Shank
	Jul 25/28	S.S.B.	SE	Home		Aug 2/29	121.6	Jul 17/35	Adolph Sizer
118	Jul 16/14	Dr. Paul Bruneau	SW	Home		Aug 5/12	91.9	Apr 16/17	Albert Gallet
123	Apr 5/16	Frank Nepisank							
			26 NE	Home		Mar 29/10	145.7	Dec 10/13	Edward LeLere
157.55	May 27/30	S.S.B.	NW	Home		Dec 27/10	161	Feb 23/15	Wm. Elsworth Tomlinson
161	Feb 17/16	Fontaine Houde	SE	Home		Jan 13/08	161	Jul 18/13	Adelard Major
2	Jan 24/12	Lanriville S.D. 2637	SW	Home		Mar 30/08	161	May 22/14	Ernest Major
161	Feb 16/17	Karandur S. Eyford							
			27 NE	Home		Jun 27/12	161	Oct 28/15	C.O.P. Neek
154.45	May 27/30	S.S.B.	NW	Home		Aug 31/11	160.2	Aug 17/16	Ernest Hozue
161	Aug 19/23	Romaine Rivin	SE	Home		Jun 29/12	161	Oct 29/15	George M. Cooke
161	Apr 7/24	Felix P. Durr							
161	May 12/16	Alexander Moxlin	33 NE	Home		Jan 12/11	161	Jan 26/16	George McMillen
			SW	Special	11984		161	Oct 18/29	S.S.B.
161	Nov 10/15	Edward A. Garner	SE	Home		Apr 4/17		Nov 8/21	Destré Dubulk
161	Sep 13/20	Leo LaBranche							
161	Feb 18/15	Elzear Bruneau	34 NE	Home		Jul 30/12		Dec 30/15	Max Ziegler
			NW	Home		Jan 12/11		May 12/15	Andrew Stone
161	Feb 18/19	George LaBranche, Jr.	SE	Home		Apr 20/12		Dec 30/15	Philip Roy
161	Jan 20/16	Alexis Nadeau	SW	Home		Sep 9/12		Feb 28/16	Alexander M. Carpenter
159.6	Mar 20/40	August K. Sveen							
			36 NE	Sale	1830	Dec 18/31	6.5	May 20/37	Dr. George W. Meyer
161	Jul 7/38	James A. Henderson	NW	Home		May 4/12		Jan 25/17	John B. Roy
161	Sep 21/44	Mrs. Betsey Jane Henderson	SE	Sale	17752	Apr 23/14	5.5	Dec 1/16	Gus Billows
161	Sep 21/44	Harricott Hevera Messenger		Sale	9707	May 23/14	35	May 8/15	Edouard Leclerc
161	Jan 30/17	Peter P. Hallock	SW	Home		May 27/12		Dec 1/16	Gus Billows
	Oct 15/21	S.S.B.							
161	Oct 15/21	S.S.B.							

Cadastral Record of Township 66 Range 20 West of the Fourth Meridian

Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name							
2 NW	Home		Jul28/26	159	Apr22/38	Clifford Brown	15 NE	Home	Apr20/12		Jan14/22	Ro	
SW	Home		Aug18/27	159	Jan 7/39	Henry Clay Brown	NW	Home	Jun18/10		Jun12/18	Er	
3 NE	Home		Jul 4/13			Columbus Bowen	SE	Home	Dec18/12		Nov24/16	Ro	
	Special	12119			Dec 2/29	S.S.B.	SW	Home	Sep 7/12		Feb15/17	Ho	
NW	Home		Dec23/31		Mar26/40	Wm. Toles	16 NW	SAV Home	6436 Jul13/11	159	Feb 5/15	W-	
SE	Home		Apr15/14		Feb25/19	Wm. A.G. Beyan	* SW	SAV Home	6436 Jul13/11		Feb 5/15	W-	
4 NE	Soldier	8177	May 7/20			Columbus Bowen	17 SE	Home	Jul 5/20		Jun19/24	Pa	
	Special	12118			Dec 3/29	S.S.B.	19 NW	Home	Jul14/22		Aug21/45	Al	
NW	Home		Apr 5/11		Dec17/14	Camble Flournoy	20 NE	Home	Jun30/15		Jul 6/23	L	
SE	Home		Sep26/08		Dec30/12	Lena Anderson	21 NE	Home	Apr18/11	159	Nov23/15	Ja	
SW	Home		May18/08		Jul 8/12	Hans Baaternd	SE	Home	Nov22/10	159	Dec24/14	Pe	
5 NE	SAV Home	1702	Apr30/10		Dec 2/13	Glen A. Shaffer	SW	2nd Home	Feb15/34	159	Jul20/37	Or	
NW	SAV Home	1577	Apr30/10		Feb 3/15	David Sharon Jones	22 NE	Home	Aug22/10	155	Oct12/21	Ja	
SE	SAV Home	1702	Apr30/10		Dec 2/13	Glen A. Shaffer	NW	Home	Jul12/11		Jul 6/17	Ja	
SW	SAV Home	1577	Apr30/10		Feb 3/15	David Sharon Jones	SE	Home	Apr20/12		May 5/19	W-	
6 NE	Home		Sep26/08		Mar18/14	Gustof Oppegaard	SW	Home	Aug 4/10		May15/14	Je	
SE	Home		Feb 8/09		Dec16/12	Oscar Oppegaard	23 NE	Home	Mar25/12		Nov29/16	Ja	
SW	Home		Sep14/11		Nov25/15	Hans Ole Ericksen	NW	Home	Nov 4/12		Dec23/19	He	
7 SE	Home		Aug16/13		May27/18	Peter Gregerson	SE	Home	Jun11/19		Nov23/23	Pa	
SW	Home		Sep 2/36		Jan17/44	Mrs. Mary Victoria Saver	SW	Home	Jul12/13		Jun20/17	W-	
8 NE	Home		Jul20/12		Jul19/18	Hezekiah Carothers	24 NE	Home	Aug 1/11		Oct28/16	De	
SW	2nd Home		Dec27/32		Nov10/36	Rufus Warren Smith	NW	Home	Jul 3/11		Nov10/16	Or	
SE	Home		Apr25/10		Dec17/13	David S. Jones	SE	Home	Mar 4/29	159	Sep17/37	Ge	
SW	Home		Aug12/12		Jul 5/16	James P. Jones	SW	Home	Mar21/28	159	May 5/88	Al	
9 NE	Home		Aug19/13		Dec23/19	Pink H. Brown	25 NE	Home	Jun18/10		Aug16/16	He	
NW	Home		Jul25/10	155.08	Mar12/14	Joseph Estus	NW	Home	Apr25/11		May17/19	Ja	
SE	Home		Nov10/16		Jun16/37	Peter Gilton	SE	Home	May 1/11		Mar12/15	Mo	
SW	Home		Aug29/23	158.41	Apr19/40	E.M.Hamilton Anderson	SW	Home	Apr25/11		Feb 3/15	S-	
10 NE	Home		Aug31/12		Nov30/15	Columbus Bowen	26 NE	Home	Aug22/10		Jun17/16	St	
SW	Home		May 1/11		Jun26/18	Edie Corruthers	NW	Home	Apr25/11		Nov26/15	Jo	
SE	Home		Jul30/24		Dec12/39	Herman Bowen	SE	Home	Aug22/10		Apr19/15	NE	
SW	Home		Sep11/13		Sep24/20	Forest Bowen	SW	Home	May25/12		Mar24/17	Th	
	Special	5255	Aug30/20			S.S.B.	27 NE	Home	Jun18/13		Sep14/20	Ch	
13 NW	2nd Home		Oct21/31	159	Sep 3/37	Howard Montcalm Hamilton	NW	Home	Sep12/27	159	Apr 8/40	D-	
SW	Home		Nov 5/27	159	Jan12/40	Clarence Colman	SE	Home	Jul13/11		Apr18/18	Er	
14 NE	Home		Jan12/17	159	Jul23/23	Boadie Bowen	SW	Home	Oct15/13		Dec27/18	W-	
SW	Home		Jul 3/20	159	Mar11/24	Wm. Geo. Cromwell	28 SE	Home	Jun20/13		Jan15/20	W-	
SE	Home		May 9/13	159	Aug 6/19	Joseph Yarbrough	30 NE	2nd Home	Nov16/31	159	Feb 1/41	W-	
SW	Soldier	6405	Nov23/20	159.77	Sep24/20	F. Bowen	NW	Home	Feb19/31	159	Jun16/42	Ch	
	Special	5256	Aug30/20			S.S.B.	SW	Home	Mar13/39		Sep15/42	Me	

## Cadastral Record of Township 66 Range 20 West of the Fourth Meridian

Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name							
Jul28/26	159	Apr22/30	Clifford Brown	15 NE	Home	Apr20/12		Jan14/22	Robert Henry Lipscomb	
Aug18/27	159	Jan 7/39	Henry Clay Brown	NW	Home	Jun18/10		Jun12/18	Ernest Murphy/J.W. Murphy	
				SE	Home	Dec18/12		Nov24/16	Robert D. Heslep	
				SW	Home	Sep 7/12		Feb15/17	Henry Sneed/Elizabeth Sneed	
Jul 2/13			Columbus Bowen	16 NW	SAV Home	6436 Jul31/11	159	Feb 5/15	Wm. Small	
Apr 23/31		Dec 2/29	S.S.B.	SW	SAV Home	6436 Jul31/11		Feb 5/15	Wm. Small	
Mar 15/14		Mar26/40	Wm. Toles	17 SE	Home	Jul 5/20		Jun19/24	Fay Carothers	
May 7/20		Feb25/19	Wm. A.G. Beyan	19 NW	Home	Jul14/37		Aug21/45	Alberta Hope	
Apr 5/11		Dec 3/29	Columbus Bowen	20 NE	Home	Jun30/15		Jul 6/23	Lloyd Penty Allen	
Sep 26/08		Dec17/14	Camble Flournoy	21 NE	Home	Apr18/11	159	Nov23/15	James Jones	
May 18/08		Dec30/12	Lena Anderson	SE	Home	Nov22/10	159	Dec24/14	Percy C. Allen	
Apr 30/10		Jul 8/12	Hans Baaternd	SW	2nd Home	Feb15/34	159	Jul20/37	Ozias Coleman	
Apr 30/10		Dec 2/13	Glen A. Shaffer	22 NE	Home	Aug22/10	155	Oct12/21	John Toles	
Apr 30/10		Feb 3/15	David Sharon Jones	NW	Home	Jul27/11		Jul 6/17	Jacon C. Jones	
Apr 30/10		Dec 2/13	Glen A. Shaffer	SE	Home	Apr20/12		May 5/19	Wyatt Thos. Lipscomb	
Apr 30/10		Feb 3/15	David Sharon Jones	SW	Home	Aug 4/10		May15/14	Jeff Davis Edwards	
Sep 26/08		Mar18/14	Gustof Oppegaard	23 NE	Home	Mar25/12		Nov29/16	Jack Watkins	
Feb 8/09		Dec16/12	Oscar Oppegaard	NW	Home	Nov 4/12		Dec23/19	Henry Holmes	
Sep 14/11		Nov25/15	Hans Ole Ericksen	SE	Home	Jun11/19		Nov23/23	Reese Bowen	
				SW	Home	Jul12/13		Jun20/17	Willis Bowen	
Aug 16/13		May27/18	Peter Gregerson	24 NE	Home	Aug 1/11		Oct28/16	Delacie Toles/Nim Toles	
Sep 2/36		Jan17/44	Mrs. Mary Victoria Saver	NW	Home	Jul 3/11		Nov10/16	Ozias Coleman	
Jul 20/12		Jul19/18	Hezekiah Carothers	SE	Home	Mar 4/29	159	Sep17/37	Gervais P. Godbout	
Dec 27/32		Nov10/36	Rufus Warren Smith	SW	Home	Mar21/28	159	May 5/38	Aivey Carothers	
Apr 25/10		Dec17/13	David S. Jones	25 NE	Home	Jun18/10		Aug16/16	Henry Clay Murphy	
Aug 12/12		Jul 5/16	James P. Jones	NW	Home	Apr25/11		May17/19	Joseph Whitaker	
Aug 19/13		Dec23/19	Pink H. Brown	SE	Home	May 1/11		Mar12/15	Monday Toles	
Jul 25/10	155.08	Mar12/14	Joseph Estus	SW	Home	Apr25/11		Feb 3/15	Samuel Carothers	
Nov 10/16		Jun16/37	Peter Gilton	26 NE	Home	Aug22/10		Jun17/16	Stirling W. Toles	
Apr 20/23	158.41	Apr19/40	E.M. Hamilton Anderson	NW	Home	Apr25/11		Nov26/15	Joseph Fester	
Aug 31/12		Nov30/15	Columbus Bowen	SE	Home	Aug22/10		Apr19/15	Nini Toles	
May 1/11		Jun26/18	Edie Corruthers	SW	Home	May25/12		Mar24/17	Thomas Mapp	
Jul 30/24		Dec12/39	Herman Bowen	27 NE	Home	Jun18/13		Sep14/20	Chas. H. Tullis/National Trust Co.	
Sep 11/13		Sep24/20	Forest Bowen	NW	Home	Sep12/27	159	Apr 8/40	D.L. Saunders	
Aug 30/20			S.S.B.	SE	Home	Jul31/11		Apr18/18	Edward Robinson	
Oct 21/31	159	Sep 3/37	Howard Montcalm Hamilton	SW	Home	Oct15/13		Dec27/18	Wm. Love	
Nov 5/27	159	Jan12/40	Clarence Colman	28 SE	Home	Jun20/13		Jan15/20	Wm. Dunn/Standard Trust Co.	
Jan 12/17	159	Jul23/23	Beadie Bowen	30 NE	2nd Home	Nov16/31	159	Feb 1/41	Wm. Lennie	
Jul 3/20	159	Mar11/24	Wm. Geo. Cromwell	NW	Home	Feb19/31	159	Jun16/42	Charles Lennie	
May 9/13	159	Aug 6/19	Joseph Yarbrough	SW	Home	Mar13/39		Sep15/42	Mrs. Helen Kostyk	
Nov 23/20			F. Bowen							
Aug 30/20	159.77	Sep24/20	S.S.B.							

## Township 66 Range 20 Continued.

31 NE	Home	Sep27/37		Oct10/44	Theodore Saunders
NW	Home	Aug18/14		Feb20/19	Petro Gudz/Nellie Gudz
SW	Home	Jul18/30	159	Jan17/40	Wilham Lennie
32 NW	Home	Jan15/29		May19/36	Eugen R. Gabriel Caster
33 SE	Home	Nov 2/29	159	Sep27/39	Mrs. Ananda Melton Whitaker
34 NE	Home	Jul30/12		Jun24/19	Thos. Lipscombe
NW	Home	Apr26/38		Mar26/47	John Whittaker, Jr.
SE	Home	Feb18/13		Jan25/22	Richard Thos. Lipscomb
SW	Home	Sep23/13		Nov12/26	Wm. Melton
35 NW	Home	Mar 7/25		Mar20/30	Aldege Marrinier
SE	Home	Apr25/11	159	Sep 9/14	Young Whitaker
SW	Home	Apr24/11	159	Apr19/15	Jacob Holmes
36 NE	Home	Oct14/09		Jul 7/13	Ludger Gagnon
NW	Home	Feb16/12		Nov24/15	Wm. Whitaker
SE	Home	Mar16/09		Nov26/12	Gabriel Gagnon
SW	Home	Jun 7/12		Mar24/16	John Whittaker

## Cadastral Record of Township.67 Range 13 West of the Fourth Meridian

Section	Marure of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name				
1	NW	None	12-11-35	140.7	31-7-44	Vitalia Quinfall				
4	SW	Home	9-8-15	138.22	16-5-22	Walter DeFarra				
		Rly. R/W		-2.08	4-10-19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.				
	SE	Ag. Lsa.	1-6-43	161	8-11-49	Albert Cadieux				
	SW	2nd Home	23-8-28	161	22-2-37	William B. John				
5	NE	Home	7-5-37	62.55	Feb2/43	Harry Sloboda				
		A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	65	3.25	Dec4/19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.				
	SE	Home	15-6-14		Jan31/17	Augustus Cardinal				
	SW	Home	4-6-14		Dec20/22	Arlene Cardinal				
6	SW	Special		2846		Samuel F. Wagar				
9	NE	Home	23-8-15		15-9-19	Margarite Larogue				
		A&G.W.Ry.R.W.		61	22-8-19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.				
	NW	Home	27-5-14	523420	12-5-19	Alphonse J. Walker				
		Rt. of Way			4-10-19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.				
	SW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.		65	4-10-19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.				
		Home	30-1-39	104.38	3-11-45	Eleanor Rizzoli				
10	NE	Home	7-8-17	133.94	6-12-20	Frank P. Fisher				
		A&G.W.Ry.R.W.		65	4-10-19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.				
	NW	Home	21-6-09	339254	14-6-22	Mary L. Quintal				
		A&G.W.Ry.R.W.			26-4-28	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.				
	SE	Ag. Lsa.	1-10-47	161	20-1-56	Alme Cadieux				
	SW	Home	19-2-31	159.07	10-9-45	Luigi Rizzoli				
11	NE	Sale	11-10-23	7137	5.83	20-2-24	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.			
	NW	Sale	11-10-23	7137	6.06	20-2-24	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.			
12	NE	Home	6-8-14	525658	124.7	15-3-21	Emile Boucher			
	NW	Home	9-10-13	500405	142.96	23-10-18	Charles Valery			
	SE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.		65	2.40	4-10-19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.			
13	NE	Home	14-8-16	560982	61.2	11-5-20	Mark May			
	NW	Sale	29-10-39	2625	25	29-7-48	William Dent Sykes			
	SE	Sale	23-11-36	2499	8.5	11-5-43	M. C. Deschambeau			
		Sale	1-8-47	3276	29	28-5-48	William Dent Sykes			
	SW	Home	5-4-38		135.5	28-4-48	Dent Sykes			
14	NE	Home	14-4-38		127.1	14-10-46	Helen Laboucane			
	NW	2nd Home	22-6-37			17-4-45	Thomas Frederick La Baucone			
	SW	Home	14-2-31	3231		16-4-40	Arthur Cadieux			
15	SE	Home	30-11-44	536249	127.40	23-11-18	Jean Bizebard			
	SW	Home	14-5-37		61.02	6-6-50	Nancy Mordquist			
16	SE	Sale	14-2-41	2677	7.6	6-6-50	Nancy Mordquist			
		Home	26-9-38		49	9-9-43	Florence Beaudry			
23	NE	Sale				28230	.1		11-1	
24	NE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.				73	.06		6-10	
		Sale				2878	11-4-43	12.9	13-7	
	NW	Sale				2537	6-7-38	20.56	21-7	
	SE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.				77	4-11-19	1.37	15-7	
		Home				588035	11-9-21	97.68	28-7	
	NE	Home				655231	10-8-29	157.23	14-1	
	SE	Home				12133	21-9-36		13-7	
		A&G.W.Ry.R.W.						6.24	4-10	
26	NE	2nd Home	24-11-28	638586	159.05				3-3	

Astral Record of Township 67 Range 13 West of the Fourth Meridian

Area	Date of Patent	Name	23 NE	24 NE	26 NE	Other	Other
			Sale 28230			.1	11-1-29 Frederick Tillapaugh
			A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 73			.06	6-10-19 Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.
			Sale 2878	11-4-43		12.9	13-7-50 Alexander Webber
			NW Sale 2537	6-7-38		20.56	21-1-42 Fernand E. Terrisa
			SE A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 77	4-11-19		1.37	15-12-19 Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.
			Home 588035	11-9-21		97.68	28-12-28 Isaac E. Settles
			NE Home 655231	10-8-29		157.23	14-12-36 Henry Horace Rouillard
			SE Home 12133	21-9-36			13-7-50 Alexander Webber
			A&G.W.Ry.R.W.			6.24	4-10-19 Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.
			26 NE 2nd Home 638586	24-11-28	159.05		3-3-36 Dave Nicolayczuk
0.7	31-7-44	Vitella Quinfall					
8.22	16-5-22	Walter DeFarre					
2.08	4-10-19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.					
1	8-11-49	Albert Cadieux					
	22-2-37	William B. John					
3.55	Feb2/43	Harry Sloboda					
1.85	Dec4/19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.					
	Jan31/17	Augustus Cardinal					
	Dec20/22	Arlene Cardinal					
.5	Mar4/15	Samuel F. Wager					
	15-9-19	Margarite Larogue					
6.69	22-8-19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.					
	12-5-19	Alphonse J. Walker					
.92	4-10-19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.					
	4-10-19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.					
4.38	3-11-45	Eleanor Rizzoli					
9.94	6-12-20	Frank P. Fisher					
7.06	4-10-19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.					
	14-6-22	Mary L. Quintal					
9.03	26-4-28	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.					
	29-1-56	Aime Cadieux					
7.07	10-9-45	Luigi Rizzoli					
7.83	20-2-24	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.					
7.06	20-2-24	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.					
7.7	15-3-21	Emile Boucher					
7.96	23-10-18	Charles Valery					
7.40	4-10-19	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.					
7.2	11-5-20	Mark May					
	29-7-48	William Dent Sykes					
7.5	11-5-43	M. C. Deschambeau					
	28-5-48	William Dent Sykes					
7.5	28-4-48	Dent Sykes					
7.1	14-10-46	Helen Laboucane					
	17-4-45	Thomas Frederick La Baucane					
	16-4-40	Arthur Cadieux					
7.40	23-11-18	Jean Bizebard					
7.02	6-8-50	Nancy Nordquist					
7.6	6-6-50	Nancy Nordquist					
	9-9-43	Florence Beaudry					

20F2



## Cadastral Record of Township 67 Range 21 West of the Fourth Meridian

Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name					
1 NW	Vet. Homd.	88	1-11-48	156.84	19-8-59	Edward Scarszewski	18 NE	Home		11-5-11	
SE	Special	9636			21-2-28	S.S.B.	NW	Home		11-5-11	
SW	Home		3-12-13		26-11-20	Nikolay Kostozuk	SE	Home		17-12-17	
							SW	Home		11-5-11	
3 NE	Home		10-3-28	161	10-6-43	George Maloty	19 NE	Special	10897		
NW	Special	8373		161	11-10-20	S.S.B.	NW	Special	966		0.99
SE	Home		12-3-28	158	6-1-33	Pete Siroich	SE	Home		22-7-12	
							SW	Home		16-11-11	
4 NE	Home		29-6-21	161	20-6-27	Frank A. Beeston	20 NE	SAV Home	1918	Nov20/11	161
NW	Home		29-6-15	161	6-12-22	John James McRae	NW	SAV Home	1918	Nov20/11	144.8
SE	Special	8373		155	31-8-25	S.S.B.	SE	Home		26-5-13	
SW	Home		5-9-11	153	5-7-16	John W. Beeston	SW	Home		23-4-12	
5 NE	Special	10205		161	Jul13/28	S.S.B.	21 NW	Home		2-2-12	161
NW	Home		Jun29/11	161	Nov30/15	Nelson Leveque	SW	Special	5277		161
SE	Home		Oct 2/11	152	Sep 4/20	Peter Ganett					
SW	Home		Jun29/11	150	Feb25/16	Andrew Amundson					
6 NE	Home		Aug 4/17		Jan14/21	Elmer Herzhbeger	22 NW	Home		12-7-17	152.4
NW	Home		Aug24/11		Dec17/15	Jay W. Polley	SW	Home		21-5-13	161
SE	Home		Sep15/10	148	Feb27/14	Edmund Daonst					
SW	Home		Jun23/10	146	Feb 3/16	Arthur E. Milburn	30 NE	Home		14-7-37	151.4
							SE	Home		7-7-20	
7 NE	Home		Mar16/18		Jan27/28	James A. Higgins	SW	2nd Home		13-3-30	56.1
NW	Home		Jun15/11		Apr17/20	Exavid Paquette					
SE	Home		Jul20/11		Nov26/14	Onésime Bergeron	31 NE	Home		8-10-13	161
SW	2nd Home		Jan19/38		Apr19/41	Martin Hansen	NW	Home		16-10-29	161
							SW	Home		Aug27/13	
8 NE	Home		Jun19/11		Sep15/14	Louis D. Normand	32 NE	Home		21-8-12	156
NW	Home		Jun23/11		Jan10/18	George Gauthier	NW	Home		10-4-33	161
SW	Home		Jul10/11		Nov 6/16	Henry Cook	SE	Home		6-5-36	129.9
9 NE	Special	5596		161	15-10-21	S.S.B.	33 NE	Home		11-5-28	161
SE	Home		23-2-20	161	2-11-27	Arthur Renshaw	NW	Home		7-4-28	147.9
SW	Soldier	16085	22-12-27	161	1-4-37	Arthur Renshaw					
10 NE	Special	9635		161	21-2-28	S.S.B.					
NW	Exchange			161	16-11-62	Rob. James Coates					
SE	2nd Home		10-2-31	157.98	2-11-35	Kosian Serediak					
SW	Sale	5966	12-4-61	159.7	10-06-66	John George Smith					
15 SZ	Home		3-10-38	161	5-11-47	John George Smith					
SW	Home		14-2-16	161	Sep19/17	Walter Porter					
16 NE	Home		31-3-13	161	Nov21/17	Gilbert Carr Petty					
NW	Home		29-6-15	161	Oct 2/20	Donald D. MacDonald					
SW	Sale	17941	30-7-14	5	Mar26/15	Synod Diocese of Athabasca					
17 NE	Home		2-11-12	161	Jul29/18	Napoleon Chartrand					
NW	Home		5-2-12	161	Jan24/17	Emile Sole					
SE	SAV Home	4749	20-5-11		Feb18/16	Serisin Cervais					
SW	SAV Home	4749	20-5-11		Feb18/16	Serisin Cervais					

Cadastral Record of Township 67 Range 21 West of the Fourth Meridian

Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name								
88	1-11-48	156.84	19-8-59	Edward Staszewski	18 NE	Home	11-5-11		Aug 9/17		Arthur Sole	
636			21-2-28	S.S.B.	NW	Home	11-5-11		Feb 5/17		Eugene Sole	
	3-12-13		26-11-20	Nikolay Kostozuk	SE	Home	17-12-17		Jun10/21		Frank Fontaine	
					SW	Home	11-5-11		Jan18/16		George Lachapelle	
	10-3-28	161	10-6-43	George Maloty	19 NE	Special	10897		Dec11/28		S.S.B.	
73		161	11-10-20	S.S.B.	NW	Special	6966		Mar14/24	140.99	S.S.B.	
	12-3-28	158	6-1-33	Pete Sloirch	SE	Home		22-7-12	Sep 7/18		Charles W. Lynch	
					SW	Home		16-11-11	Mar 1/17		Albin Carlson	
	29-6-21	161	20-6-27	Frank A. Beeston	20 NE	SAV Home	1918	Nov20/11	161	Dec 2/19	Stephen H.O. Sturt	
	29-6-15	161	6-12-22	John James McRae	NW	SAV Home	1918	Nov20/11	144.8	Dec 2/19	Stephen H.O. Sturt	
		155	31-8-25	S.S.B.	SE	Home		26-5-13	Apr10/19		Ernest Hitz	
	5-9-11	153	5-7-16	John Wm. Beeston	SW	Home		23-4-12	Aug13/20		Frank Lenz	
05		161	Jul13/28	S.S.B.	21 NE	Home		2-2-12	161	Apr 4/19	Thomas Smith	
	Jun29/11	161	Nov30/15	Nelson Leveque	SW	Special	5277		161	Oct11/20	S.S.B.	
	Oct 2/11	152	Sep 4/20	Peter Ganett	22 NW	Home		12-7-37	152.4	Jan3/23	Frank David Limby	
	Jun29/11	150	Feb25/16	Andrew Amundson	SW	Home		21-5-13	161	Oct 4/20	James Herbert Taylor	
	Aug 4/17		Jan14/21	Elmer Hershbuger	30 NE	Home		14-7-37	151.4	Nov16/48	Friedrich Schreiber	
	Aug24/11		Dec17/15	Jay W. Polley	SE	Home		7-7-20	56.1	Sep 3/26	Paul Sole	
	Sep15/10	148	Feb27/14	Edmund Daonst	SW	2nd Home		17-3-30		Sep 2/38	Paul Sole	
	Jun23/10	146	Feb 3/16	Arthur E. Milburn	31 NE	Home		8-10-13	161	Jan23/20	Thomas A. Genter	
	Mar16/18		Jan27/28	James A. Higgins	NW	Home		16-10-29	161	Mar15/38	Albert Schmid	
	Jun15/11		Apr17/20	Exavid Paquette	SW	Home		Aug27/13		Mar17/20	Thomas A. Tanter	
	Jul20/11		Nov26/14	Onésime Bergeron	32 NE	Home		21-8-12	156	Dec16/15	Patrick O'Conner	
	Jan19/38		Apr19/41	Martin Hansen	NW	Home		10-4-33	161	Aug16/46	Robert Bischoff	
	Jun19/11		Sep15/14	Louis D. Normand	SE	Home		6-5-36	129.9	Nov12/40	Mary O'Connar	
	Jun23/11		Jan10/18	George Gauthier	33 NE	Home		11-5-28	161	Nov14/38	Heinrich Goepfer	
	Jul10/11		Nov 6/16	Henry Cook	NW	Home		7-4-28	147.9	Nov17/39	Axel Anderson	
6		161	15-10-21	S.S.B.								
	23-2-20	161	2-11-27	Arthur Renshaw								
8	22-12-27	161	1-4-37	Arthur Renshaw								
		161	21-2-28	S.S.B.								
		161	16-11-62	Rob. James Coates								
	10-2-31	157.98	2-11-35	Kosian Srediak								
	12-4-61	159.7	10-06-66	John George Smith								
	3-10-38	161	5-11-47	John George Smith								
	14-2-16	161	Sep19/17	Walter Porter								
	31-3-13	161	Nov21/17	Gilbert Carr Petty								
	29-6-15	161	Oct 2/20	Donald D. MacDonald								
	30-7-14	5	Mar26/15	Synod Diocese of Athabasca								
	2-11-12	161	Jul29/18	Napoleon Chartrand								
	5-2-12	161	Jan24/17	Emile Sole								
	20-5-11		Feb18/16	Serisin Gervais								
	20-5-11		Feb18/16	Serisin Gervais								

Cadastral Record of Township 67 Range 19 West of the Fourth Meridian

Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name	Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name
1 NE	Soldier	17350	Nov 10/29	161	23-9-39	Holl Foss	14 NE	Home	519044	13-5-14	161	8-4-40	
SW	Home	3603	19-2-31	150.7	4-10-40	Elmer Donald	NE	Home	666922	29-6-30	160.44	4-10-40	
2 NE	Home	2799	10-2-31	161	30-6-41	Fred Donald	SE	Home	523214	23-5-14	161	12-1-42	
SW	Home	599977	18-8-22	164		M. Duplissis	SW	Home	12094	5-9-36	156.68	12-1-42	
	Special	11032			7-1-29	S.S.B.	15 NE	Home		22-4-26	161	2-1-43	
3 NE	Home	465609	6-7-12	161	15-12-16	Felix Pouder	NW	Home	614725	15-6-26	161	3-1-43	
SE	Home	506515	13-10-13	161	8-2-19	Edmond Broulette	SE	Home	665927	23-7-30	161	15-1-43	
SW	Home	596630	22-5-36	164	28-9-24	James H. Witney	SW	Home	559505	30-4-30	161	24-1-43	
	Home	523163	21-5-14	164	18-5-19	Francis Pouder	16 N	Home	655534	22-8-29	161	4-1-43	
4 NE	Home	545468	21-7-15	161		Harry M. Whitney	17 NE	Home	671325	24-9-30		2-1-43	
	Special	8152			6-4-25	S.S.B.	18 NE	Home	14897	29-1-36	161	29-1-43	
NW	Home	628934	28-5-28	161	9-3-45	Joseph M. Hayes/Official Guardian	NW	Soldier	15522	28-10-26	161	12-1-43	
SE	Home	663639	25-6-23		14-6-30	Alex Short	19 SE	Home	663639	20-6-23	161	3-1-43	
SW	Home	375796	18-4-16		3-1-33	Adolphe Maljeu	NW	Home	665798	26-3-29	161	2-1-43	
5 NE	Home	486569	18-4-13	161	16-2-17	Josephine Barter	SE	Home	592491	1-6-21	161	8-1-43	
SE	Home	375798	18-4-16	163	18-2-15	Wm. M. Dably	SW	Home	622645	6-8-27	161	29-1-43	
SW	Home	465541	3-7-12	173	27-12-15	Anthony Williams	20 NW	Home	612716	25-11-25		22-1-43	
6 SE	Home	596347	18-9-13	163	11-10-26	Aslard Poulin	SW	Special	13353			18-1-43	
SW	Home	592626	13-6-21	163	15-5-25	Pierre Marnier	21 NE	Home	638347	20-11-28	158	2-1-43	
7 NE	Home	10942	25-11-32	161	16-6-38	Josephine Bartoszowski		Con. Site		27-3-38	2	2-1-43	
SW	Home	661209	16-12-29	161	26-9-36	John Bartoszowski	NW	Held L.	3054	15-6-49		2-1-43	
8 NE	Home		6-7-37	161	14-11-47	Ralph Joseph Gauthier	SE	Home	667185	25-5-29		2-1-43	
SE	Home	525497	29-7-14	161	4-3-19	Wm. J. Bell	SW	Ret. Ag. L.	481	15-10-40		2-1-43	
9 SE	Home		18-12-34	150.7	11-2-43	Clement Gauthier	22 NE	Home	638679	28-11-28		2-1-43	
SW	Sale	5093	11-4-56	150.5	Jun 30/65	Clement Gauthier	NW	Home	618144	1-3-26		2-1-43	
SE	Home	504932	22-11-13	161	17-10-17	Bert Healey	SE	Home	625286	21-12-27		2-1-43	
SW	Home	500513	13-10-13	161	22-1-17	Emile LaPomme	SW	Home	606481	16-6-24		2-1-43	
10 SE	Home	517970	24-4-14	161	4-4-19	Frederic Harcourt Witney	23 NW	Home		16-11-38	157.98	8-1-43	
SW	Home	571518	30-10-17	161	4-9-23	Judgar Yerville		School			3.02	8-1-43	
11 NW	Sale	5127	1-4-49	154.36	Jun 11/58	Joseph P. McKenzie	SE	Home	637370	13-11-28	156.44	2-1-43	
SE	Sale	5112	1-4-49	160.7	Jun 20/58	Eduard Dunke	24 NE	Home	621046	4-5-27		2-1-43	
12 NE	Sale	3333	12-1-48	10	8-11-48	William S. Hutchinson	NW	2nd Home	636283	11-10-28	156.49	5-1-43	
NW	Sale	651279	5-10-29	161	15-6-38	Clyde Oren Doby	SE	Home	647605	11-6-29	160.4	2-1-43	
SW	Home	622624	3-8-27	160.6	8-6-37	Ed Bourke		Supp. Grt.			20.6	2-1-43	
	Supp. Grant			20.4	12-12-47	Ed Bourke	SW	Home	614729	28-4-26		2-1-43	
13 NE	Home		29-10-37	161	17-3-49	Mary Boldis	25 NE	Home		24-6-38		4-1-43	
							NW	Ag. L.	555	15-11-42		4-1-43	
							SE	Home	604089	27-7-23		4-1-43	
							26 NW	Home	4168	14-7-31	161	2-1-43	
							SE	Sale	51099	1-4-49	161	2-1-43	
							SW	Home	654059	15-1-30	161	2-1-43	

Cadastral Record of Township 67 Range 19 West of the Fourth Meridian

Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name							
10-29	161	23-9-39	Rolf Foss	14 NE	Home	519044	13-5-14	161	8-4-19	Peter Evanshuk
9-2-32	150.7	4-10-40	Elmer Donald	SW	Home	644922	25-6-30	160.44	4-3-38	Harry Lubzenko
				SE	Home	523214	23-5-14	161	12-2-28	Joseph Drezick
				SW	Home	12096	5-9-36	156.68	15-3-45	Edna Yvonne McKenzie
2-2-31	161	30-6-41	Fred Donald	15 NE	Home		22-4-26	161	25-4-31	Maryl Szeremeta
8-3-22	164	7-1-29	M. Duplessis S.S.B.	SW	Home	614725	15-4-26	161	3-12-38	John Szeremeta
				SE	Home	665927	23-7-30	161	15-6-38	Matury Chocliak
				SW	Home	659505	30-4-30	161	26-2-40	Andrew Kochian
7-12	161	15-12-16	Felix Pouder	16 N	Home	655534	22-8-29	161	4-11-38	Jakob Gres
5-5-13	161	8-2-19	Edmond Brouelette	17 SW	Home	671325	24-9-30		21-3-39	Stephen Hafner
5-5-30	164	28-9-26	James H. Witney	18 NE	Home	14897	29-1-34	161	29-4-43	Lillian Gagnon
5-5-24	164	18-3-19	Francis Pouder	SW	Soldier	15522	28-10-26	161	12-9-31	Reid Dorey
5-7-15	161		Harry A. Whitney S.S.B.	19 SE	Home	603639	20-6-23	161	3-5-30	Martin Hafner
5-5-28	161	6-4-25	Joseph M. Hayes/Official Guardian	SW	Home	646708	26-3-29	161	2-4-37	Archibald Landoune Black
5-5-20	163	9-5-45	Alex Stort	SE	Home	592491	1-6-21	161	8-4-29	Joseph Charles Gagnon
5-5-16	123	14-6-30	Adolphe Majeau	SW	Home	622646	6-8-27	161	26-8-29	Louise Gagnon
		3-15-13		20 SW	Home	612716	25-11-25		21-11-29	Reid Richmond Dorey
5-6-13	161	10-2-17	Josephine Barter	SW	Special	13353			18-10-30	S.S.B.
5-5-10	163	28-2-15	Wm. M. Dakly	21 NE	Home	638347	20-11-28	158	24-7-40	Nick Husiak
5-5-11	123	17-12-15	Anthony Williams		Gen. Site		27-3-36	2	16-6-36	Euthenian Gr. Cath. Parish of Holy Trinity
5-5-13	163	11-10-20	Adelard Poulin	SW	Estd. L.	3056	15-6-49		Mar12/58	Tatien Husiak
5-5-21	163	15-5-21	Pierre Marinier	SE	Home	647185	25-5-29		22-6-33	Charles Gagnon
5-11-32	161	10-6-38	Josephine Bartoszewski	SW	Yet. Ag. L.	481	15-10-40		Jan28/58	Bill Szeremeta
5-12-29	161	26-9-36	Don. Bartoszewski	22 NE	Home	638679	28-11-28		18-8-38	Ivan Kozzan
5-7-37	161	14-11-47	Ralph Joseph Gauthier	SW	Home	618144	1-3-26		30-5-40	Andrew Brycan
5-7-14	161	4-3-19	Wm. J. Bell	SE	Home	625286	21-12-27		9-1-40	Gen. Chanczuk
5-2-36	150.7	11-2-43	Clement Gauthier	SW	Home	606481	16-6-24		9-5-36	Romeo Majeau
5-4-56	100.5	Jun 30/65	Clement Gauthier	23 SW	Home		16-11-38	157.98	8-9-42	Mary Friedman
5-11-13	161	17-10-17	Bert Heslop		School			3.02	30-11-37	Deer Run School #4579
5-10-13	161	22-1-17	Emile LaPlante	SE	Home	637370	13-11-28	156.44	22-6-34	George Fleming
5-4-24	161	6-4-19	Frederick Harcourt Witney	24 SE	Home	621046	4-5-27		9-4-34	Gordon F. Jenkins
5-10-17	161	4-9-23	Ludger Verville	SW	2nd Home	636283	11-10-28	156.49	5-8-36	Vincent Sylvester McKenzie
5-4-45	156.36	Jun11/58	Joseph B. McKenzie	SE	Home	647605	11-6-29	140.4	14-12-62	Steve Boldis
5-4-49	140.7	Jun20/58	Edward Bunke	SW	Supp. Crt.			20.6	2-3-44	Steve Boldis
5-1-48	10	8-11-48	William S. Hutchinson	SW	Home	614729	28-4-26		17-9-37	Joe. B. McKenzie
5-10-29	161	15-6-38	Clyde Oran Duby	25 NE	Home		24-6-38		4-4-45	Douglas Jenkins Coverly
5-8-27	140.6	8-6-37	Ed Bourke	SW	Ag. L.	555	15-11-42		Feb 7/55	Oiga Luchka
	20.4	12-12-47	Ed Bourke	SE	Home	604089	27-7-23		12-7-27	James N. McKenzie
5-10-37	161	17-3-49	Mary Boldis	26 SW	Home	4168	14-7-31	161	28-8-39	Nikolay Berezuk
				SE	Sale	5109	1-4-49	161	Jan18/57	Walter Britson
				SW	Home	654059	15-1-30	161	3012-38	Maty Saucysa

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Township 67 Range 19 Continued.

27	NE	Home	614717	14-4-26	158	10-6-35	John Pysyk
	SW	Home	624877	10-6-27	158.87	25-5-39	Wick Czolacz
	SE	Home	614708	14-4-26		22-1-37	Stephan Maka
28	NE	Home	644970	17-1-29	158	27-7-45	Michael Brycum
	NW	Home	655258	13-8-29	158.77	29-3-40	Mike Kamelchuk
	SE	Home	15146	15-9-32		13-4-45	Peter Ryivar
29	NE	Yet. Hstd. L.	4242	15-7-46		Oct 25/57	Stanley Zayezierski
	NW	Yet. Hstd. L.	4242	15-7-46		Oct 25/57	Stanley Zayezierski
	SW	Yet. Agr. L.	865	15-7-46	158.85	May 13/64	Joseph Anton Halner
30	NE	Home	614711	14-4-26	161	12-5-38	Wasył Rodon
	NW	Home	669653	15-8-30	161	15-12-34	Mick Horanluk
	SE	Home		27-11-35	161	11-2-39	Stephen Halner
	SW	Home	629910	22-6-28	161	8-6-37	Lawrence Robinson
31	NE	Home	642999	20-6-29	162	7-2-45	Martin Berzezanaki
	SE	Home		15-6-28	162	12-9-38	Jacob Skrypyk
32	NE	Home	659780	10-5-30	161	4-4-40	Antoni Zełbal
	NW	Home		27-1-38	162	16-10-44	Pearl Skrypyk
	SE	Home	629457	22-4-27	156.11	21-11-39	Theodor Marai
	SW	Home	629456	22-4-27	158	15-3-45	Tar Luma
33	NE	Home	622128	13-7-27	162	26-7-37	Harry Kianan
	NW	Home	622128	13-7-27	161	16-10-44	W. Sheremeta
	SE	Home		27-5-27	158	24-11-39	Nikolaj Rosa
	SW	Home	626715	14-3-28	156.51	22-5-39	Alex Rosa
34	NE	Home	654698	24-3-30	162	19-4-40	Alex Hula
	NW	Home	637953	1-11-28	162	17-11-39	Wasył Sawczyn
	SE	Home	661997	5-3-30	158	28-4-39	Michal Feder
	SW	Home	655016	2-8-29	156.12	25-10-39	Wick Cholack
		Ch. Site		5-4-39	.99	30-5-40	Authenian Gr. Cath. Parish of H. Trinity
35	NE	Home		11-3-36	161	8-6-48	Fred Yukish
	NW	Home	10565	24-10-32	162	4-10-40	Domka Berczuik
	SE	Home	662581	8-4-30	161	14-10-39	Alexander Dawhaniuk
	SW	Home	662473	2-4-30	161	9-6-42	Wick Nicholas Fedec
36	NW	Home	602528	12-3-28	161	29-6-37	William Thomas Abbis
	SW	Soldier Ct.		18-3-38		31-4-47	Charles Aubrey Wallace

## Cadastral Record of Township 68 Range 16 West of the Fourth Meridian

Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name				
1	SE	Home	501885	22-7-13	14-3-19	Joseph Fontaine				
	SW	Home	455167	6-5-12	2-3-18	Louis Rozaris Bouiassa				
	SE	Home	455169	6-5-12	9-10-19	Louis Pleneuf				
	SW	Home	416558	4-5-11	27-12-19	Gregoire Arger	128.19			
2	SE	Home	524996	6-7-14	19-2-16	Leon Quatre				
	SW	Time Sale	8920	28-6-11	26-11-14	Joseph Plamondon				
	SE	Home	498135	12-4-12	4-8-17	Fioderic Lapondre				
	SW	Home	416556	4-5-11	26-6-12	Joseph Plamondon				
3	SE	Home	441056	12-11-11	16-1-17	Maxime Ladosceur				
	SW	Home	599012	11-12-13	19-12-17	Marricase Plamondon				
	SE	Home	416756	11-5-11	25-6-12	Phillip Plamondon				
4	SE	Home	464292	23-5-12	14-2-18	William Plamondon				
6	NW	Home	588175	22-9-20	14-8-26	Maurice Kiss				
	SE	Held. L.	3189	15-7-49	Dec7/62	Daniel Bourassa				
	SW	Home	571476	24-12-17	5-5-24	Arvid M. Nordquist				
7	NE	S.S.B.	6883	2-1-20	28-10-26	Phillias Cote				
8	NE	Home	421476	8-6-11	26-9-11	Simon Gagon				
	SE	Home	572545	14-12-17	26-11-26	Benoit Plamondon	130.4			
	SW	Sale	3513	4-4-49	Jan23/59	Donald Plamondon	161			
9	NE	Home	435120	28-8-11	6-2-14	Joseph Labonty				
	NW	Home	429844	30-6-11	26-1-14	Joseph Herz				
	SE	Home	586934	15-6-20	13-5-30	Eli Plamondon	157.67			
10	NE	Time Sale	9283	18-10-12	8-4-18	Isidore Plamondon	70			
	SW	Home	446550	19-1-12	23-3-17	Richard Labonty				
	SE	Home	421460	8-6-11	12-8-13	Isidore Plamondon				
	SW	Home	572079	20-11-17	2-12-22	Joseph Gagnon	106.06			
13	SW	Ag. Lee.	2334	15-4-46	18-9-53	Orval Dube	114.8			
14	NE	Held. L.	3819	15-12-49	Dec6/56	Christella Plamondon				
	SW	Home	608175	18-9-24	15-11-29	Clifton Plamondon				
	SE	Home	525659	6-8-14	2-12-22	Julien Duperron				
	SW	Home	562496	28-9-16	18-9-28	Fredrick Plamondon				
15	SE	Home	552827	3-1-16	24-8-23	Eugene Graizely				
	NW	Home	491081	9-6-13	20-12-17	Ernest Dube				
	SE	Home	639986	31-1-29	26-9-44	Fredrick Plamondon	110			
	SW	Home	495925	15-8-13	4-10-17	Pierre Gagnon				
16	NE	Home	491171	13-6-13	16-10-16	Arthur Dube				
	SE	Home	625611	12-14-28	22-11-28	Manuel Labonte				
	SW	H.B.Co.	1410		30-11-25	H. E. Co.				
17	NW	H.B.Co.							1412	
	SW	H.B.Co.							1414	
18	NE	Home	644058	5-12-28						161
	NW	Home	421475	8-6-11						
	SE	Home	435028	18-8-11						
	SW	Home	435010	17-8-11						
19	NW	Ag. Lee.							1978	16-12-46
	SE	Home	441024	2-9-11						
	SW	Ag. Lee.							1978	16-12-46 161
20	NW	Home	646998	10-5-29						161
	SW	2nd Home	646934	14-5-29						161
21	NE	Home	618179	6-11-26						
	NW	Home	625616	14-1-28						
22	NE	Home	536214	26-11-14						
	NW	Home	536214	26-11-14						
	SE	Ag. Lee.	2514	1-12-47						
	SW	Home	491085	9-6-13						
23	NW	Ag. Lee.	601	15-5-43						
24	NE	Home		28-10-37						135.87
26	SW	Ag. Lee.	601	15-5-43						
27	NW	Held. L.	511	1-12-48						
	SE	Held. L.	6566	15-11-49						
	SW	Held. L.	511	1-12-48						
28	NE	Ag. Lee.	1285	1-9-45						
	SE	Ag. Lee.	1285	1-9-45						
	SW	Home	523361	26-5-14						89.8
30	NW	2nd Home	654761	31-3-30						
	SE	Home	16321	13-6-17						
	SW	Home	49425	8-7-18						
31	SW	Held. L.	3209	15-7-49						140

stral Record of Township 68 Range 16 West of the Fourth Meridian

Date of Patent	Name								
14-3-19	Joseph Fontaine	17 NW	H. B. Co.	1412		30-11-25	H. B. Co.		
2-3-18	Louis Rozarie Bouliassa	SW	H. B. Co.	1414		1-12-25	H. B. Co.		
9-10-19	Louis Planeuf	18 NE	Home	644058	5-12-28	161	28-5-35	Willard Gauthier	
27-12-19	Gregoire Arger	NW	Home	421475	8-6-11		20-4-15	Joseph Labrie	
15-2-16	Leon Guatre	SE	Home	435028	18-8-11		12-3-15	Oliva St. John	
26-11-14	Joseph Plamondon	SW	Home	435010	17-8-11		1-10-13	Melison St. John	
4-2-17	Floederic Lapondre	19 NW	Ag. Lee.	1978	16-12-46		23-9-52	Jacob Shapka	
26-4-12	Joseph Plamondon	SE	Home	441024	2-9-11		26-10-15	Edward Castor	
16-1-17	Maxime Ladouceur	SW	Ag. Lee.	1978	16-12-46	161	23-9-52	Jacob Shapka	
13-12-17	Mauritase Plamondon	20 NW	Home	646998	10-5-29	161	1-4-40	Walter D. McMillan	
25-6-12	Phillip Plamondon	SW	2nd Home	646934	14-5-29	161	12-9-40	John A. McMillan	
14-2-18	William Plamondon	21 NE	Home	618179	6-11-26		29-1-30	Emile Plamondon	
14-8-26	Maurice P. P.	NW	Home	625616	14-1-28		29-9-36	V. Plamondon	
Dec 7/52	Daniel Bourassa	22 NE	Home	536214	26-11-14		27-6-23	William Lawrence Kelly	
5-1-24	Arvid M. Nordquist	NW	Home	536214	26-11-14		1-6-20	Wade H. Dowling	
28-10-26	Philias Cote	SE	Ag. Lee.	2514	1-12-47		Mar 4/57	Edgar Dube	
26-9-13	Simon Gagon	SW	Home	491085	9-6-13		21-2-18	Arthur Dube	
26-11-26	Renoit Plamondon	23 NW	Ag. Lee.	601	15-5-43		3-8-50	Adolphis Gauthier	
Jan 23/59	Dopald Plamondon	24 NE	Home		28-10-37	135.87	3-11-45	Eugene Wentworth	
6-2-14	Joseph Labonty	26 SW	Ag. Lee.	601	15-5-43		3-8-50	Adolphis Gauthier	
28-1-14	Joseph Harp	27 NW	Hstd. L.	511	1-12-48		Apr 14/58	Otto Joseph Plamondon	
13-5-30	Ell Plamondon	SE	Hstd. L.	6566	15-11-49		Mar 8/63	Ovilla Joseph Gauthier	
8-4-18	Isidore Plamondon	SW	Hstd. L.	511	1-12-48		Apr 24/58	Otto Joseph Plamondon	
23-3-17	Richard Labonty	28 NE	Ag. Lee.	1285	1-9-45		19-2-54	Arthur Plamondon	
12-8-13	Isidore Plamondon	SE	Ag. Lee.	1285	1-9-45		19-2-54	Arthur Plamondon	
2-12-22	Joseph Gagnon	SW	Home	523361	26-5-14	89.8	16-10-24	Fernand Pelissier	
18-9-53	Orval Dube	30 NW	2nd Home	654761	31-3-30		28-2-42	Ephraim Cote	
Dec 6/56	Christella Plamondon	SE	Home	16321	13-6-34		5-6-41	Edythe Wallace	
15-11-29	Clifton Plamondon	SW	Home	49425	8-7-13		18-12-22	Ephraim Cote	
2-12-22	Julien Duperron	31 SW	Hstd. L.	3209	15-7-49	160	Sep 27/57	Frank Dudla	
18-9-28	Fredrick Plamondon								
24-8-23	Eugene Graizely								
20-12-17	Ernest Dube								
26-9-44	Fredrick Plamondon								
4-26-17	Pierre Gagnon								
16-10-16	Arthur Dube								
22-11-28	Manuel Labonte								
30-11-25	H. B. Co.								

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## Cadastral Record of Township 65, Range 12 West of the Fourth Meridian

Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name
3	NW Special SE Home SW 2nd Home	9774	29-7-14 Aug25/28		Mar14/28 Jan12/21 Feb12/36	S.S.B. Edmond Guimaud Edmond Guimaud
4	NE Special NW Home SE Sale Home SW Home	9773 2790	Aug26/19 20-11-42 17-7-16 11-11-13	30 130	Mar15/28 Jul31/25 Nov15/45 Mar30/27 Aug26/20	S.S.B. David Lamoureux Medard Richard Napoleon Lessard Chas Amund Lebas
5	NE Home NW Home SE Special Home SW Home	8139	18-12-18 10-5-13 19-10-16 13-3-16	34.9 110	Jun21/26 Oct19/17 Apr2/25 Dec28/20 Sep3/19	Albert Marin Emile Turgeon Thomas L.M. Chiasson Thomas L.M. Chiasson Gideon Ayotte
6	NW Home SE Home SW Home		7-5-11 19-3-14 13-12-28		May4/18 Jul2/18 Dec16/38	Moise Duracher Jeffrey Lefebure Charles Romuld Lebas
7	NE Home NW SAV Home SE Home SW SAV Home	3741 3741	28-11-13 15-5-11 18-10-17 15-5-11		Jun20/17 Jun10/18 Apr29/21 Jun10/18	Leon Paul Dugal E. Lamoureux Napoleon Desrocher E. Lamoureux
8	NW Home SE Home SW Special	10167	3-4-16 8-3-15		10-6-18 Jul19/22 Jul19/28	Adelard Gagnon Adjutar Erassard S.S.B.
9	SE Home SW Home		12-6-15 16-4-16		12-1-21 12-1-21	Frank Cornier Ulric Hebert
16	SW Home		30-11-29	157.11	15-2-37	Joseph Gaudias Lessard
17	SE Ag. Lse.	239	2-6-41		Jul21/49	Paul William Stefanyk
18	NE Home NW Home SE Sale SW Home	10123	Nov14/29 Apr 12/12 Jun22/16 Dec27/13	159	Mar24/39 Apr28/19 Nov30/22 Jul22/18	Eugene Turgeon Edouard Marchand Joseph Alphonse Madaeu Joseph Esard
19	SW Home		Dec21/29	156.9	5-10-39	W. S. Mills
25	NW Home		8-7-38	117.2	Dec29/43	David Richard



Cadastral Record of Township 65 Range 19 West of the Fourth Meridian

Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name						
1 NE	Sale	18819	20-4-18	1.18	24-6-18	Alberta Great Waterways Company	11 NE	Sale	7137	11-10-23	6.02	20-2-24
	AGW R/W	21		1.30	31-5-18	Alberta Great Waterways Company	NW	Sale	7137	11-10-23	.01	20-2-24
	Home	512261	14-3-14		19-7-17	James Andre Durrell	SE	Sale	7137	11-10-23	.27	20-2-24
		7614	24-4-58		Jun27/58	John Anderson	SW	Sale	7137	11-10-23	7.24	20-2-24
2 NE	Home	523845	18-6-14		2907-18	Wade H. Brooks	12 NE	Time Sale	9853	27-1-15	11.26	20-2-24
	Home	515765	7-3-14		16-9-19	Hiram B. Smith	NW	Home	506767	7-10-13	125.8	5-12-21
	Home	515165	5-2-14		9-4-20	Albert Mowak	SE	A.G.W. R/W	75		7.49	7-11-19
	Home	521858	20-7-14		13-1-21	Henry Edward Loy	SW	Home	511554	14-2-14		20-6-21
3 NE	Home	51702	9-4-14		31-12-21	A.G. Browning	13 NW	Home	526737	14-9-14	159.9	22-12-19
	Home	592866	20-6-21		28-10-26	Arthur John Dunaky	14 NE	Home	472239	30-10-12		4-2-21
	A.G.W. R/W	21		5.38	31-5-18	A.G.W. Co.	NW	Home	472237	30-10-12		21-3-19
	Home	523712	2-6-14		27-11-20	Richard E. Barr	SE	Time Sale	9573	21-10-13	27.9	11-12-17
4 NE	Home	523711	2-6-14	161	4-4-19	Thos. C. Garvais	SW	Home	460996	29-6-12		15-6-17
	Home	591648	9-5-21		8-10-26	Oleksa Zaski	15 NE	Home	569423	13-8-17		12-4-26
	Home	536083	19-11-14		7-11-19	John A. Olson	NW	Soldier	7034	19-1-20		
	Sale	17899	18-7-14		19-8-14	A.G.W. Co.	SE	Special	9638			20-2-28
5 NE	Home	56648	11-4-17		19-1-31	Burton P. Carrick	SW	Home	514312	20-12-13		23-12-20
	Soldier	15146	1-3-26		15-3-33	Thos. H. McCutcheon	16 NE	Home	517279	14-4-14		
	Home	635809	19-9-28		6-9-39	Jurks Dydyl	NW	Special	9637			20-2-28
	Home	8967	20-7-20		20-2-29	Burton P. Crick	SE	Home	516623	24-3-14		14-3-81
6 NE	Home	600885	16-5-38		23-8-45	Edward Albert Whiteman	SW	Home	600885	18-19-22		01-1-21
	Home	589119	17-11-20		12-11-30	Sydney S. Alexander	17 NW	Home		11-9-37		29-5-43
	Special	13391			7-6-19	S.S.B.	SE	2nd Home	644052	6-12-28		25-2-38
	Home	528046	8-7-14		12-10-23	Carl John Donelson	SW	Home	539483	12-4-15		12-6-22
7 NE	Special	6307		2	12-10-23	M.D. of Cartier #637	18 NE	Home	63411	20-7-28		22-2-37
	Free Grt.		19-11-58	3	Nov19/58	Diocese of St. Paul	NW	Home	625601	9-1-28	159.5	5-1-35
	2nd Home	637363	13-11-28		29-7-35	Carl J. Donelson	SE	2nd Home	10471	17-10-32		28-6-40
	Home	5343	25-11-20		1-12-20	S.S.B.	SW	Special	11603			12-6-29
8 NE	Special	5344	25-11-20		1-12-20	S.S.B.	19 NE	2nd Home	662551	7-4-30	158	28-5-35
	Home	499390	18-8-13		1-12-19	Oscar L. Davis	NW	Sale	3168	6-9-46	20.7	9-4-48
	Home	455481	12-5-12		7-5-17	Jack Ross	SE	Home	609716	14-3-25		28-9-32
	Home	473064	17-7-12		23-5-17	H.G. Rowland	SW	Home	9331	8-7-32	98.09	18-6-41
9 NE	Home	536084	19-11-14		7-11-18	Ivor L. Bother	20 NE	2nd Home	663844	30-5-30		30-6-39
	Home	526376	5-9-14		29-7-18	Victor E. Erickson	NW	Home	11852	2-5-33		26-6-39
	Home	523064	16-5-14		7-5-18	Andrew Ludvig Lindholm	SW	Home	668433	10-7-30		7-12-33
	Home	514249	17-12-13		28-6-24	Bill Kovachik	21 NE	Home	513714	16-4-14		24-3-20
10 NE	Home	456026	25-5-12		31-5-17	Erik Anderson	NW	Home	8737	1-6-32		18-2-47
	Home	529501	17-9-14		15-7-18	John Melin	SE	Home	513716	16-4-14		29-3-20
	Home	526375	5-9-14		7-6-19	Peter Olson	SW	Ag. L.	1244	16-7-45		Oct28/55
	Home	539517	12-4-15		18-7-20	Wasyi Crycharnowski						
10 NW	Home	460994	29-6-12		26-12-19	Philip B. Hall						
	Home	517205	9-4-14		9-7-19	George Eccleson						
	Home	517204	9-4-14		8-9-16	Henry E. Grimes						
	Home											

stral Record of Township 65 Range 19 West of the Fourth Meridian

Date of Patent	Name						
18	24-6-18	Alberta Great Waterways Company	11 NE Sale	7137	11-10-23	6.02	20-2-24 Ach. & Crv. Rail Const.
30	31-5-18	Alberta Great Waterways Company	NW Sale	7137	11-10-23	.01	20-2-24 Ach. & Crv. Rail Const.
	19-7-17	James Andre Durrell	SE Sale	7137	11-10-23	.27	20-2-24 Ach. & Crv. Rail Const.
	Jun27/58	John Anderson	SW Sale	7137	11-10-23	7.24	20-2-24 Ach. & Crv. Rail Const.
	2907-18	Wade H. Brooks					
	16-9-19	Hiram B. Smith	12 NE Time Sale	9853	27-1-15	11.26	2-8-22 Walter Wayne Loy
	9-4-20	Albert Mowak	NW Home	506767	7-10-13	125.8	5-12-21 Walter W. Loy
	13-1-21	Henry Edward Loy	SE A.G.W. R/W	75		7.49	7-11-19 A.G.W.R. Com.
			SW Home	511554	14-2-14		20-6-21 Oscar O. Loy
	31-12-21	A.C. Browning	13 NW Home	526737	14-9-14	159.9	22-12-19 Harry Humphries
	28-10-26	Arthur John Dunsky	14 NE Home	472239	30-10-12		4-2-21 Robert R. Reed
	31-5-18	A.G.W. Com.	NW Home	472237	30-10-12		21-3-19 Claude Calver Carter
	27-11-20	Richard E. Barr	SE Time Sale	9573	21-10-13	27.9	11-12-17 Geo. Washington Reed
	4-4-19	Thos. G. Gervais	SW Home	460996	29-6-12		15-6-17 Geo. Washington Reed
	8-10-26	Oleksa Zarski	15 NE Home	569423	13-8-17		12-4-26 Benjamin F. Tade
	7-11-19	John A. Olson	NW Soldier	7034	19-1-20		20-2-28 Wm. Geo. Carpenter
	19-8-14	A.G.W. Com.	SE Special	9638			S.S.B.
	19-1-31	Burton F. Carrick	SW Home	460997	29-6-12		4-10-17 Wm. E. Reed
			SE Home	514312	20-12-13		23-12-20 Moverick K. Pannamafer
	15-3-33	Thos. H. McCutcheon	16 NE Home	517279	14-4-14		20-2-28 Wm. G. Carpenter
	6-9-39	Jurko Dydyl	NW Special	9637			S.S.B.
	20-2-29	Burton P. Crick	SE Home	57	4-10-30		14-3-41 W.G. Carpenter
	23-8-45	Edward Albert Whiteman	SW Home	516623	24-3-14		01-1-21 Petro Mikulin
			SE Home	600885	18-19-22		13-11-26 Charles Grove
	12-11-30	Sydney S. Alexander	17 NW Home		11-9-37		29-5-45 Edna May Thompson
	7-6-19	Carl John Donelson	SE 2nd Home	644052	6-12-28		25-2-38 Henry Edward Loy
	12-10-23	M.D. of Cartier #637	SW Home	539483	12-4-15		12-6-22 Frank Soper
	Nov19/58	Diocese of St. Paul	18 NE Home	63411	20-7-28		22-2-37 Patrick Joseph McKamara
	29-7-35	Carl J. Donelson	NW Home	625601	9-1-28	159.5	5-1-35 Fred Henry Dunaby
			SE 2nd Home	10471	17-10-32		28-6-40 Ivor L. Botten
	1-12-20	S.S.B.	SW Special	11603			12-6-29 S.S.B.
	1-12-20	S.S.B.	19 NE 2nd Home	662551	7-4-30	158	28-5-35 Hnat Lapatynsky
	1-12-19	Oscar L. Davis	NW Sale	3168	6-9-46	20.7	9-4-48 Timothy & Morris Murray
	7-5-17	Jack Ross	SE Home	609716	14-3-25		28-9-32 Augus Moberg
			SW Home	9331	8-7-32	98.09	18-6-41 Vera Lapatynsky
	23-5-17	M.G. Rowland	20 NE 2nd Home	663844	30-5-30		30-6-39 Edmond McFarlane
	7-11-18	Jyor L. Bother	NW Home	11852	2-5-33		26-6-39 Harry Kowalchuk
	29-7-18	Victor E. Erickson	SW Home	668433	10-7-30		7-12-33 J.H. Corben
	7-5-18	Andrw Ludwig Lindholm	21 NE Home	513714	16-4-14		24-3-20 Conrad Larson
			NW Home	8737	1-6-32		18-2-47 Sophie Kulikoski
	28-6-24	Bill Kowchik	SE Home	513716	16-4-14		29-3-20 John Theodore Larson
	31-5-17	Erik Anderson	SW Ag. L.	1244	16-7-45		Oct28/55 Annie Mary Larson
	15-7-18	John Melin					
	7-6-19	Peter Olson					
	18-7-20	Wasyl Czycharnowski					
	26-12-19	Philip B. Hall					
	9-7-19	George Eccleson					
	8-9-16	Henry E. Grimes					

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## Township 65 Range 19 Continued.

22 NE	Home	516258	19-3-14		7-5-18	Edmond R. McFarlane
NW	Home	664950	27-6-30		25-2-35	Wasył Danyluk
SE	Home	550445	10-11-15		8-11-27	Geo. Barranoik
SW	Home	517130	8-4-14		11-6-21	A. Geo. Browning
23 NW	Home	516262	19-3-14		28-8-23	Aloney McFarlane
SE	Home	644046	5-12-28		26-6-39	Alexander Smolarchuk
SW	Home	524426	22-6-14		19-8-20	John Long
25 NE	Agr. L.	1764	1-10-46		Sep12/58	Steve Szmyrko
NW	Home	591906	18-5-21		29-9-26	Peter Hrabowy
SE	Home	8128	24-3-32		3-3-39	Annie Szmyrko
SW	Home	639243	19-12-28		31-6-38	Steve Nakonechny
26 NE	Home	526328	2-9-14		12-10-23	Western Trust Co.
NW	Home	671405	26-9-30		6-7-39	Filip Nickyporuk
SE	Home	601379	13-11-22		11-6-31	Toni Harva
SW	Home	524462	23-6-14		27-10-23	John Bodziak
27 NE	Home		8-4-37		13-11-46	Mick Balzk
NW	Home	614707	14-4-26	157.98	25-11-35	Narry Melnyk
	Gen. Site			2.02	25-11-35	Ruthenian Gr.
SE	Home	518683	7-5-14		22-5-18	Cat. Parish of H. Trin.
SW	Home	10699	2-11-32		6-6-44	Clarence H. Tade Sophie Kowalchuk
28 NE	Home	621777	23-6-27		7-12-36	Peter Dorosh
SE	Home	650454	28-8-29		6-7-39	Teodor Kowaleguk
SW	Home	1065	18-11-30		30-11-38	John Mikulin
33 NE	Home	605539	23-12-23		20-8-32	Petro Lechky
NW	Home	5223	14-8-31	159.05	22-3-43	Teadora Ryl
SE	Home	651038	27-9-29		30-11-38	Ignary Ryl
34 NE	Home	575758	26-6-19		5-10-23	Roman Lufchik
NW	Home	621255	31-5-27	155.32	4-3-40	John Revego
SE	Home	587497	10-8-20		25-2-38	Constantin Barranoik
SW	Soldier		15-12-36		May8/44	Mike Spirka
35 NW	Home	630075	29-6-28		22-8-38	Peter Shawaluk
SW	Home	535862	13-11-14		7-12-20	Marry Lubzenko
36 NE	Home	640680	25-3-39		11-5-43	Edward Samarsky
NW	Home	4370	18-7-31		23-10-46	Josephine Marie Samursky
SE	Home	620602	25-4-27		30-9-38	Mike Waschuk
SW	Home	10520	21-10-32		18-10-40	Solomeja Nakoneczuy

Cadastral Record of Township 65 Range 16 West of the Fourth Meridian

Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name				
1 NE	Hstd.		13-1-19	60	8-11-44	Mrs. F. Halitsky				
2 NE	Home		28-3-38	30	14-4-44	Mrs. Magdaline Shorecko				
NW	Home		21-2-39	90	25-9-45	Osaylyna Cebuliak				
3 NW	Home		5-4-37		25-4-47	Grigori Kironda				
4 NW	Hstd.		20-4-38		10-1-47	William A. Gordey				
5 NE	Home		22-7-38		Nov14/44	James Andreve				
NW	Home	1703	16-10-34		Dec22/42	Mrs. Barbara Raitt				
6 NE	Home	16029	14-6-34		Sep13/41	Robert Raitt				
NW	Hstd.		15-7-37		Jul130/42	Mrs. Anna Chernivchan				
7 NE	Home	8763	6-6-32		Mar37/39	Mike Popouwich				
NW	Home	8680	27-5-32		Jan11/41	Wincentry Kropic				
SE	Home		25-2-39		Jan17/46	Steve Elia Chernivchan				
SW	Home	9324	8-7-32		Jan2/41	Alex Daniluk				
8 NE	Home	8595	19-5-32		Sep27/39	Peter Korcheroski				
NW	Hstd.	1202	10-7-33		Jul26/39	Matroij Guraki				
SE	Home	12617	6-7-33		Jun12/43	Ernest Knack				
SW	Hstd.		23-11-36		Jul17/47	Elmer Johnson				
9 NE	Hstd.		1-4-37		17-3-41	Wael Makechuk				
NW	Home		22-9-38		20-1-39	Mike Knicksy				
10 NE	2nd Hstd.	15659	3-5-34		14-2-42	Nickoli Koshman				
NW	Home	11041	4-7-35		5-6-44	Maran Koshman				
SE	Home	15717	10-5-34		8-10-43	John Nick Koshman				
12 SE	2nd Home		23-12-38	40	18-9-44	Michael Andrew Halitsky				
15 NW	Hstd.		9-9-37		Jan29/45	Mrs. Milka Shelest				
SW	Home	8600	19-5-32		Apr30/41	Ghan Shelest				
16 NW	Hstd.		24-2-38	157.6	Mar11/44	Steve Gorday				
SE	Hstd.	9258	2-7-32		Oct25/41	Wanyi Skorayko				
SW	2nd Home	8554	14-5-32		Mar1/37	George Knizkie #10368				
17 NE	Hstd.	15537	19-4-34	100	Sep10/42	Mrs. E. Gorday/not #15928				
NW	Hstd. L.		1-10-48	120	May19/60	Mrs. Mary Gorday				
SE	2nd Home	8522	11-5-32		Apr29/42	Alexander Gorday				
SW	Home	8524	11-5-32		Feb22/37	George Gorday #10281				
18 NW	Hstd.	13089	8-8-33		Mar11/40	John Gereluk				
SE	Hstd.	10419	14-10-32	157	Jan14/39	Mrs. Jane Popowich				
	Shool Site	294	10-5-38	3	Jun17/30	S. Molal S.D. #4781				
	Home		13-4-38	158	Nov17/44	Mrs. Annie Krumpie				
	Can. Site		19-8-37	1.60	3-5-39	Ukranian Gr. Orth. Ch. of Can.				
	Can. Site		29-6-40	.40	13-8-40	Ukranian Gr. Orth. Ch. of Can.				
19 NE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	27								
	Hstd.	11329								
NW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	27	6-2-33				5.	143.3	Jan24/18	Dec3/46
								6.2		Jan24/18
20 NE	Home									
NW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	27	13-10-38					4.6	Apr10/47	Jan24/18
21 NE	Hstd. L.	3063	15-6-49						Dec9/58	
NW	Hstd. L.	14972	9-2-34					157.45	Dec3/46	
SW	Hstd. L.	3145	2-7-49					156.48	Jun8/65	
25 NE	Ag. Lee.	513	1-10-42						19-7-49	
NW	Hstd. L.	3070	15-6-49					159.18	27-5-69	
SE	Hstd. L.	9840	2-1-54						28-6-60	
27 NE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	28						5.89	24-1-18	
NW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	28						1.70	24-1-18	
SE	Ver. Ag. L.	695	15-1-47					79.9	16-10-57	
SW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	28						4.7	24-1-18	
28 NE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	27						.34	24-1-18	
	Home	6178	19-9-31					139.46	7-12-36	
NW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	27						4.75	24-1-18	
	Home	11635	10-2-36					148.82	19-11-40	
	School Site		27-6-38					3	26-8-33	
SE	Sale	17946	1-9-14					130	26-9-14	
SW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	27						1.87	24-1-18	
	Sale	3659	9-3-50					113.02	11-6-58	
29 SE	Sch. Lds. Sale	7137	10-10-23					7.34	21-2-24	
SW	Sch. Lds. Sale	7137	11-10-23					2.18	Feb21/24	
30 SE	2nd Home	9057	22-6-32					159	Aug26/38	
SW	Home	8597	19-5-32					156.44	17-5-49	
31 SE	Hstd.	9280	5-7-32					159	Nov9/40	
32 NW	Hstd.	13837	20-10-33						Mar7/40	
SE	Home	8605	20-5-32						Jan7/39	
SW	2nd Home	8604	20-5-32						Dec23/36	
34 NE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	28						4.75	24-1-18	
SE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	28						4.29	24-1-18	
	Sale	19307	3-11-20					.01	28-12-21	
	Sale	5099	12-4-56					133.89	12-0-60	
SW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	28						2.38	24-1-18	
	Sale	19305	3-11-20					.46	28-12-20	
35 NE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	30						.04	9-3-18	
	Home	11352	7-10-35					146.43	29-11-45	
NW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W.	29						6.19	8-3-18	
	Ag. Lee.	241	2-6-41					119.44	10-10-51	

## Cadastral Record of Township 65 Range 16 West of the Fourth Meridian.

Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name					
				19 NE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 27			
					Hstd. 11329	6-2-33	143.3	Jan24/18
				NW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 27		6.2	Dec3/41
								Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.
13-1-19	60	8-11-44	Mrs. F. Halitzky	20 NE	Home	13-10-38		Apr10/47
28-3-38	30	14-4-44	Mrs. Magdaline Shorecko	NW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 27		4.6	Jan24/18
21-2-39	90	25-9-45	Oasylyne Cebuliak					Mrs. Mary Wentzel
5-4-37		25-4-47	Grigori Kironda	21 NE	Hstd. L. 3063	15-6-49		Dec9/58
				NW	Hstd. 14972	9-2-34	157.45	Dec3/46
				SW	Hstd. L. 3145	2-7-49	156.48	Jun8/65
20-4-38		10-1-47	William A. Gordey					Joseph Wentzel
22-7-38		Nov14/44	James Andreve	25 NE	Ag. Lee. 513	1-10-42		Frank Wentzel
16-10-34		Dec22/42	Mrs. Barbara Raitt	NW	Hstd. L. 3070	15-6-49	159.18	Dec3/46
				SE	Hstd. L. 9840	2-1-54		Jun8/65
14-6-34		Sep13/41	Robert Raitt					Louis Hadel
15-7-37		Jul130/42	Mrs. Anna Chernivchan	27 NE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 28		5.89	24-1-18
				NW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 28		1.70	24-1-18
6-6-32		Mar3/39	Mika Popouelch	SE	Vet. Ag. L. 695	15-1-47	79.9	16-10-57
27-5-32		Jan11/41	Wincentry Krompic	SW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 28		4.7	24-1-18
25-2-39		Jan17/46	Steve Elia Chernivchan					Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.
8-7-32		Jan2/41	Alex Daniluk	28 NE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 27		.34	24-1-18
					Home 6178	19-9-31	139.46	7-12-36
19-5-32		Sep27/39	Peter Korcherowski	NW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 27		4.75	24-1-18
10-7-33		Jul126/39	Matroij Gurski					Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.
6-7-33		Jun12/43	Ernest Knack		Home 11635	10-2-36	148.82	19-11-40
23-11-36		Jul17/47	Elmer Johnson		School Site	27-6-38	3	26-8-33
				SE	Sale 17946	1-9-14	130	26-9-14
1-4-37		17-3-41	Wasel Makechvk	SW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 27		1.87	24-1-18
22-9-38		20-1-39	Mike Knicsky		Sale 3659	9-3-50	113.02	11-6-58
				29 SE	Sch. Lds. Sale 7137	10-10-23	7.34	21-2-24
3-5-34		14-2-42	Nickoli Koshman	SW	Sch. Lds. Sale 7137	11-10-23	2.18	Feb21/24
4-7-35		5-6-44	Maran Koshman					Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.
10-5-34		8-10-43	John Nick Koshman	30 SE	2nd Home 9057	22-6-32	159	Aug26/38
				SW	Home 8597	19-5-32	156.44	17-5-49
23-12-38	40	18-9-44	Michael Andrew Halitzky					Mrs. Eva Horoshko
9-9-37		Jan29/45	Mrs. Milka Shelest	31 SE	Hstd. 9280	5-7-32	159	Nov9/40
19-5-32		Apr30/41	Ghan Shelest					Hjobner Mauritz Hoflin
24-2-38	157.6	Mar11/44	Steve Gorday	32 NW	Hstd. 13837	20-10-33		Mar7/40
2-7-32		Oct25/41	Wasyl Skoreyko	SE	Home 8605	20-5-32		Jan7/39
14-5-32		Mar1/37	George Kniskie #10368	SW	2nd Home 8604	20-5-32		Dec23/36
19-4-34	100	Sep10/42	Mrs. E. Gorday/not #15928				4.75	24-1-18
1-10-48	120	May19/60	Mrs. Mary Gorday	34 NE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 28		4.29	24-1-18
11-5-32		Apr29/42	Alexander Gorday	SE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 28		.01	28-12-21
11-5-32		Feb22/37	George Gorday #10281		Sale 19307	3-11-20	133.89	Alta & Great Waterways Railway Co.
				SW	Sale 5099	12-4-56	2.38	12-0-60
8-8-33		Mar11/40	John Gereluk		A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 28		2.38	24-1-18
14-10-32	157	Jan14/39	Mrs. Jane Popowich		Sale 19305	3-11-20	.46	28-12-20
10-5-38	3	Jun17/30	S. Molal S.D. #4781	35 NE	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 30		.04	9-3-18
13-4-38	158	Nov17/44	Mrs. Annie Krumpie		Home 11352	7-10-35	146.43	29-11-45
19-8-37	1.60	3-5-39	Ukranian Gr. Orth. Ch. of Can.	NW	A&G.W.Ry.R.W. 29		6.19	8-3-18
29-6-40	.40	13-8-40	Ukranian Gr. Orth. Ch. of Can.		Ag. Lee. 241	2-6-41	119.44	10-10-51

Cadastral Record of Township 67 Range 18 West of the Fourth Meridian

Section	Return of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name						
1 NE	Home		14-10-38		22-10-45	Anna Czopojdalo	19 NE	Home	12-9-32	161		1-2-41
SE	Home		24-7-29		26-7-37	Mikieta Czopojdalo	NW	2nd Home	4-12-30	161		7-1-39
	Church & Com.			1.68	23-9-48	Rutherian Gr. Cath. Ch. of Blessed Sacraments	SE	Home	16-8-24	111.9		3-12-28
						Blazy Burck	SW	Home	30-11-32	122.2		17-5-43
								Supp. Grt.		38.8		25-2-44
			5-11-31	162	1-3-37		20 NE	Home	29-3-26	160.9		16-11-35
2 NE	Home		13-6-35		18-5-45	Olga Gryschuk	NW	Home	6-3-33	161		25-10-39
SE	Home		20-7-29	162	5-11-37	Josef Kilar						
							SW	Home	21-11-28	161		20-7-33
3 SE	Special	9607			9-2-28	S.S.B.	21 NE	Home	2-10-28	159		15-12-34
NW	Home		9-9-14		12-8-20	Jacob Hewko	NW	Home	6-1-25			12-10-29
SW	Special	8909		163	14-5-26	S.S.B.						
							22 NE	Home	7-9-27			6-9-30
4 NE	Home		9-9-14		1-10-20	Sam Hewko	NW	Home	16-8-24			28-9-32
NW	Home		17-6-25		25-9-29	Nicholas Hewko	SE	Home	9-7-31			12-1-40
SE	Home		16-9-14	158.82	22-11-21	Fred Hewko						
SW	Home		12-11-15	163	15-12-19	Tom Nahoney	23 NE	Home	4-5-23			5-4-28
							NW	Home	31-1-31			7-12-36
							SE	Special		5308		17-11-20
5 SE	Home		14-1-27	163	19-4-40	Fred Sawchuk	SW	2nd Home	8-7-29			22-2-37
9 SE	Home		16-9-14		14-9-20	Peter Hewko	24 NE	Special		13444	161	5-12-30
							NW	Home	1-12-32		161	27-9-39
10 NE	Special	9608			9-2-28	S.S.B.	SW	Special		5307		7-11-20
NW	Special	8910			11-5-26	S.S.B.						
SE	Home		26-10-14	156.9	13-6-21	Wasył Mykolyn						
SW	Home		9-9-14		1-9-20	Warward Hewko	25 NE	Hstd. L.		3232		13-4-64
							SE	Special		13443		6-12-30
							SW	Home				3-9-41
12 NE	Home		27-6-28	158.98	14-11-34	Alex Babychuk						
NW	Home		3-10-28	157.99	11-1-37	Michael Bilan	26 NE	Home	7-12-29			22-2-37
SE	Home		12-6-28		21-7-44	Senko Yurdyoa	NW	Home	21-11-24			4-4-29
SW	Home		8-8-28	155.47	28-9-37	Sam Croina	SE	Home	10-7-23			24-1-28
							SW	Home	24-8-20			30-12-27
13 NE	Home		7-4-28	161	15-7-38	Garfield R. Dakin						
NW	2nd Home		24-11-28	161	1-6-37	Earl D. Kanzig	27 NE	Home	10-7-31	161		16-4-40
SE	Home		29-9-37	160.88	18-9-42	Franciska Bilan	NW	Home	5-9-34	161		28-8-45
SW	Home		11-10-32	161	10-9-41	Doris Hewko	SE	Home	12-7-23			26-1-28
							SW	Home	12-7-23			12-3-28
14 NE	Home		21-9-29		15-2-37	Peter Myrenyk						
NW	Home		30-6-32		8-4-39	Mataraz Lazarchuk	28 NE	Home	15-11-22	159		31-1-28
SE	Ag. Loe.	276	2-7-41		20-12-54	Anna Makonecny	NW	Home	4-6-23	159		20-12-27
							SE	Home	7-1-25	159		4-8-34
							SW	Home	14-6-24	159		7-2-29
15 NE	Home		27-6-32		5-5-44	Peter Makonecny						
SE	Home		13-6-35		20-8-41	Eva Osadchuk	30 NE	Home	1-4-25	161		7-12-29
							NW	Home	24-8-25	161		7-9-29
17 NE	Vec. Ag. L.	350	1-10-46	161	25-10-61	Burton James Jenkins	SE	Home	25-2-29	161		25-4-38
NW	Vec. Ag. L.	350	1-10-46			Burton James Jenkins	SW	Home	27-7-23	161		7-5-31
18 NE	Home		10-9-30	144.2	17-5-37	Elvery Marshall Smith						
SE	Ag. Loe.	2126	1-8-47	161	23-9-59	Eva Manhay MacDonald						
SW	Sale	3444	20-10-48	71.6	22-5-63	Eva Manhay MacDonald						

1 of 8

## Cadastral Record of Township 67 Range 18 West of the Fourth Meridian

of	Date of	Name						
Area	Pat.							
	22-10-45	Anna Czopojdalo	19 NE	Home	12-9-32	161	1-2-41	Elsie Emeline Jenkins
	26-7-37	Mikieta Czopojdalo	NW	2nd Home	4-12-30	161	7-1-39	James Alexander Kennedy
1.68	23-9-48	Rutherian Cr. Cath. Ch. of Blessed Sacraments	SE	Home	16-8-24	111.9	3-12-28	Clarence V. McKenzie
		Blazy Burck	SW	Home	30-11-32	122.2	17-5-43	Pearl Kennedy
				Supp. Grt.		38.8	25-2-44	Pearl Kennedy
			20 NE	Home	29-3-26	160.9	16-11-35	Orval Jenkins (Est)
162	1-3-37		NW	Home	6-3-33	161	25-10-39	Sylvia Francis Hurtubise (Admin. of Estate) Almona B. Hurtubise
			SW	Home	21-11-28	161	20-7-33	Robert James Jenkins
18-5-45	5-11-37	Olga Gryschuk						
162		Jozef Kilar	21 NE	Home	2-10-28	159	15-12-34	C. M. Sutton
	9-2-28	S.S.B.	NW	Home	6-1-25		12-10-29	Martha McKenzie.
	12-8-20	Jacob Hewko	22 NE	Home	7-9-27		6-9-39	Karol Jak
163	14-5-26	S.S.B.	NW	Home	16-8-24		28-9-32	Ralph McKenzie
			SE	Home	9-7-31		12-1-40	Michael Medwick
	1-10-20	Sam Hewko	23 NE	Home	4-5-23		5-4-28	Arnfin Vegstad
	25-9-29	Nicholas Hewko	NW	Home	31-1-31		7-12-36	Michael Gowdo
158.82	22-11-21	Fred Hewko	SE	Special	5308		17-11-20	S.S.B.
163	15-12-19	Tom Mahoney	SW	2nd Home	8-7-29		22-2-37	Wasyl Nykolya
	19-4-40	Fred Sawchuk	24 NE	Special	13444	161	5-12-30	S.S.B.
	14-9-20	Peter Hewko	NW	Home	1-12-32	161	27-9-39	Ora May (Kaeling) Ashlock
	9-2-28	S.S.B.	SW	Special	5307		7-11-20	S.S.B.
	11-5-26	S.S.B.	25 NE	Hstd. L.	3232	1-8-49	13-4-64	Raymond Roy Johnson
156.9	13-6-21	Wasyl Nykolya	SE	Special	13443		6-12-30	S.S.B.
	1-9-20	Warward Hewko	SW	Home	28-7-33		3-9-41	Josef Owiniski
	14-11-34	Alex Babychuk	26 NE	Home	7-12-29		22-2-37	Samuel Oby Babcock
158.98	11-1-37	Michael Bilan	NW	Home	21-11-24		4-4-29	Francis H. Hadley
157.99	21-7-44	Senko Yurdyoa	SE	Home	10-7-23		24-1-28	Silas Babcock
155.47	28-9-37	Sam Croina	SW	Home	24-8-20		30-12-27	Isaac Ashlock
	15-7-38	Garfield R. Dakin	27 NE	Home	10-7-31	161	16-4-40	Franciska Zak
161	1-6-37	Earl D. Kanzig	NW	Home	5-9-34	161	28-8-65	Annie Zawotny
161	18-9-42	Franciska Bilan	SE	Home	12-7-23		26-1-28	Mark W. Guy
160.88	10-9-41	Doris Hewko	SW	Home	12-7-23		12-3-28	Frank James Babcock
161	15-2-37	Peter Myrenyk	28 NE	Home	15-11-22	159	31-1-28	Elmer Derousseau
	8-4-39	Mataraz Lasarchuk	NW	Home	4-6-23	159	20-12-27	Bernard R. McKenzie
	20-12-54	Anna Makonecny	SE	Home	7-1-25	159	4-8-34	John D. McKenzie
	5-5-44	Peter Makonecny	SW	Home	14-6-24	159	7-2-29	William A. Corse
	20-8-41	Eva Osadchuk	30 NE	Home	1-4-25	161	7-12-29	Frank McKenzie
161	25-10-61	Burton James Jenkins	NW	Home	24-8-25	161	7-9-29	James Cecil Robbins
	25-10-61	Burton James Jenkins	SE	Home	25-2-29	161	25-4-38	John T. Jenkins
			SW	Home	27-7-23	161	7-5-31	Earl McKenzie
144.2	17-5-37	Elvery Marshall Smith						
161	23-9-59	Eva Maxhay MacDonald						
71.6	22-5-63	Eva Maxhay MacDonald						

## Township 67 Range 18 Continued.

31 NE	Home	28-7-30	161	3-5-39	Josef Schondziolor
NW	Home	22-9-36	161	13-12-44	Alma Homeniuk
SE	Home	30-4-28	161	6-1-33	Alex White
SW	Ag. Lse.	16-6-47	161	3-3-59	Anna Yakowchuk
2053					
32 NE	Home	4-2-35	161	4-4-44	Edward Spallenkrites
NW	Home	21-3-29	156.61	4-10-38	Jacob Markie Wicz
SE	Home	26-3-29	161	16-2-34	Sam C. McKenzie
SW	Home	26-4-29	157.82	2-3-35	Lawrence Anthony McKenzie
33 NE	Home	23-8-27		3-8-35	Charles J. McKenzie
NW	Home	2-7-30		13-4-39	Jan Dytuik
SE	Home	28-6-34		13-7-39	Gordon W. Putnam
SW	Home	27-12-23		25-3-33	Divego P. McKenzie
34 NE	Home	25-6-30	161	28-5-35	Alex Nyholaychuk
NW	Home	6-10-25	161	9-11-29	Warwich Guy
SE	Home	21-3-39		20-4-48	Tanthe Juanita Gaunier
SW	Home	17-8-26		5-1-35	J. B. Destal
35 NW	Home	28-2-38	161	14-1-46	Emilia Greschuk
SW	Home	19-5-26		13-8-41	George S. Chaplin



## Cadastral Record of Township 68 Range 20 West of the Fourth Meridian

Section	Nature of Grant	Number	Date of Entry	Area	Date of Patent	Name
12	NE		18-10-29	161	14-1-39	Joe Kinal
	SE		9-4-30	161	19-11-46	Tom Kinal
	SW		4-6-38	146.2	4-8-44	Karolina Treis
13	NE		13-6-32		11-9-46	Josef Kamassara
	NW		13-2-31		10-7-41	John Martin
	SE		18-10-29		19-4-40	Dominik Winnik
14	NE		16-2-31		14-6-44	George Sauchuk
	NW	2096	1-8-47		20-12-54	Annie Berizuk
22	NW	Held. L.	125 15-7-48		5-2-38	Harry Olynk
	SE	Ag. L.	108 15-10-40		6-12-56	Stanislaw Wuszcak
23	NE		15-8-33		12-3-47	Josef Zmurkiewicz
	NW		31-3-37		24-12-46	Iren Olynyk
	SE		16-2-31		29-12-44	Dennis Geletko
	SW		14-4-37		22-9-44	Mikolaj Berizuk
24	NE		19-4-38		15-9-47	Walter Woloncewicz
	SE	Sale	2883 24-2-44		27-2-45	Teodor Morochowsky
	SW		18-1-38		13-2-45	Mike Domic
25	NE		12-1-31		27-9-38	Donly P. Weymonth
26	NE	Held. L.	1-10-48	155.17	May 10/47	Paul Stewart
	NW		5-3-38		17-1-46	Anton Pawluk
	SW	Ag. L.	1121 16-4-45		14-7-52	John Stariat
27	NE	Held. L.	618 3-1-49		20-4-55	Jessie Pawluk
	SE		22-7-38		24-10-47	Kataryna Wuschak
	SW	Soldier	10-5-37		20-7-48	Irwin Elgveyn Patterson
28	NE	Held. L.	3677 15-11-49		24-1-57	Rosie Wuszcak
	SE		10-5-37		20-7-48	Irwin Lavyn Patterson
31	NW	Ver. Ag. L.	1078 15-3-47		12-9-52	Mike Erski
35	SE	Held. L.	3794 1-12-49	158.5		Nancy Stewart
36	SE		31-7-34		2905045	Mahalalya Kostyk

APPENDIX D

COUNTIES, MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS, CITIES,

TOWNS, AND VILLAGES IN ALBERTA

COUNTIES:

Grande Prairie #1  
 Vulcan #2  
 Ponoka #3  
 Newell #4  
 Warner #5  
 Settler #6  
 Thorhild #7  
 Forty Mile #8  
 Beaver #9  
 Wetaskiwin #10  
 Barrhead #11  
 \*Athabasca #12  
 Smoky Lake #13  
 Lacombe #14  
 Wheatland #16  
 Mountain View #17  
 Painterath #18  
 St. Paul #19  
 Strathcona #20  
 Two Hills #21  
 Camrose #22  
 Red Deer #23  
 Vermilion River #24  
 Leduc #25  
 Lethbridge #26  
 Minburn #27  
 Lac Ste. Anne #28  
 Flagstaff #29  
 Lamont #30  
 Parkland #31

MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS:

Cardston #6  
 Pincher Creek #9  
 Taber #14  
 Willow Creek #26  
 Foothills #31  
 Acadia #34  
 Rocky View #44  
 Starland #47  
 Kneehill #48  
 Provost #52  
 Mainwright #61  
 Bonnyville #87  
 Sturgeon #90  
 Westlock #92  
 Smoky River #130  
 Spirit River #133  
 Peace #135  
 Fairview #136

CITIES:

Calgary  
 Camrose  
 Drumheller  
 Edmonton  
 Grande Prairie  
 Lethbridge  
 Lloydminster  
 Medicine Hat  
 Red Deer  
 Wetaskiwin

TOWNS:

Airdrie  
 \*Athabasca  
 Barrhead  
 Bashaw  
 Bassano  
 Beveridge  
 Black Diamond  
 Blairmore  
 Bonnyville  
 Bow Island  
 Brooks  
 Calmar  
 Canmore  
 Cardstone  
 Carstairs  
 Castor  
 Clareshold  
 Coaldale  
 Cochrane  
 Cold Lake  
 Coleman  
 Coronation  
 Daysland  
 Devon  
 Didsbury  
 Drayton Valley  
 Eckville  
 Edson  
 Elk Point  
 Fairview  
 Falher  
 Fort Macleod  
 Fort McMurray  
 Fort Saskatchewan  
 Fox Creek  
 Gleichen  
 Grand Centre  
 Grande Cache

Granum  
 Grimshaw  
 Hanna  
 Hardisty  
 High Level  
 High Prairie  
 High River  
 Hinton  
 Innisfail  
 Irvine  
 Killam

\*Lac La Piche  
 Lacombe  
 Lamont  
 Leduc  
 Magrath  
 Manning  
 Mayerthorpe  
 McLennan  
 Milk River  
 Morinville  
 Mundare  
 Nanton  
 Okotoks  
 Olds  
 Oyen  
 Peace River  
 Picture Butte  
 Pincher Creek  
 Ponoka  
 Provost  
 Rainbow Lake  
 Raymond  
 Redcliff  
 Redwater  
 Rimbey  
 Rocky Mountain House  
 Sedgewick  
 Slave Lake  
 Smoky Lake  
 Spirit River  
 Spruce Grove  
 St. Albert  
 Stavely  
 Settler  
 Stony Plain  
 St. Paul  
 Strathmore  
 Sundre  
 Swan Hills  
 Sylvan Lake

Taber  
 Three Hills  
 Tofield  
 Trochu  
 Two Hills  
 Valley View  
 Vauxhall  
 Vegreville  
 Vermilion  
 Viking  
 Vulcan  
 Wainwright  
 Westlock  
 Whitecourt

VILLAGES:

Acme  
 Alberta Beach  
 Alix  
 Alliance  
 Amisk  
 Andrew  
 Argentia Beach  
 Arrowwood  
 Barons  
 Bawlf  
 Beaumont  
 Beiseker  
 Bellevue  
 Bentley  
 Berwyn  
 Betula Beach  
 Big Valley  
 Birchcliff  
 Bittern Lake  
 Blackfalds  
 Blackie  
 Bon Accord  
 Bonnyville Beach  
 Botha  
 Bowden  
 \*Boyle  
 Breton  
 Brederheim  
 Burdett  
 Carbon  
 Carmangay  
 Caroline  
 Castle Island  
 Cayley

Cereal  
 Champion  
 Chauvin  
 Chinook  
 Chipman  
 Clive  
 Cluny  
 Clyde  
 Consort  
 Coutts  
 Cowley  
 Cremona  
 Crossfield  
 Crystal Springs  
 Czar  
 Delburne  
 Delia  
 Derwent  
 Dewberry  
 Donald  
 Donnelly  
 Duchess  
 Englesham  
 Edberg  
 Edgerton  
 Edmonton Beach  
 Elnora  
 Empress  
 Entwistle  
 Evansburg  
 Ferintosh  
 Foremost  
 Forestburg  
 Fort Assiniboine  
 Frank  
 Gadsby  
 Galahad  
 Ghost Lake  
 Gibbons  
 Girouxville  
 Glendon  
 Glenwood  
 Golden Days  
 Grandview  
 Grassy Lake  
 Gull Lake  
 Hairy Hill  
 Halkirk  
 Hay Lakes  
 Heisler  
 Hill Spring

Hines Creek  
 Holden  
 Hughenden  
 Hussar  
 Hythe  
 Innisfree  
 Irma  
 Irricana  
 \*Island Lake  
 Itaska Beach  
 Kapasiwin  
 Kinuso  
 Kitscoty  
 Lakeview  
 Lavoy  
 Legal  
 Linden  
 Lamond  
 Longview  
 Lougheed  
 Ma-Me-O-Beach  
 Mannville  
 Marwayne  
 \*Millet  
 Milo  
 Minburn  
 Mirror  
 Morrin  
 Munson  
 Myrnam  
 Nakamun Park  
 Nampa  
 New Norway  
 New Sarepta  
 Nobleford  
 Norglenwold  
 Onoway  
 Paradise Valley  
 Penhold  
 \*Plamondon  
 Point Alliaon  
 Poplar Bay  
 Radway  
 Rochon Sands  
 Rocky Ford  
 Rosalind  
 Rosemary  
 Ross Haven  
 Rumsey  
 Rycroft  
 Ryley

Sandy Beach  
Şangundo  
Seba Beach  
Sexsmith  
Silver Beach  
Silver Sands  
South View  
Standard  
Stirling  
Strome  
Sundance Beach  
Sunset Point  
Thorhild  
Thorsby  
Tilley  
Torrington  
Turner Valley  
Val Quentin  
Veteran  
Viina  
Wanham  
Warburg  
Warner  
Warspite  
Waskatenau  
Wembley  
West Cove  
Wildwood  
Willingdon  
Yellowstone  
Youngstown

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\*Located within the study area.

APPENDIX E  
EXCERPTS ON SCHOOL CONSOLIDATIONS  
IN THE STUDY AREA\*

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\*Source: *Clover and Wild Strawberries.*

The Athabasca School Division No. 42 was established by order in Council October 22, 1938. It contained 5 subdivisions. Organizational meetings were held in each subdivision in November in the following centres:

Sub div. 1 -- Meanook  
 Sub div. 2 -- Athabasca  
 Sub div. 3 -- Boyle  
 Sub div. 4 -- Plamondon  
 Sub div. 5 -- Craigend

The first organizational meeting of the Board was held on December 21, 1938. The old school districts were officially absorbed as of January 3, 1939, when an Act of Parliament turned over all liabilities and assets of the district to the School Division.

The original school division contained the following 86 districts:

Keyes .....	1822	**Quebec .....	3989
Tawatinaw .....	2473	**Sarrail .....	4001
Lahaieville .....	2637	**Grandin .....	4066
Parkhurst .....	2645	**Big Beaver .....	4067
**Plamondon .....	2696	**Craigend .....	4088
Dover .....	2725	Granville .....	4091
South Athabasca .....	2768	**Trieste .....	(4101) Hylo
Plum Lake .....	2815	Venice .....	4102
Toles .....	2895	Forfar .....	4105
Atlanta .....	2909	Forest Grove .....	4209
Fairhaven .....	3044	**Charron .....	4224
Cash Creek .....	3045	Vincent .....	4255
Lewiston .....	3093	Richmond Park .....	4280
Meanook .....	3105	**Rich Lake .....	4329
Flat Creek .....	3106	Monticello .....	4374
West Athabasca .....	3110	Perryvale .....	4390
**Fork Lake .....	3155	Hammond .....	4398
Rodgers Chapter .....	3159	New Pine Creek .....	4473
Colinton .....	3169	Big Coulee .....	4497
**Forest .....	3171	Hallcroft .....	4508
Dokeville .....	3173	Lavert .....	4521
Warren .....	3265	**Owl River .....	4526
McArthur .....	3266	**Rocky Island .....	4536
Silver Fox .....	3273	Winding Trail .....	4549
Willow Ridge .....	3292	Narrow Lake .....	4546
**Bouvier .....	3308	Blueberry Ridge .....	4562
East Park .....	3349	**Black Loam .....	4568
**Ste. Cecile .....	3377	**Green Pine .....	4568
**Irene .....	3405	Ferguson .....	4573
Youngville .....	3621	**Deer Run .....	4597
Baptise Lake .....	3651	Grossmont .....	3696
**Berney .....	3937	George Lake .....	3820

Lee Heights .....	3821	Spruce Park .....	4618
Greyville .....	3836	**Christy Lake .....	4621
**Mangin .....	3935	**Helina .....	4629
**Blue Jay .....	4658	**Spruce Valley .....	4652
**Noral .....	4692	Willow Flat .....	4668
**Gourin .....	4755	Laura .....	4722
**Caslan .....	4780	White Clover .....	4777
**Birch Gorve .....	4808	**South Noral .....	4781
**Nelson .....	4814	**Dionne .....	4813
Caribou Range .....	4836	**Big Bay .....	4817
Gamefield .....	4597	Mercury .....	4849

Nine other districts were formed and added to the division after

1939. They were:

Sun Ray .....	4868	Cumley .....	4891
Lawrence Lake .....	4909	Cloverview .....	4919
Deep Coulee .....	4959	Ellscott .....	4960
Locher .....	4975	**Old Trail .....	4853
**Twin Spruce .....	4864		

In 1944, the Lac La Biche School Division No. 51 was formed, which resulted in the transfer of thirty-six districts (\*\*) from the above lists.

\*\*\*\*\*

On January 3, 1939, the Athabasca Divisional Board took over from its eighty-five local districts, and reported liabilities of \$53,842.99. The figure increased by another \$9,000.00 which had been under-reported by the local boards. The largest item was salaries for teachers: one hundred and forty-three teachers were owed approximately \$31,000.00

Consolidation began with the creation of the Athabasca School Division No. 42, but no major changes were noticed until a decade later when a number of small schools were closed and students were being moved to centralized schools. There were 520 pupils being conveyed to centralized schools. The next year, 1950, there were further closings of small schools. By 1954, more than seven bus routes were added to the Lac La Biche School Division No. 51 in the Grassland area (which became part of the Athabasca Division in 1955). Most students were being conveyed to schools out of their local area by 1954.



The Country of Athabasca No. 12 was formed January 1, 1959, with A. Aloisio as Reeve, and more consolidation ensued. By 1967, nearly all pupils in Athabasca County, and part of I.D. 24, were being bussed to nine centralized school areas.

APPENDIX F

THE AMBER VALLEY COMMUNITY REPORT\*

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\*Source: *Memoirs* of the Official Opening of the Amber Valley Community Centre, June 28, 1975, pp. 15-22.

Community organization is no new experience for the Amber Valley district. Since the earliest settlement here the Pioneer Club with its widespread attractions of the Amber Valley two-day picnic, the go-getting ball games, the horseshoe tournaments, greasy pig competitions, sack races, etc., brought the little community into the public eye.

There were periods where the enthusiasm lagged of course, but before long there would spring up a new club to carry on the tradition. The Good Community League, Pioneer Club, and others, took their turns as the leading organization.

The latest revival of Amber Valley Community activity had its very hesitant beginning about three years ago when a representative of the Department of Youth & Culture asked a gathering of Amber Valley residents to elect delegates to attend the Alberta Heritage Conference held in June, 1972.

However, it was not until early 1974 that through a 'dream of "brother organization" of Operation We Care to incorporate and help develop the surviving rural areas, and through people's concern, the Amber Valley Community Association was officially established. From the outset this was an activity group with one big difference. Efforts were focused on one generally felt need -- a community centre. This was especially urgent as the Toles schoolhouse which in the past had served as the meeting place for every type of function had fallen into disrepair with the coming of centralized education.

By the summer of 1974 the land and basic building had been purchased, and before Christmas the real work of reconstruction had started -- the foundation was laid and the frame moved onto the new site. Labour was donated by the members of the association, money grants came from the

Provincial and Federal governments, other private contributions from former Amber Valley residents and individuals of neighboring districts.

During these months of struggle to complete the hall, the Amber Valley Community Association also found time to organize a clean-up campaign for the local cemetery. The ladies attended sewing and upholstery classes. Some members participated actively in the newly formed Amber Valley Choral group and in the Further Education Speech Dynamics course. Some of their performances were the presentation of Christmas and Easter Cantatas, a choral presentation at the 100th birthday celebration of an Amber Valley pioneer, competition in two regional music festivals, and church concerts.

The Association will continue to show the team spirit that made the completion of this building possible. There is no fear that the Amber Valley Community will ever sink into oblivion!

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