

**CANNINGTON MANOR, AN EARLY SETTLEMENT COMMUNITY IN  
SOUTHEASTERN SASKATCHEWAN**

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## ABSTRACT

This project is an analysis of social relationships at Cannington Manor, an early settlement period site in south eastern Saskatchewan. The site earned some fame as a result of the activities of a group of English expatriates who reproduced a round of British upper middle class leisure activities such as fox hunts, dances, and musical evenings in the newly-settled West. The town, and the phenomena, lasted only twenty years, but since then, Cannington Manor has captured the imaginations of Saskatchewan residents in both press and literature. Documentary records, oral histories, and archaeological investigations are combined to address the question of the relationship between the upper middle class English and the lower middle class farming community that surrounded the English settlement. The dynamics of class are found to be a factor in this relationship, although class differences are mediated to some extent through the mutual interdependencies felt by both groups. In addition, gender is found to be a variable that influences the experience of class dynamics at Cannington Manor. Gender is also found to influence how different Cannington residents participated in the negotiation of class roles. These conclusions are supported by evidence observed in the archaeological record. However, due to the small sample of material culture data available, further research is required to confirm this hypothesis.

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*Immediately south of the entrance to Moose Mountain Park a sign points east to Cannington Manor. To the outsider the name may mean little; but to the Saskatchewan native it recalls a thousand tales told of a day long past when the Moose Mountain country swarmed with mad dogs of Englishmen who built for themselves great stone houses more appropriate to an English park than the Canadian bush, galloped astride thoroughbred hunters through woodland and pasture in pursuit of fox and coyote and rabbit, played cricket in a local cow-pasture, created within their own ranks a society as rigidly stratified as the one they had left; then scattered- almost overnight it seemed- to the four winds, leaving not a rack behind. Cannington Manor is more-or less- than a place; it is a name, a tradition, and, for a few of the very old, a memory.*

*-Saskatchewan (Traveller's Canada Series) by Edward McCourt (McCourt 1968)*

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This project is a study of the lives and histories of the residents of Cannington Manor, an early settlement period site located in the Moose Mountain area of south eastern Saskatchewan. The passage above is but one example of how this short-lived prairie village has captured the imagination of the Saskatchewan public over the last century. Similar passages, taken from a variety of sources including newspaper and

magazine articles, are to be found at the head of each chapter throughout this thesis. These quotes gravitate towards the romantic and the sensational, but, as we will see, the village of Cannington Manor was home to many people who became part of “a legend” but who also lived very real lives in the early Canadian West.

## **1.1 Introduction to Cannington Manor**

Initial settlement of Cannington Manor began in 1881, slightly before the boom that would mark the last great western migration to the prairies (1890-1920) (Bennett and Kohl 1995: 18). The village achieved most of its fame through the activities of a group of upper middle class Britons who found that, for various reasons, they could no longer afford to live the lifestyle they were accustomed to in England. Encouraged by enthusiastic reports of great land and a good living to be had at bargain prices, they came to Canada in the hope of securing a better life for themselves and their families. Known generally as the “English Group”, these settlers became famous for engaging in a round of unusual (for the prairies) upper middle class leisure pursuits such as music, art, and sport. Perhaps most of Cannington’s notoriety came as a result of the Becktons, a trio of brothers who, after coming into some money (the origins of which are the subject of a variety of conflicting tales), became the proprietors of a racing stable, complete with a racetrack and an impressive stone residence modeled on country homes in England (Pugh 1980b: 26, Beck 1984). Race days, tennis parties, fox hunts, dances, and musical evenings created a body of legend surrounding the site, and Cannington has been a source of perennial interest in Saskatchewan since the demise of the settlement.

In both press and literature, the focus of attention is usually on the colourful “English Group”. What is rarely mentioned in these legendary accounts, as historical scholars are quick to point out (Pugh 1980b), is that the “English Group” represented only a portion of the settlers who were tied spatially and economically to Cannington. The “Canadians”, as they sometimes called themselves, were settlers who came from England as well, but also from regions of Ontario, Manitoba, and the Maritimes. These settlers were more often lower middle class and working class (Pugh 1980b). In addition to their own homesteading duties, this people performed a great deal of paid labour for the wealthy English, not the least of which was the construction of most of Cannington Manor’s buildings.

The village construction was financed largely through the efforts of the Moose Mountain Trading Company, a group of English businessmen who had plans for a bustling commercial enterprise on the prairies complete with flour mill, hotel, and company store. For a time, it seemed as though their ambitions would be realized. Cannington Manor experienced growth until the 1890s. Shortly afterward, however, the town began to show signs of economic decline. Several factors contributed to the eventual demise of the village. Frost and drought as well as low wheat prices up until 1894 made farming continuously difficult. Attempts at other types of industry and business were made, such as a flour mill, cheese factory, and a pork processing plant, but the failure to secure a rail line both isolated Cannington from export markets and made the shipping of saleable goods prohibitively expensive. Local demand was unable to support these enterprises, and so by the turn of the century most of the businesses had closed, and many of the residents had moved on. The economic climate would experience an upswing shortly afterwards, and many of the farmers who struggled

though the 1890s would see a great improvement in the first years of the twentieth century. However, it was too late for the village of Cannington, which missed the prosperous period that could have saved it by a scant few years.

## **1.2 Goals of the Research Project**

The research problem proposed here is an archaeological, oral history, and documentary study of the lives of Cannington residents.

In the first portion of the project, documentary records and oral histories are used to explore the existence of the so-called “Canadian” and “English” groups at Cannington Manor. The origins of this dichotomy in popular thought and writings are discussed. Through an examination of the backgrounds of Cannington settlers and the types of roles they fulfilled within the community, the nature of all social groups living at Cannington are described and explored against the backdrop of the village’s struggle for survival. Key variables such as class and gender are then used to discuss the dynamic relationships between different social groups living at Cannington. In particular, the variable of gender is shown to influence not only the way class relationships were constructed and maintained at Cannington, but also the way that the nature of Cannington social relationships was perceived by different members of the community. Finally, the role of legend and story in the “ownership” of Cannington history (and all its attendant legendary phenomena) is discussed, from the “vision” of the town of Cannington Manor that was held by the community that lived in it, to the “vision” that is held by the modern descendants of that community.

Following this, the insights that have been gained about Cannington social relationships from the examination of documentary and oral histories will be explored through the material culture found in the archaeological record of the town site. It is postulated that the differing roles and identities of Cannington's social groups will be manifested in the assignation of different symbolic meanings to the material goods that permeated everyday life at the village.

Chapter One of this thesis outlines the basic goals of the project, the project's spatial and temporal boundaries, and gives a brief overview of the physical environment of the site. Chapter Two discusses the methodology behind the gathering of documentary and oral history information and gives an overview of previous research and scholarly thought on Cannington. Chapter Three is a history of Cannington Manor from 1881 to 1905. Sections are included that describe Cannington's place in the wider settlement history of the Canadian West, as well as its continuing history as a historic site of popular interest into modern times (including its transformation into a Provincial Historic Park). Chapter Four lays out the central argument of the thesis. It describes the social relationships at Cannington Manor and the factors that influence the dynamics of those relationships, in particular variables such as class and gender. The role of Cannington legends in the modern farming community is also discussed. Chapter Five begins the examination of the insights gained, through previous chapters, within an archaeological context. It details the theoretical framework behind studies of the symbolic aspects of material objects and puts forward some expectations for the findings in the archaeological record of Cannington Manor. Chapter Six describes the methodology behind the archaeological investigations conducted at Cannington Manor. Chapter Seven presents the analysis of the material culture recovered as a result of

excavation. Chapter Eight discusses the results of that analysis and draws some conclusions about the material meanings inherent in the assemblage. Chapter Nine is a brief foray into some of the supply aspects of Cannington consumption through the examination of documents pertaining to purchasing choices. Finally, Chapter Ten summarizes the findings of the project and offers some conclusions.

### **1.3 Temporal Boundaries of the Research Project**

Temporally, the boundaries of this research project are not as straightforward as one might expect. On one level, this study focuses on the lives of the people at Cannington Manor during the birth, growth, and demise of the town. This places us in a fairly short temporal period beginning with initial settlement in the spring of 1881 to the town's abandonment and destruction circa 1905. The year 1905 is a convenient date to mark the official demise of the town, as that is when the Mill, an integral part of the town's economy, closed (though the process of dismantling the town may have continued for some years afterward).

However, throughout the course of the research and particularly in conducting oral informant interviews, I have noted that the "story" of the town extends beyond the town's official demise. Since its abandonment and the destruction of its physical structures, "Cannington Manor" has been continually reinvented through presentations of its history to public audiences. These presentations take the form of newspaper articles, memoirs, books, a radio series, stories repeated by members of the modern community, and last but not least, scholarly and academic "stories" told by archaeologists and historians. This study will be touching on the role that stories of

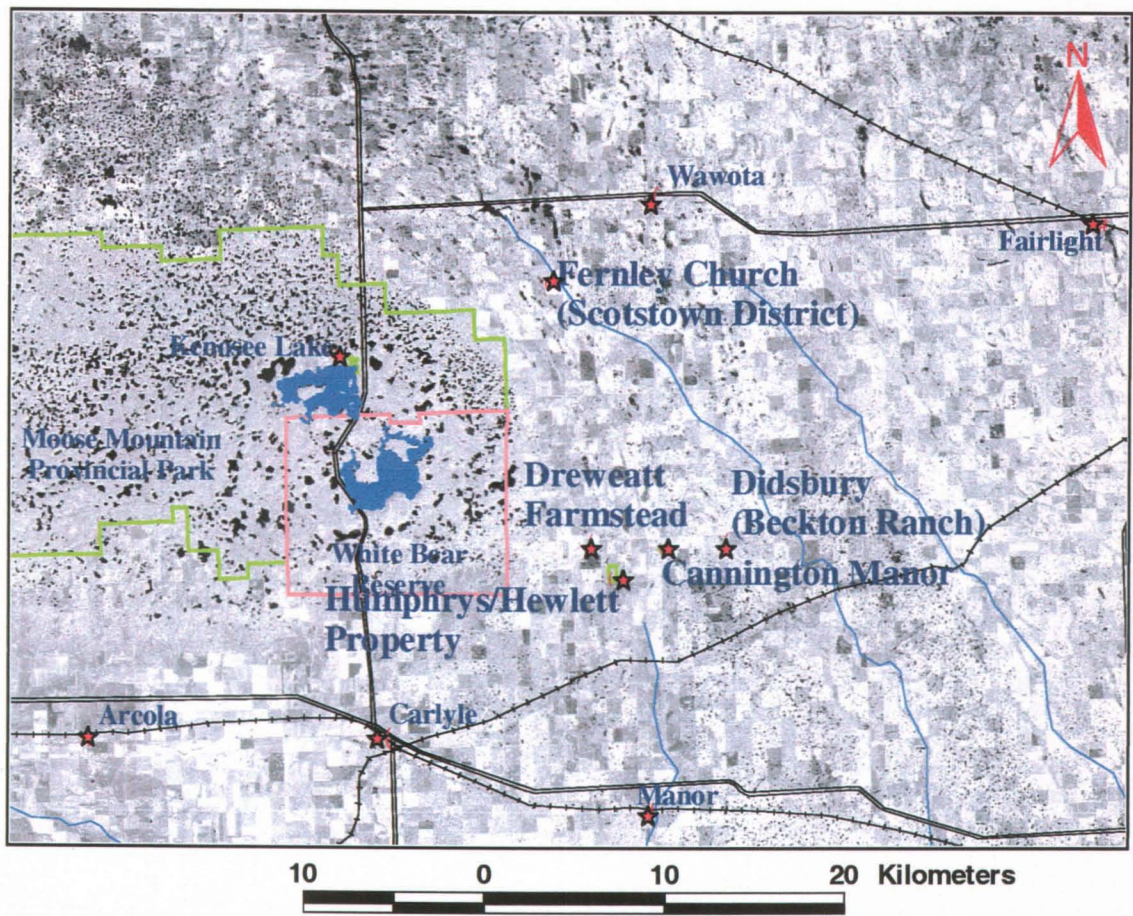
“Cannington Manor” play in the lives of the modern descendants of the original settlers. In that sense, then, the temporal boundaries of the study extend from the spring of 1881 into the modern day. The archaeological focus of the project, however, is necessarily contained within the period 1882-1905.

#### **1.4 Spatial Boundaries of the Research Project**

For the purposes of the archaeological portion of this study, the spatial boundaries of this project are confined to the environs of the Cannington Manor town site itself (now Cannington Manor Provincial Historic Park), and a small area approximately 2.7 km west and 1.2 km south of it, known as the Humphrys/Hewlett property (Figure 1.1, see also Chapter Six).

However, the boundaries of the social community of Cannington Manor, as perceived by the historic residents of the village and its environs themselves, require a more complex definition. From documentary sources, we can see that many contemporaries of Cannington would refer to “Cannington Manor” as only the environs of the town itself and the homes of the monied, upper-middle class English who lived there. The “English Colony” was certainly regarded as distinct by those settlers from eastern Canada and Manitoba who did not move in the same social circles as the abovementioned English (Hewlett 1938a). Despite the fact that these settlers did not see themselves as part of the “English Group”, however, they were drawn into the town of Cannington’s “orbit” (Pugh 1980b) in many ways. These settlers, from outside the “English Colony”, performed substantial amounts of labour for the English. They also





**Figure 1.1.** Map of the study area. Map created by N. Friesen using Landsat 7 satellite imagery.

sold produce to the town store and made use of some of Cannington's services, most notably the grist mill. These economic factors had the effect of tying the settlers socially to the town in a dynamic relationship between those "outside" the "English Colony" and those within (Pugh 1980b). It is this relationship that is the focus of this thesis.

The spatial boundaries of the study area, then, can also be defined by the spatial arrangements of the people who were part of this larger story of Cannington Manor: the lands and residences of the families (both English and otherwise) who are known, through an examination of documentary records, local histories, and oral testimonies, to have had economic and social connections to the town of Cannington. This area can be described generally as Townships Eight, Nine, Ten, and Eleven in Ranges One and Two West of the Second Meridian, and in Range 34 West of the First Meridian (Figure 1.1). This includes districts such as Fernley which, during Cannington's heyday, was known as "Scotstown" and was home to many settlers who provided skilled labour in the construction of the town. It also includes parts of Moose Mountain Provincial Park and the Kenossee Resort, since Kenossee Lake (or Fish Lake, as it was then called) and associated water bodies to the west were both recreation spots and homesteads during the later life of Cannington Manor.

The term "Cannington community", in this thesis, refers to the families and individuals who were living within the above boundaries and who were considered (both historically and in modern times) to have associations, either socially, spatially or economically, with the town of Cannington Manor. The terms "study area" and "Moose Mountain area" (for this thesis) refer also to the spatial locale described above. Additionally, for the sake of the flow of information I often refer to Cannington Manor

as simply “Cannington”. In all cases, however, “Cannington” refers to the historic town of Cannington Manor and not to any other town by that name.

### **1.5 Environmental Setting**

The site of Cannington Manor is located on a flat plain just east of Moose Mountain. The entire area is situated in the Aspen Parkland ecoregion, which is characterized by well drained black soils on gently undulating to rolling knob and kettle morainal deposits (Acton et al. 1998). The Aspen Parkland is dry and subhumid, becoming progressively more so as one moves from north to south (Thorpe 1999). In the more southerly regions, moisture is only sufficient to support aspen groves in depressions and steep north-facing slopes, whereas more northerly areas have greatly expanded tree cover. The Aspen Parklands are punctuated by occasional uplands that have slightly cooler and moister climates, allowing for unbroken aspen forests. Moose Mountain is one such upland (Thorpe 1999).

The Aspen Parkland ecoregion has been slowly changing over the centuries. Historical records for the past century have shown that there were substantially fewer trees in the past than there are today. This corresponds strongly with Cannington documentary records, which often mention the complete lack of trees everywhere except within the Moose Mountain itself. It is for this reason that hauling wood for fuel and building supplies was difficult for early settlers, since obtaining those meant making long trips to the said upland. With the advent of extensive settlement and particularly the grid road system, prairie fires, so long the terror of early settlers, were controlled to a much greater extent, allowing more trees to take root and flourish.

Today, groves of aspen dot the study area where none were present before. Balsam poplar is also common. Snowberry, rose, saskatoon, and gooseberry bushes are to be found in the understory of the tree groves. The edges of these areas, and the margins of the grasslands, are dominated by lower shrubs such as wolf willow. In the open areas, the dominant grass is plains rough fescue (Thorpe 1999), although extensive agriculture has resulted in increased presence of grasses like pasture sage and western porcupine (Acton et al. 1998). In these grasslands can also be found wildflowers like goldenrod, yarrow, crocus, western Canada violets, and showy asters.

White tailed deer are extremely common in the area. Moose and elk are to be found in the Moose Mountain. Small mammals include red fox, coyote, bobcat, raccoon, badger, skunk, and weasel. Historically, the area would also have been home to grey wolves, black and grizzly bears, and river otters (Wapple 1999). Sloughs and depressions provide a home for many types of waterfowl such as ring neck, canvasback, mallard, black, and ruddy duck, as well as Canada geese (Smith 1999). Waterfowl were reportedly an important source of food for Cannington settlers, particularly in the early years of settlement.

Moose Mountain may have been an extremely attractive location to past peoples, including those who lived in times prior to European contact, when climatic conditions became fairly similar to modern ones. As a veritable oasis of shelter in the midst of flat prairie, and offering plenty of opportunities to take waterfowl and other game, it may well have been a place that was visited repeatedly. This might seem to be supported by the fact that the White Bear First Nation, a Cree group that signed Treaty Number 4 at Fort Qu'Appelle in 1874, requested that their reserve land be located on the Moose Mountain, which is in Treaty area Number 2 (Barry 1999). The presence of the Moose



Mountain Medicine Wheel (Kehoe and Kehoe 1979, Eddy 1977) also supports the idea that the area had some special significance for past peoples. Certainly no one who frequents Kenossee or drives through the wooded Mountain on the way to Carlyle can deny that “the Mountain” is an attractive place for both animals and humans (Figure 1.2).



**Figure 1.2.** *Study Area: Cannington Manor in 2001, looking west. All Saints Anglican Church in background. Photo by author.*

*Once upon a time there was a place called Cannington Manor, and there was magic there.*

*-A. E. M. Hewlett, 1940*

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **DOCUMENTS, INTERVIEWS, AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH**

The realities of the Cannington experience can be discovered in the intersection of the different images of the town and its life as they are held by many different social groups. These include social groups of the past; upper classes, lower classes, women, men, English, Farmer; and groups of the present; scholars, storytellers, archaeologists, and the modern “Cannington” community.

In the examination of social relationships at Cannington Manor, a multi-faceted approach was used that combined several different types of archaeological and historic evidence. Documentary and archival records on Cannington Manor were examined to reconstruct the historic background of the town and to shed light on social relationships there. Oral informant interviews were used to assist archaeological endeavours and to gain insight into the values and traditions of the Cannington community, both past and

present. Finally, archaeological data from the Cannington town site and area were gathered and analysed.

## **2.1 Overview of Primary Sources**

The legends of Cannington Manor have long proved fascinating to public audiences both inside and outside Saskatchewan. As such, there is an enormous body of literature on the subject. Previous and future researchers will agree that the problem lies not in finding information on the site but in sifting through the enormous amount of available information. Most primary sources take the form of pioneer reminiscences (including memoirs and correspondence) or documents pertaining to daily life at Cannington Manor (Moose Mountain Trading Company Store records, for example). Secondary sources include newspaper, journal, and magazine articles, discussions in larger histories of Saskatchewan, and works by both historians and archaeologists. For a complete list of both the secondary and primary sources reviewed for this thesis (as well other resources on Cannington not used in this study) see Appendix A; for an additional review of Cannington archival material, see Pugh 1980a.

With the use of the documentary records, the “usual cautions apply” (Milledge Nelson 1997: 58) - documents must be utilized only with a critical understanding of their context. The context of documentary resources includes such factors as the gender, social status, and age of the writer; and when and where, and for what reason, a document was created. This applies to both primary and secondary sources, as even “academic” writings, including any text I refer to in the construction of this thesis, are

“documents” in their own right and are subject, like any other “document”, to this kind of critical analysis.

### ***2.1.1 Writings and Correspondence of Mrs. A. E. M. Hewlett***

The first person to collect extensive primary data on Cannington was author and historian A.E.M. Hewlett. It is her collection of first-hand reminiscences from Cannington pioneers that forms the bulk of the documentary data available to researchers today.

Mrs. Annie Elizabeth May (Brown) Hewlett lived in the Cannington area from 1911 until her death in 1974. She married a member of the Cannington community, Arthur Hewlett, who had taken a homestead at Cannington in the 1890’s. Along with their three children, the couple resided in a large manor house (located approximately 2.7 kilometres from the town site) that had belonged to a prominent English family. Mr. Hewlett purchased the home in 1905 from its previous owners when they departed for British Columbia.

Between 1912 and the late 1960s, Mrs. Hewlett spent a great deal of time interviewing “old-timers” in the area and corresponding with Cannington expatriates in her quest to preserve information about the site. The majority of her writings were eventually acquired by Arthur S. Morton, chief librarian at the University of Saskatchewan (1914-40), and housed in its Special Collections Library. Many of Mrs. Hewlett’s writings and correspondence also reside in the Saskatchewan Archives.



Cannington pioneer reminiscences in archival material takes two forms; those written by the pioneers themselves, and those collected by Mrs. Hewlett. Reminiscences of Cannington pioneers that were collected and transcribed by Mrs. Hewlett run the risk of being somewhat second-hand. However, it is obvious that in many places Mrs. Hewlett quotes the pioneers verbatim. In this sense, then, they are little different from the personal reminiscences of the pioneers, many of which are also in Mrs. Hewlett's collection. However, it must also be remembered that these stories and anecdotes were written and collected, in some cases, as long as sixty years after the events they described (though most are far closer in time to the actual events at Cannington, having been set down on paper in the '20s and '30s). So although much is to be learned from these stories, it is prudent for the user to remember that they are a collection of memories that may have been blurred by time and reshaped by a lifetime of other experiences.

The passage of time notwithstanding, however, Mrs. Hewlett was able to speak and correspond with a substantial number of people who actually lived at Cannington during the town's life. Her collected works are an invaluable source of primary information on society at Cannington. Her habit of recording pioneer's words verbatim also adds to the value of those records as historical documents. These reminiscences, along with her compiled histories of Cannington, form the basis of general knowledge about Cannington for future scholars.

### 2.1.2 *Memoirs*

Memoir-writing appears to have been a common activity for the English alumni of Cannington. Many members of this group, both male and female, wrote memoirs that focused on their time at Cannington. Several memoirs were relied upon heavily in this thesis. One is *Forty-five Years in Canada* by Charles Couper, who was an English bachelor and agricultural school student (see Chapter 3) at Cannington; another is *Cannington Manor: A Tale of Early Settlement Life*, written by Jessie Pierce Beckton, daughter of Captain Edward Pierce, considered by many to be the town's founder (see Chapter Three). Both of Jessie Pierce Beckton's sisters, Frances and Lily, also wrote memoirs of life at Cannington.

These memoirs, particularly Charles Couper's, are fairly detailed. However, it must be remembered that, as mentioned above, the accounts were often written some years from the events they described, and run the danger of being blurred by memory. Frances Pierce's memoirs were written in the 1970's. *Cannington Manor: A Tale of Early Settlement Life*, however, was written sometime before the 30's and as such is not too far removed from the events that are described.

It also must be remembered that these accounts were written, particularly in the case of Mrs. Beckton and her sisters, from the perspective of the relatively privileged upper middle class English at Cannington. As is sometimes the cases with historic writings, the texts written by women are primarily only those of the wealthy. These are the women who had the education and the leisure to write on the world around them. Women of the lower classes, sadly, leave far fewer written records of their own

experiences than do women of upper classes. The memoirs of all three Pierce women, particularly Jessie Pierce Beckton, are relied on heavily for information regarding English and English women's perspectives on Cannington. Comparatively speaking, the writings available from the hardworking Canadian farm wives are mere snippets of information recorded by Mrs. Hewlett. Though they at least provide a glimpse of farm women's lives, they do not possess nearly as much detail as is available for English women.

### ***2.1.3 Local Histories***

Local histories were found to be of great value in the construction of this thesis. The District Histories for Carlyle, Manor and Wawota (Carlyle and District Historical Society 1982; Manor and District Historical Society 1982; Wawota and District History Committee 1994) were an excellent source of biographical information on Cannington pioneers. Local histories are invaluable for learning about the distribution and spatial arrangements of settlement communities, since family write-ups usually include the legal descriptions of lands initially taken as homesteads. These texts, however, contain primarily only information on the lower-middle class "Canadian" farming element at Cannington. The wealthy English, of course, left; as such they have few descendants in the area to put their stories in district histories. Local histories occasionally contain errors; information gets lost or changed as the story is passed down from generation to generation. Sometimes the date a pioneer arrived in Canada or a legal description for a homestead will be erroneous. However, they are in the main quite accurate and useful,

particularly for obtaining biographical information about settlers. And, in the event of uncertainty, a quick check of homestead records can often clear up the problem of an incorrect legal description or questionable date, at least in terms of the bare facts of a pioneer's arrival and initial homestead entry.

#### ***2.1.4 Other Documents***

A final category of documents is those that are not written specifically to “tell a story” about Cannington, but that instead pertain to the functioning of daily life at the settlement. These include partial store records from the Moose Mountain Trading Company, and a series of “grocery lists” that I refer to as the McNaughton Notes.

As will be detailed below, one of my main informants on Cannington Manor was Thomas Beck, who at the time of this writing is in his 90's. Conversations with Thomas Beck proved to be the source of not only stories and reminiscences, but also of some unusual and fascinating documents.

The Moose Mountain Trading Company supplied the General Store in the village of Cannington from the McNaughton Store located in Moosomin, Saskatchewan. When residents of Cannington would hear that someone was making a trip to Moosomin to re-supply, or were making a trip to purchase their own goods, they would send notes with whoever was going, asking for specific goods. At a trip to visit the McNaughton store, Mr. Beck learned from a clerk that they had in their possession a number of these small, handwritten notes, sent by the residents of Cannington Manor, that they were going to throw out. Mr. Beck now has this collection of interesting notes from Cannington

residents; in essence, a group of “grocery lists” from the past. These lists will be examined in Chapter Nine.

The Moose Mountain Trading Company Store records are just that: records of purchases made at the store between 13 June and 6 July 1887. They will also be discussed further in Chapter Nine.

Both the Store records and the McNaughton notes are of particular interest since they were never intended to be public documents for posterity. They are simply records of transactions or purchases. As such, they provide a window into the mundane workings of daily activities, freed from legendary posturing or pioneer rhetoric. Unfortunately, the relatively small sample of both sets of documents does not allow for a wide range study of purchasing patterns over the entire community. However, it does suggest possibilities for consumer purchases at Cannington, as well as the types of goods that were readily available.

## **2.2 Overview of Secondary Sources**

For the purpose of this overview of secondary sources, I have chosen to look at only those historical and scholarly sources that have contributed specifically to the main focus of this thesis; that is, the development of a discussion on social groups at Cannington Manor. Most other secondary sources are of the newspaper and magazine article variety. They tell amusing stories but do not add any new information to a discussion of Cannington relationships.

In discussing secondary sources, we must again return to the ubiquitous works of A.E.M. Hewlett. Mrs. Hewlett drew on her interviews and correspondence with Cannington pioneers to create several short histories of the town and surrounding area. She was also responsible for magazine articles, contributions to newspapers, and pamphlets for the Historic Park.

In her public writings on Cannington, Mrs. Hewlett seemed to alternate between describing the lives of the wealthy English and describing those of the farming community. Her histories of Cannington included stories of the “English Group” which meant those settlers who participated in all of the activities that made Cannington famous including music, art, and sports such as fox hunting. At least equal consideration, however, was given to the lower-middle class farming settlers from the surrounding area. They were the living community that was the source of most of Mrs. Hewlett’s information.

She referred often to the divisions in Cannington society: “There were two groups of people at Cannington, the plain folk and the ‘Dudes’” (Hewlett 1938b:1). She alludes also to multifaceted social groupings, as well as to how conflicting tales of Cannington resulted from the different perspectives of the people who lived there:

To reconcile the different stories told of old Cannington Manor, it is necessary to understand that there were at this time three main currents of life running through the settlement. There was that of an English sporting group led by the Beckton brothers, whose racers were famous throughout the west. This group shaded imperceptibly with the more serious-minded of the English gentlepeople, whose purpose was to found an enduring settlement on sound lines. These again merged naturally through their activities in practical farming into a third group, the actual farmers who may be conveniently described as pioneers, for they had no other resources than their personal grit (Hewlett 1930:2).

Though she described the different social groups at Cannington, Mrs. Hewlett did not put forward a concrete definition of what constituted membership in those groups, nor did she delve into the factors that created those divisions. She also shied away from involved discussions about the feelings Cannington residents may have felt for each other, unless they were expressions of admiration and respect. One can hardly blame her, as Mrs. Hewlett walked a difficult tightrope in this respect: she was primarily writing about her immediate neighbours. It must also be remembered that her primary goal was that of telling interesting stories, not discussing social theory (a subject better left to academic treatises that are not under the obligation to be in any way entertaining).

When Cannington Manor became a Provincial Historic Park in 1965, there developed a need to establish a basis of academically-oriented research into the town to facilitate and improve interpretation for the public. Therefore, in 1980, the Department of Natural Resources (which, at the time of the writing of this thesis, is called Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management) asked Garth Pugh to write two historical papers on Cannington. The first was a *Historical Report on the Humphrys/Hewlett Property near Cannington Manor for the Period 1888-1920* (Pugh 1980a). This was a detailed report on the life of the Humphrys/Hewlett property (the same residence Mrs. Hewlett lived in), chronicling the house's history as, initially, a well-appointed home for one of Cannington's prominent families (1888-1905), and then as a more practical prairie farmhouse (1905-20).

The second work was titled *Historical Report on Cannington Manor Village 1882-1905* (Pugh 1980b). This study weaves the growth and eventual demise of Cannington into a narrative of settlement period history prior to the turn of the twentieth century,

relying on records of homestead entries and cancellations to examine the factors involved in the slow settlement of the West prior to 1898. In this way, Pugh places the eventual failure of the settlement in the context of the economic forces that pulled strongly against its success. His report is more a discussion of the wider political and economic backdrop to the settlement's rise and fall, rather than that of a social history of people and relationships. However, he does point out the need for more in-depth study into those social relationships.

In reaction to newspaper articles and stories that sensationalized Cannington by emphasizing the glamorous activities of the English over that of the hardworking farmers, Pugh called attention to the roles of the lower-middle class settlers in Cannington's community (Pugh 1980b). In his introduction, he pointed out that Cannington social relationships were far more diverse than could be accounted for in a simple division between "English" and "Canadian". In particular, he noted social groups at Cannington were not internally homogenous even among "English" or "Canadian" groups; for example, there were English who did not participate in sporting endeavours but instead farmed seriously (Pugh 1980b).

Another researcher who, like Mrs. Hewlett before him, arrived in the Moose Mountain area from England and undertook to write the story of Cannington is Thomas Beck, mentioned above. Mr. Beck arrived in the Cannington area from West Hartlepoole, England in 1926, at the age of 17. As Park Supervisor at Cannington from 1965-1974, he had ample opportunity to do research into the town and its people; in fact, as an independent researcher for the provincial government, he devoted three years to collecting information on Cannington (after his retirement as park supervisor). One



of the results of his research is a book entitled *Pioneers of Cannington Manor 1882-1984* (Beck 1984). This text, which is similar in most ways to a local history, comprises a historical narrative of the Cannington community and of the people who lived there, as told by a member of that community. It is a unique repository of local lore, both about Cannington and about the farming community as it continued throughout the twentieth century. It also includes many of the amusing or tragic stories that local histories do not have space to reproduce. As such, it is a tremendous source of information on the stories and legends about Cannington as they exist in the modern community. It is also of great value in a practical sense, as it contains biographical information about the early settlers such as birthplace and background prior to arriving at Cannington.

### **2.3 Oral Informant Interviews**

In deciding to speak with the local residents of the modern Cannington area, I had two goals in mind. One was to attempt to discover suitable archaeological remains from the Canadian element to compare with the material remains of the English. This point will be discussed further in Chapter Six. In addition to locating an archaeological site, however, I had a secondary motive for wanting to talk with local people. I wanted to investigate the dynamics of the relationship between the “English Group” and the so-called “Canadians”. Since it is my belief that the ideologies of the Canadian farmers were still extant, in one form or another, in the people living in the Cannington area (who in many cases are the actual descendants of these farmers), I thought that the

stories and information provided by local people would help to build a body of knowledge about Canadian values at Cannington.

Accordingly, it was decided that oral informant interviews were needed to answer questions, find suitable archaeological remains, and gather stories and data about Cannington worldviews.

During the archaeological investigations of the previous summer, I had been introduced to Thomas Beck (mentioned above) and his son Harold, both of whom had worked for years in the park since its early days as a historic site. Tom Beck was one of the driving forces behind the park's designation as a historic site in 1965.

Over the course of my oral informant research, I spent a great deal of time with the Becks in their home town of Wawota. Wawota, located approximately two kilometres east and nineteen kilometres north of Cannington Manor, seemed to be the focal point for the community of the descendants of Canadian Cannington pioneers. One need only look at the Wawota and District History to confirm this, as it is full of names familiar from the early settlement days of Cannington.

I interviewed both Tom and Harold Beck extensively, as well as several other local people who had Cannington connections. These people helped build an ever-widening web of people to talk to, as everyone interviewed had someone else to recommend who might have more stories.

The result was many hours of taped interviews and notes. With regard to locating archaeological resources belonging to the Farming element at Cannington, however, the efforts of the oral informant interviews were somewhat in vain, a point that will be

returned to in Chapter Six. In other areas, however, they were a great success: a large amount of oral information was gathered.

#### **2.4 “Re-Gendering the Text” in Documentary and Oral History Research**

Previous writers on Cannington, such as Mrs. Hewlett, Thomas Beck, and Garth Pugh, have made a point of including the perspectives of women in their writings on Cannington Manor. However, this inclusion always takes the form of a special section devoted to women, rather than weaving women’s roles throughout the narrative. As feminist scholars have pointed out, the positive effects of “including women” in this way are offset by the effects of “tacking on” women’s history, thereby making it seem that women’s roles and contributions can be included as afterthoughts to the actions of men (Spencer-Wood 1991). In addition, once the section on women is complete, the rest of the narrative continues with males as the primary actors in the drama, with women’s roles largely invisible.

Even in Mrs. Hewlett’s writings one can see an unquestioned tradition of giving males primacy in stories of Cannington. With the exception of the specific sections on women, it is primarily the actions of males that are discussed. The histories of males, where they came from, and what their occupations were are put forward, and women come in only the context of being the wives of these men. The name of the male head of the family often suffices to describe all the members of that group. It is often even difficult to find out women’s full names because of the tradition of identifying them as “Mrs. John Smith”.

In relying on sources of this tradition to write a history of Cannington, one feels a strong pull to unquestioningly write another history in the same way, because one's sources of information consist (in large part) of men's actions, surrounded by a tradition of treating males as the main actors in any narrative. To effect a change, one must consciously shift one's perspective (Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon 2002) to one that is "seeking" women in the history. A perspective that asks "what are the women doing in all of this?" begins to allow for recognition of where the "blanks" in the narrative are – places where women's experiences of a particular aspect of the history can and should be told. Then, the task is to "fill in" these blanks, giving equal consideration to the roles and contributions of both men and women throughout the history. This requires some digging. It is recognized that many feminist authors have seen the progress of gendered research as having moved beyond the remedial (Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon 2002), but in constructing a history of the town of Cannington, I found that the basic task of re-including women in the historical narrative was something that needed to be done before moving on toward other research goals.

There are ways to overcome the frustrating bias towards male actions in the documentary records. That those records are biased (as they certainly are) is no excuse, anymore than "the records are biased" would be an appropriate excuse to avoid digging up data relevant to any conscientious historical treatise. We are fortunate, in this case, that Mrs. Hewlett spoke to many pioneer women and recorded their words. These words are thus available in the documentary resources. The re-inclusion of women's actions into this treatment of Cannington Manor was effected through the information gathered in these resources.

In conducting oral histories, I found that the stories of community women are available: who the women in the community were, as well as their stories; even if these kinds of knowledge don't tend to make it into public histories. Additionally, asking for names and backgrounds of women opens up a whole new avenue of inquiry into the ties that bind a community. Simple questions of who married whom, and who came from which family, reveal connections between families which intersect throughout a community.

If all else fails, I found that a simple way to get basic information on the women of a historic community was to visit the graveyard. Women's full names, dates of birth and death, and often place of birth are recorded in full on tombstones. Sad commentary, however, that one should be reduced to haunting a graveyard in order to "unearth" (not literally, thank goodness) the women of a community.

## **2.5 Archaeological Explorations of Cannington Manor**

Following the exploration of Cannington relationships through documents, archaeological data were gathered and analyzed over two field seasons in the summers of 2000 and 2001. The details of the archaeological portion of this project are discussed in Chapter Six, however, some background information to the archaeology of Cannington Manor and the archaeological methods used for this research are warranted here.

The town of Cannington Manor has been the subject of two previous archaeological explorations. In 1974, Dale Perry and Brenda Stead excavated portions

of the cellar structure of the town's hotel (Royal Saskatchewan Museum 1974). The Mitre Hotel, as it was called, was chosen for excavation because it was thought that this structure (as an important locus for social events, meetings, and other aspects of community life) would have excellent interpretive potential for the Historic Park. The goals of the project were to locate the foundations and to examine the archaeological potential present in the building's cellar.

A total of 16 days were spent in the field. Mr. Perry determined that the hotel cellar measured approximately 5 m by 10 m and was at least 2 m deep, and was not cribbed (Gibson 1979). A large amount of refuse was recovered, but it was determined that the artifacts were deposited in the 1930s after the town was abandoned. Mr. Perry did not perceive a cultural layer below the one from the 1930s. However, due to the limitations of his excavation period, he did not reach the floor of the cellar or expose the entire feature. Testing outside the cellar revealed mortar and building debris (Gibson 1979), but again, time was insufficient to determine the extent of the foundations. However, the excavations served their purpose in that they demonstrated that preservation of the Mitre Hotel feature was excellent, and that an excavation of increased length would no doubt reveal much that was useful. Mr. Perry estimated that it would require a crew of four, working for two months, to adequately expose and document the feature (Royal Saskatchewan Museum 1974).

In the summer of 1978, Terrance H. Gibson and crew undertook a major survey of the archaeological resources of Cannington Manor Historic Park. This survey covered large portions of the village site and located the subsurface remains of many of Cannington's buildings.

The study was conducted for the purposes of better understanding the physical nature of the town's structures to improve interpretation. There were also fears, legitimate ones as it turned out, that development of the park (i.e. reconstruction of buildings) might prove harmful to buried structures if an inventory of the archaeological resources was not taken. Therefore, Gibson's study integrated historical and documentary sources to get a sense of the construction history of the town's buildings, and then supplemented these findings with archaeological survey and excavation.

After researching structural histories of Cannington buildings, confirming the locations of some and postulating the locations of others, Gibson conducted magnetometer surveys on selected areas of the park, followed by archaeological testing. The system devised for this was to divide the park into blocks of space specified as numbered "grid areas". These grid areas were tied into a baseline running the length of the park. This was done to establish some spatial context for the locations of both the magnetometer surveys and the test excavations.

Magnetometers function by measuring the degree of difference between the prevailing magnetism of the study area and anomalous magnetisms in the ground. When objects (such as a ceramic pot or metal food container) are heated, their internal magnetic alignment is allowed to change. When these objects are left in the ground as archaeological artifacts, their magnetism is different from that of the earth around them. It is these "magnetic anomalies" that are mapped by the magnetometer (Gibson 1979; McIntosh 1999). Through the use of a magnetometer, Gibson was able to confirm the locations of many of the town's buildings, as well as locate many other subsurface features (Gibson 1979).

The overall result was a complete structural history of Cannington, including the appearance of buildings at various stages in their life histories, suitable for future reconstruction purposes. It also confirmed that at least two of the reconstructed buildings (the blacksmith's shop and Maltby house) were not in their correct locations, and that foundations markers, when placed correctly on the site of a building, were often erroneous as to that building's actual size. Moreover, the study documented the locations of many other subsurface archaeological remains within the Park. This study formed the basis for the re-identification of archaeological features for excavation in the research conducted for this thesis (see Chapter Six).

A large number of metal, glass and ceramic artifacts were recovered by Gibson and his crew. These artifacts are housed in the Royal Saskatchewan Museum and were briefly reviewed by the author. However, most of the material remains came from surface collections over large areas of the park, and hence could not be tied into specific individual and families, nor into social groups such as English or Farmer. As such, they were of limited use to the current project. The same could be said of the remains from the Mitre Hotel, which represented the material culture of both a hotel, the transient individuals who stayed there, and unidentified Cannington residents who may have had business there.

In the fall of 2000, archaeological investigations were conducted by Western Heritage, an archaeological consulting group, at the Humphrys/Hewlett property some 2.7 kilometres distant from Cannington Manor (see Section 6.1.1.1). In response to a proposed plan to repair the foundations of the house, 29 square meters were excavated to salvage any cultural features that would be disturbed by the repairs. The remains of hot



bed boxes, supports for a veranda, and a variety of artifacts from precontact times, to the occupation period of the house, to modern times were recovered (McKeand 2001). The artifact collection from this project was also briefly reviewed by the author. It comprised, for the majority, structural artifacts; with only a very small sample of items relating to household consumer choices (McKeand 2001), and as such was not deemed to add any more information to the archaeological remains already gathered for this project.

Excavations for this Master's thesis were conducted at both the town of Cannington itself and at the Humphries/Hewlett House. These archaeological investigations are discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

*How did they live? And why did they go? That is the story of Cannington Manor, North West Territories, the story I want to tell you in the very words of the Old Timers so that you may get a glimpse of that pioneer settlement, with the strange English colony in the midst...*

*-A. E. M. Hewlett, in a radio broadcast on Cannington Manor (Hewlett 1938b)*

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **CANNINGTON MANOR: A SOCIAL HISTORY**

#### **3.1 The Settlement Process in Western Canada 1870-1896**

The process of settling the Canadian West in the years prior to the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is an important backdrop to a discussion of Cannington Manor. The rise and fall of the village is tied in many ways to national processes such as the ebb and flow of settlement, the construction of the railway, and the building of a nation. The push to develop new territory was strongly driven by expansionism and the desire to construct a new country founded on British ideals and values. In many ways (as we will see), the inhabitants of Cannington were viewed as “ideal settlers” for the pursuit of these goals.

In the summer of 1870, Rupert's Land and the North West Territories (modern-day Alberta, Saskatchewan, Nunavut, the Northwest Territories, and the Yukon) were incorporated into the Dominion of Canada (Morton 1938). All the territory that had formerly belonged to the Hudson's Bay Company came under the jurisdiction of the dominion government.

In the late 1870s, these newly acquired lands were re-assessed in terms of their potential for agriculture. John Macoun, whose survey went from Moose Mountain to the western Cypress Hills in 1879 and 1880, disagreed with the earlier assessments of John Palliser, which stated that the areas encompassed in the Palliser's Triangle were largely unsuitable for farming. Macoun felt that the region had great agricultural potential. His report was welcome news to a government eager to increase the areas of land available for immigration.

Government policy became designed to encourage settlement of the West as quickly as possible. The Dominion Lands Act was passed that, among other things, provided for the orderly division of land for settlement. As well, one of the biggest obstacles to settlement was the lack of adequate transportation (Pugh 1980b). Accordingly, the government of Sir John A. MacDonalld made the building of a transcontinental railway a top priority. It was completed by 1885 (Pugh 1980b).

The developments described above were realized primarily through the efforts of a group of politically-minded Eastern Canadians known collectively as the "expansionists". The expansionists were a small group of both politicians and businesspeople who "continually spoke or wrote of the potential of the West and of the crucial need for Canadian Expansion" (Owram 1984: 39). These people believed

strongly that the acquisition and settlement of the West were stepping stones in the transition of Canada from colony to nation. Their ideas quickly caught on both in public opinion and government policy (Owram 1984).

The motivations behind expansionism were many. Growth of the new Dominion required more land for agriculture. This would serve the purpose of attracting immigrants and preventing existing eastern populations from migrating to the United States (Owram 1984). Canada's southern neighbours were posing problems as well; in 1860 the Hudson's Bay Company lands in Oregon had been annexed and America was already casting an appraising eye over parts of the north (Rasmussen et al. 1976). Settlement would claim the West firmly for Canada. It would also create a platform for access to the resources located there.

In addition to claiming and exploiting new lands in a material sense, the expansionist movement saw development as part of a larger moral crusade to bring civilization, order, and democracy to the West and, in a larger sense, to the world. At this time, Canadians still identified strongly with their British heritage, even to the point of seeing themselves as the successors of Britain and the Empire on an international scale (Owram 1984). On a national scale, building a moral West was important to the development of Canada as a country. On an international scale, it was seen as important to building a stronger Empire based on the British social order (Owram 1984; Pugh 1980b). In this way, expansionism was not simply a crass desire for increased resources but a moral duty to continue and support the progress of civilization in the world (Owram 1984). This was an exciting challenge, but also one that could be fraught with

difficulty. Without a strong basis of stable economic development, this improved social order would not succeed (Owram 1984).

It was felt from the start that only an agrarian order would provide a basis for growth, both of the economy and of a stable social order (Owram 1984). The ideal individual to provide this stability was the independent rural landowner of moderate means (Owram 1984; Pugh1980b). Though not likely to become rich, multitudes of farming individuals could have a comfortable security for themselves and their families while building the economy of the nation. In discussions of the ideal immigrant, the British tenant farmer was brought up often (Owram 1984). The solid British yeomanry were perceived as the ideal transplant to the West because, first, they were already experienced farmers and workers and second, they were likely to be contented with a life that offered land, food and shelter for work - but not tremendous wealth. Third, they would bring with them the institutions and traditions of the British social order (Owram 1984).

Ideally, the traditions of the old country were to be improved upon in the sense that, in the new country, an individual could obtain wealth and rise in the world on his own merit. However, this did not mean that all the classes were to be equalized. A relatively stratified society was still necessary to the proper functioning of a solid social order. The desire to replicate some class structures is reflected in the view that “the ‘seeding’ of the North West with desirable individuals was...seen as an important part of the settlement process” (Owram 1984:142). It was thought that the presence of upper-class, educated, intelligent individuals who themselves believed in the ideals of civilization would “further stabilize and civilize the new frontier” (Owram 1984:143).

Accordingly, such individuals were actively sought and supported in the early years of settlement (Owram 1984). In the eyes of many, they were essential to creating a refined social order in the West.

Popular literature aimed at settlers contained the idea that a British social order was already well established in the new land, and that moving to Canada would result in little need for change on the part of the immigrant, from the life to which he or she was accustomed (Owram 1984). Whether or not this happened in actuality, there was certainly a romantic ideal of creating civilization in the new land. And there was a tendency, in many quarters, to hold up this ideal by re-creating British institutions as much as possible, wherever one went (Owram 1984).

When seen in this light, the activities of Cannington's English settlers were a perfect replica of what the expansionists were trying to achieve. Captain Edward Pierce, the town's founder, had frequent contact with the government back east, and it is clear that they recognized him as exactly the "better class of person" that was needed to "seed" the west with British order (Pugh 1980b). Cannington's English would live out the expansionist ideal both in their attempts to maintain as much of the British lifestyle as possible, and in their attitudes toward their working class neighbours. This point will be returned to in Chapter Four.

Despite the many policies that were put in place to promote the development of the West in the 1870s, settlement remained slow until the early 1880s (Pugh 1980b). At that time, a general boom was felt as the rail line reached Winnipeg, crops were successful, and the utopian visions of the expansionists finally began to take hold (Pugh 1980b). However, this boom collapsed shortly afterward. Thus began a period of

widespread depression over the entire West that would not improve significantly until 1896 (Pugh 1980b). Widespread prosperity would only be experienced with the coming of the next century. Some authors (Pugh 1980b) contend that, in many respects, the policies and institutions (such as the railway, for one, and the Dominion Lands Act, for another) of expansion were put in place a decade too soon.

Many reasons are postulated for why settlement was slow for such a long time after policies were put in place to encourage it. Some suggest that dry-land farming techniques had to advance to the point where farming in “so-called arid regions was feasible” (Pugh 1980b: 6). Others point to the consistently low price of wheat between 1870 and 1897 (Pugh 1980b). Such factors alone would tend to strongly discourage settlement. Finally, many authors note that after the mid-1880s, farming in more arid regions increased because the preferable lands south of the border were exhausted and the tide of settlement was forced to turn to these regions, with concurrent improvements in dry-land farming techniques.

The slow years would have considerable effect on the success of early prairie settlements like Cannington. However, as we will see in subsequent chapters, the unique circumstances that surrounded the Cannington experiment would offset these economic difficulties for some settlers. Even so, slow economics would form part of the many interconnected factors that would eventually lead to Cannington’s demise.

Between the transfer of the Canadian Northwest from the Hudson’s Bay Company to the Dominion Government in 1870 and the improvement in world wheat prices in 1896, many things happened that would shape the future of the West and of Canada. In the popular mindset, developing the West was a chance to advance the spread of British

civilization and cement Canada as a nation. Both solid farmers “of moderate means” (Pugh 1980b: 5) and a “loyal and intelligent elite” (Owram 1984: 143) were necessary to create a stable economy based on a refined and civilized order modeled after England’s own. However, the slow economic years prior to 1896 would make life difficult for all who came to settle the Canadian West during that time. Against this backdrop, the town of Cannington came to be, experienced growth, and eventually met its end. The development of the Cannington community is tied in important ways to both the ideals of expansionism and the economic difficulties experienced prior to the turn of the twentieth century.

### **3.2 Cannington Manor: A Social History**

The purpose of this history is twofold. First, my goal is to provide an adequate background to the discussion of Cannington lives that follows. Second, the reader will note that this history does not end with the demise of the town and its physical structures in the early 1900s. As stated before, it is not my wish to treat the history of the site as a discrete phenomenon that can be isolated between the years 1882-1905, and that can be lifted neatly out of its surrounding context for study. In researching Cannington, I found that the town’s role in the life of the community did not end with the failure of a settlement. Legend, story, and a great deal of “copy” both in popular publications and scholarly treatises have continued to shape images of Cannington for audiences both near and far, not the least of which are the descendants of Cannington pioneers themselves. Therefore, I have continued the history of Cannington into the



present day, touching on those factors that I believe will have import on my later discussions.

A final note concerns the “completeness” and “objectivity” of this history: there is no such thing as a completely objective history. Sheer time constraints, as well as a desire to keep focus on the topic at hand, necessitate that a writer make decisions about what information, events and people to include, and what not to include. In writing this historical background, I had to make decisions like this because if I wrote down everything that anyone ever said or did (that there are records of) in Cannington, it would take a lifetime. In addition, the points that I am trying to make in this thesis would quickly get lost in the sea of information. So the reader should be aware that, although many of what are considered major aspects of Cannington’s history are contained here (although what is defined as “major” is, like everything else, a product of a human decision and not an immutable truth), this history does not propose to be definitive and all-encompassing. Many other stories of Cannington exist besides the ones that are presented here, but their telling must be left for another time and place.

The story of the rise and fall of Cannington can be divided into two periods. The first is the initial settlement and construction period that began in 1882 and concluded in 1888 with the death of the town’s founder, Captain Edward Michell Pierce (Pugh 1980b). Captain Pierce’s death is chosen as a turning point in the settlement’s history because, as his daughter Jessie Pierce Beckton wrote in her memoirs, “when my father died, the whole character of the settlement changed” (Pierce Beckton 1930: 64). Captain Pierce’s death in 1888 coincided with the arrival of several families from England who would bring money into the settlement. These people built the impressive residences

that made Cannington famous. They created a culture of luxury and sport on the prairie where previously there was none. The legendary qualities of Cannington derive from this period. In contrast, the years prior to 1888 were a difficult time for all the inhabitants of Cannington as they struggled simply to make it to the next year. Homes were modest, and it could be said that everyone, English and Canadian alike, was “roughing it” in all respects.

### ***3.2.1 Initial Settlement and Construction***

Survey parties measuring the land in anticipation of settlement may have been at Moose Mountain as early as 1879, though large scale surveying of the Territories was not instituted until 1881 (Pugh 1980b). Crews often made note of the excellent possibilities for settlement presented by the land immediately south and east of Moose Mountain. Surveyors’ reports especially mentioned the land in Township 9, Range 1, as very promising for agriculture (Pugh 1980b). The excellent soils and close proximity to the wood, water, and hunting of Moose Mountain left a distinct impression on at least a few of the surveyors, some of whom would return to the area with plans to settle.

One such person was William Brownlee, who arrived in the spring of 1881 as a survey party cook (Beck 1984). He returned the following year, with a party of settlers, by oxen team and wagon. This group was largely from Ontario, though most of them had spent the last few years in Manitoba (Beck 1984, Pugh 1980a) before moving further west. William Brownlee is generally considered to be the first settler to arrive in the district (Beck 1984).

Several other families and individuals would soon arrive. The Hill family (accompanied by their uncle, the Reverend James Baldwin), the Moores, Montgomerys, E.C. MacDiarmuid, Amos Kinsey, William Wiggins, and John and Irad Morrison all arrived from various places in Ontario and Manitoba (Beck 1984, Pugh 1980b). Reverend Baldwin set up a stopping place on the southeast quarter of Section 6, Township 9, Range 1, West of the Second, near the Moose Mountain Trail. His family operated the post office for the area until another was set up in the town of Cannington (Pugh 1980b).

There were several routes by which early settlers could access the region prior to the arrival of the rail. One was a well-known trail that went from Fort Ellice through Moosomin and on down to Wood Mountain (Pugh 1980b, Wawota and District History Committee 1994). A second major trail appeared to be one that came almost directly east from Winnipeg through Oak Lake (Pugh 1980b). Cannington itself is located approximately 9 km east of where the Fort Ellice-Wood Mountain trail passes by the southeast corner of Wood Mountain, and where the Baldwin family operated their stopping place. Certainly it might have made more sense to locate Cannington closer to the “beaten path”. In fact, Frances Pierce notes at one point that the Baldwins “...held the post office and made great efforts to get the future village around them, and seeing it tended rather to establish itself on the plain, did not amiably regard the masterful spirit [Edward Pierce] which opposed them...” (Michell Pierce Page 1979). The fact that Cannington is located where it is might be another testament to the obstinacy of the English who lived there, particularly the town’s founder, Edward Pierce.

Although trails existed prior to the arrival of the railway in the summer of 1882, the route to Cannington was by no means an easy one. Settlers usually travelled with ox-drawn carts loaded with as many provisions and household goods as could be managed. River crossings were particularly troublesome.

These earliest settlers came from a variety of places. As mentioned before, some had arrived directly from England, while others had emigrated from places in Eastern Canada. Some arrived with no farming experience, like James Hindmarch, who was a stonemason prior to his arrival (Beck 1984, Pugh 1980b). Others were already farmers, like Harry and Phillip Cooke, who had been born on a tenant farm in England (Beck 1984, Pugh 1980b). Of those who had come from the Canadian East, some had farmed for years in Ontario and Manitoba, while others had held other types of work. As well, there was great deal of variety in the settlers' social backgrounds. In contrast with tenant farmers and bakers, the Pages (William and Spencer) and the Sayers (Harry and Frank) had all come over with letters of introduction to the Marquis of Lorne who was at that time Governor-General of Canada. The Sayers had a relation who had been a lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria, which may explain their excellent connections (Beck 1984, Pugh 1980b).

In the popular jargon of the settlement, those settlers who had lived in Canada for some time (or even, in a few cases, had been born in the East) were sometimes referred to as the "Canadians". This stood in contrast to those English settlers who had arrived fresh from Britain's shores. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, these two names will have great import for our discussion of identity and social groups at Cannington Manor.

Settlers came for a variety of reasons. At this time farmers in Britain were increasingly under pressure as foreign producers were becoming more able to compete for British markets. With the American Civil War over and rails being built, for example, American wheat could profitably reach places such as England to the detriment of producers there (Reader 1964). Many British farmers, therefore, were abandoning native soils for those in the new land. Other settlers had emigrated as a result of both famine and depression in Scotland and Ireland after 1849 (Beck 1984; Pugh 1980b) and spent time at various occupations in Eastern Canada prior to heading out to seek land of their own in the west. Some of those from Eastern Canada, like the Hills and Reverend Baldwin, had come from the United States as United Empire Loyalists (Beck 1984). All, however, had one thing in common: they saw the West as a tremendous opportunity and a land of promise (Pugh 1980b).

At the time, standard practice was for the male members of a family, usually fathers and older sons, to come out first, choose the family's land, and begin preparations for the arrival of the rest of the family. This usually entailed setting up some kind of shelter. After getting somewhat settled, the men would usually return to fetch wives and younger children (Beck 1984).

Many pioneer women's first sight of their new home was that of a tarpaper shack, or, in a few cases, a tent. In this, they were expected to keep their children warm and alive and the whole family fed. Added to this was the problem of isolation, particularly with cold weather approaching and few other women in the neighbourhood (Beck 1984). Mrs. Montgomery, who arrived with her husband in 1882 from Ontario, remembered

being overjoyed at her first visit from another woman, Mrs. Hindmarch (Montgomery 1930).

Though legendary sources sometimes claim that the town's founder, Captain Edward Michell Pierce (Figure 3.1), was the first settler in the area, most documents agree that the Pierce family arrived sometime after the initial settlers in the summer of 1882. Captain Pierce and his son Duncan came in advance of Pierce's wife, Lydia, and two of their daughters. Mrs. Pierce, Lydia (Lily), and Jessie Pierce arrived in January of that year. Another sister, Annie, had died of typhoid while in Toronto (Pierce Beckton 1930). A fourth sister, Frances, was visiting relatives in Buffalo. These same relatives would eventually try to convince the Pierces they would be better off in the United States, but Captain Pierce, perhaps enamoured with the "natural beauty of the area and the proximity to the wood, water, and wild game of the Moose Mountains" (Pugh 1980b:10), decided to file on the southwest quarter of Section 14, Township 9, Range 1, West of the Second Meridian.

The Pierce family would be a focal point in the community at Cannington until the death of the Captain in 1888. We are fortunate, as is often the case with prominent citizens and their families, to have some detailed information on the Pierce family, including the lives of the Pierce women. I apologise for falling into the pattern, once again, of giving more attention to the lives of the privileged. However, though the Pierce family's struggles should not be allowed to eclipse those of the other members of the community, it cannot be denied that without them Cannington would not have been the same. In addition, all three of the Pierce daughters, Jessie, Lily, and Frances, left

**Figure 3.1.** *Edward Michell Pierce. Photo courtesy of Thomas Beck.*



memoirs. These writings are a valuable representation of the lives of the English settlers, at least, and in particular the English women. As such, these writings will be of great importance to the upcoming discussions of both gender and class at Cannington. This being the case, some biographical elaboration is justified.

The Pierce family enjoyed a lifestyle of some means in England until a bank failure ruined them (Beck 1984; Pugh 1980b). The family, which included four sons and four daughters, subsequently came to Canada in the hopes of prospering there.

As a British citizen of the middle class who had fallen on hard times, Edward Pierce represented exactly the sort of person that the expansionists wanted in the new West. When Pierce first attempted to file his claim on the land he wanted, he discovered that the land had been withdrawn from settlement. He immediately returned to Toronto

and then Ottawa to request a meeting with government officials including Prime Minister John A. Macdonald himself (Pugh 1980b). The end result was that the land he was interested in was opened up temporarily for him. It has been noted that the officials he spoke to recognized him as the sort of person they wanted to “seed” the west with - a person who embodied British traditions and who would help to bring refinement and order to a fledgling community (Pugh 1980b). By all accounts he was a man of energy and forceful personality and considered himself well suited for fostering civilization in the far West. His efforts would influence the growth of the settlement immensely (Pugh 1980b).

His wife and daughters (Figures 3.2 and 3.3) would be of no less influence. Over time, they became instrumental in the construction of the town’s most cherished building, All Saints Anglican Church. Lydia Pierce would take on a leadership role in the community through her involvement in the Ladies Guild, which funded the aforementioned church and organized many other social and charitable activities. In the early years, the Pierce home was a gathering place for meetings and social functions. It fell to the Pierce women to feed and host all of the visitors who came seeking Edward Pierce’s ear. For a time they also fed the crews that were building the town’s many structures.

As the family settled in, Edward Pierce immediately went to work on a promise he had made to the Prime Minister back in Ottawa. He began dictating letters, destined for English newspapers, to his youngest daughter Jessie. These letters extolled the virtues of the prairies and encouraged the immigration of settlers like himself (Shaw Page 1924).





**Figure 3.2.** *Lydia Pierce. Photo courtesy of the Adam Shortt Library of Canadiana.*



**Figure 3.3.** *The Pierce sisters (left to right): Frances, Jessie, and Lydia (Lily). Photo courtesy of the Adam Shortt Library of Canadiana.*

His letters emphasized that, for very little money, large families could be supported in the lifestyle of “an old English squire” (letter of Captain Pierce’s to *The Yorkshire Gazette*, ca. 1886, quoted in Pugh 1980b:11). He would continue this campaign until his death.

Thomas Beck records in *Pioneers of Cannington Manor* that the winter of 1882-83 was one of low temperatures, high winds, and blizzards. His source of information is an early pioneer (Percy Fripp) who kept a diary in which he recorded the weather conditions and the temperature three times a day, morning, noon, and night (Fripp 1896). For many of the new settlers, this winter was spent hauling logs in anticipation of building real homes in the spring.

For the women who had had no prior experience with cooking or cleaning on their own (the English women making up the majority of this group), that first winter was spent as a long process of trial and error in the arts of housekeeping. It was often frustrating, and mistakes were costly as there would be no more supplies until spring. “Flour was precious. It not only cost money but had to be hauled 45 miles...so that I was not encouraged to experiment” (Pierce Beckton 1930). This process is also poignantly recorded by Frances Pierce who, fresh from England, found that her previous life and “sensible upbringing” had left her and her sisters completely unprepared for the duties they now faced: “I laugh now - but I cried, bitterly and with anguish to think of my fate in the future when I found out how frightfully and amazingly ignorant I was of even the simplest housework. I could drive and I could sew- we could all do that well. I could also sing and paint (mildly) but - I could not sweep a room or boil a potatoe [sic]! .... We

had been sensibly brought up too, so it was no fault of my mother's, herself well able to direct her half dozen women servants, so that 'at home' we only felt the benefit of well oiled machinery and little troubled ourselves as to its management" (Michell [Pierce] Page 1979:8).

Some Canadian women had already faced similar experiences on homesteads in the East. Mrs. Montgomery recalled her terror at her first experience of milking a cow on the farm of friends in Mitchell, Ontario, where she and her husband stayed prior to moving west (Beck 1984).

Those who were already familiar with the domestic arts put their knowledge to good use. Many women earned extra money by baking bread and doing laundry for bachelors and men whose wives had not yet come out (Beck 1984).

Some families had been forced to spend the winter in a tent, but spring brought the promise of building and seeding. With the warmer weather, Captain Pierce engaged Sam Whitlock and several other local settlers to help him build his house (Hewlett 1938). First attempts at ploughing were made, with the uninitiated providing much entertainment to the more experienced farmers (Beck 1984). Throughout the summer as the settlers built their homes Captain Pierce was formulating plans to build a town complete with mill, store, hotel - and church.

That fall, an archdeacon from Moosomin arrived and held a church service complete with baptisms in the Pierce's house. Around this time, according to the memoirs of Jessie Pierce Beckton, the Pierce women began to seriously agitate for the construction of a church for the new community (Pierce Beckton 1930). While Captain Pierce was making plans for a town, the women began writing letters to both friends and

charitable organizations in England for financial help in building a church (Beck 1984). This campaign would eventually succeed in financing the building of the church and the vicarage in 1884 and 1885, with Captain Pierce donating the land for both.

Back during his days in Toronto and Ottawa, Captain Pierce had conceived the idea of founding an English settlement, where men of limited means could provide for their families and find opportunities for their sons (Pierce Beckton 1930). Such a scheme meshed perfectly with his perceived role as a builder of civilization on the prairie. By 1884, plans for the new settlement were falling into place. Robert Montague Bird, an acquaintance of Captain Pierce's from England, was persuaded to come to the new land and invest some much needed capital in the construction of the town. The Pierces' own supply of capital had been exhausted by the move out (Beck 1884; Pugh 1980b).

One day in spring, Captain Pierce got settler Harry Keal (who would one day raise thoroughbred horses for members of the Beckton brothers) to meet him at a chosen spot and to bring his plough. He had Keal plough one furrow in a line running approximately east-west, and another just south of it. Those two ploughed lines were the main street of Captain Pierce's "city" (Pierce Beckton 1930:33). The astute observer will note that the town's main street slants in southeasterly direction away from the grid road allowance, this being because the town was never surveyed, and in fact was laid out in the manner just described.

The name Cannington was taken from that of the manor of Cannington in Somerset, England. Pierce chose it because his mother was a descendant of one of the knights of William the Conqueror, who had been awarded the Manor of Cannington in England and had made his home there. The village was to be called simply

“Cannington”, but it was found that the name was already in use in Ontario. “Manor” was added to avoid confusion and mail mix-ups, so that “in place of the manor of Cannington in England, there came to be Cannington Manor in Canada” (Pierce Beckton 1930:27).

Building commenced in earnest. For many of the settlers, work at Cannington took up a tremendous amount of the summer of 1884. William Lees spent most of the summer breaking the land for others but not for himself. He broke sixty acres for Captain Pierce, and five each for the Hill brothers, who were working on the Church at the time.

All Saints Anglican Church (Figure 3.4), as it would come to be called, was constructed over the years 1884-1885. Many members of the community had a hand in building it.

The Canadian settlers had among them many accomplished carpenters. The initial woodwork for the Church was done by a man by the name of Cornell; he left for Chicago in 1885 and two of the Hill brothers were given the contract to finish (Hewlett 1938). Charles Pryce made the choir stalls. Pryce would eventually become known as “the city contractor” (Pryce 1940), as he worked on many of the town’s other buildings. Tom Downey and William Moore both burned lime for the church. Tom Downey became quite famous in this regard, as his lime was considered excellent throughout the district and the remains of one of his lime kilns is still to be found today. He was also a blacksmith of some repute. James Hindmarch, William Anderson, and the Hills all may have worked on the Church’s two chimneys. The Pierce boys contributed as well, hauling logs to the building site from Moose Mountain.





**Figure 3.4.** *All Saints Anglican Church, circa 1930. Photo courtesy of the Adam Shortt Library of Canadiana.*

Construction activities were not simply the domain of the men. Typically, when a large job was at hand, the women would move to the site with their husbands to do the cooking and laundry - and everything else they normally did, but in a different place. Though their duties probably included mainly providing food for the builders, they may also have worked on construction “as there were many jobs they were capable of performing” (Beck 1984: 20).

The overall financing of the church was the result of the efforts of the newly-formed Ladies Guild, which had successfully campaigned to raise sufficient funds. Wages for construction work at Cannington ran about \$2.00 to \$2.50 per day, although

the builders typically charged less for the construction of the church. Wages were paid by the Ladies Guild, with checks signed by Lydia Pierce (Pryce 1940).

All Saints Anglican Church was consecrated on June 26, 1885 (Beck 1980). A Vicarage would be constructed in 1886 (Pugh 1980b). Reverend Walter St. John Field was the first Parson and remained as such until 1888.

The Church was of prime importance throughout Cannington's history, and this continues into modern times. Today, All Saints is the last original building of the old settlement still standing. It is still used by members of the community during selected Sundays in the summer. In the past, it was the first thing the settlers thought of building, even while their very success in the new land was still hanging in the balance. All Saints Anglican Church is the most researched, most talked about, and most photographed building at Cannington, which is a testament to the importance it held and continues to hold in the community.

By 1885, several more families and individuals had arrived. Hume Robertson, in particular, was welcome as he was able to provide full-time blacksmithing services to the village.

Included in these arrivals was an influx of newcomers of a different nature. One of Captain Pierce's enterprising ideas was to run an Agricultural School, or "pup farm" (Pugh 1980b:13), as it was called. For 100 pounds a year, a young man could come to Canada and learn how to be a farmer.

The fact that the men running this school were barely farmers themselves was a major weakness of the plan. Captain Pierce solved this problem by hiring Scotty Bryce, a settler from Scotstown, as his foreman. Scotty Bryce was later heard to remark that he

was relieved when the young men took to tennis so that he could get some work done (Pugh 1980b). The type of pupils the school attracted were generally young men of middle to upper class origins who, for whatever reason, needed to learn to provide for themselves. Canada was thought to be the best place for them to do it. Though some would eventually succeed as farmers, not all “made good”; a few were inclined to be “a little wild” (Hewlett 1930). However, for the most part the boys acted the part of gentlemen and were welcome in the homes of the English ladies.

Charles Couper, who arrived in 1886, was an alumnus of the School. As he says, his father “wisely cut me off without a cent” (Couper 1920:7) and sent him to Canada to learn to fend for himself. He describes at length his opinions of the “pup farm” in his memoir *Forty-five Years in Canada* (Couper 1920). The young men were often frustrated at being given work such as weeding and hoeing, but Couper admits that the arts of driving a team and other coveted activities required some skill. The young men were wisely prevented from undertaking such activities before they were ready.

Meanwhile construction on the rest of the town went full swing throughout 1885. Most of the crew that had worked on the church also helped put up the mill. After the energies of the Pierce girls were worn out from feeding workers at their home (Pierce Beckton 1930), Mrs. Sam Whitlock and Mrs. Harry Whitlock decided to take on the onerous task of supplying food to the workers. A small shack was built near the Mill especially for that purpose. Meals were had in shifts, with the women working constantly to keep everyone fed (Beck 1984).

In November of 1885, one of the Pierce sisters, Frances, married Spencer Page in what was the first wedding celebrated at All Saints (Pierce Beckton 1930).



In the nineteenth century, the signing of treaties with First Nations groups had been mandated by the British government, who saw the “legal” process of negotiation for lands with First Nations groups to be ethically preferable and less likely to result in the kind of blood shed that had been experienced in the United States. The meanings the treaties would hold for both sides were poorly understood and debate over them continues today. Understanding was compromised by the European negotiators’ conviction that assimilation of First Nations groups into a settled agricultural way of life and conversion to European religions was the ultimate goal. This goal was obviously not consistent with First Nations goals or their traditional way of life (Barry 1999). Moose Mountain is considered to be in Treaty Area Number 2. This treaty was signed in 1871 at Fort Ellice, to the north of Moose Mountain. The First Nations populations that the residents of Cannington would eventually have the most contact with were the White Bear people, whose reserve area was in the easternmost portion of Moose Mountain. The White Bear people, as mentioned in Chapter One, signed Treaty Number 4 at Fort Qu’Appelle in 1874 but requested lands in Moose Mountain. Cannington residents undoubtedly would also have had contact with First Nations groups from the Pheasant Rump reserve to the west, although the documents examined for this project speak mainly of relations between Cannington residents and the White Bear reserve.

At this time, the Riel Resistance was causing some consternation among farming communities. Cannington documents generally hold that there was a great deal of debate among First Nations peoples on the White Bear reserve as to whether or not to join in with Riel and his troops, but that Chief White Bear eventually convinced his people not to fight.

The Pierces were visited often by Chief White Bear and members of his group, and their relationship was held as one of mutual respect (Pugh 1980b). The relationship between Cannington residents and First Nations populations is one that has not been explored in great detail for this project. However, a complex web of relationships did exist. The Pierce's friendship with Chief White Bear and his family is one such relationship. As well, many of Cannington's then-bachelors recalled visiting and developing strong friendships with First Nations peoples in the White Bear reserve. During parts of Cannington's history, conditions on the reserves became critical, with people on the verge of starvation; members of the Cannington community were noted to have sent food and supplies during these times. As well, connections with the White Bear reserve were present in an economic sense; John Turton, for example, was contracted at one point to supply the reserve with beef, and mention is made in the documentary records of various Cannington residents serving as Indian Affairs Agents. The role of First Nations peoples in the development of Cannington's history has not been examined extensively here; however, the role that these relationships played in the whole of Cannington's social structure is an important consideration for future scholars of Cannington Manor.

An early frost had destroyed many crops in the fall of 1885 (Beck 1984). This, in combination with the unrest surrounding the Riel Resistance, nearly halted the flow of settlers arriving in the spring and summer of 1886. However, construction continued and was paid for in its entirety by the Moose Mountain Trading Company. By the middle of 1886, the Mill was in operation. The first operators were T. McIntyre and W.H. Eaton. They would later teach young Englishmen like Sydney Brockman to run the mill (Beck

1984, Pugh 1980b). Harold Fripp was the Mill's last operator. His flour would eventually win a gold medal at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893.

In this same year (1886), Robert Bird went back to England for a visit and returned with both his brother Harry and a gentleman by the name of Ernest Maltby. Ernest Maltby had been a civil servant in India. Several bouts with malaria forced him to seek drier climes, and so he found himself in Cannington. Both he and Harry Bird joined the Moose Mountain Trading Company as partners (Pugh 1908b).

The village was coming along: the vicarage was up, as were stables for the same, and the hotel was underway. Once again carpenters from the surrounding area, in particular "Scotstown", were called upon for construction work. The roster of settlers who helped build buildings at Cannington was completed by names such as Moore, McQueen, Beattie, and Weatherald (Pugh 1980b).

Construction continued to absorb the time and energy of both the men and women of the settlement. The Pierce girls, relieved of the duty of feeding the men, were still often asked to watch several youngsters at a time while the children's mothers were working (Pierce Beckton 1930; Beck 1984).

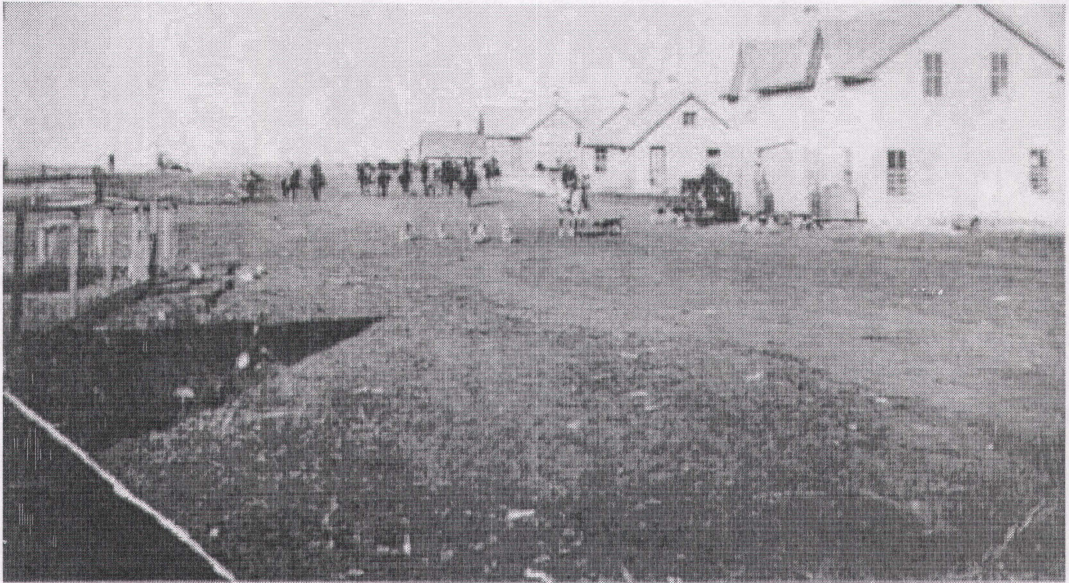
Construction was going on outside the town as well. Henry Brockman, who had been in the area for some years by this time, decided to build a stone house. For this, he hired A. W. Anderson, a well known stonemason (Beck 1984).

As work wound down for the year each fall, settlers eagerly returned to their homesteads to complete tasks there that had been waiting all summer (Beck 1984). For Canadian women used to supplying most of their families' needs on their own, the round of duties on the homestead included many different activities. Once sheep were

available, many women made their own yarn. Cloth had to be purchased, and like everything else in the early days it was hard to get. Sewing took a great deal of time. In preparing to come out west, women had to be wary of the possibility that clothes could be hard to come by and that children would be constantly growing. As many extras as possible were brought and women shared what they had with neighbours whenever they could. As Mrs. William Brayford later remembered, "I had two or three coats when I come out but I soon got them cut up for the children, and sometimes Mrs. Colborn would give me if she had an extra one given her, the bachelors she washed for gave her things sometimes" (Hewlett 1944). Improvisation was also common. More than one mention was made of all the children in a family being clothed in garments made from old flour sacks: "[t]he first letters the children learned were the flour bag letters across their little stomachs" (Mrs. William Brayford, quoted in Hewlett 1940:1). When faced with the prospect of constant sewing, a ready-made garment was a welcome break: "[h]ow I made their clothes is a mystery I have often wondered since. How thankful I was for anything *made!*" (Mrs. Cudmore, quoted in McLellan 1959).

In addition to keeping their families fed and clothed, early settler women contributed to the income of the family through their labour in the home and on the farm. As mentioned before, many women did baking and laundry for unmarried men. They also made butter and gathered eggs which could be sold to the town. The store would give out cash for goods. The bachelors often paid in potatoes or flour (Beck 1984).





**Figure 3.5.** *Hunt at Cannington Manor in 1890. looking west. Photo courtesy of Thomas Beck.*



**Figure 3.6.** *Artist's rendition of the photograph in Figure 3.5 (Hunt at Cannington Manor 1890, looking west). All Saints Anglican Church in left foreground. Moose Mountain Trading Company Store in right foreground, followed by Robert Bird's house, the Mitre Hotel, and the blacksmith's house. The carpenter's house is in the left background. Photo courtesy of Thomas Beck.*



By 1888 the town boasted a hotel (the Mitre), a blacksmith's shop, a teacherage, the Moose Mountain Trading Company Store, Ernest Maltby's house, and "The Green House" which belonged to Robert Bird (Figures 3.5 and 3.6) (Beck 1984; Pugh 1980b).

In the spring of 1888, the first of several families "of means" began to arrive. These families would bring in much needed money to the settlement as well as a middle-class lifestyle previously unheard of at Cannington. Their coming was the fruition of many years of letter-writing for Captain Pierce. At last, here were the English "men of moderate means" (Pugh 1980b: 15) who would build a community based on English values at Cannington.

In addition to writing letters to English newspapers, Captain Pierce had been busy trying to make sure the rail line would pass through his town, thus securing Cannington's future. There was already some resistance to this plan on the part of CPR officials (Pugh 1980b). However, the Captain was known for getting his way. As Jessie Pierce Beckton recalled, "I wrote many of the letters for him, both to the Old Country and the New. The object was to bring the rail service through the district...this was already promised, but with his [Pierce's] support gone, political influence brought about a change of plan" (Pierce Beckton 1930:55). There were many who felt that, had the Captain been given more time, he would have succeeded in making his settlement a success. Charles Couper wrote in his memoir "...there is no doubt in my mind that, if he had lived a few more years, the CPR would have built the rail through Cannington..." (Couper 1920:3). However, it was not to be.

On May 10, 1888, Captain Pierce suffered a stroke and became seriously ill. On June 20, 1888, after another mild stroke, he passed away. His health had been indifferent

for many years (Pierce Beckton 1930), so this was the culmination of a long battle with illness. Without him, the rail would not come through, and without the rail, the town was ultimately doomed to failure. However, with the arrival of the new English settlers and their capital, the town would enjoy a period of intense prosperity, construction, and social enjoyment that would belie its uncertain future.

### ***3.2.2 Heyday of the English “Musical” and “Sporting” Sets***

Just before Captain Pierce’s death, James Humphrys arrived from England with his son Ernest to start construction of their new home near Cannington. This house was to be the first of the Cannington houses built on a grand scale (see Chapter 6). James Humphrys had been a successful shipbuilder as well as the manager of the Brush Electric Light Company in England (Pugh 1980a). Unfortunately his health, like Captain Pierce’s, was not good and after a lengthy vacation in which he attempted to recover from illness, he found that his position at the Brush Company had not been held for him. He saw Canada as a place where he could live well and support his large family on a small income (Pugh 1980a).

The family of James Humphrys joined him in October of 1888. Jane Humphrys had spent her last days in England frantically packing the family’s essentials and disposing of what could not be taken with them. Her eldest daughter Mary had been at art school in Stuttgart, Germany. She was called away from school and came directly from Germany to the boat waiting to take them to England (Humphrys 1977a). The family had five girls and five boys altogether (Pugh1980a).

Other newcomers included Mr. and Mrs. Hanson, with three sons and a daughter, Mr. and Mrs. A.H. Field (not to be confused with Reverend St. John Field) and their two daughters, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Baker, Mrs. Pigott and her three sons, Mr. and Mrs. Stanier with seven sons and two daughters, and Mrs. Sheldon-Williams, with three sons and two daughters (Pierce Beckton 1930). The Sheldon-Williams were a talented family; one son would go on to be an artist of some repute; and a daughter would win honours in Regina for educational work later in life (Beck 1984). Mrs. Sheldon-Williams was noted as a shrewd businesswoman when it came to running her farm. Her husband had died before they left England (Robertson 1930).

Many of these newcomers, the Hansons and Pigotts in particular, hired local people to build impressive stone residences for them. All had hopes of making an independent living from farm holdings. Of all these, the Staniers were the only ones who had actually lived this lifestyle before (Pugh 1980b). Mr. Stanier had farmed 700 rented acres in Shropshire. He, like many others, was finding it increasingly difficult to compete as a farmer in England (Pugh 1980b), hence his removal to Canada. The Stanier house was modeled on those in England, but was built of logs rather than stone in order to be more efficient in cold weather.

At this time, Ernest and Billy Beckton, who had been pupils at Captain Pierce's school, went back to England and returned with their younger brother Herbert (Pierce Beckton 1930). They now had considerable financial resources at their disposal. How this came to be is not clear. Some say the boys held shares in a seemingly worthless mine that suddenly became valuable (Beck 1984). Others say they came into their



inheritance upon the death of their grandfather (Pierce Beckton 1930). At any rate, they were now able to live and build on a grand scale.

The Becktons built a residence called Didsbury, or “the Ranch”, on land just east of the town of Cannington. Many local men and women were hired including James Hindmarch, a man named Grayson (another local stonemason), Charles Pryce, and Joseph Newman. As before, the wives of men on the construction crew came with their husbands to the building site. The house itself was a massive stone structure that included a billiard room and extensive sleeping quarters for the Beckton’s many guests. A complex of stables and a foreman’s house was built. The Becktons had a passionate interest in horses that they meant to indulge. Harry Keal became foreman and he and his wife and daughter lived in the foreman’s house.

Joseph Newman, who did a great deal of the carpentry for the Beckton Stables, had arrived at Cannington sometime before 1887 (Beck 1984). While working for the Becktons, he built himself a home on the Ranch property. He later moved this shack into the town of Cannington and became the town carpenter.

By 1889, the village had reached its full expansion. A school/town hall, land titles office and teacherage had been added to the existing mill, hotel, church, parsonage, Trading Company store, Bird and Maltby houses, blacksmith’s house and shop, and carpenter’s house and shop. Also included were the homes of Billy Wiggins and Harry King, both of whom hauled freight for the Moose Mountain Trading Company.

Prior to the construction of the schoolhouse most English children were taught at home, usually by elder sisters. Children of Canadian settlers in the surrounding district had been taught for some time, usually in whatever building was handy (including

granaries), by local women. However, it was decided a schoolhouse in town was needed. Among the first trustees were Mr. Humphrys and Robert M. Bird (Pugh 1980b). The schoolhouse was also meant to double as a location for community entertainments.

By this time the children of settlers who had come out in the early years were growing up and getting married. No less than six marriages were recorded in 1889. Among these were the marriage of Tom Brayford, who returned to England to bring his childhood sweetheart back with him, and the marriage of Jessie Pierce to Ernest Beckton (Beck 1984).

Babies were being born to both English and Canadian families. At this time births and sicknesses were attended by the women of the district. In the early years, Mrs. McQueen delivered most of the babies in the Scotstown district (Beck 1984). Mrs. Hindmarch and Mrs. John Moore delivered babies for each other and for many of their neighbours. Illness, injury, and deaths were also attended by neighbourhood women. Mrs. Drinnan was called to nurse Mrs. Dallas and her two children in what was undoubtedly one of the saddest incidents in the district history; the mother and children were caught in a prairie fire which, assisted by the wind, changed direction unexpectedly. Both mother and children eventually died.

Many settlement women would go to offer assistance to neighbours when someone was sick or injured, even if it was just to take care of things until everyone was better. Untimely deaths were common in the early days, especially of children and babies. Mrs. Flora Forsythe was the granddaughter of town carpenter Joseph Newman. She and her three sisters lived with their grandfather and grandmother in the town. One of their many jobs was to line the coffins their grandfather built: “[w]e girls had the job of lining the

coffins. Yes, children worked as a matter of course then. How we used to cry if it was a little one, for a dear baby. As it so often was” (Hewlett 1938).

In 1889, the first professional doctor arrived at the settlement. Dr. Hardy came out west at the request of Mr. Humphrys. He found he was a welcome addition to the settlement and was kept very busy (Pierce Beckton 1930).

The years after 1888 are generally noted as being the heyday of the settlement in terms of entertainment, fairs, and sports. During the days of the Pierces, several musical and dramatic evenings were held. The tradition of holding an Agricultural Fair with horse races had been started. Picnic trips to the nearby Moose Mountain were also common for the English settlers (Pierce Beckton 1943). With the arrival of the new, middle-class crowd of English, however, these entertainments would take on the legendary qualities for which they are known today.

Two crowds could be said to have existed among the English at Cannington, the “musical” set and the “sporting” set. These two groups were by no means mutually exclusive. They tended to circulate around the poles of the Humphrys and Hansons on the musical side and the Becktons on the sporting side, but many individuals no doubt enjoyed attending the entertainments of both.

The Church was one of the focal points for musical endeavours. Various members of Cannington society contributed their talents as organists and singers over the years. Lily Pierce was the church’s first organist (Pierce Beckton 1930). Ernest Humphrys was the organist and choirmaster for some time. He also organized what was called a “Toy Symphony”, which was the delight of many social gatherings.

A Glee Club was formed by the musical members of the community. They took turns meeting at the various English homes for a “sing-song” (Maltby 1938). Mrs. Hanson and Mr. Humphrys were usually the organizers of such events. Mr. Baker was noted as an excellent violinist (Humphrys 1930). James Humphrys was well noted for playing the flute, in fact, he was considered at one time to have been the finest flautist in England (Humphrys 1977b).

Theatrical entertainments were popular. In the early years they were conducted in tents but by the late 1880s they were held in the School/Town hall. These entertainments were widely attended and even warranted newspaper coverage, such as in the *Manitoba Free Press* of August 1, 1892: “A concert and miscellaneous entertainment was given in the Town Hall under the auspices of the Ladies Guild, which was a great success and much appreciated by a densely packed audience. The novel feature of the entertainment was a band, called by some, The Cannington Manor Lunatic Band, under the leadership of Mr. Hanson, composed of piano, violin, banjos, tom-toms, bones, triangle, and last but by no means least, “musical combs.” The effect of this combination was surprisingly fine and loudly applauded” (*Manitoba Free Press*, August 1, 1892, quoted in Humphrys 1977b).

Musical entertainments were not the only recreational events enjoyed by the socialites of Cannington Manor. Dances, parties, and even balls were common. Mrs. Humphrys in particular was fond of entertaining. Martha Pritchard, who was maid for the Humphrys for a year before moving on to the United States, bemoaned the extra work this invariably caused for her: “[s]he is never happy unless surrounded by visitors. There’s very often people to luncheon, tea, or dinner, not forgetting the dances. There

were about seventy people to a dance in July. They looked like a lot of fools coming to be fed.” (Morgan 1892).

Entertainments at the Humphrys were popular, but theirs was not the only residence able to accommodate a large party. Other dances, complete with formal evening dress, were held at places such as the Ranch and Mrs. Pigott’s house (Hewlett 1971).

Not all dances required formal dress, however. Charles Couper recalls that “...there were dances, the English variety, where we went in evening dress with boiled shirt and all the fixings, and the Canadian dances which were largely square dances” (Couper 1920:38). The Hotel often was a popular place for the square dances. Mrs. Kinsey, who was formerly Mrs. George Perry and ran the Hotel with her husband for a number of years, recalls “...girls in hotel dances would be farmer’s daughters. Not the English people” (Brockman 1930). Apparently, then, there were entertainments that were more specific to English and Canadian settlers, although clearly there was mobility between the two for at least some people, the bachelors being a prime example. Charles Couper, at least, remembers attending both kinds of entertainments.

The “sporting set” revolved around the Beckton brothers and their now famous thoroughbred racing stable. The Becktons imported many fine bloodlines and their racing colours were a common sight on tracks around the West. It was the Becktons who hired Amos Kinsey to select and grade a permanent race track near the town. The track could be used for both flat courses and steeplechases. It was completed with a grandstand and a judge’s box. The annual Race Week was a highlight of Cannington’s many events.

The Becktons, too, organized regular hunt outings. Families that participated were asked to give a breakfast, after which the hunt would mount up and follow the dogs out for a day's sport over the prairie. Both men and women participated, although Jessie Pierce Beckton, who was by now chatelaine of Didsbury, recalls that "...I was not encouraged to follow...the chase was considered somewhat dangerous unless you were very sure of yourself in the saddle" (Pierce Beckton 1930:75). Mary Humphrys (who had become Mrs. Ernest Maltby in 1892), Mrs. L. Scaife (a daughter of the Hansons), and Mary Bird were among those who were reported to enjoyed following the hunt (Pierce Beckton 1930).

If dancing, singing, or fox hunting was not to one's taste, there were several other options from which to choose. Chess was a popular pastime, particularly for the bachelors, as was rugby. A Rifleman's Club was formed in the mid 1890s. Outdoor sports like hunting were considered ideal pastimes for men of means in British society (Pugh 1980b). A cricket club also held regular matches.

Ernest Maltby was reportedly an excellent cricket player. He also excelled at tennis. Several families, the Humphrys and the Maltbys included, had tennis courts situated near their homes. Ernest Maltby's court, situated to the east of his home in the town, was a place where the partners in the Moose Mountain Trading Company could often be found relaxing with a game of tennis.

The first Agricultural Fair was held in 1887 (Beck 1984). Fair Days rounded out the list of amusements available to the citizens of Cannington. Prizes were to be had for all sorts of agricultural produce, as well as ladies' fancy work, and competition was

fierce. Fair Days usually brought people from the entire region into the town. The day was usually capped off with horse races, dances, and other parties.

### ***3.2.3 Decline of the Town***

Despite the town's never-ending whirl of social activities, things were not going well in an economic sense. The price of wheat steadily declined from 1888 onward and reached an all-time low in 1894. Not surprisingly, fewer and fewer settlers immigrated during this time, although bachelors continued to come out fairly regularly (Pugh 1980b). In 1896, this tide turned somewhat, but substantial improvements were not realized in the Northwest until at least 1899-1900.

Many of the citizens of Cannington began to struggle financially. In 1892 James Humphrys asked his wife Jane to secure a loan of some 150 pounds from an unspecified source while she was visiting in England (Pugh 1980a). As an aside, the financial contributions of Cannington's women to the settlement endeavour have largely gone unsung, particularly the contributions made to the income of a farm through women's own labour. In the case of some of Cannington's English, however, financial contributions of women appear to have been even more substantial. The work of the Pierce women in raising funds for the Church has already been mentioned. It is also interesting to note, as well, that both James Humphrys and Edward Pierce's depleted financial situations were such that their moves to Canada were, in large part, funded by monies belonging to their wives through estates or inheritances. In the case mentioned

above, as well, it would appear that Jane was responsible for securing more monies to help support the family's farming experiment.

James Humphrys, despite depleted resources, was still determined to make his venture successful (Pugh 1980a). Perhaps to this end he embarked upon an attempt at industry. This took the form of a sausage factory. A stone structure was built in 1894 to the east of the Humphrys' residence to house this operation. The business lasted only about a year (Pugh 1980a). Many reasons were given to explain why this endeavour did not succeed. One rumour has it that a bad shipment of pork finished the business.

Another rumour claims that James stubbornly refused to spice the sausages according to Canadian tastes (Humphrys 1977b). However, the truth may simply have been that Mr. Humphrys simply could not get enough pork from the surrounding area to meet demands, nor could he raise it on his own. James also had several of his sons as well as a few local men doing the distasteful job of slaughtering the pigs for him. His sons' refusal to continue this activity may also have been part of the reason for the pork plant's decline (Pugh 1980a).

Other attempts at industry were made. In 1895 a meeting was held at the house of John Turton to propose the construction of two cheese factories in the area (Beck 1984). Shares were sold to many members of the community. Unfortunately, the supply of milk was not reliable enough to make the experiment a success. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, market prices were far too low to make any profits (Hewlett 1960b).

Despite economic difficulties, many of the residents of Cannington were surviving if not exactly prospering and many of them did make it through the lean years before



1900. Despite the improved economic climate that was just around the corner, however, a number of circumstances would spell the demise of the town of Cannington itself.

A CPR rail line was extended from Brandon to Estevan in 1892. This may have caused many farmers from the south and west to travel along the rail line instead of bringing their goods north to Cannington as they had done in the past (Pugh 1980a). In the fall of 1900, a branch line reached Manor, some 16 km south of Cannington. This was the final blow to the dream of getting the rail into Cannington. In 1909 a line would be extended through Parkman, Service, and Maryfield, and would pass quite close to the town. The year 1909, however, was far too late for Cannington (Pugh 1980b).

The loss of the rail had drastic implications for the Moose Mountain Trading Company, and henceforth the town it had built. The two Bird brothers sold their interest in the company to Ernest Maltby, who moved the store and his family to Manor. He and Mary Maltby would eventually depart for British Columbia in 1909. The Mill operated until 1905. After it closed down, many of the town's buildings were either salvaged for lumber or moved to more prosperous communities.

Many factors besides the loss of the rail conspired to bring about the end of the town. The lure of the Klondike drew many young men away from Cannington in 1898, as did the Boer War in 1900-1902 (Pugh 1980b). In addition, many of the English families who had supplied a ready infusion of cash into the area began to leave for various reasons. James Humphrys died in January of 1903, and Jane took the remaining unmarried members of her family and moved to Vancouver (Pugh 1980a). In 1901, Dr. Hardy, who had married one of the Humphrys daughters, moved to Carlyle. The Pigotts, Mr. and Mrs. R.M.Bird, Cecil LeMesurier, the Troughtons, and Sidney Brockman all

succumbed to the lure of more temperate climates and moved to British Columbia. The Fields left for San Francisco. The Hansons, Staniers, Bakers, and Jack Dawson returned to England (Pugh 1980b). In 1897, the Becktons also left for England. Cannington's last Race Week was held that same year.

The era when the town of Cannington was a vital, thriving English Community was over. However, the history of the town did not end with the demolishing of most its buildings. All Saints Anglican Church, for one, was still standing, and still in use. The School/Town Hall was still in use as a school and meeting place into the 1920s. Not all the members of the Cannington community had departed, nor had their story ended with the demise of the town. Farmers and settlers of both Canadian and English origin had survived the lean economic times and would find prosperity in the early part of the twentieth century. These people would look to the town's glory days as a source of stories, jokes, and lore; they would also see it as an important part of the story of their own community as it evolved through the twentieth century and on into the present day.

#### ***3.2.4 Legends Begin to Grow, 1905-1960***

The English had gone. But life in the community continued. Services were still held at All Saints Anglican Church. Where Pierces, Hansons, and Humphrys had once sung, however, now Hewletts and Weatheralds filled the pews (Hewlett 1960b). Arthur Hewlett was a bachelor who, though of English origins, had left Cannington for some years to learn farming in Ontario and had returned to apply himself diligently to homesteading. He purchased the Humphrys' large house in 1904 (Pugh1980a).

Referring to it as “my old barn,” (Hewlett 1970:40) he proceeded to block up many of the rooms in an attempt to minimize the large house’s terrible heating problems.

In January 1912, he brought his new wife, Annie Elizabeth May (Brown) Hewlett, to live on the farm. Annie Elizabeth May had arrived from England in 1911 to teach school (Hewlett 1970). Along with their three children, the couple would farm the land and raise cattle for many years. Annie was the first of two individuals who would arrive in the community and help shape the meaning of Cannington in public opinion in the years to come.

A.E.M. Hewlett quickly fell in love with the new land in which she was living (Hewlett 1970). With her husband, she attended church at All Saints with other farming families. She began to hear the tales and stories of the old town of Cannington Manor and was fascinated by them. Having shown literary talent at a young age (Pugh 1980a), she channelled her curiosity into the writing and collecting of stories about Cannington in what would eventually become a lifetime pursuit. In the 1930s, after her children became more independent, she was able to put the stories and reminiscences she had collected to good use. Over the years she wrote many articles for newspapers, but her greatest contributions to public images of Cannington were realized in the 1930s and 1940s. In 1939 she wrote several scripts for CBC Radio in which she described the history of Cannington, its English origins, its daily life, social activities and sports, and the role of women. These writings were based on numerous conversations she had had with Cannington pioneers both in person and by mail. The talks reached a wide audience and in fact Jessie Pierce Beckton was even able to tune in from England (Pierce Beckton 1934).

In 1939-40, Hewlett also published several articles in *The Saskatchewan Farmer*, detailing life at Cannington and expounding on the memories of Cannington's many "old-timers." These articles would also shape public images of Cannington and its community.

In 1926, 17-year old Thomas Beck arrived in Cannington Manor. He was born in West Hartlepool, County Durham, England (Beck 1984). He went to work for Fred Turton, the son of John Turton, to learn farming. In 1930 he married Ethel Fripp, daughter of Harold Fripp. If you will recall, Harold Fripp was the miller at Cannington whose flour won first prize at the Chicago World's fair in 1893. Mr. Beck took over farming in 1950. He and Ethel had two sons, Ronald and Harold.

Thomas Beck was another person who developed an early fascination with the town of Cannington and the lives of the pioneers who built it. He was instrumental, along with Mrs. Hewlett and others, in getting the town site recognized as a Historic Park. His story continues with the transformation of Cannington from a deserted village to a historic tourist attraction.

### ***3.2.5 Creation of a Historic Park***

As a result of efforts from locally interested groups and in preparation for the province's Diamond Jubilee, the Government of Saskatchewan purchased the land on which the village site rested in 1963 (Gibson 1978). In preparation for the designation of the site as a Provincial Park, several individuals, Thomas Beck among them, were commissioned to find and outline the locations of all Cannington's buildings (Gibson

1978). Fieldstones were used to mark out the suspected outlines of structures. Several Cannington “old-timers” were consulted as to the exact locations of the old buildings. Some remains had visible depressions, while the locations of other structures were more difficult to reconstruct. At any rate, these early pioneers (pioneers in the creation of a Historic Park, that is) did the best they could to re-create Cannington as it had been. Thomas Beck was the first operator of the Historic Park, becoming so in 1965. His son, Harold, would follow in his footsteps.

Several buildings were reconstructed over the next 12 years. In addition to All Saints Anglican Church, the only original building left standing, the “town” now had a reconstructed blacksmith’s shop, carpenter’s house and shop, and Maltby house. The Maltby house was reconstructed as an early incarnation of itself; the original had been added onto and as such was, at one point, much larger than the reconstruction. The mill foundations were also reconstructed. A schoolhouse that had been built on the site in the 1920s was converted into a museum.

Thomas Beck retired from being park supervisor in 1974. After this, he worked for the Government for three years as an independent researcher on Cannington history. The results of his research were two booklets, one on All Saints and one the history of Kenosee Lake. As well, he wrote the previously-mentioned “Pioneers of Cannington Manor” (see Chapter Three). In his writings, and especially in his role as Park Supervisor for many years, Thomas Beck contributed much to the public image and perception of the little English Colony.

### *3.2.6 Cannington Manor Today*

Today, trees have grown up around the town site (Figure 3.7). Cannington Manor is a Provincial Historic Park under the jurisdiction of what is called, at the time of the writing of this thesis, Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management. Every summer, from Wednesday to Monday, the Park is open to the public. Much of its traffic is drawn from the nearby resort at Kenosee Lake, which boasts a golf course, camping, boating, cabins, and interpretive programs. Summer employees dress in period costume and bake bread in the Carpenter's house. They also make old-fashioned rope in front of the Arthur LeMesurier House. This house was moved into the village sometime after 1978. The guides tell tourists and visiting school groups about the history of Cannington. Over a summer, the Park usually employs three to four tour guides, as well as maintenance crews, and, occasionally, archaeologists.

With the exception of Didsbury and the Humphrys (now the Humphrys/Hewlett) house, most of Cannington's larger stone residences, the ones that belonged to the wealthy English, have been reduced to foundations or been bulldozed. Tourists used to be allowed to visit Didsbury and the Humphrys/Hewlett house. They are located on private land, however, and eventually owners understandably became concerned about tourists roving all over their fields and poking in dangerously dilapidated old houses. The Humphrys/Hewlett house, however, has recently undergone structural renovation and may once again be opened to the public.

### **3.2.7 Conclusions**

The history of Cannington Manor stretches from its origins in the settlement policies of Western expansionism, to its physical and historical life as a settlement community and an unusual English experiment, to its presentation as a Historic Park for tourism, and finally to its life as an object of study and research by interested historians, archaeologists, and collectors of tall tales. This thesis is both a product of the accumulated history of Cannington as well as one part of its continuing history.



**Figure 3.7.** *Cannington Manor in 2001, looking west, from the same location as the photo in Figure 3.5. Yard of All Saints Anglican Church in the left foreground. Reconstructed Blacksmith's shop in right background. Photo taken by author.*

*Dedicated to honour pioneers of Cannington Manor 1882-1895. From Eastern Canada, Manitoba and Britain they came to take up homesteads. Skilled craftsmen among them built church, grist mill, village and other large establishments of the English Colony. The faith, endurance, and neighbourliness of these splendid men of all faiths, their wives, sons and daughters, laid the true foundations of the west.*

*-Cannington monument located inside the gate at All Saints Anglican Church*

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **ENGLISH AND CANADIAN, PAST AND PRESENT: MULTIPLE VISIONS OF “CANNINGTON MANOR”**

Part of what fascinates people about Cannington Manor and its “English experiment” comes from that experiment’s diametric opposition to the realities of Saskatchewan life, both past and present. Images of luxury, riches, beautiful clothes, fancy tableware and elegant parties contrast sharply with images of pushing a plough through stubborn earth, harvesting under a hot autumn sun or milking irritable cows on dark winter mornings. The “life of leisure” and the peccadilloes of the people who



pursued it are a welcome diversion from the everyday in Saskatchewan, and it is perhaps for this reason that stories of Cannington Manor are of perennial interest.

As well, images of wealthy, pampered aristocrats provide an excellent foil for people who hold hard work, rewards earned by the sweat of one's brow, and willingness to help out one's neighbour as defining characteristics of their own way of life. Many of the popular public images of Cannington have centered on the contrast between wealthy, leisured "English" and practical "Canadian" farmers. Over the years, historians researching Cannington have tried to separate the social realities of this contrast from legendary accounts, pointing out that Cannington social groups were far more complex and multi-faceted than legends and stories make them out to be (Pugh 1980b).

This study is an attempt to further this debate. The question can be succinctly summed up as follows: who were the "English" and "Canadian" at Cannington Manor? What follows is a long-winded response to this question. It will be found that, in the pursuit of this question, we can make several interesting observations about Cannington as whole. These observations concern the town of Cannington; the lives, traditions, and values of the people who lived there; and the role of legend and story in a modern Saskatchewan agricultural community.

#### **4.1 Popular Images of Cannington in Press and History**

In the years after the town's abandonment, the public imagery of Cannington has grown through newspapers, magazines, book, and radio talks (Hewlett 1938c, 1939, 1939a; Humphrys 1977a, 1977b; Gellatly 1943; Fitzgerald 1952; MacEwan 1957;

Macdonald 1951; Tyre 1952); this trend has continued even into the present day (Wilson 2000).

By “popular” or “public” imagery, I am referring to the stories, images, and legends of Cannington that are espoused in the media and that have reached a larger audience outside the Moose Mountain area. Titles such as *The Fabulous Venture at Cannington Manor* (Fitzgerald 1952), *Prairie Folk once Rode to Hounds in Saskatchewan* (Gellatly 1943), *Romantic Cannington Manor* (Hewlett 1939a) and the more recent *Monuments to a Dream* (Wilson 2000) are just examples of the many sensational headlines given to Cannington Manor over the years. These communications contain picturesque, romanticized, and largely one-dimensional images of a unique English experiment on the Canadian prairies. The passages used to open each chapter of this thesis serve to illustrate this point. These quotations were taken from newspaper articles written as early as 1939 and as late as the year 2000. Such romanticism is not confined to newspaper and magazine press, as can be seen in the first of these, taken from Edward McCourt’s *Saskatchewan* (McCourt 1968:28, see also Chapter One). McCourt’s description of Cannington is beautiful, poetic and romantic and is perfectly accurate in all the facts it presents, but it presents only one side of the story, that of the interesting English.

In the most one-dimensional, oversimplified and in a word, legendary accounts, there is no mention at all of settlers other than the English. It is this kind of one-sidedness that has prompted a call from some authors (e.g. Pugh 1980b) for more detailed study into the realities of the different kinds of people who lived at Cannington. In this way, the “unique English experiment” is put in the context of a more complete

picture of Cannington Manor. All of the people who were, in one way or another, a part of its story are allowed to have their tale told, and this includes the farming element that, though not part of any sporting set, is integral to an understanding of Cannington both during the late nineteenth century and in the modern day.

#### **4.2 Social Groups at Cannington Manor**

The legendary qualities of Cannington Manor have contributed in no small part to the oversimplification of social relationships there. The term “English” has generally been used to indicate, in popular accounts, those wealthy socialites of legend. Mrs. Hewlett was known to use the term “Canadian” to refer to the more practical farming community (Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources 1965), and the residents of Cannington themselves seemed to use the term at least occasionally to refer to the same group (Couper 1920). However, these terms are often used indiscriminately and without a true definition of their membership and roles. What follows is a discussion of social groups at Cannington Manor, including the very appropriateness or non-appropriateness of the terms “Canadian” and “English”.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the early inhabitants of Cannington Manor found themselves to be a mixed group. On the one hand, there were settlers (like the Pierce and Humphrys families) who came directly from England. These people had come from the comfortable lifestyle of the upper-middle class (Pugh 1980b), bringing with them all of the social values and class distinctions inherent to such a background. It is from this group that the above mentioned legends arise. On the other hand, there were

settlers of English, Scottish, and Irish origins who had immigrated to Canada some years before and who had farmed in Ontario, Manitoba, and the Maritimes (Pugh 1980b). Some of these latter were second-generation Canadians already. Finally, there was a third group. This group, like the wealthier English, had arrived directly from England. Their commonalities ended there, however; in terms of social class and values, they were more similar to the settlers from Ontario and Manitoba.

As we shall see, social class is one of the most important keys to understanding Cannington relationships. The contrast here is one of the leisured upper middle class versus members of the lower-middle and upper-lower-classes. In this discussion, “class” refers to the hierarchical positioning of members of British society on a socio-economic scale, with occupation and material wealth forming important variables in determining class membership.

During the entire Victorian Period, and particularly in the period 1880-1901, both the income and the overall size of the middle classes expanded tremendously (Read 1979). Younger sons of the aristocracy dropped into the upper levels of the middle classes, going “into trade”. As well, upper levels of the lower classes pushed up into a more comfortable economic bracket, becoming the lower-middle classes (Read 1979). This group included crafts people, teachers, shopkeepers, clerks, and farmers (Read 1979). The Canadian settlers from eastern Canada would have fallen into this latter category. Many of them, if not originally from farming backgrounds, were shoemakers, shopkeepers, bakers, policemen, and carpenters in their lives prior to coming to the West (see Appendix B). This would have placed them, at this time in history, somewhere in the vicinity of the lower middle class or upper lower class. The English farmers, of the

third group mentioned above, would also fall into this range, a point which shall be returned to in a moment.

In British society in the late nineteenth century, the upper echelons of the middle class were occupied by individuals who made their living primarily in the ownership and management of the newly-burgeoning industrial trades. With the expansion of industry, new professions such as civil and mechanical engineering came into being; the upper middle classes filled these types of positions and directed those underneath (Reader 1964). The remunerations that went along with these types of occupations could be substantial; at least they were sufficient to allow upper-middle class families, and in particular upper-middle class women, to live a leisured domestic lifestyle (Horn 1999). In the minds of upper-middle class British, “work” involved the direction and management of industrial (or, say, farming) endeavours, rather than the actual manual labour itself. Therefore, in our discussion of the development of Cannington, we can see that in the minds of the upper-middle class English, the way to proceed in the construction of something (be it a home, a Church, or an entire town) was to hire members of the working classes to complete the necessary physical tasks and to direct them in their endeavours. The people to complete these tasks were, of course, skilled labourers such as carpenters and stonemasons.

One of the easiest ways, then, to determine who belonged where in Cannington social groups, particularly when socio-economic class is an important variable, was to determine who worked for whom. In this, documentary records and oral traditions were extremely helpful, as the stories detailing the names of settlers who worked on the construction of Cannington’s structures (especially the Church) are common. An

examination of these records allows us to categorize family names into groups based on whether records say they were involved in the physical labour of Cannington construction, or whether they were the ones who initiated that construction through a transfer of cash (see Appendix B).

In addition to this fairly concrete system of categorization in the documentary records and oral traditions, it was quite easy to get a sense of who belonged where in Cannington social groups based on many other factors. Many inhabitants made mention of people whom they considered to be their particular friends or with whom they commonly socialized. Classifications based on geographical origins (i.e. was the family in question from England or Canada), and occupation before arriving at Cannington (i.e. previous farming experience) were found to be of use, but only up to a point. Another dividing line was simply who stayed (succeeded at farming) and who did not. Typically, those who fell into the category of the “wealthy English” were those who rode to hounds and participated in all kinds of leisure activities, and then departed quickly, leaving only stories behind. In contrast to this are the members of the community who succeeded as farmers, stayed, and passed on the legends.

The construction of All Saints Anglican Church provides an excellent way to demonstrate these social relationships at work at Cannington. The Church was a physical structure that needed to be built. It is also a building replete with emotional and spiritual ties for all the members of Cannington’s community, both past and present. In this way, it has import in examining Cannington social groups. It is also a physical locus for the contested ownership of Cannington history, a point that will be revisited later in this discussion.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, many of the settlers from the area surrounding Cannington Manor (and in particular the Scotstown district to the north) worked on construction of the Church. The Ladies Guild, drawing its membership from the upper-middle class women of the community, was the source of the *organization* of this construction. From the point of view of some of its English members, (Pierce Beckton 1930, Michell [Pierce] Page 1979), it is the Ladies Guild that was responsible for getting the Church built. It was they who campaigned for funds and convinced Edward Pierce to donate the necessary land. The physical building of the structure, however, was carried out by lower-middle class farming families.

According to the documentary and oral traditions, this pattern repeated throughout the development of the community. The settlers from Ontario and Manitoba (sometimes called the “Canadians”) were consistently called upon by the English, for all types of work at Cannington.

Appendix B contains a listing of all the members of Cannington’s community for whom records are available. Included is information on the geographic origins, previous farming experience (or lack thereof, as well as any other employment prior to arriving at Cannington), and the types of labour performed while living at Cannington. Through this examination of patterns of labour and employment, we can see a division between upper-middle class English settlers and lower middle class and upper-lower-class farmers, artisans, and labourers. However, not all families in the area can be grouped conveniently into “English” or “Canadian” based on these criteria. The reason for this, and the reason that the very names “English” and “Canadian” are somewhat

inappropriate or misleading terms, is the presence of several middle and lower middle class farming families of English extraction.

Included in this group are family names such as Turton, Brockman, Hindmarch, and Brayford (Pugh 1980b). They were English in the same sense that Cannington's more famous English were, namely that they came directly from England and considered themselves to be so, unlike their "Canadian" neighbours. However, they did not engage in any of the famous sporting pursuits. They were "serious-minded farmers" (Pugh 1980b:1) who devoted their attentions to farming and eventually succeeded in making a living where their fellow expatriates did not. It is to these families that Frances Michell (Pierce) Page was referring when she wrote that, in the early days of the community, "...one or two Englishmen, respectable labouring men, settled near and made good farms and did well" (Michell [Pierce] Page 1979:7).

The "respectable labouring men" had a great deal in common with the farmers from eastern Canada, who also survived and prospered through hard manual work. They could not be said, however, to be exactly the same as the "Canadians". They did not appear, from the documentary records, to do any labour for the upper middle class English. In fact, more than one Canadian newcomer got his start as a hired man for the Turtons (Purser 1930). Some of these families also built stone residences for themselves, after the English fashion, using labour from the surrounding Canadian element.

As well, the Turtons and Brockmans, in particular, were often noted for taking leadership roles in the farming community (Beck 1984). For this reason I feel it is likely that they occupied a slightly higher rung on the social ladder than their "Canadian" neighbours. Into our discussion of Cannington social groups, then, must come an



analysis of not only socio-economic class but also of status, and ethnicity as well. In this discussion, status (as opposed to class, which is largely defined here in economic terms), is strongly related to prestige and is more often ascribed by members of a community based on highly variable criteria determined by the values of that community. The Turtons and Brockmans were from farming and labouring backgrounds. However, being actually English as opposed to Scottish or Irish might have conferred some sense of higher status to these families. “Englishness” was a trait that this group held in common with Cannington’s upper-middle class. However, in terms of social class, and corresponding work ethic, these families were much more like the “Canadians”.

Through the examination of labour patterns relating to socio-economic class as well as the variable of ascribed status, the existence of three distinct, class-based groups in Cannington becomes apparent. One is the upper-middle class English, who are responsible for the legendary sporting and leisure pursuits. The second is the “respectable labouring” English who were well-to do leaders of the farming community. Though they were of English extraction, their class position as lower-middle class and their traditions of hard work gave this group far more commonality with the third group, the Canadians from Ontario, Manitoba, and the Maritimes.

I found it useful, then, to group the farming English settlers with the “Canadians” when discussing the characteristics of the various social groups at Cannington. I feel this is justified because those two groups closely resemble each other in social class and corresponding worldviews. These worldviews will be elaborated on in a subsequent section. In addition, I feel that this method of grouping speaks to the reality of a contrast between farmers and leisured upper-middle class industrialists that is the popular or

“legendary” view of Cannington. This popular division is appropriate; the only thing that is not appropriate about it is the use of the terms “English” and “Canadian”. This is because both terms frame the division as one of geographical origins which, as we have seen, is not the case. Class, and the corresponding values of the classes, is one of the major dividers of Cannington society. Other factors such as status and ethnicity, however, may also have had a role to play. These two factors, however, do not influence membership in Cannington social groups as much as they do the experience of *relationships* between Cannington social groups. As such, they will be included in the discussion of Cannington relationships in Section 4.3.

While on the topic of factors that influenced social groupings at Cannington, it is also interesting to note that membership in social groups had little or nothing to do with previous farming experience. This is surprising, since many favourite stories tell of how the “drawing room farmers” failed as a result of their leisure activities and their lack of farming expertise. This is in fact one of the true myths of Cannington, since initial farming experience had little or nothing to do with a family’s eventual success as a farmer. Many of the Canadians (that is, people who actually had lived in Canada for some time) had no farming experience at all when they came to Cannington. William Brownlee, for example, was a baker in Winnipeg before heading west. William Downey was a shoemaker in Ontario (Beck 1984). It would appear, then, that those who wished to learn to farm simply did so-by trial and error, and with help from their neighbours. Having previous farming experience, however, did not seem to have a great deal of influence on one’s future success in the region. An attitude that embraced manual labour, however, might have an impact, as we shall see.

Class played a strong role in Cannington social relationships. However, the social relationships themselves are complex and do not fall into easily divisible categories based on geographical origins (England or Canada). For this reason, the terms “English” and “Canadian” are not really an appropriate division for describing social groups at Cannington. To speak in terms of class is somewhat better, for here we can see, through documentary records of construction and employment, who belongs in which social class - i.e. who performed labour for whom. For the rest of this discussion, I will refer to the “English” as that leisured, upper-middle class group that participated in the legendary fox hunts and balls. I will refer to the contrasting group, that includes both “respectable labouring” English and Canadians, as “Farmers” since that was their primary preoccupation.

Note that these divisions do not propose to be emic to the Cannington community, past or present, although they do reflect two contrasting groups represented in the lore of Cannington. Note, also, that the term “English” is still a misnomer since that group does not encompass all the “English” in the community. The “English Group”, however, is so easily recognizable in legend and story, and even in story, what is meant by that term is quite clear cut; the leisured upper-middle class “sporting set, the drawing room farmers”. Recognizing who belongs in the “English Group” has never been a problem; it is the rest of the community that has required some sorting out. Perhaps this is because the English did future researchers the kindness of leaving, and thus becoming fixed and immutable in legend and story.

### **4.3 Social Relationships at Cannington Manor**

In researching social groups at Cannington, I asked oral informants many questions about the relationship between “English” and “Canadian”; how it worked, and what the two groups felt about each other. I found answers to be vague and varied. Everyone recognized the term “English”, but the term “Canadian” did not seem to hold much currency. I would eventually discover that this was the result of the situation described above, namely, that “English” and “Canadian” were not really appropriate terms to describe Cannington groups. However, there was a recognition of different social groups at Cannington, mainly the wealthy English of the legends (who were now gone) and another group, who stayed and prospered, and whose descendants were still around. This latter group is the one that I have elected, as mentioned above, to simply call “Farmers” or “the farming community”.

In searching both the documentary records and in conducting interviews, I found that the relationship between these two groups was often the subject of conflicting evidence. Some said the experiment at Cannington was entirely a democracy, with the class system giving way to more egalitarian ideas in its new home on the prairies (Thomas Beck, personal communication 2001, Morgan 1892). Others did not tell the same story. Sentiments of some rivalry between the two groups are clearly expressed in the documentary records.

There are several factors which can explain these apparent contradictions. The first two have to do with the interplay of ethnicity and status with socioeconomic class. The

second has to do with the mediating effects which mutual interdependencies between the two groups had on class-based differences.

The dynamics of status at Cannington provides a fertile ground for examining the complex interplay between class and status in social communities. In the previous discussion, the dynamics of class were demonstrated to be a deciding factor in membership in Cannington social groups. Status, however, could be a variable which cross-cuts social groupings derived from economics and patterns of labour. Since status can be ascribed based on the values of the community, the question could be asked whether the different values of English and Farming groups at Cannington would have resulted in different criteria for assigning status to members of the community. Farming values, as will be shown below, center strongly on hard work and endurance. Though the wealthy English had a high position on the *class* scale within the community, their *status* (the amount of prestige and respect with which they were regarded) may not have been as high in the eyes of the Farmers, given the English preference for organizing manual labour rather than performing it. The investigation of this topic goes a long way to explaining the apparent contradictions in English and Farming relationships, where sometimes the English are described with respect, at other times with derision. It could be that their class position, in an economic sense, was high, but their status with the Farmers, resulting from their leisured lifestyle, was not always so. In addition, status could have been ascribed differently to different members of the community. A person like Edward Pierce, as an established farmer and businessman, might have had more respect from the surrounding community than a young, inexperienced bachelor fresh from England. Tales of the foibles of the bachelors abound. “One of the prospective

settlers with the preliminary status of “pupil” was instructed to give the milk cow some of the green grass growing on the sod roof of the homestead stable where she was quartered. Later he was seen standing on the sod roof, with the cow’s halter shank in his hand, trying for all he was worth to draw the animal up or, at least, make her stand on her hind legs to reach the grass” (Hewlett 1930). In this quote, the young man is actually described as having “preliminary status”. Therefore, although economic class may have been a primary factor in determining membership in Cannington social groups, status may have been a factor which, while not influencing membership in groups, has the potential to be a factor in describing the *relationship* between those two groups.

Another possible factor in understanding Cannington relationships is that of ethnicity. Ethnicity may relate to status in the way mentioned in the above section, namely, that to be of “English” extraction was to occupy a slightly higher rung on the social ladder than to be Scottish or Irish, in the hierarchies of the overarching British value system of the day. Though all Cannington’s residents could be described as “Britons” (Pugh 1980b), there was some variation in ethnic backgrounds. Being English or Scottish, especially when coupled with differential socioeconomic status, would certainly have made an impact on one’s social standing in the community. However, ethnicity at Cannington may not have had the same impact as it might have had in other places where the ethnic background of settler groups was radically different. At Cannington, though differences in ethnic background between Irish, Scottish, English, or “Canadian” (having come from the homeland via eastern Canada) may have been present, all these groups would have had certain fundamental similarities in their worldview and social values, as a result of all being, in an overarching sense, “British”.

Another factor which strongly influences the relationship between social classes at Cannington Manor is the mutual interdependencies which tended to mediate rivalries based on socioeconomic class. In the British expansionist rhetoric of the new West, it was generally supposed that some of the deficiencies of the old country would be remedied. Democratic ideals were to prevail in this land of opportunity, where anyone could “make something” of himself and rise in the world. Adherence to this ideal was the foundation of the middle class, for rewarding the individual for his or her own achievements went strongly against the patronage and nepotism characteristic of the aristocratic order (Reader 1964). The English upper-middle class residents of Cannington were true to their class backgrounds in this respect. Several of them were noted to have democratic sympathies. However, “sympathetic” as they were, they were not prepared to let go of their position of relative privilege wholeheartedly. This ambiguity is expressed in an anecdote related about Mr. James Humphrys: “[h]is sympathies were democratic, and in order to appear to be at one with the farmers he would affect the collarless shirt when presiding over farmer’s meetings, greatly to the secret amusement of the ladies” (Brockman 1930). Both the fact that Mr. Humphrys would suppose a collarless shirt would make all the difference, and the amusement that this habit brought the ladies, is indicative that the English still had strongly class-influenced perceptions of their farming neighbours.

The most demonstrative evidence of this feeling comes from some archival correspondence between Jessie Pierce Beckton and A.M.E Hewlett regarding the latter’s then-newly-publicized writings on Cannington. Jessie Pierce Beckton was a person obviously concerned with the feelings of others, and issues of class or social divisions

appear in only a remote fashion in her public memoir. However, the strong class sentiments that shaped her perceptions come out clearly in a letter written to Mrs. Hewlett in 1934. Mrs Beckton objected (though in the politest and gentlest of terms) to the way Mrs. Hewlett gave more press to the role of the Canadian settler in Cannington's history. She wrote of her opinions that the town of Cannington (and all of the legendary qualities that came with it) was an English phenomenon, and an English phenomenon only. "When we first came out to Canada it should be remembered that it was from the atmosphere of English life in which that same class distinction was clearly defined and taken for granted so that it was not easy to bury all at once, though we did our best to meet it in the true spirit. The history of Cannington Manor is really not that of an ordinary farming community, it is unique in itself and was based entirely on the lives of English men and women of our own class" (Pierce Beckton 1934:7; emphasis in original).

This is not to say that Jessie Pierce Beckton disapproved of the farming community that surrounded her. Quite the contrary; in an earlier passage in her letter, she objects to the fact that some legendary accounts focussed on the musical, fox-hunting, horse-riding habits of the English, leaving out the "ordinary" settler. "The story of what they have described as a Wonder Settlement entirely hinges on its birth and "sporting element" for of what public interest can a description of ordinary settlement and farming routine be to the 'reader'. The Prairies are made of such and to write only of ourselves and the English 'sporting crowd' is to more or less hurt the feelings of those others who took no part in it, who I did not ever meet or know, yet were as valuable as settlers as the Dude-Drawing room farmer and more so" (Pierce Beckton 1934:4). In her



opinion, the story of the farming community should be told, but not in relation to the town of Cannington or the English phenomenon that was born there. The credit for creating Cannington should go to the English and the English alone.

One finds it hard to believe, initially, that Jessie Pierce would make statements like "...I did not even know most of them by sight..." (Pierce Beckton 1934:7) about the Canadian settlers who, for one thing, built the Church that was so important to her. However, her observation is logical when one considers the unbending class structures in which she was brought up and that were still clearly part of her. The Canadian settlers built the church, as they were hired to do by Mrs. Pierce and the Ladies Guild. In the British class system they were the labour that facilitated the objectives of the upper classes, and outside that role, they were, in a sense, invisible.

There are clearly some other concrete reasons to suppose Farmers and English perceived themselves as separate social entities. Regarding his work on the construction of town buildings, Charles Pryce remarked: "I always felt grateful [sic] to the early settlers of Cannington Manor and proud to have been associated with them in the building of their community" (Hewlett 1938:10; emphasis added).

The documentary records contain many instances of farmers being frustrated with their leisured neighbours, such as this one, written by Charles Couper about settler E.C.MacDairmid: "Cannington was a very English settlement, and old Mac in certain moods would curse all Englishmen and everything English up hill and down dale and the language he would use was something 'orrid'" (Couper 1920:22). A division between those who participated in manual work and those who did not was recognized by some:

“Jack Dawson wasn’t one of the big muck-a-mucks, ordinary working man...anyone that had to get down and work was like the rest of them...” (Hewlett 1957).

The unusual and eccentric (for the prairies) aspects of the English were played up in ways that were sometimes admiring, sometimes derisive. The English lack of farming experience was often a source of humour. Jessie Pierce Beckton would allude to this when she wrote to Mrs. Hewlett, years later, that “...in the old days we were called ‘Dude’, ‘Drawing room farmers’ but it was a quaint and wonderful experience I would not be without” (Pierce Beckton 1934:3).

Religion may also have been an area where differences were felt. The wealthy English of Cannington were strict Anglicans; this may have contrasted with different religions in the farming community. At an “Old-Timer’s Picnic” in the twentieth century, Charles Pryce referred to religious differences when he said “...the Sutherlands [a farming family] would tell you to be a good Presbyterian and all would be well with you...Captain Pierce would tell you to become Anglican or your wheat will freeze and you will have to visit a hotter place” (Brockman 1930). Frances Pierce remembered animosity between her family and that of the Baptist Minister, Reverend Baldwin, although that animosity may not have been solely religious. “The Baptist Minister and family...they were Canadians and heartily hated the English, or tried to impress that fact upon us, which did not produce much geniality between the families”.

Religious matters also may have caused something of a rift between farm families and English, although not as a result of doctrinal differences. Mrs. Tom Brayford remembered “...they’d have a big service at Turtons in their big kitchen and Mr. Agassis took it. We used to go often to that but not often to the church. Why? Well-I’d been to a

Methodist Sunday school in England, but they didn't seem to want children in the English church. It bothered them, the minister would stop if they made a bit of noise" (Hewlett 1938:15). The above mentioned Reverend Agassis was, however, also the Minister for All Saints. Like the Ministers who came before him and would come after, he likely viewed a member of his flock as a member of his flock-English or Farmer. According to Charles Couper, the Reverend's duty was to visit all his parishioners in turn (Couper 1920). The above quote is also interesting in that it appears to group the Turton family, who were English in origins, outside the group that attended the "English Church".

Legends and stories often tend to focus on the difficulties the wealthy English experienced and their unpreparedness for the life that faced them, including a stubborn adherence to the ways of the old country, no matter how inappropriate in the new land. There is strong evidence of this sentiment, including the idea that to be "English" is sometimes to be frivolous, or inexperienced at farming, or even pig-headed. This is articulated clearly in an ironic conversation between Jessie Pierce Beckton and her brother, regarding a young English agricultural school student who foolishly insisted on going home through a blizzard. The young man eventually lost his way and died.

"Is there going to be a storm?" I asked. "It had [sic] grown dark so early. Why were you so determined he should take his oxen with him?"

"Because you can always trust them to find a port in a storm. Englishmen are always so cocksure of themselves in everything that they won't take advice from anyone."

"You're English yourself," I retorted, over the basin of carrots I was scraping for the evening meal.

"Yes, but one that learns lessons, that conditions as well as climates differ outside our self-satisfied little island" [Pierce Beckton 1930:58].

Some sentiments of difference, and even of mutual frustration, appear in the documentary records. However, these sentiments are combined with a general sympathy for the English, as well as expressions of a relationship of mutual respect. This has continued on into the present day, where the “English” are now viewed by the Farming community with admiration, sympathy, and a tendency to romanticize. The attitude can be summed up in this statement: “[the English were the n]icest people I ever met, but different, had a different way to ours...” (Hewlett 1957).

One of the reasons for this is the mutual interdependencies that existed between English and Farmer during those very difficult years between 1880 and 1900. As Pugh (1980b) has noted before, those were times when the tide of settlement was nearly staunch by continually low wheat prices and general economic depression. Settlement in the West did not really take off until after the turn of the twentieth century. That means that the settlement of Cannington was, in many ways, too early, economically speaking, to have succeeded (Pugh 1980b).

Therefore, it is a strange and fortuitous twist of fate that sent this particular group of monied English to the locale - fortuitous, that is, for the local farmers. Both oral informants and documentary sources agree that without the cash of the English, many of the settlers who are now in the region would have had to give up and go home. It could be said that most of the early farmers spent a great deal of those early years working for the English, to the benefit of both. Besides building the town, barns, and houses, there was a great deal of additional employment to be had.

George Weatherald remembers supplying the Becktons with meat: “[t]hat’s the way I got my start. Selling venison to the Becktons. I shot four elk and got four or five

hundred dollars. I bought calves with my share and got my start” (Hewlett 1960a). More than a few young farm women earned some extra dollars by serving as domestics for English ladies. Flora Forsythe, along with a sister, was paid to serve the tea at Ladies Guild meetings in the school/town hall (Hewlett 1971).

Charles Couper remembers this phenomenon as it pertains to the Beckton Brothers: “...the old Cannington crowd had a lot to thank the Beckton brothers for. Each of the boys had a sizeable income which they spent freely. I could name some young fellows who got their start by working for the Becktons on the Ranch” (Couper 1920:20). Apparently the Becktons were quite encouraging of young men working for them for six months, leaving for six months to do work on their homesteads, and then returning again. Something would always be found for them to do, no matter what the season (Couper 1920:20). The Becktons, at least, were aware of their role in providing work for local settlers. It would have been in keeping with their reportedly generous personalities to spend freely in the full knowledge that they were helping others. To what extent this was prevalent among the other English can only be surmised, but certainly it may have fit in well with the self-image of a good ‘independent rural landowner’ who saw to the needs of all who were, in one way or another, “dependant” upon him.

In addition, it could definitely be said that the English needed the farming community as much as it needed them. It would have been impossible for the dream of Cannington to be realized if skilled craftspeople had had to be imported from elsewhere. In addition, without the help of experienced farmers, the English would have been even worse off than they already were in the farming department.

#### **4.4 Values and Traditions of Social Groups at Cannington Manor**

Mutual interdependency helped to mitigate, therefore, a great deal of the contesting of class roles that might have otherwise existed. Ethnicity, and in particular status, can also be seen to influence social relationships between groups at Cannington. Let us now examine and summarize the characteristics, traditions and values that differentiate these two groups.

##### **4.4.1 *The English Group: “Building the Empire as Landed Gentry”***

As described above, the “English Group” is easily recognizable in literature on Cannington as that group which participated in unusual sporting and leisure pursuits. But who were they, and what drove them to cling, as they did, to British traditions on the prairies?

Entrenched in the mindset of the English at Cannington was the fact that they were, first and foremost, *English*. Like other members of their nationality in British colonies all over the world, they did not “go native”- they brought the traditions of Britain with them and lived them out, no matter what the conditions. This was a fundamental part of the prevailing thought of the time, namely, that England equalled civilization. The British system of government and its social institutions were thought to be the height of human achievement thus far (Owram 1984). It was an attitude that the expanding Empire would attempt to spread all over the world, regardless of the effect it

might have on the different cultures it encountered. If those other cultures stood in the way, they were standing in the way of Progress.

It has already been mentioned that officials in Ottawa were suitably impressed with Captain Pierce when they met him, and viewed him as an excellent man to have in the new West. Not only would he and his family firmly establish a British element wherever they settled, but they were also likely to bring others of their kind out with them (Pugh 1980b). Their very presence tied in perfectly with expansionist goals of bringing the traditions of the Empire to the new world. Ottawa's desire to support the Pierces in their endeavours is evidenced by the fact that several North West Mounted Police were sent out with Pierce to the West to help him get settled (Pierce Beckton 1930).

The memoirs of Jessie Pierce Beckton are, once again, a window into the minds of those English from long ago. The Pierces, at least, saw themselves as part of the progress of British civilization: "It had become a habit to laugh at the easygoing incapacity of the Englishmen, forgetting his part in the building of a mighty empire" (Pierce Beckton 1930: 45).

In order to maintain the traditions of civilization, it was the habit of many middle and upper class English exiles to maintain, as much as possible, the traditions of the mother country. The English at Cannington were not unique in this regard, as many other expatriates of Britain have been known to have behaved in similar ways (Owram 1984, Pugh 1980b). This was part of the progress of expanding the Empire. The new country did not change you, you changed it - for the better. Even in their first winter on the prairies when simply surviving was the only priority, the Pierce family struggled to maintain some semblance of English customs: "Breakfast and the midday meal were

eaten in the kitchen, but for supper, tradition must be adhered to. Clean cloths, polished silver, flowers, where possible, changed frocks, and a shutting off of farm duties with the discarded overalls. We were not allowed to forget” (Pierce Beckton 1930: 47).

The traditions of the Empire, and therefore civilization, were many. One component was that of a highly structured class system. The Pierces, Pages, Sayers, and Taylors, the settlement’s earliest “English”, had all come from upper-middle class backgrounds. The Pages and Sayers, as mentioned before, had connections almost to the Queen and carried with them letters of introduction to Canada’s Governor General. Frank Taylor had been a shipbuilder in England (Pugh 1980b). Later arrivals would share similar backgrounds. The Humphrys, Hansons, Pigotts, Sheldon-Williams’, Fields, Birds, Maltbys, Bakers, Becktons, and most if not all of the Agricultural School students fell into this category. The Pierces and English families like them were strongly influenced by the class traditions that they had been used to in England. They brought these traditions with them to the prairies.

Another tradition the English sought to uphold was that of leisure pursuits. The decades prior to the turning of the twentieth century witnessed a tremendous upsurge in both leisure time and leisure pursuits for the inhabitants of Victorian England (Horn 1999). The ability to take part in leisure activities was both a sign of prestige and of good breeding. For example, it was the duty of a well-brought-up young woman to be able to entertain on a musical instrument such as the piano, though banjos and mandolins were popular, less expensive alternatives (Horn 1999). Music was a popular Victorian pastime, combining as it did the pleasures of music for its own sake with spiritual and morally uplifting qualities (Horn 1999).



Sport was also a popular middle and upper class pastime, particularly for men. Hunting, shooting, and team sports were part of what was perceived to be a healthy outdoor lifestyle (Reader 1964). All in all, the life of the landed gentry was much to be admired - the "landed gentry" being those who derived an income off of a large farming estate. Those who lived this lifestyle enjoyed an unprecedented ability to engage in recreational sporting activities, which they did with great enthusiasm (Reader 1964).

The unique entertainments that the English at Cannington aspired to, then, were not unusual for members of the upper-middle class back in England. There is a likelihood that some members of the English community (James Humphrys being an example) were living a little beyond their depleted financial means by participating in so many leisure activities; however, the activities of leisure themselves were perfectly appropriate to the station in life to which Cannington's English were accustomed, or to which they aspired.

These leisure activities were also a part of the life of the "landed gentry" or the "independent rural landowner", the oft-quoted aspiration of these wealthy British expatriates. Though their financial resources might have been too depleted for them to live as they were accustomed in the mother country, the glowing reports of the West, sent home to England by Captain Pierce and other promoters, convinced them that this lifestyle was within their grasp in the new land. This forms the crux of the arguments for their frivolous lifestyle contributing to their ultimate failure, that is, that they overreached their financial resources in their quest to maintain an English upper middle class lifestyle on the prairies. This is true to some extent, but, as noted earlier, if

circumstances had not conspired against them so thoroughly they might still have succeeded.

Regardless, the life of the independent rural landowner, however inappropriate, was what the English aspired to - in principle, at least. Several traditions or values were characteristic of this lifestyle. The first was the leisured lifestyle of music and sporting endeavours already described. For men, it was sport and shooting; for women, it was organizing the household and social pursuits, including charitable endeavours (Read 1964). The second was of “devoted care for the interests of their dependants” (Read 1964). As we have already seen the Becktons, at least, assumed some degree of this form of paternalism, providing as much work for the surrounding community as their wealth would allow.

In a sense, however, the English’s aspirations to “refined country living” were at odds with some of their middle-class ideals. To live the life of leisure, and hardly to do any “work” at all, was to adhere as closely as possible to the aristocratic notions that “trades” or “professions” of any kind were to sully one’s hands, and become less than a gentleman (Read 1964). The English at Cannington, however, took more interest in their business endeavours than a country squire would have in England. There, such things would have been left mainly to a capable steward. Many of the English men, however, James Humphrys and Captain Pierce among them, took an active role in organizing and managing their interests. Their involvement in the organization of businesses such as the Moose Mountain Trading Company or a pork factory was more in line with the their professional roles in the upper-middle class than those of the landed gentry. The legends which paint Cannington’s English as wealthy, fly-by-night ne’er-do-wells intent on

foolishly pursuing a lifestyle which they could never achieve are in this respect blown quite out of proportion. The English did work, in fact, some of them worked very hard - at managing their business endeavours, though not actually participating in too much manual labour. That they would put effort into their interests was only reasonable, since only a fool would have supposed that the life of the landed gentry would happen overnight with very little effort. Cannington's English were not fools, although they were ambitious in their endeavours. Had it not been for circumstances, some of them might have actually realized something close to the life of the landed gentry.

In summary, there are several traditions and values that Cannington's English group could have been said to have held. One was a firm belief in the nobler purpose of bringing civilization, morality and the British way to the untamed wilderness. This included adherence to as many of the traditions of England as possible. Some of these traditions were tangible, such as dressing for dinner wherever possible. Some were less obvious to direct observation but certainly felt strongly, such as the strict hierarchy of the classes and the roles those classes had to perform in the workings of the Empire's social order. Religion played a key role in the safeguarding of British morality, with a place of worship being the first building constructed in the new town. Another tradition was that of the leisured lifestyle of the upper-middle class, including involvement in sport, art, music, and social entertaining. It is these leisure pursuits that some say meant the English were trying to become landed "aristocrats" in their own world. However, the English involvement in varied industries reveals their strong grounding in the "trades" of the middle class.

#### ***4.4.2 The Farming Community: “Faith, Endurance, and Neighbourliness”***

The farming community surrounding Cannington was, like the English, a varied group. Some had emigrated as a result of famine and depression in places such as Scotland and Ireland (Beck 1984). Many had come out to the east, years earlier, and homesteaded there prior to moving west in search of better land and opportunities. Many were not recent immigrants, having immigrated with parents as children. Some had been born in Canada. Some, like the Baldwins, were United Empire Loyalists who originally had hailed from the United States. There were also, among the ranks of Canadian farmers, many skilled craftspeople. There were several experienced carpenters, which proved useful to the English in the construction of Cannington. There were also, it appears, at least three stonemasons of some repute, Mr. James Hindmarch being one. More than one man was skilled at making lime (Beck 1984).

Several characteristics personified the farming community at Cannington and continue to characterize it today. As in the caption that preceded this chapter, faith was one of these things. Like their English neighbours who initiated the construction of All Saints Anglican church, the early settlers of Cannington took solace from the rigours of their lives in the anticipation of a better one to come. It has often been said that, with deaths due to illness and other hardships being a common occurrence in the early days of settlement, people relied heavily on beliefs of the hereafter as a source of consolation and support. This trait is of prime importance in the modern agricultural community. The high regard in which All Saints Anglican Church is still held today has already been discussed.

In conducting interviews and meeting with the farming community, I found that oral informants (especially the older generation) would usually manage to find out, over the course of a conversation and in some oblique manner, whether or not I “went to church” (Incidentally, my having married into a Mennonite family was of some advantage here, as the revelation of that fact was always met with nods of approval. Mennonites, it would seem, have a far-reaching reputation for being solid farmers and churchgoers). Faith, therefore, is a value that the farming community holds dear, both in the past and in the present.

Another trait that is of importance to the farming community is that of endurance and hard work. The willingness to do difficult physical labour, even under unpleasant conditions such as cold and extreme heat, is a valued farm tradition. The life of an early settler was one of constant hardship, from initial river crossings to get to one’s homestead, to blizzards and fire, to illness, to frozen crops and near bankruptcy. In contrast to their English neighbours, the Canadians were extremely cash-poor. Everything they owned they had to somehow generate for themselves, particularly in the early years. In the 1960s, “old-timer” Charles Weatherald reminisced about a lifetime of hard work to Mrs. Hewlett: “Work? I like it. This morning I got a request for something to put in that museum of agricultural implements in North Battleford. I’ve a good mind to show them these maulers (holding up his hands). I don’t know any agricultural equipment more ancient than that” (Hewlett 1960b).

Another characteristic that strongly personifies the farming community is that of neighbourliness. It was customary for the early community to have strong ties of cooperation between families. Barns needed to be raised, and crops brought in. Children

needed to be taken care of, and the house kept up, if a woman was sick or in childbed. It was generally understood that neighbours would help each other in times of need, with the understanding that there would always be an opportunity to receive help in return. It has already been noted, in Chapter 3, how neighbourhood women were quick to offer assistance when a friend was ill - or just feeling down. Mrs. Brayford remembered of Mrs. John Turton: “[i]f I felt uncomfortable and needed a good cry, I would go and visit Mrs. Turton. She would comfort me and cry with me” (Beck 1984: 55). Charles Couper remembered receiving help from Tom Brayford once for a sick mare. It was a Sunday, and although Mr. Brayford was a strict observer of the Sabbath, he immediately came to Couper’s to try and save the mare, without even changing out of his Sunday clothes. “...[A]ll the settlers in that district were wonderfully kind in helping a man when he was up against it” (Couper 1920:25).

Help from surrounding neighbours was of great use when times were hard, as they often were. In addition to having to cope with frozen crops, sick animals, and sick children, there were many other dangers that early settlers faced. Prairie fires were incidents that brought the whole community out to help, as they were a threat to everyone, English or Canadian. Blizzards also posed a problem, as anyone caught in one could be easily lost, an event that happened more than once at Cannington. A lost person or child brought the entire community out. “Report of someone missing brought out everyone to hunt, perhaps even during weeks...the strayed little Turton girl, the Boissevain child drowned in a slough, and Rushbrooke” (Hewlett 1938:13). Rushbrooke was a young man whose wagon overturned on him in a ravine. The community searched for him for weeks. His was the first burial at Cannington (Beck 1984).

Through discussions with the local community surrounding Cannington Manor, this trait of “neighbourliness” was the one that was the most obvious and clear to me from the very beginning. As a young graduate student doing her first fieldwork, and having come from a city background, I had been somewhat anxious that my requests for information would be viewed with suspicion, or that people would simply not have time. I found my experience to be the exact opposite.

I was invited in to the homes of many local families and made to feel tremendously welcome. At each visit food or coffee was a requisite offering, and I felt that I was experiencing “good-old-fashioned-hospitality” first hand. But the community’s desire to help was made most obvious in their genuine efforts to answer my questions about Cannington. In the case of the now middle-aged grandchildren of the Cannington generation (whose information was usually second-hand), efforts to help came in the form of providing leads on “old-timers” to whom I could talk. One woman spent an entire evening with me, giving me the names and looking up the phone numbers of people who would know more about Cannington. Another informant, mentioned in an earlier chapter, took a morning off from her farm duties and drove me all around the countryside, looking for archaeological sites. One of the staff from the hotel in Wawota insisted on having an itinerary of my whereabouts when I went out to look at sites alone, in case an accident befell me. And all this, as I perceived it, for a relative stranger. The tradition of helping others is a deeply ingrained value in this farming community, and this fact was made abundantly clear to me during my experience there.

The trait of neighbourliness may be related, also, to a wider category of difference between the English and Farming elements. It relates, in part, to the English’s use of

cash or currency as their primary means of survival, in contrast to the farmers, who were often cash-poor. Or rather, the farmers had cash, particularly from performing labour for the English, however, that cash was usually gone as fast as it arrived, back into the farm or into shoes for all the children. The farming community used cash, but when it came to survival, they relied more heavily on themselves, their families, and their ties with neighbours. This formed a network of mutual support. The English (who as a group were more urban and more industrial), however, tended to rely on cash to a much greater extent for survival, with a consequent lessening of the importance of kin and community ties. This speaks to a dichotomy between the two groups which goes beyond that of class or economic status. It may, in fact, relate to two fundamentally different worldviews, one urban and industrial, the other rural and agrarian. Since industrialization is a relatively new phenomenon, particularly during the period in question, one could almost state that the difference between English and Farmer is really the difference between a newer and an older life tradition.

#### **4.5 The Modern Cannington Community: Who “Owns” a Legend?**

Both wealthy English and hardworking Farmer helped to build the structures that made up the town of Cannington Manor, each within the context of their own class roles. We have noted already, however, that the Farming settlers, though considering themselves to be a part of the general community of the area, did not consider themselves to be part of the “English Colony”. Even though they performed a great deal



of labour for the English, it was in the context of performing work for members of another class.

In the modern community, a shift has occurred in which the roles that farming pioneers played in the building of Cannington Manor are now emphasized to a greater extent. Through this emphasis, the farming community has taken some “ownership” of the physical town of Cannington Manor and the legends that surround it. In addition, the lore of Cannington plays an important role in the community of the present, with stories of the wealthy English and their farming foibles serving the purpose of reinforcing farming ideals and values.

The best way to demonstrate this is to return to the example of All Saints Anglican Church. It is the only building that both the old and the modern Cannington community still share, and which, as a religious symbol, held and holds great emotional currency for both. It could almost be said the little Church is a symbol of Cannington itself, as it symbolizes the introduction of morality and decency to the wild, through the efforts of the early pioneers. But the efforts of which pioneers?

Both the English and the farming community had a share in building the structure. It is interesting to note that the English women, Jessie Pierce in particular, viewed the construction of the Church as a miracle brought forth through the efforts of the English upper-middle class at Cannington. The farmers did the actual building, yes, but it was paid for and organized by the English Ladies’ Guild. We have seen above that while members of the English group acknowledged the worth of their farming neighbours, they also held those sentiments in the context of strong class biases. While the Canadian settler physically built the church, it was the English who initiated and paid for

construction. In the opinion of the upper-middle class English, the town of Cannington, and indeed the entire phenomenon of Cannington, was strictly an upper middle class endeavour, an upper middle class story.

However, the English of Cannington have been gone for a long time, and as a group have been long scattered. Those who remain at Cannington, the farming families, are the inheritors and guardians of the popular image of the town. As we shall see, they have shaped it to some extent for themselves. Today, the surrounding community takes great pride in Cannington's heritage and in the role they played in it. Equal consideration is given, in the popular writings of people such as Mrs. Hewlett, to the story of the settlers who stayed as well as those who left. The pioneering farm families who were not part of the "English Group" now tell the tale from the perspective of their own contributions.

The Church is the most obvious example. In addition to the efforts of the Pierce family in the church's construction, it is clearly remembered and recounted which members of the farming community performed tasks in its construction. Charles Pryce did the carpentry, the Hill brothers cornered logs, Tom Downey made lime and also cornered logs, and so on (Beck 1984). In modern times, All Saints is kept in good repair by members of the farming community, and services are still held there on special Sundays in the summer. Where the English, in writings such as those of Jessie Pierce Beckton, would tell the story of Cannington strictly from the point of view of the achievements of the English, now the story of Cannington has become a blended mix of the contributions of both the English and Farming elements. In the current lore,

Cannington belongs to, and was created by, both English and Farmer. This is tangible in the pride the modern farming community feels for the church.

This might have raised objections from the English of the past, and as we have seen it did, as when Jessie Pierce Beckton objected to the amount of type space that was given to the farmers in Mrs. Hewlett's stories of Cannington. From the English point of view, then, it might be said that the lower-middle class settlers have appropriated the history of Cannington from its upper-middle class origins and made it their own. This is not true, of course, in the sense that the farming community *was* at Cannington all along and did participate in its construction in every way that they now describe. However, where in the past they created the buildings for someone else, now they take pride in the shared ownership of those same structures. While the English upper middle class were at the settlement and were alive, the tale was one of English achievement, with the members of the lower classes playing their role but remaining invisible. Part of the poignancy of the English colony, however, lies in its fleetingness. With the English gone, the settlers who remained were free to shape the story in a way that made their roles visible, and important in the building of a prairie settlement. This is reflected in a passage which Mrs. Hewlett wrote for the newly-opened Historic Park: "[t]he district was left to the Canadian pioneers. They were the people whom the English felt were their social inferiors, although they had supplied labour and know-how that the English originally used to build their colony. Today the land around what was once Cannington Manor is farmed primarily by the descendants of these Canadian pioneers, who were its real strength" (Hewlett 1965: 16).

In addition, the legends of Cannington have been used further to serve the purposes of the modern farming community. It must be remembered that the modern community is composed of the descendants of the farming element at Cannington, and as such has inherited the values and traditions of the lower-middle or labouring class. These values have been discussed in detail in the previous two sections. In contrast to the leisure and frivolity of the upper-middle class English, the farming element had values that centered on faith, hard work, generosity, and neighbourliness. The modern rural community has used the legends of Cannington to not only make their own community visible but to reinforce important values and traditions for themselves.

Legends relate that for the most part, the wealthy English played their time away and as a result did not succeed in their farming endeavours. For this reason, they are an excellent foil for the lower middle class farmer who succeeded. The stories of wealthy, leisured farmers and, more importantly, their ultimate *failure*, are an object lesson that reinforces modern farming ideals of hard work and a simple lifestyle. Some of the modern farmers in the Cannington area may be very wealthy from a lifetime of work, but it is not in their nature to display it ostentatiously. You may see a shiny new truck on occasion - but a truck is still for work. Rather than a luxury, it is a necessary expenditure and therefore, even though it is an expensive purchase, the luxury is masked in the vehicle's role as being "for work". For the farming population that stayed after the English left, and in whose roots lie the modern population, legends of Cannington serve to reinforce farming values.

This, in turn, serves an even more topical role in present day Saskatchewan. At the current moment, many rural communities feel that the very farming lifestyle is in

jeopardy. Consistently low wheat prices and dismantling of rural transport networks for shipping grain, among other things, have resulted in the abandonment and closure of many farming operations. Therefore, with feelings in many rural communities that the “farm lifestyle” is being threatened, the emphasis on farming values is more important than ever. Stories that describe the enduring of hardships in order to build the province for the future create ties to a celebrated past as well as bolster the tradition of enduring through difficult times.

This is not to say, of course, that farming communities do not enjoy their share of life’s amusements, or that farming life is always “all work and no play”. Pioneer Mrs. William Brayford once remembered: “No, I didn’t get many trips. But it only seems the other day we were going to Mary’s wedding... We took the old bobsleigh, doubled up, and the old ox, didn’t it go that day! It knew it was going to a jollification...” (Hewlett 1940). However, as is the case with “lore” in any social group, creating a discourse that emphasizes the value of the farming lifeways tends to result in occasional single-mindedness, or one-sidedness, for the purpose of driving home the point. Values or traditions tend to be oversimplified in the desire to communicate the strength of those traditions. It is a discourse of hard work and endurance that is pushed to the forefront in farming communities because it is those traits which, it is hoped, will help the outside world to see the value of the farming way of life. Stories that emphasize hardships form the mythology of a community, a mythology that reinforces those values that are part of the “public image” and identity a group creates for itself.

The creation of a pioneer Church that is still in existence is a source of great pride for the surrounding community. It stands as a testament to the faith of the early pioneers,

a faith that is still a strong part of rural values. In addition, the farming communities' role in the Church's construction, and ultimately the construction of Cannington itself, is part and parcel of its role in building the province and the nation. These sentiments can be summed up in the words used to open this chapter. They are from a monument erected in 1964 at the entrance to the churchyard at All Saints. While the Church was once a part of the unique, picturesque "English Colony," it is the farming families that are honoured here:

“Dedicated to honour pioneers of Cannington Manor 1882-1895. From Eastern Canada, Manitoba and Britain they came to take up homesteads. Skilled craftsmen among them built church, grist mill, village and other large establishments of the English Colony. The faith, endurance, and neighbourliness of these splendid men of all faiths, their wives, sons and daughters, laid the true foundations of the west.”

*“View Halloo!” The shout of the fox hunters echoed through the fields.*

*A red fox sped across the horizon, followed hotly by a pack of baying hounds. The sound of pounding hooves came louder...louder.*

*Eight or ten spirited horses leaped in pursuit, hides and tack gleaming in the sun...riders clad in polished boots, tailored breeches and hunting tweeds. The scene – Canada’s prairies in the 1880’s.*

*-The Fabulous Venture at Cannington Manor, Winnipeg Free Press, October 15, 1952 (Fitzgerald 1952)*

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES**

#### **5.1 The Study of Gender in Archaeology**

The study of gender in archaeology has its roots in the cultural anthropology of the 1970s. At this time, androcentric assumptions about women’s roles in different societies were questioned and re-evaluated (Clements 1993). Where men’s actions had been allowed to stand for the activities of cultures as a whole, it was now noted that women’s activities were an important part of the totality of the workings of culture. As the re-evaluation of the roles of men and women in culture continued, the concepts and ideas

begun in anthropology began to take hold in archaeology (Conkey and Spector 1998). Initially, archaeological questions simply took the form of “where are women in representations of the past?” (Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon 2002: 4). This approach of simply unearthing women from archaeological and historical treatments had greatly to do with questioning methodologies which saw the roles of women as timeless and constant over all cultures, and as such rarely of interest. As it became apparent that the activities of women were varied and an integral part of the functioning of culture, the need arose to re-theorize some of the concepts under study, from “gathering to the origins of agriculture to the formation of the state” (Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon 2002: 4). Asking questions about what women were doing created the need to examine old assumptions more closely, resulting in methodologies that paid greater attention to detail (Purser 1991).

During this time, some archaeological explanation took the form of discovering “goddesses, priestesses, women warriors, and queens” (Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon 2002: 4). New importance was also placed on women’s roles as gatherers and mothers in past societies, as feminists sought a background for new-found celebrations of womanhood. As Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon point out, this conceptualization took the discussion of women in archaeology to the other end of the spectrum of visibility, but eventually gave way to a more balanced approach to the archaeological interpretation of gender:

“Thus, three themes, equally essentialist although contradictory, can be found in the early feminist literature. One is that women can do everything men can do—that men and women are just alike. Another is that women are different and that they are better. The third is that women’s activities are as important to study as men’s activities and that the relationship between them is critical to describe in order to really understand a particular society. It is this last theme...that does not essentialize men or women...that has led to a far more sophisticated archaeology” (Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon 2002: 5).



It is this last theme, as well, which describes the current state of archaeological practice with regards to gender: to see the relationships between men and women, and the negotiation of gender roles, as an essential part of human existence and a major factor in interpreting human behaviour (Milledge Nelson 1997). Even this approach, however, raises new questions of its own, such as how to interpret genders which are not always tied to directly to biological sex (Classen 1992, Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon 2002). Nonetheless, viewing gender as a fundamental organizing principle of human existence leads to two observations which affect methodological approaches to archaeology (Conkey and Spector 1998). One is that both the roles of men and women have equal value and contribute equally, though often differently, to the workings of society as a whole. Another is that no assumptions can be made about the constancy of women's or men's roles and activities from culture to culture or even within specific cultures (Wall 1994). These two observations have the effect of sharpening archaeological practice as a whole. In addition to resulting in rigorous attention to the potential for biases, they call for a "higher resolution" in observing everyday life and activities, since there are no assumed categories for men's and women's activities, and the behaviours which come to light under this kind of scrutiny open up greater possibilities for new interpretations and new directions.

The methodology for pursuing this study of gender relations in archaeology is widely varied (Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon 2002). Because of this wide variation in approaches to seeking gender, it would appear that the most critical element is to approach the topic under study with the perspective outlined above- that gender is a fundamental organizing principle, and that nothing about gender can be taken for

granted. To create this perspective, it has often been noted that women need to be “foregrounded” (Milledge Nelson 1997, Nelson and Rosen-Ayalon 2002: 1). This thesis is an attempt to do just that, by re-including women’s perspectives as much as possible in the historical record and by seeking ways in which gender may have influenced social relationships at Cannington Manor.

## **5.2 Consumer Choice, Material Meaning, and the Use of Goods in Historic**

### **Contexts**

This study proposes to use material goods, as represented in archaeological data, to shed light on the lives and relationships of Cannington residents. Essential to this is an understanding of theories of meaning in the material world, and particularly concepts that deal with human construction of the material world. This discussion does not intend to be an exhaustive development of the history of consumer choice theory in historical archaeology, as this topic has already been covered in several works (LeeDecker 1991, 1994; Miller 1995; Cook et al.1996). However, a brief history will be given and several points salient to the topics in this thesis will be discussed.

A unique characteristic of human existence is the fact that our lives are permeated by a material world made of “things” through which we can create, construct, and negotiate the various aspects of our existence (Schiffer1999). Some of these “things” find their way into archaeological contexts. Studies of the meanings inherent in all of these goods often focus on “consumer choices”- the decisions people make when presented with a variety of material goods with which to construct their material world.

Over the last two hundred years, there has been an observable change in the way that people acquire and make use of goods. This shift has resulted from the gradual change of families and households from units of production; i.e. raising, making, or otherwise producing for their own needs; to units of consumption, where more and more of the material goods people use are manufactured by others (often in far away places) and purchased by the consumer (Stewart-Abernathy 1992). Historical archaeologists are faced with the challenge of making meaningful statements about choice in the face of the veritable explosion of variety in goods that occurs with the onset of mass production techniques.

Initial attempts to deal with consumer choices and the mass production of goods tended to focus on socio-economic status, using easily quantifiable aspects of material culture (such as price indices for ceramics) to draw a correlation between the expense and quality of artifacts and the relative social status of their owners (Cook et al.1996). It was thought that members of different classes would use as much “buying power” as their economic status would allow to visibly demonstrate differences between themselves and other classes, or that homes higher on the scale of material wealth would expend proportionately more resources on goods beyond basic food needs compared with homes of lower socio-economic status (LeeDecker 1994).

However, these types of studies drew criticism from authors who noted that “status” was a variable factor influenced strongly by the specific contexts in which the artifacts were used (LeeDecker 1994, Cook et al.1996). William Adams, for example, explained preferences among residents of Silcott, Washington, for a hodgepodge of unmatched ceramics by showing how the goods symbolized the valuing of practicality

over wealth: “prestige was garnered more by the food on the plate than the plate itself” (Adams 1977:76). What is valued or confers prestige can vary in different contexts and does not have a direct connection to material wealth.

Other studies incorporated disciplines such as marketing, economics, advertising, and psychology in an attempt to create understandings of why people buy the things that they do (Cook et al. 1996). These types of studies, however, have tended to focus on quantitative data and “patterns of expenditure and by extension...consumption” (Cook et al. 1996: 52) that deliberately were distanced from individual actors and, as such, were distanced from questions about the individual consumption decisions made by people (Cook et al. 1996).

In an attempt to “directly confront issues of agency” (Cook et al. 1996), many studies turned to a focus on the active role which people play in choosing and utilizing goods (Cook et al. 1996, Stewart Abernathy 1992, Wall 1991, 1994; Purser 1992, Mullins 1999, Wilkie 2000). Crucial to this is an understanding of the symbolic dimensions of material culture.

The values and traditions that human beings share, both conscious and unconscious, are reinforced and expressed through the countless rituals, both large and small, that make up human existence. From the components of a wedding celebration, to the more commonplace experience of a family sitting down to consume a meal, rituals serve as reminders of shared identity and, more importantly, as transmitters of meaning within culture. For example, the ritual of a family sitting down together at the same time and eating a meal off of matching tableware could be seen to reinforce the importance of values such as unity and family togetherness for that group. The objects that make up

the material world are themselves part of the rituals of daily living, and have a symbolic role in the transmittal of shared values. “It should come as no surprise to social scientists of any discipline that, as a social activity, consumption is rife with symbolism. Exchange at all levels demands ritual, from the opening and closing of stock exchanges with gavels and bells, to ordering dinner in a restaurant, to using a credit card” (Cook et al. 1996: 53).

Since goods are symbols of meaning, then, the very act of choosing and purchasing goods is a symbolic and ritual activity in which an individual identifies with and appropriates the symbolic meanings of an object through the act of possessing it (Cook et al. 1996). Humans use the symbolic properties of the material world to create a discourse of their own ideals or values with the world around them.

Seeing people as active participants in constructing the material world also means that the symbols with which material culture is imbued are not passively accepted from an outside source, but are rather creations of the actors themselves. With the advent of mass production, goods were produced many miles distant from the people who use them. The symbolic meanings of objects, for their producers, may be very different from the meanings inferred from those same objects by the consumer. The “language” of goods is not inherent in the objects themselves, but is rather ascribed (Cook et al. 1996). Humans take the vast amounts of material goods with which they are presented, and imbue them with meanings. Through consumer choices, humans use the goods available to them to construct sets of meaning within their own material world. In a study of late nineteenth and early twentieth century farmsteads in the Ozark region of northwestern Arkansas, for example, Leslie Stewart-Abernathy found that while

residents of the area were “dependant’ in a sense on the industrial market to supply them with items such as canning jars, the meanings assigned to those canning jars were reinforcements of ideals of rural lifestyles: “putting up” one’s own food through canning was seen as a symbol of self sufficiency and independence (Stewart-Abernathy 1992).

Like social systems, the meanings placed on goods and sets of goods are changeable and fluid: “[m]aterial goods establish visible and stable categories of culture, but their assigned, shared meanings seem to be unstable, subject to flow and drift” (Cook et al. 1996: 54). Objects are used by people to reflect and reinforce a discourse of meaning between members of a group, or between different groups. In the negotiation of social roles, and the articulation of different discourses between groups, objects are imbued with fluid values based on the changing perspectives and needs of the users of those goods.

Seeing humans as active agents in constructing material meanings has the effect of bringing the lives of those individual humans in to sharper focus. As mentioned above, studies that focussed on economics or on behavioural models grounded in economics, marketing studies, or psychology tended to distance meaning in material goods from individuals and individual consumer choices. In particular, this often had the effect of excluding women (Cook et al. 1996). The division between public and private spheres in the early nineteenth century resulted in the development of a strong domestic association for middle-class women, where responsibility for the construction of the material world in the home fell largely to them (Cherney 1991; Stine 1991; Mitchell 1996; Wall 1991, 1994, 2000). In consumer choice studies that focus on the economic

status of the breadwinner, the active role that women take in choosing material goods for the home is lost or downplayed. Since women have historically been major actors in the ritual of shopping (Cook et al. 1996), their roles in the creation of meaning are keys to understanding the values that they held for themselves, and which they shared with larger social groups.

In sum, the study of consumer choice in material culture studies emphasizes the role of the individual in selecting goods and creating sets of meaning in the material world. It also acknowledges that material meanings can be re-negotiated just as social roles are often re-negotiated.

In the next section, some social roles of the Cannington community, particularly as pertaining to gender, will be examined. This discussion follows, in part, from that outlined in Chapter Four, namely, the social relationships between English and Farmer. However, as the gendered social roles of Cannington residents will have particular import on later examinations of archaeological findings, it was felt that they should be included with the discussion of material culture meanings. Following this discussion, in section 5.3, I will put forward some archaeological expectations for the ways in which these social roles could be manifested through material culture.

### **5.3 Social Traditions With Potential for Material Meaning at Cannington Manor: Gender and Social Mobility Among English and Farming Communities**

In our discussion of Cannington Manor, it was noted that two different social traditions were living together in the early settlement community. One was the lower

middle class Farmers who, as we have seen, emphasized values such as faith, neighbourliness, and a doctrine of hard work. For them, work meant manual labour, often in difficult and dangerous conditions, in order to support their immediate family, all of which contributed labour in whatever way possible. Neighbourliness was essential in this way of life, since disaster, illness, death, not to mention large undertakings such as building barns and harvesting, were unavoidable. To do others a good turn meant that one could count on help when one's own time of need came, as it inevitably would.

The other social tradition present was that of the upper middle class English, who held ideals of living the leisured life of "independent rural landowners" while at the same time organizing industrial endeavours such as a mills and a pork factory. With few exceptions, the English came out of a tradition of urban, upper-middle class professionals whose ideas of work involved the management of industrial endeavours. Perhaps underlying many of their core motivations was a firm belief in maintaining and spreading the British social order. Their role, as they perceived it, was to be leaders in the community, organizing, directing, and even lobbying the powers that be (like the Canadian government and the CPR, to name a few) for the good of all. As well, they aspired to be examples of the best that the British way of life had to offer: genteel, involved in the "higher" arts, and paternalistically concerned for those to whom they were socially superior. The ways of the Empire kept human beings on the path to civilization and enlightenment.

In trying to research the relationship between these two groups at Cannington, I found that opinions on the nature of that relationship seemed to vary depending on who was doing the talking. The writings of an upper-middle class English woman such as



Jessie Pierce Beckton sometimes claim that “[i]n the early settlement days the English people kept in a little group - personally I never saw any of the men outside the settlement ...” (Pierce Beckton 1934:6). Contrasting with this are the writings of a young English bachelor, Charles Couper. He remarks often on the friendliness of his farming neighbours, and their helpfulness in times of need (Couper 1920). As mentioned in Chapter Three, he also noted attending both English balls and Canadian square dances: “...there were dances, the English variety, where we went in evening dress with boiled shirt and all the fixings, and the Canadian dances which were largely square dances” (Couper 1920:38). The difference in perspective here, and in the experience of the interactions between Cannington social groups, was puzzling to say the least.

This coincides with differences of opinion on the part of farmers regarding the wealthy English: “I never heard them [the informant’s parents] speak of them [the English] as snobbish, though I have been told they were by others” (Hewlett 1943). Conflicting feelings between social groups, as we have seen above, can be partially explained by the intersection of status, class differences, and mutual interdependencies. However, interactions between social groups at Cannington were also experienced differently by different members of the community. One variable (of many) that informs these different experiences is gender. Men and women experienced the social dynamics at Cannington differently because the behaviour of each was directed and, in some cases, constrained by cultural constructions of gender and gender roles. An example of this can be seen in the contrasting experiences of first, upper-middle class Englishwomen, and, second, young unmarried Englishmen.

Cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity at Cannington, as in England, were grounded strongly in class. British middle class definitions of womanhood saw females as the moral guardians of “civilization” (Thompson 1989; Cherney 1991; Meresh 1993; Mitchell 1996; Spencer-Wood 1999; Wall 1991, 1994, 2000). This construction, and its attendant behaviours, would ultimately have an impact on English women’s experience of social relationships at Cannington. Cannington’s upper-middle class ladies, the married generation in particular, probably had the least social mobility of anyone at the settlement, that is, the freedom (or the desire) to mix socially with members of classes outside their own. The term “social mobility”, in standard parlance, is usually taken to mean mobility between classes, that is, the ability to move out of or to change one’s class. Here, however, I am referring to it not as the ability to change one’s class but to the ability to move freely and mix socially with people outside one’s own class.

As mentioned above, in the new West there was a great deal of opportunity for breaking down class barriers, and many of them were broken down somewhat - mostly by male members of the community. The English women, however, chose to maintain existing class structures more firmly. This is demonstrated by the story, quoted above, of Mr. Humphrys’ collarless shirts. The English ladies found this attempt at democracy amusing, to say the least. No leaping bounds towards democracy were made by any of Cannington’s English, but it would appear that the English women made the least of all. That the English women did not socialize outside their own class nearly as well as others is noted in one settler’s reminiscence: “. . . possibly the women didn’t mix so well. The

Canadian gal would not take time to doll up and throw a pink tea, as the English did; they went in more for money making” (Hewlett 1943).

Part of the reason for this lies in women’s associations with the home and the domestic sphere during Victorian times. These associations resulted in some amount of constraint on women’s physical mobility. However, when seen from a broader perspective, women’s associations with “the home” are simply a part of overarching cultural constructions of women’s place in the “private”, but more importantly “moral” realm.

The first four decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the dawning of a more commercial and industrial era in both Britain and America. During this time, an increasing division was realized between “public” working life and “private”, domestic home life (Seifert 1994; Wall 1994, 2000). Households had once been cooperative units of production, with all members contributing to the survival of the family. Over the first half of the nineteenth century, however, households shifted from units of production to units of consumption. A single breadwinner, usually (for the middle class, at least) male, supported the family, which retired into an increasingly elaborated domestic sphere (Wall 1994, 2000). The public sphere was now seen as an “a-moral” outside world, contaminated to some extent by the fact that relationships were governed by business considerations and the transferral of money. In the private domestic sphere, relationships were governed by familial and emotional ties. Accordingly, the domestic sphere (and all who inhabited it) became a haven of morality from the crass outer world (Cherney 1991; Stine 1991; Mitchell 1996; Wall 1991, 1994, 2000).

By Victorian times, in tandem with the increasing material comfort of the middle class, the “private/public split” had reached new heights through the increasing elaboration of the rituals and material necessities of home life (Wall 1994, 2000). Concurrent with this was the elaboration of women’s domestic roles. Middle-class families had the resources for women to stay at home and manage the household full-time. In the domestic sphere, women were responsible for creating a home filled with beauty, tasteful simplicity, and tranquillity, with themselves and their children as the centerpiece (Cherney 1991). A beautiful home was thought to inspire all who encountered it to thoughts and actions of a higher moral order (Meresh 1993).

One of the end results of these new social trends was to tie women more closely to the domestic sphere (Wall 1994, Stine 1991, Kryder-Reid 1994). Another result was the increasing view of women, and particularly middle class women, as guardians of morality, purity, virtue, and civilization. Women’s roles as “gatekeepers” of morality and civilization would have particular currency in the expansion of the British Empire, where the task at hand was to spread that morality across the new land (Cherney 1991; Meresh 1993).

Life in a newborn settlement required all members of a newly-arrived English family (the Pierces, for example) to stretch their boundaries and take on unaccustomed tasks. For the Pierce women at least, this meant learning domestic tasks they had never done before. Generally, it was the younger generation who took on the lion’s share of the domestic work, leaving mothers with more freedom to recreate their old lives as much as possible (Pierce Beckton 1930). For Captain Pierce, who participated in the public, “business” world of running his new homestead and building a town, this meant

hiring and consulting with the men who would perform a great deal of the town's physical labour. This would bring him, and all other male members of the community, into contact with members of classes outside their own on a regular basis. For both upper and lower middle class women, however, whose role in the work of the settlement was primarily on the farmstead, these opportunities were more limited.

Lack of contact with lower-middle class women, in particular, may have had to do with not only the constraints of the domestic sphere but with different amounts of available free time. The leisured lifestyle of the upper-middle class women dictated that their daily round should consist of visiting and meeting with other ladies. The routine of the farming women left little time for scheduled entertainments of that sort, as they would have been working not only at maintaining the household and caring for children but also at producing goods such as butter and eggs for market. In short, their leisure time was much more constrained than that of the English ladies. This was unfortunate in some ways, as friendships with the working class women might have made life easier for the English: "[t]he Ontario women settled roundabout could have taught these early Englishwomen how to bake bread, how to keep their vegetables frost proof...but the women from overseas seem to have been too reserved to ask help and true to English tradition muddled through" (Hewlett 1940).

Rather than being the root cause of English women's reluctance to break down class barriers, however, associations with the domestic sphere are rather part and parcel of, as mentioned before, women's association with the "moral" and "private" realm.

Cannington's women were not chained to the doorposts: household duties accomplished, they had the freedom to travel about the community if they chose. The

English women did just that, often, to visit other women of their class, or to perform social duties compatible with those they had known in England such as running the Ladies Guild. But even the bold ladies who braved the dangers of the fox hunts were still riding with members of their own class. There were fewer opportunities to mix, socially at least, with any of the lower middle class women and men. Or rather, the English women exercised a choice not to mix extensively with the farming community.

Victorian images of womanhood, particularly middle class womanhood, may have had something to do with this. As purveyors of virtue and morality, women of the upper-middle class English would not be required, by the expectations of their class and station in life, to socialize with the “rougher” elements of society (Read 1964), namely, the lower middle class farmers.

Virtue and purity may have also had underlying sexual connotations. The Victorian era was characterized in part by an increased emphasis on sexual morality, especially for women (Mitchell 1996). Fears of an actual sexual indiscretion were likely not warranted among Cannington’s ladies; however, the desire of a middle-class woman to maintain her reputation, her image of purity, and her association with the moral realm of the domestic rather than the contaminated realm of the public may have been related to these underlying (and most likely at Cannington, unarticulated) cultural needs for women to adhere to high standards of sexual morality.

This image of Victorian womanhood was not only the product of the perceptions of others, but also of how a woman perceived herself. As societal guardians of all that was moral, women were the ones who undoubtedly felt the greatest responsibility to uphold the values of “civilization” in the new prairie west. It was not likely that an

upper-middle class woman at Cannington would have felt comfortable in throwing the strict class boundaries she had grown up with to the wind. She was under pressure, both from without and within, to maintain her own reputation of civilized morality and uphold the traditions of the mother country. If the men were to be contaminated by their contact with the lower classes, that was all a part of their participation in the morally hazardous public sphere. Women, however, could remain in the home and in circumscribed social circles, thus preserving untainted the traditions of the British class system and their own purity.

It would seem then, initially, that there is some contradiction inherent in the fact that the English women did participate in some “public” endeavours. The Ladies’ Guild, for example, had an important public role. However, this public association was mitigated by the moral purpose of the Guild - to build the Church, and to organize entertainments that would serve charitable purposes. Therefore, it was still consistent with Victorian ideals of womanhood as guardians of morality.

In sum, upper-middle class notions of refinement and purity, women’s somewhat diminished physical mobility, and differentials in leisure time may have been part of the reason why the class structures between upper middle class English and lower middle class farmer were experienced and maintained more strongly by English women. This would certainly explain Jessie Pierce Beckton’s assertion that she did not really mix with any of the farmers. This is corroborated by her sister Frances, who states “...our visiting list contained only eight names, and fortunately we were all good friends...” (Michell [Pierce] Page 1979:7).

Differential mobility among the genders would also explain how a young Englishman like Charles Couper appears to associate so freely with both English and farming families while English women claim not to have met the latter. Of all people at Cannington, the individuals who probably had the most social mobility were the young unmarried men, the “bachelors”.

The Agricultural School pupils were without exception young Englishmen of at least the upper-middle class, usually younger sons from families of the same. With elder brothers in line to take care of whatever estate or business the family was in, there were fewer options left to younger sons. If they showed little interest in either the clergy or military endeavours, their families might have been at a bit of a loss for how to provide for them. The West was once again looked to as a land of opportunity.

These young men were English and upper-middle class in every sense of the word. Therefore, they were more than welcome in the “polite” English society - that is, the homes of the English ladies who also ran the Guild. As pupils trying to learn farming (and, later, as they homesteaded on their own in the Cannington area), these young men also had ample contact with their Canadian farming neighbours. In addition, as young unmarried men, they had the physical and sexual freedom to attend whatever entertainments pleased them, and to visit whomever they chose. This is part of the “double standard” of Victorian sexual morality (Thompson 1989) that tolerated “experience” for men more readily than for women - not only sexual, but in terms of their freedom to move throughout the ‘a-moral” public sphere and gain “worldly” knowledge, including contact with all the classes. By contrast, women were expected to



stay sheltered from the outside world both in terms of experience and, above all, in terms of their sexual purity.

This did not mean, however, that a young English man was beyond reproach. It is interesting to note that, in their role as gatekeepers of morality, the Ladies' Guild often used gossip as a form of informal social control over the bachelors. It was said that "they mended holes in the men's socks and picked holes in their reputations" (Hewlett 1940).

The sober married man was expected to assume the duties of family and business and forget youthful hijinks to some extent. Married men like Captain Pierce and the other heads of English households were less likely to move in the same circles as the carefree bachelors, although, as mentioned above, their business dealings in the public sphere gave them frequent opportunity to get to know their farming neighbours.

In conclusion, the experience of contact, "mixing", and interactions between social classes at Cannington, and therefore the perception of the relationships between those two classes, would have been different as one spoke to a farming woman, her husband, an English bachelor, a married English man, and a member of Cannington's leisured female elite. Perhaps one of the reasons that social interactions are so difficult to pin down at Cannington is for this reason; that "images" or "visions" of what Cannington Manor is may be different for everyone.

#### **5.4 Material Meanings at Cannington Manor: Archaeological Expectations**

The archaeological portion of this project proposes to examine the material culture for both English and Farming groups, particularly as pertaining to the gendered

experience of social relationships at Cannington Manor, and in doing so to try to come to an understanding of the symbolic meanings of material goods for different Cannington residents.

As outlined above and in Chapter Four, there are perceivable differences in the traits, values, and motivations for Cannington social groups, including the gendered roles of the members of those groups. Given this, it is my hypothesis that there would be differences in the symbolic use of the material goods by different members of the Cannington community. There may well be observable differences in the *kinds* of objects and categories of objects that are used by members of both groups, and these differences might relate to the practical considerations of different activities performed or even economic considerations (like increased purchasing power for the English). However, in considering the active roles of people in building up their own material discourse, the goal becomes to see not only differences in physical properties of objects, or in types of objects present, but also differences in the meanings that those objects held for their owners.

In the study of consumer choices as represented in archaeological contexts, there are numerous avenues that can be pursued to help archaeologists gain insight in to the different meanings goods may hold for people. Not all material culture is eminently suited to this kind of analysis; or rather, some types of material culture are better suited than others. For example, many historical archaeologists have focussed on tablewares, and ceramics in particular, to elucidate symbolic meanings (Wall 1991, 1994, 2000; Wilkie 2000). Tablewares are particularly useful for determining difference in symbolic views of goods because everyone, regardless of class, status, or gender, has to eat. It is

safe to say that almost everyone in historic European-derived contexts will have some vessels related to preparation and serving of food. However, within this category of material culture, there exists, particularly during the time period focussed on in this thesis, the potential for tablewares to vary in a number of attributes including ware type, quality, decoration, and vessel form. When some types of attributes are chosen over others, it provides a clue as to the meanings and identities present in those goods for the chooser. Tablewares are thus an ideal category of goods in which to search for patterns in meaning: they are common to many groups, yet have the potential to vary and thus demonstrate choices of certain attributes over others, attributes that may have symbolic meanings. In addition, tablewares have the added advantage of belonging to aspects of human social life that, for this context and time period, are imbued with high levels of ritual significance. Sharing food has often been noted to have highly symbolic aspects (Wall 2000). Different types of nails are ubiquitous at historic sites, but archaeologists do not tend to focus on these in the search for material meaning because these objects are considered to be chosen more for utilitarian reasons than the symbolic negotiation of social roles. Finally, tablewares are particularly useful for examining the material choices of women, since women are traditionally thought to be the prime actors in the selection and purchase of household goods of this nature.

In the study of the material meanings of goods at Cannington, tablewares will be a focus of the search for differing social worlds and the gender roles existing within them. There are several other categories of material culture, as well, that, like tablewares, are ubiquitous and yet have varied attributes, allowing for the analyses of consumer choice.

Not all will be used in the final analysis of this thesis, but they are interesting points to discuss in terms of future research.

Clay pipes are a category of material culture that has the potential to be common to many households, yet the choices in manufacturer and style can be used symbolically. For example, a study of working class employees at a textile mill found that workers rebelled in some ways against employers by purchasing pipes with Irish “rebel” slogans, thereby identifying with the political happenings in that country (Cook 1989).

The material world includes not only furnishings such as tableware, but also buildings and aspects of spatial organization. The locations and nature of dumps, and buildings like privies, is a fruitful avenue of inquiry, since all humans must deal with the problem of waste disposal. However, the ways in which they choose to deal with this problem are telling about their attitudes towards cleanliness, their categories of what constitutes “garbage”, and the symbolic aspects of “polluted areas” in the spatial organization of house lots and towns.

Finally, another aspect of human life that has the potential to be commonplace is that of childrearing. All peoples have to raise children to be functioning members of society, but different cultures can display very different attitudes towards children and childrearing. For example, the Ju/'hoansi of the Kalahari Desert see children as having “no sense” when they are young, and allow them to pass their youths relatively free of responsibility (Shostak 1981). This contrasts with Victorian attitudes towards children, which saw obedience and self-control as important characteristics to be instilled (Mitchell 1996, Reader 1964). The material culture associated with childrearing, then,

has the potential to demonstrate differing attitudes towards children among different groups.

There are undoubtedly many ways for the symbolic meanings of goods to be expressed in their purchase, use, and eventual discard. This project proposes to examine the material goods as found in the archaeological record at Cannington Manor and to determine ways in which their meanings might have been different for the men and women of the different social groups living there.

*Year by year more cars stop at the school to enquire if that little church – those ruins – are all that is left of the old Cannington Manor.*

*-Yarns of the Western Pioneers, Saskatchewan Farmer, February 1, 1939 (Hewlett 1939)*

## CHAPTER 6

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

The overarching goal of archaeological data-gathering was to locate material culture remains from the different social groups at Cannington Manor to facilitate the comparison of those groups. This search for these material remains eventually took up the bulk of two field seasons conducted in the summers of 2000 and 2001.

Thus far, we have discussed the “vision” of Cannington as seen from the perspective of the wealthy, upper middle class English and the hardworking Farmers (Chapter Four). We have also seen how one’s gender affects one’s experience or vision of Cannington (Chapter Five). Other visions exist as well; those of popular press writers, who created a Cannington of their own for the public; those of authors and historians, and those of the people who created and manage the historic park today for the purposes of tourism (Chapters Three and Four).

There exists as well another vision, an archaeological vision. A prime example of this is the work of Terry Gibson described in Chapter Two, which is concerned with the structural and material culture history of the town site. In this vision, things are noted such as the actual locations and sizes of historic structures, which are often not in complete agreement with the foundation markers and reconstructions. These somewhat erroneous locations, however, are part of the Historic Park's vision of Cannington and are interpreted along with that vision to the visiting public. For the purposes of conveying the history of Cannington to tourists, the relatively small amount of error in structure locations makes no practical difference. The point, however, is that the archaeological vision which sees Cannington in terms of the physical remains of historical events is different yet again from any other type of interpretation of Cannington, and this serves to reinforce the point that Cannington, like any other legend, like any other piece of history, has the potential to become a fluid entity which is moulded by those who tell its story. All stories contain a grain of the "truth" that was once Cannington. It is only in the study of the many "truths" or visions of Cannington that we can come close to the actuality of what it was.

### **6.1 The 2000 Field Season Investigations**

The goals of the first field season were to locate and excavate archaeological resources that could be tied specifically to differing social groups at Cannington. These differing groups were the English and Farmer (See Chapter Four). This archaeological

field season took place July 4-9, 2000 (after which a four day break was taken) and then July 14-23.

Another of the goals of the 2000 field season was to bring the archaeological history of Cannington Manor to the public through on-site interpretations and through other public information venues.

Visiting tourists were greeted by the author (or, in my absence, another of the field crew) and given a brief explanation of archaeology and archaeological practices, particularly as pertaining to the history of Cannington Manor. This usually included a discussion of digging methods, a display of some of the artifacts that the archaeologists were currently unearthing, and what would be learned from all of this. On two occasions, earth-filled tubs were salted with “artifacts” so children could have a chance to try archaeology first-hand (Figure 6.1).

The on-site interpretations proved beneficial not only for the public but for the archaeologists as well. Often visitors would turn out to be locals, some of whom had lived in the area their whole lives. Needless to say, the crew took advantage of these visitors to ask questions and to try to gain as much information as possible about the past history of the site. In this way, the archaeologists were able to bring information about archaeology and Saskatchewan history to a wider public, and also have the public share with them in return.





**Figure 6.1.** *Public Archaeology. All Saints Anglican Church in background. Photo taken by author.*

### **6.1.1 Archaeological Testing During the 2000 Field Season**

Four sites were chosen for testing in the 2000 field season (Figures 1.1 and 6.2), all of which were thought to have potential to contribute to the research questions. Surveys of the areas selected for testing were conducted both on foot and with a metal detector. Surface testing was done using 50 cm shovel tests. Where concentrations of artifacts proved to be present, test excavations were opened up into 1 by 1 m squares. The exact number of test excavations and meter units is detailed below for each area of the excavation. In order to avoid confusion in the identification of test excavation locations, test excavations were named according to the area of the excavations they came from, in

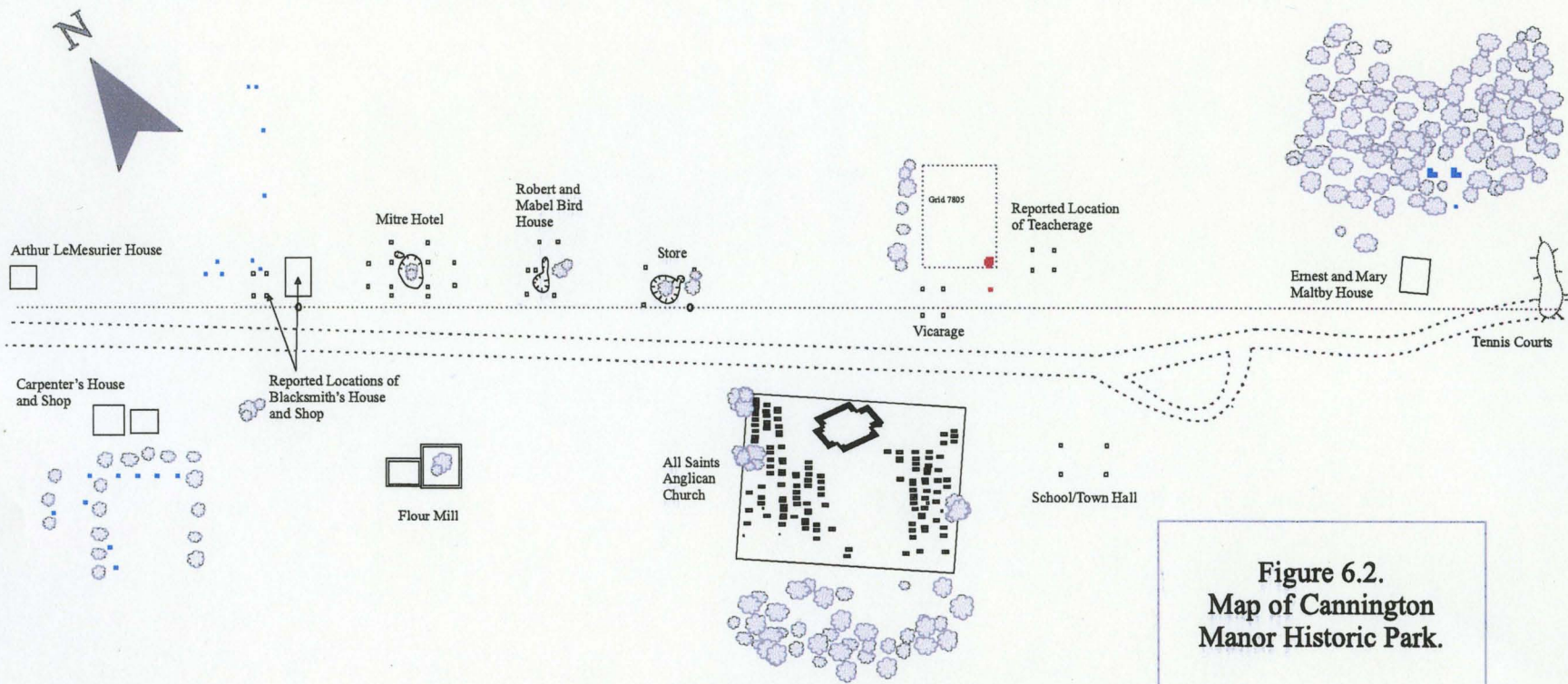
order of areas excavated. Thus the excavations from the Blacksmith house are named Test Excavations 1.1-1.8, those from the Maltby House are 2.1-2.8, and the Humphrys/Hewlett pits are 3.1-3.6.

Test excavations were dug in arbitrary 10 cm levels. For 50 cm test excavations, all artifacts from a given level were bagged together with a catalogue card detailing the site's Borden number, the excavation area, the test excavation number, the level, a brief description of the bag's contents, the date excavated, and the excavator's initials. For 1 by 1 m test excavations, artifacts larger than a two dollar coin were mapped *in situ* and each given their own card with the information described above. Fragment bags, consisting of artifacts found through screening, were kept for each level of the 50 cm test pits and each quadrant of each level of the 1 by 1 m squares. All soil was screened through 6 mm (¼") hardware cloth.

#### *6.1.1.1 The Humphrys/Hewlett House*

The Humphrys/Hewlett House was built in 1888 by James Humphrys, a recent immigrant from England (see Chapter Three). James Humphrys had been a naval architect and the house that he built was sometimes said to resemble a big ship (Figure 6.3). The house (which was of a monstrous size for that day and in that part of the world) boasted a drawing room, study, and dining room on the first floor, with a pass-through to the kitchen (designed for a maid to pass food from the kitchen to another maid in the dining room). It had a grand staircase, a darkroom, and numerous bedrooms upstairs. During Cannington's life, the house was used extensively for entertaining by





**Figure 6.2.**  
**Map of Cannington**  
**Manor Historic Park.**

**Legend**

- |                          |   |                             |   |                                |   |
|--------------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|--------------------------------|---|
| Foundation Markers       | • | 50 cm Test Excavation, 2000 | • | Gibson's Baseline Datum        | • |
| Reconstructed Building   | □ | 1m Test Excavation, 2000    | • | Gibson's Baseline              | — |
| Reconstructed Foundation | ◻ | 50 cm Test Excavation, 2001 | • | Gibson's Exploration Grid 7805 | ◻ |
| Cellar Depression        | ⊙ | 1 m Test Excavation, 2001   | • |                                |   |
| Tree                     | 🌳 |                             |   |                                |   |

50 m





the upper-middle class English community (Pugh 1980b). The surrounding yard contained two barns, one stone, one wood, as well as another stone building meant to house a pork processing plant (one of James Humphrys' industrial endeavours, see Chapter Three).

After the death of James Humphrys in 1903, the house was sold to one of Cannington's then-bachelors, Arthur Hewlett. Entertaining days were over under the regime of Mr. Hewlett, who raised cattle and farmed for a living. The Hewlett family (which eventually included Arthur's wife Annie Elizabeth May and the couples' three children) lived mainly in the dining room and kitchen to minimize the house's prohibitive heating costs.



**Figure 6.3.** *The Humphrys/Hewlett house in 2001, looking west. Photo taken by author.*

The Humphrys/ Hewlett House was the subject of a detailed historical study by Garth Pugh (1980a). In this study, it was well documented that the property underwent a transition from an elegant house meant for entertaining and refined living (owned by the Humphrys between 1888 and 1904) to a practical farmhouse (owned by the Hewletts who were more interested in farming than entertaining, 1904 to 1920) (Pugh 1980a). Thus, it was thought that this particular house and surrounding yard could provide a cross-section of two time periods; the first representing the house's life as an English dwelling during Cannington's heyday, and the second representing its life as a practical prairie farmhouse, post-Cannington.

The Humphrys/Hewlett House and yard area were surveyed extensively on foot and tested with shovel holes for evidence of trash pit/ privy remains. Six 50 cm x 50 cm test excavations were dug in which artifacts were present (Figure 6.4). The test excavations were excavated to an average depth of 50 cm. Some material culture remains were recovered (see Chapter Seven), the majority of which came from test excavation 3.6. Test excavation 3.6 (opened on the last day of excavations at the Humphrys House) located an extensive midden dating to the second (Hewlett) occupation of the house.

Though the discovery of the post-1904 midden was promising, no garbage remains from the previous period (1888-1904) were to be found in the immediate vicinity of the house. Without earlier remains for comparative purposes, excavation of the 1920s midden would not have been fruitful for the purposes of this study.

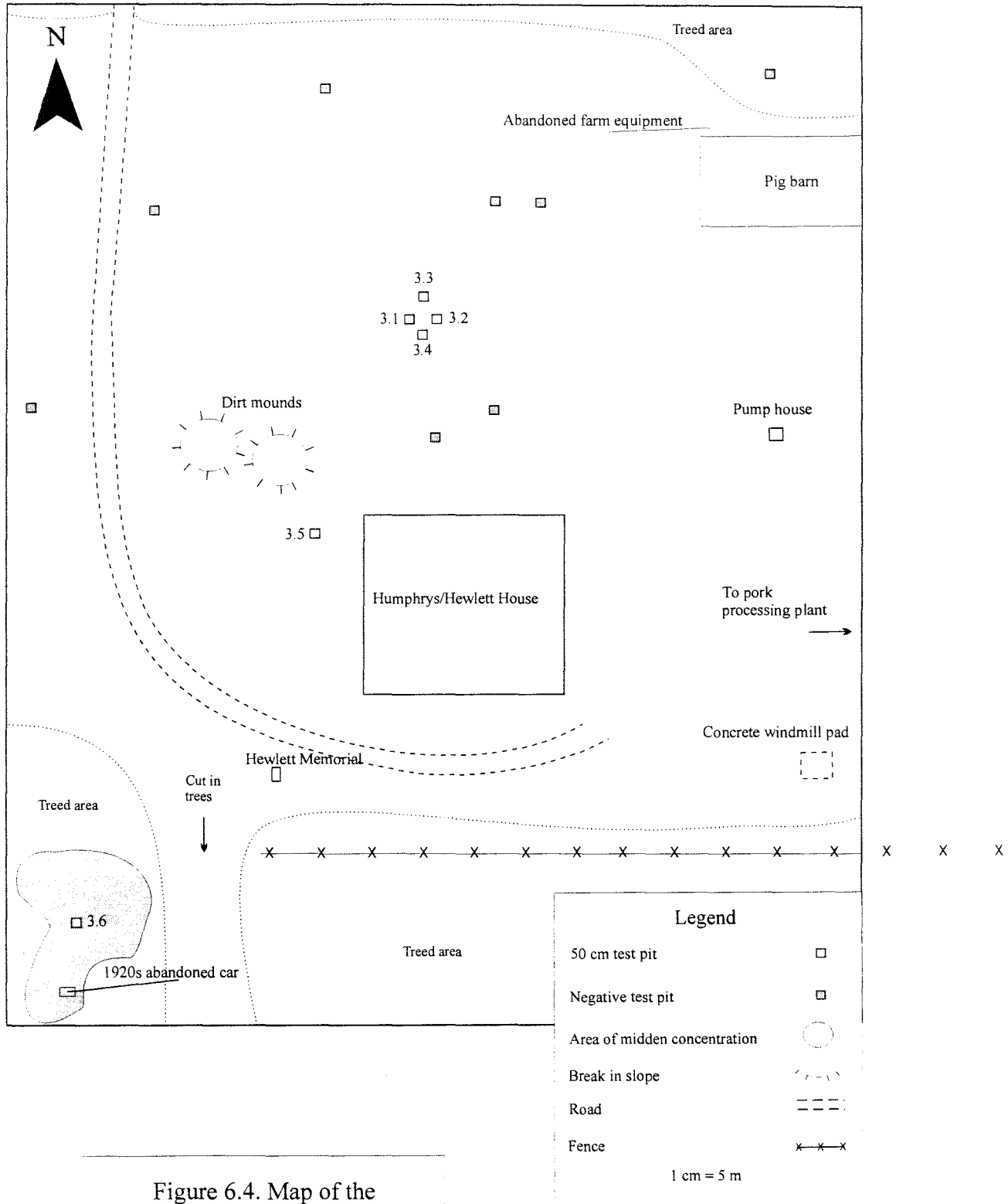


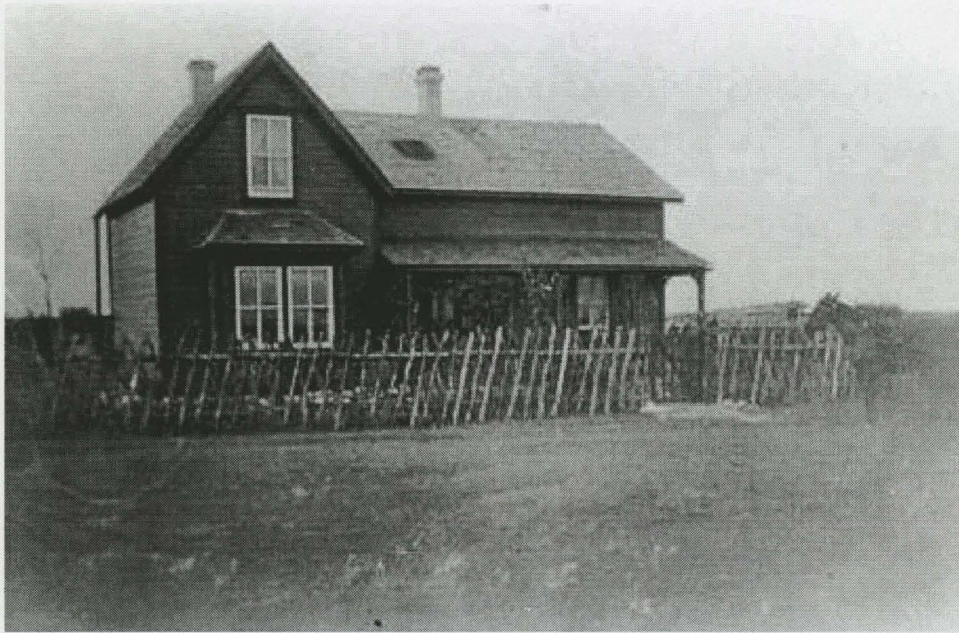
Figure 6.4. Map of the Humphrys/Hewlett Property

### *6.1.1.2 The Ernest and Mary Maltby House*

Ernest Maltby came to Cannington in 1886 as one of the partners in the Moose Mountain Trading Company (See Chapter Three). Mary Humphrys was the eldest daughter of James and Jane Humphrys. A talented artist, she had been studying art in Germany before her family's move to Canada. She was reputed to be a horsewoman of no little skill and could often be seen following the hounds with other members of Cannington's sporting set. The couple lived in what is now called the Maltby House, located at the eastern end of the town of Cannington. They had at least two children.

Ernest Maltby built the house in 1887 (Gibson 1979). It was constructed of logs resting on a fieldstone foundation. Perhaps in anticipation of his upcoming marriage, he had an addition put on in 1892. A frame wing was built, again on a fieldstone foundation, onto the west side of the house. Another wing was also added to the north side of the building. By 1898, the house had been improved again. It now had a long veranda on its south side, facing the street. A small porch that had previously been located on the south side had been moved around to the east side of the north wing (Gibson 1979) (Figure 6.5). To the immediate east of the house, a tennis court was built. Tennis parties at the Maltby's were frequently enjoyed by many of Cannington's English set.





**Figure 6.5.** *Maltby House ca. 1898. Photo courtesy of Thomas Beck.*

In 1901, when the life of Cannington was coming to an end, Ernest and Mary Maltby relocated to Manor. Ernest operated a store there (Pugh1980b). The couple moved on to British Columbia in 1909. By 1912, the house had been torn down and parts of it salvaged for use elsewhere (Gibson 1979). In 1970, the house was partially reconstructed about 10 m north of the original building site, over the remains of the family well.

The Maltby House was selected to provide data on the English upper middle-class lifestyle at Cannington. It was greatly hoped that the archaeological assemblages found at Cannington might reveal some insights into the workings of gender at Cannington. Since both the Maltby house and the Humphrys/Hewlett house were likely to have been the focus of women's activities, they both had the potential to address gender issues.



Two 50 cm test excavations and six 1m x 1m square test excavations were opened at the Maltby House (Figure 6.6). Test excavations 2.1 and 2.2 (50 cm test pits) were excavated to a depth of 70 cm and 30 cm respectively. Test excavation 2.3 was excavated to a depth of 40 cm. All other test excavations were excavated to 30 cm. It was noted that, as elsewhere in the site, archaeological remains extend only to a depth of about 30 cm.

The Maltby House provided a significant number of artifacts (see Chapter Seven) consistent with a household related assemblage. From this, the material culture of one of Cannington's English families could be examined for patterns in consumer choices, shedding light on the values and traditions of that family.

The deposit was located within a treed area to the rear of the old property. Although most of the artifacts were broken, most of their component pieces were usually present, indicating that breakage was the result of compaction of the earth and not as a result of ploughing activities. Ploughing activities may not have occurred due to the presence of the surrounding trees which, according to informants, began to take hold in the 1930s. Gibson also notes this as one of the areas within the town that was spared from ploughing activities (Gibson 1979).

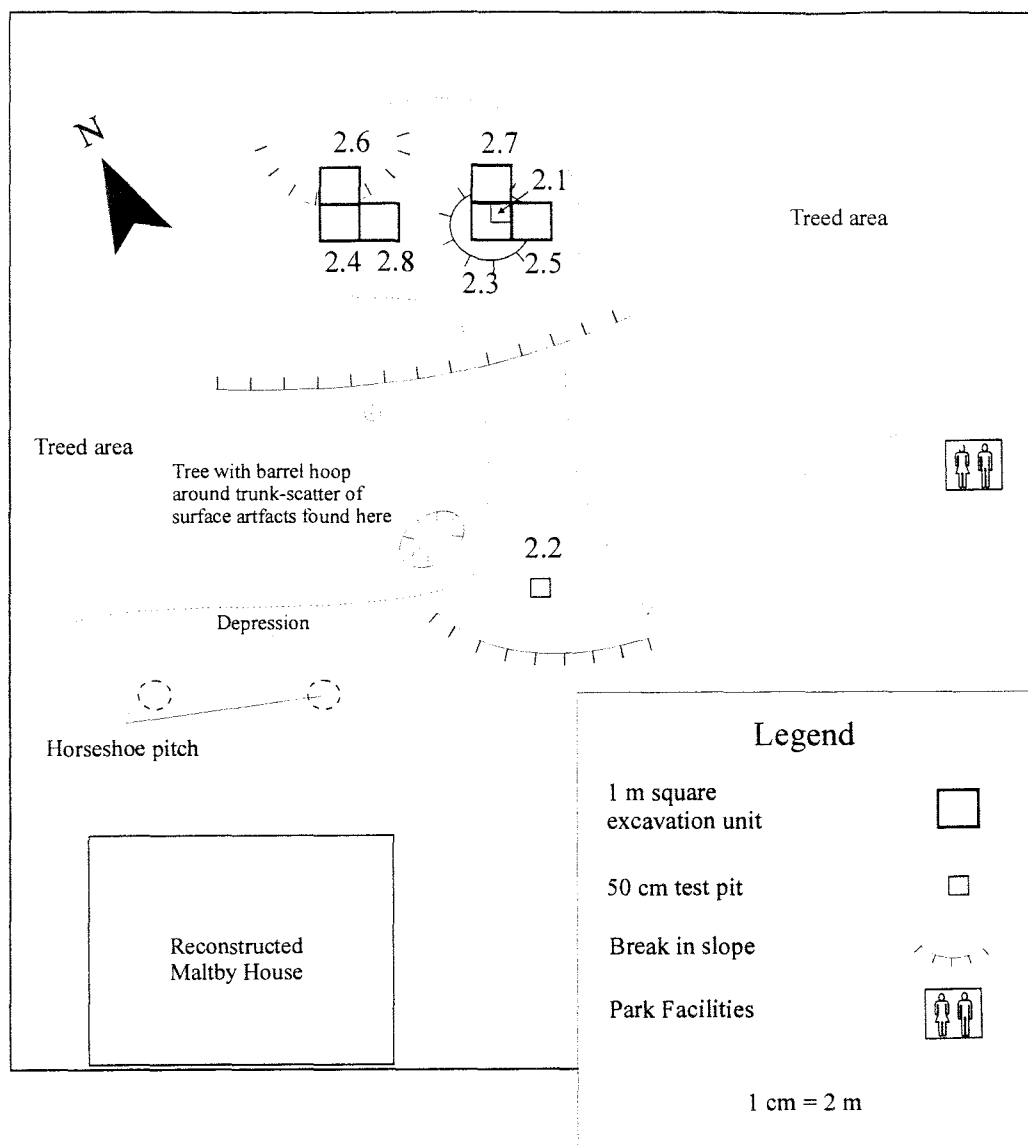


Figure 6.6.  
Maltby House Excavations.

### *6.1.1.3 The Blacksmith's House and Shop*

Both the Blacksmith's house and shop were constructed in 1887 by Charles Pryce and Joseph Newman (Gibson 1979). The buildings were commissioned and paid for by the Moose Mountain Trading Company. The shop was made of logs and may have rested on a fieldstone foundation (Gibson 1979). Archaeological testing in 1979 revealed that it possessed a cellar. There is little detailed information on the Blacksmith's house, as no clear photographs of it exist. Gibson supposes (Gibson 1979) that it was rented to various families who operated the shop, although this is confusing since Hume Robertson is generally credited with being the town's blacksmith, and he had his own house located just west of the town. Regardless, the house was used as a dwelling for a large portion of its history (Gibson 1979).

The Blacksmith's shop was reconstructed in 1969 (Gibson 1979). To its west are foundation markers that supposedly mark the location of the Blacksmith's house, although the actual location of both house and shop are some 25 m west of the reconstructed building (Gibson 1979).

The Blacksmith's house was selected to shed light on the diversity of Cannington's inhabitants. The building is given little attention in photographs and in fact is usually excluded from photographs wherever possible. Its inhabitants (to judge by their occupation) were likely skilled labourers of the lower middle classes. Therefore, it was hoped that this location would reveal the material remains of that group of people who came from different social and economic backgrounds than that of the wealthy English.

Nine 50 cm test pits were excavated at the Blacksmith's house (Figure 6.2). Test Excavations 1.1-1.4 were excavated to a depth of between 50-100 cm. At that point, it became apparent that archaeological resources were usually present only in the top 30 cm of archaeological matrix (this pattern was eventually found to be typical in artifact scatters over the site, though not, of course, of deeper structures such as wells and foundations). Test Excavations 1.5-1.9 were excavated to an average depth of 30 cm.

The blacksmith house yielded a considerable number of artifacts (see Chapter Seven). However, the nature of the finds, in large part metal and metal scraps, was more consistent with the type of assemblage to be found at or near a blacksmith's scrap heap than with the remains of household/domestic consumer activities. Given time constraints, during the 2000 field season it was thought better to move on to another of the areas selected for archaeological testing.

This lack of privy/midden deposits aside, the excavations near the blacksmith's house did reveal useful information about the nature of the site. It revealed that the artifacts tended to be deposited sparsely over large areas, most likely the results of post-occupation ploughing activities, than towards dense deposits of artifacts concentrated in small areas. These observations were generally borne out by the excavations in other areas of the park. Finally, and most importantly, observations about soil stratigraphy revealed that site formation processes relating to a) the destruction of the village, with subsequent filling events to make the land ready for agriculture, and b) construction events relating to the reconstruction of historic buildings, have affected the nature and location of archaeological resources within the park. The excavations at the blacksmith's

house resulted in one of the major goals for the second field season, which was increased research on the destruction/reconstruction events within the park.

#### *6.1.1.4 The Carpenter's House and Shop*

The Carpenter's house and shop were rebuilt just across the road from the reconstructed Blacksmith's house, and by all accounts, this location is accurate. The original shop was occupied between 1886 and 1890 by one James Ramsay (Gibson 1979). Joseph Newman, the town carpenter after 1890, skidded his house into the town site from its original location near the Beckton Ranch and placed it immediately to the east of the shop. He lived there with his wife and their four granddaughters. Joseph Newman moved his house to Carlyle in 1902. The Carpenter's house yard was chosen for testing because, as with the Blacksmith's shop, any archaeological remains found there could be tied in with lower-middle class labouring groups at Cannington.

The back lot of the Carpenter's house and shop were briefly surveyed and tested (Figure 6.2). These tests yielded no significant artifacts, but indicated that some disturbance may be present in this area, particularly due to a partial gravel road that passes west of the shop and eventually leads to the park's cricket pitch. Further survey, as well as research into nearby destruction/ reconstruction events, is needed to fully ascertain what archaeological resources may be present in this area.

### **6.1.2 *Conclusions at the End of the 2000 Field Season***

At the end of the first field season, many questions had been raised. First, there was the apparent paucity of refuse remains over all the site areas examined; next to nothing for the Blacksmith's and Carpenter's, a relatively small scatter for the Maltby, and nothing for the period in question at the Humphrys/Hewlett House, although there was a sizeable midden there dating to the period 1900 to circa 1930. "Where have all the garbage dumps gone?" had become a consistent refrain for the project, raising the idea that the apparent non-existence of such deposits was significant in itself, and merited investigation. Accordingly, locations for refuse disposal needed to be investigated. Also, assemblages from the English group had been found, but the lower middle class Farmers were proving elusive. Accordingly, the second field season's efforts were strongly bent to the discovery of information about this group of people.

### **6.2 The 2001 Field Season Investigations**

In the second field season, I decided to investigate the possibility of archaeological sites outside the village. I wanted to find a farmstead belonging to settlers who were of "Canadian" origins (i.e. had either been born in Canada or farmed elsewhere in places such as Ontario and Manitoba prior to their arrival in Cannington), preferably a family that had a known tie to the village itself. Ties to the village were not uncommon, since a very great many outlying settlers did various kinds of work for the English groups at one time or another. Another requirement was that the site be abandoned around the same

time as the demise of the village, so as not to contain large amounts of material culture relating to the years after Cannington ceased to be.

Initially, I turned to documentary sources. I searched archival material on Cannington in the hope of a fleeting reference to garbage disposal. I also searched homestead records in conjunction with known Canadian settlers' stories from local histories, in the hopes of identifying potential archaeological sites. In the end, however, I decided that the most efficient way to answer these questions was to simply ask the local people in the Cannington area themselves.

Although informants were able to identify many locations of old Canadian homesteads, a large number of the latter proved to be unsuitable for various reasons - either they were located on what was now cultivated land, and had been obliterated, or they did not conform to the specific needs of the project. Help came in the form of Elaine Hodgson, a local resident, who took me to a site on her family's property, the Dreweatt Farmstead (Figure 1.1). We knew the Dreweatt Farmstead (DkMm-10) had been abandoned by around 1905, approximately the same time as Cannington's demise, making it seem a good potential site.

Unfortunately, the Dreweatt Farmstead proved to be problematic in several ways. Homestead records revealed that it had been the site of three short occupations between 1882 and 1905. It was uncertain if the occupants were bachelors or had families, and direct ties to Cannington village were not concrete. As well, no above ground refuse deposits could be located, despite extensive searching. This site added to the growing awareness that something rotten was *missing* in the state of Cannington. This point will be returned to in the concluding discussion for this chapter. As far as archaeological

investigations in the upcoming field season were concerned, however, it was eventually concluded that archaeological efforts could be more profitably spent elsewhere.

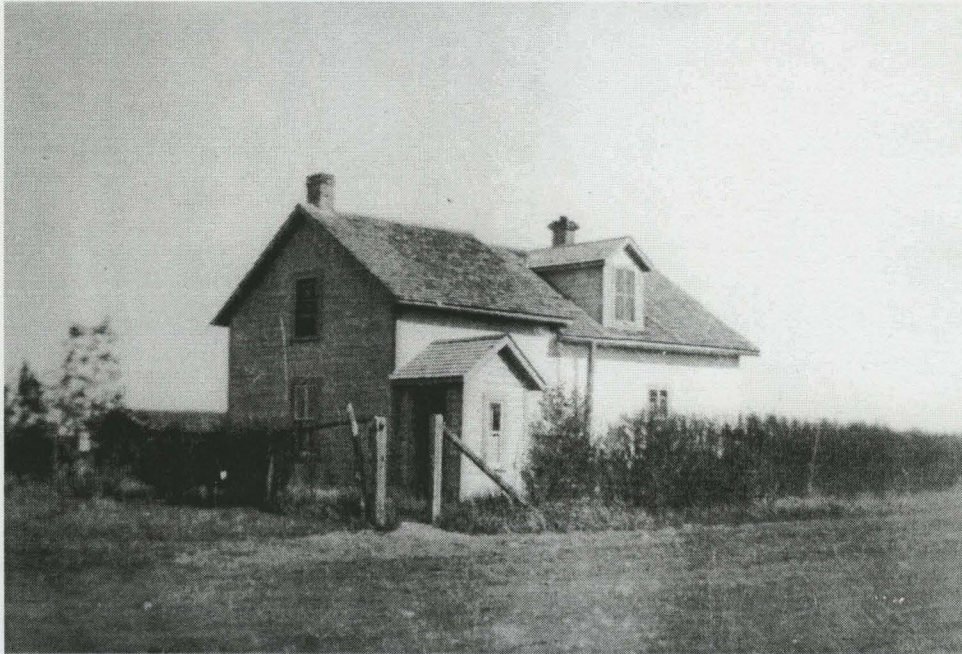
Since a suitable farmstead site representing the Canadian element at Cannington was not to be found, I decided that the best course of action was to return to the village site itself. Several options were considered in deciding where to concentrate the season's efforts. The western end of the village clearly was the locus of "lower class" elements, such as the Carpenter's and Blacksmith's residences, as well as the Flour Mill. Homes of English members of society such as Ernest and Mary Maltby, as well as the Church and Town Hall, tended to be located more to the eastern end of town. However, the western end of the town had also been disturbed to the greatest extent, and it did not appear that efforts in that area would prove fruitful. The Maltby House was also an option, since at least it was known that there were archaeological deposits there. However, it was felt that the collection of data similar to that which had already been gathered would not generate new insights into Cannington society. In the end, it was decided to focus efforts on the Vicarage. The 2001 field season went from July 6-12, 2001.

### ***6.2.1 Archaeological Testing During the 2001 Field Season: The Vicarage***

The Vicarage was built in 1886 (Figure 6.7). It was constructed on a fieldstone and mortar foundation and had a cellar (Gibson 1979). It was added on to in 1895. At its height, the building consisted of a log bungalow with a frame wing extending to the west. A porch that had originally enclosed a door on the east side of the building had



been moved to the south side. The building also had an attached shed on its north side. During the building's life, it was enclosed on four sides by a page wire fence and a small hedge that was particularly thick on the east side. The building was removed to a nearby farm in 1915 for use as living quarters.



**Figure 6.7.** *Vicarage ca. 1898. Photo courtesy of Thomas Beck.*

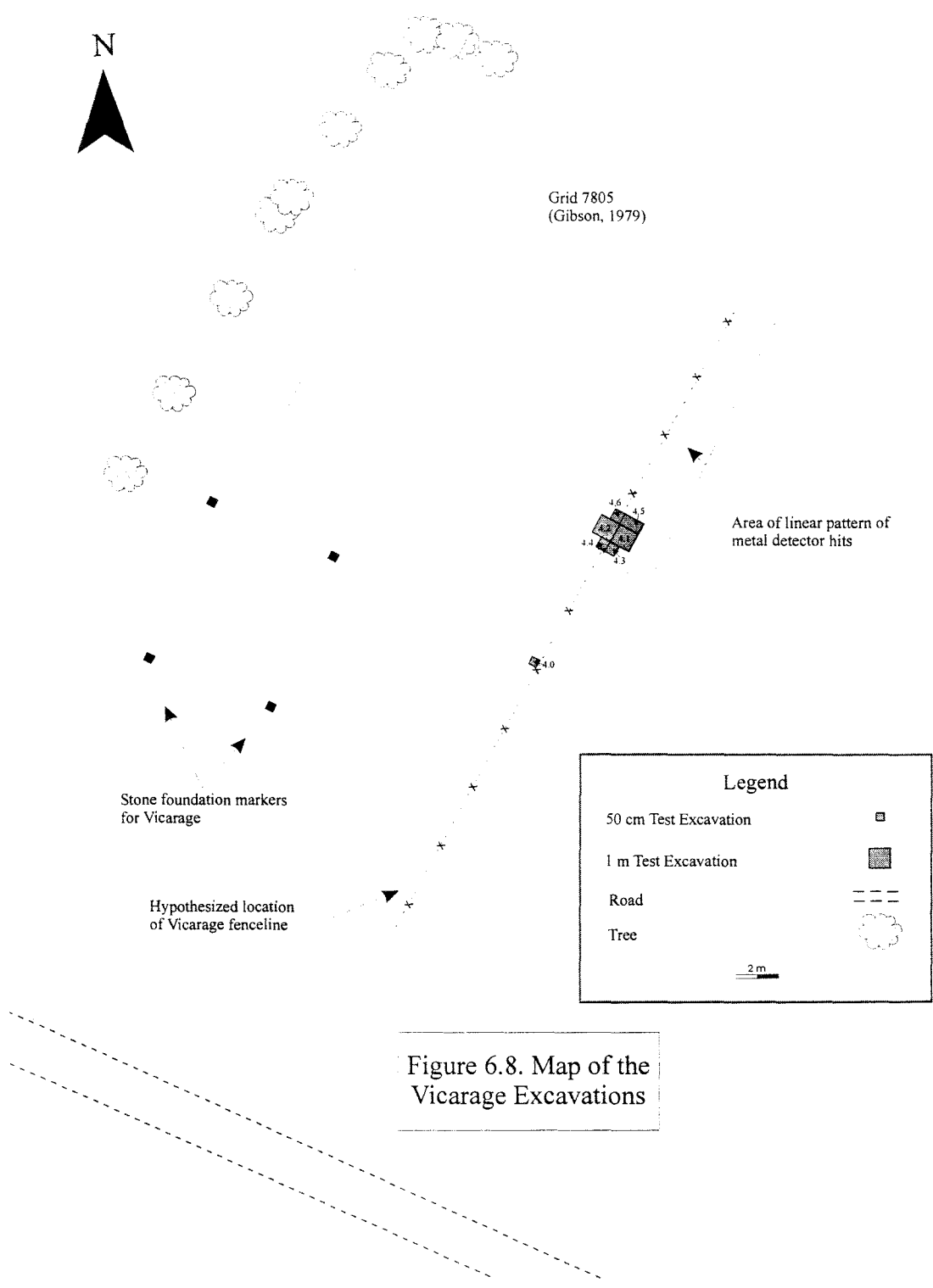
As one might suppose, the building was occupied by a series of ministers over the years. The first was the Reverend W. St. John Field, who lived at the Vicarage from its construction (1886) until September of 1888. Following him was Rev. H.B. Cartwright (November 1888 to fall 1889), Rev. Shafto L. Agassiz (fall 1889 to spring 1891), Rev. G. Dobie (spring 1891 to summer 1895), Rev. B. Barton (summer 1895 to winter 1897), Rev. John Shelley (January 1898 to June 1906), and Rev. P.C. Hackworth (September 1906 to May 1912) (Pugh 1980b).

This location was selected for two reasons. First, it had been part of the extensive magnetometer survey conducted by Terry Gibson in 1978 (Gibson 1979). Gibson noted that the area contained a magnetic anomaly that proved to be, upon testing, a small midden concentration, and it had not been fully excavated. Excavations at the Vicarage, then, could provide an opportunity to build on previous research by investigating features found in prior investigations. Secondly, although the Vicarage was largely occupied by “English” individuals, they may have represented other elements in the heterogeneous English community. What was the social position of the Vicar and his wife, in the transplanted Victorian class structure of Cannington’s English?

### ***6.2.2 Archaeological Testing During the 2001 Field Season***

With renewed optimism, I and a crew of two other graduate students attempted to relocate the Vicarage features found in Gibson’s 1978 survey.

In 1978, Gibson had established a grid baseline approximately down the center of the town and running its entire length. This baseline was tied to two (supposedly) permanent steel datum pins established in the park. Tied to this baseline were a series of selected Exploration Grids, each numbered and located on maps accompanying the final report (Figure 6.2, 6.8; also Gibson 1979). Each grid area was subjected to a magnetometer survey. Exploration Grid 7805 covered significant portions of the Vicarage houselot. In Gibson’s report, Magnetic Anomaly B, located in Grid 7805, had



Grid 7805  
(Gibson, 1979)

Area of linear pattern of  
metal detector hits

Stone foundation markers  
for Vicarage

Hypothesized location  
of Vicarage fenceline

**Legend**

50 cm Test Excavation	
1 m Test Excavation	
Road	
Tree	

2m

Figure 6.8. Map of the  
Vicarage Excavations

been tested and identified as a midden concentration (Figure 6.8, also Gibson 1979). The sod had been removed from a 4 m area over the anomaly, revealing a concentration of metal and glass artifacts. The area was not disturbed further. Plastic was laid down in the excavation area and the sod replaced (Gibson 1979).

Unfortunately, the steel data, when sought, were no longer to be found. However, using the maps from Gibson's report, we were able to establish approximately where we felt they should have been. After attempting to re-establish the grid, it was a simple matter to measure where the southwest corner of Grid 7805 should have been, if we were correct in our estimations. Once we had established where we thought Grid 7805 was, we measured out the location of Anomaly B and placed a wire flag on the location. Our estimation placed Anomaly B approximately 10-15m east of the foundation markers of the Vicarage. By all accounts, by the way, the foundation markers for the Vicarage were largely accurate as to the location of that structure, although they may have been somewhat erroneous in terms of the building's correct size (Gibson 1979).

We were reasonably certain that we were *more or less* in the right place. However, the midden itself was reported to be an ovoid shape about a 1.5 m long and a little over 1 m wide, and easily missed. Because of the uncertainty involved in our calculations, it was decided that an additional methodical search was warranted. We allowed ourselves a 20 m by 20 m margin of error, and staked off an area of that size in a rough square around the location of our wire flag. Dividing this area into quadrants, we began a close survey of the area using metal detectors. The two westernmost quadrants exhibited almost no "hits" except for directly within the confines of the foundation markers themselves. In the easternmost two quadrants, however, metal detector hits began to

register in a rough line running the length of our survey area, perpendicular to the village road. The line passed directly over our hypothesized location of Anomaly B. Deciding that at last a test hole was warranted, a 50 by 50 cm test excavation was opened at this location (Test Excavation 4.1; see Figure 6.8). To the great joy of all present, on first insertion the shovel blade passed directly through the plastic from Terry Gibson's 1978 excavation. Underneath the plastic, metal and ceramic artifacts were in evidence.

Puzzled as to what the rough line of metal detector hits represented, we completed another test excavation (Test Excavation 4.0) south of the first (Figure 6.8). This revealed a few machine cut nails and some barbed wire. The fencing wire inspired the conjecture that this was in fact the fence line feature of the Vicarage property. This hypothesis is supported in several ways. First, the line of metal detector hits is in approximately in the correct location for the fence feature that was known to have surrounded the house. Second, the Vicarage house itself had a back door located on the east, and later south, side of the structure (Gibson 1979). The eastern fence line would make a convenient place for dumping refuse carried out of the house from this door. Also, historic photographs of the house are oriented northeast across the house- thereby concealing much of the east side of the property and the fence that was located there.

The midden feature at the Vicarage, then, proved to consume the bulk of our time in the 2001 Field Season (Figure 6.9). Two 1 by 1 m square units, one 1 m by .5 m unit, and three 50 by 50 cm units were eventually opened up (Figure 6.8). Arbitrary 10 cm levels were used. The concentration of artifacts proved to be no deeper than 10 cm in most places. The archaeological methodology for this area was the same as for all other house areas.



**Figure 6.9.** *Excavating (Vicarage House Area).*

*Photo taken by author.*



### **6.2.3 Conclusions at the End of the 2001 Field Season**

Through informant interviews and archaeological investigation, an as-yet-incomplete picture of Cannington Manor and the people who lived there was slowly emerging. Archaeologically, we had learned that several processes had affected the archaeological resources at the town of Cannington Manor. First, there were the destruction activities that had taken place after the demise of the town. Both the destruction of buildings and, more importantly the filling of foundations and features in

preparation for agriculture, had had significant impact on the town's archaeological resources. Reconstruction activities, however, had also taken a heavy toll. At the Carpenter's house, for example, actual grading had been done prior to reconstruction, resulting in severe disturbance. Buildings that were reconstructed on their original locations ran the risk of disturbing underlying foundations; buildings that were reconstructed in erroneous locations ran the risk of disturbing as-yet unheard of resources (the reconstruction of the Maltby House over the lot's original well being an example). All in all, however, the areas west of the town were the most heavily disturbed. Both reconstruction and agriculture had taken a toll here. Agricultural disturbance, at least, appeared to be less felt in certain sections of the eastern end of the town. These relatively undisturbed areas had also been noted by Gibson in 1978 (Gibson 1979).

#### **6.2.4 Conclusions**

By far, the most interesting aspect of the archaeology of Cannington and its surrounding area was a general, overall, and universal lack of garbage for the period of early settlement. The English, it would appear, were particular about refuse. Those scatters found near the Maltby House and the Vicarage, though interesting, were small and certainly did not reflect all of the dumping episodes from the entire lifespan of the dwellings in question (this point will be returned to in Chapter Eight). It is my hypothesis that both scatters represent garbage that did not make it to the main dumping location.

The people at Cannington must have had a communal dump or other method of refuse disposal, for the garbage is definitely not to be found in any large concentrations near dwellings, though agricultural activities may have been the culprits in some places, spreading refuse over a wide area. Oral informants were vague on the topic of a communal dump. Some said no such thing existed. Those who said a dump had existed displayed wild variation in describing where it was located. Gibson reports that large numbers of artifacts were observed on the surface in the northwest portion of the village. The people he had spoken with indicated that, when the land was being first broken for agriculture, farmers had encountered “numerous depressions and open pits” in that area (Gibson 1979:80). The northwest of the village would be an appropriate place for a public nuisance ground, since it was located in the most “commercial” area. The Church and the homes of the wealthy English were located at the opposite end of the town.

Initially, as well, I had hoped to encounter privy pits, which are often used to dispose of garbage. However, it was soon discovered that the predominant method of human waste disposal at Cannington was not privies. Bathrooms were constructed with specially made wooden trays fitted underneath them. Waste was collected in these and removed periodically (Gibson 1979). Since this waste had to be carted away for deposition, it is all the more likely that most of the garbage found its way to the same location.

This method of waste disposal was not confined to the town of Cannington Manor. I consulted many historic photographs of the town and its surrounding area for possible garbage disposal locations. The Beckton Ranch, for example, had been photographed extensively from many angles over the years, including from the roof of the house.



Nowhere could I find evidence of a privy. One finally did show up- in a photograph taken during the 1960s occupation of the house.

The Dreweatt Farmstead amply confirmed the hypothesis that the English were fastidious enough to haul waste to a different location. Extensive searching around the cellar depression and its environs revealed no evidence of either middens or privy depressions. This, despite searches in both summer and early spring (when the lack of vegetation made ground contours more evident), both on foot and with metal detectors, and ranging quite far afield from the immediate area of the ruined homestead.

Examination of the Humphrys/Hewlett house revealed no indication of privy facilities from any period of occupation. An extended examination of the area surrounding the house, conducted in May of 2001, revealed an artifact scatter in a cultivated field some distance from the house. This scatter contained manganese-tinted glass, which suggested deposition prior to 1925 (Brandon 1989). However, no evidence of privy facilities was noted.

The paucity of refuse remains and privies was, at least initially, unexpected. It is this researcher's opinion, now, that the refuse disposal habits of early settlement period English, that is, what those disposal patterns were and, more importantly, *why* they were the way they were, is a topic worthy of study entirely by itself. Such research into refuse disposal patterns, particularly when compared to the refuse disposal patterns of other early Saskatchewan settlements, may have the potential to generate great insight into the worldview of the people who created those patterns.

Slightly less surprising was the lack of material culture pertaining to the "working class" elements of Cannington society. The homes and businesses of the wealthy

English tended, on the whole, to be better preserved and less disturbed than those of their working class neighbours, both inside and outside the town. The English element at Cannington was easier to find archaeologically, but it must be remembered that most of the “English set” left Cannington with the demise of the village. The homes they left behind were substantial and highly visible, and where their use did not continue they were often left as curiosities. At very least, they were far more difficult to bulldoze or plough under than the remains of a log or frame cottage; for this reason, English structural remains tended to be more visible than those of the working class settlers. Resources for the “Canadians” were scarce for another reason as well. The Canadians were comprised of those who stayed and eventually succeeded as farmers after the turn of the century. So the “Canadians” are difficult to find archaeologically in large part because their “archaeological record” is still under construction in the present.

*It was a pioneer's dream that was born on the wings of a grand and romantic vision of the Canadian frontier but, all too soon, was killed off by the harsh realities of prairie life.*

*-Monuments to a Dream, Saskatoon Star Phoenix, August 26, 2000*

## CHAPTER 7

### MATERIAL CULTURE AT CANNINGTON MANOR

#### 7.1 The Classification Scheme

The excavation of historic sites tends to generate large volumes of material culture data in the form of those thousands of objects, ranging from potsherds to tractor seats, that archaeologists call *artifacts*. In addition to large numbers of artifacts, historical sites, particularly those that existed during and after the introduction of mass production in consumer goods, tend to exhibit a wide variety in types of goods present. In order to make meaningful sense of these quantities of objects, some method must be devised for organizing and ordering them conceptually.

In this study, the system that I have used for grouping artifacts into meaningful categories is based on the functional categories of Roderick Sprague (Sprague 1981). Sprague argued that dividing artifacts up according to their function or “use” by the

people who used them brings the researcher closer to the emic categories of the people being studied; that is, the categorizations that would have made the most sense to the people who used the artifacts.

Imposing order on archaeological material cultures necessarily runs the risk of introducing the biases of the imposer into the analysis of the artifacts. Despite this, we realize that some kind of order must be imposed on archaeological cultures if one is to have a chance at meaningful interpretation. It is important, however, that any classification scheme used to order material culture data be critically thought out by its users, so that they are cognisant of the strengths, weaknesses, and potential interpretive pitfalls inherent within it.

In his system of functional categories, Sprague divides historical artifacts into a hierarchy that begins with the individual, encompasses all the material culture that pertains personally to him or her, and then moves in an ever-widening circle outward, first through the household surrounding the individual and all the activities that take place there, and then into the outer world with categories for work outside the home, transportation, and public activities such as (for example) churchgoing (Sprague 1981).

The functional categories (Table 7.1) used in the present study are based on those outlined by Sprague. However, there are some differences that should be noted. To replace the "Unknown" category (Sprague 1981), I have included in my classification three separate categories. "Unclassified" artifacts are those artifacts which are

**Table 7.1. Functional Classifications of Material Culture at Cannington Manor: Activity and Subactivity Groups**

<p><b>Personal</b>            Clothing Materials            Clothing Fasteners            Adornment            Toiletry Items            Curated Personal Artifacts</p>	<p><b>Reading, Writing, and Education</b>            Writing            Education</p>	<p><b>Hunting/Defence</b>            Ammunition</p>
<p><b>Health and Healing</b>            Medicine Bottles (human)</p>	<p><b>Household Furnishings</b>            Lighting            Heating Devices            Furniture            Window Dressing            Washstand Items</p>	<p><b>Unclassified</b>            Unclassified Ceramics            Unclassified Glass            Unclassified Metal            Unclassified Metal Fastenings            Unclassified Organic</p>
<p><b>Children and Childrearing</b>            Children's Toys            Food Preparation/Consumption-Children</p>	<p><b>Household Maintenance</b>            Heating</p>	<p><b>Unidentified</b>            Unidentified Glass            Unidentified Metal            Unidentified Faunal            Unidentified Composite            Unidentified Organic</p>
<p><b>Social/Recreational and Indulgence</b>            Alcohol Consumption            Smoking            Games            Memorabilia</p>	<p><b>Architectural</b>            Architectural Hardware            Building Materials            Door Hardware and Materials            Window Hardware and Materials</p>	<p><b>Unidentifiable</b>            Unidentifiable Ceramic            Unidentifiable Glass            Unidentifiable Metal            Unidentifiable Faunal            Unidentifiable Organic            Unidentifiable Composite            Unidentifiable Lithic</p>
<p><b>Food Preparation/Consumption</b>            Kitchenware            Single Use Food Storage Containers            Reusable Food Storage Containers            Subsistence-Related Faunal Remains            Subsistence-Related Organic Remains            Tableware</p>	<p><b>Agriculture and Animal Husbandry</b>            Agricultural Equipment and Tools            Animal Husbandry            Fencing            Gardening Implements</p>	
	<p><b>Transportation</b>            Transport- animal powered</p>	

identifiable but whose functional classification is ambiguous or which could fall into one or more categories. The category “unidentified” refers to those artifacts that, with greater research effort (Brandon 1989), could be further identified. “Unidentifiable” refers to artifacts that are too fragmentary, too corroded, melted, or burned, or too disfigured to allow identification beyond material type.

A second difference concerns the use of the category “domestic”. I found that moving from the private to the public in outlining functional categories is a useful way for the researcher to conceive, in his or her own mind, of the various potential categories present. However, there is an important point to consider in developing categories in this way. The hierarchy of movement from the private, inner world to the public, outer world is a product of our modern conception of the public/private split between home and business, public and private. This point becomes important only when one considers the locations of activity areas that are associated with the public and private sphere and the people who (traditionally) are thought to dominate these activity areas.

There is a bias inherent in making a category designed to represent household activities and calling it “Domestic”, as Sprague does. In my opinion, the word “domestic” implies a location, not an activity. However, in Sprague’s scheme, “domestic” is allowed to stand for an activity. The only reason the term “domestic” could be used as a functional category representing an activity (and encompassing within it numerous other activities such as household maintenance and food preparation), is if “domestic” is seen as a type of activity that is inherently self contained, or in other words, that has a conceptual division between the activities performed in it and other kinds of activities. The conception of “domestic” work as

separate from other kinds of work carries with it embedded assumptions about the people who perform “domestic” work – traditionally, women.

Designating a functional category as “domestic” indicates that women and “domestic” activities are conceptually separate from men and “public sphere” duties. By lumping several household-related duties under the heading “domestic”, one is overlaying these activities with the assumption that they will be performed in a specific place and most likely by a specific person, a woman. It does not allow for flexibility and the possibility that these activities may be carried out in other places, or more importantly, by people other than women. If all the different kinds of activities that could be subsumed under “domestic” - cleaning, cooking, tacking down a carpet, or lighting a lamp, for example - are simply treated separately, they have the potential to be simply activities that we know past peoples performed, without any added assumptions about *who* performed them.

This problem is easily solved - rather than having a “domestic” category, in my categories I simply break out the activities that are traditionally performed in and around the household (such as household maintenance, food preparation and consumption, and personal or toilet articles, to name a few) into their own separate functional categories, on par with all the other types of activities in the classification.

Owing to the relatively simple solution to this problem, one might see the involved explanation leading to up to it as being somewhat overzealous, but I believe that this sort of self-consciousness in research, and the concurrent awareness of the paradigms that inform our ways of conducting research, ultimately strengthens our claims to objectivity, our interpretations, and our conclusions.

## 7.2 The Material Culture

The goals of the current study are to search for material meanings in the archaeological data recovered from Cannington Manor over two field seasons of survey and excavation. Specifically, I wanted to see if there are differences in the consumer choices of two different groups living in and around Cannington Manor, the “English” and the “Farmers”. However, as mentioned in an earlier Chapter, material culture for the “Farmers” proved mostly elusive. Therefore, oral histories, documentary information, and spatial data will have to be relied upon more heavily for insight into that group. However, some material data are available, mostly for members of the “English Group”, in the four areas where archaeological data were recovered (see Chapter Six): the Blacksmith’s House, the Humphrys/Hewlett House, the Maltby House, and the Vicarage.

I have treated each area excavated as a discrete data set, since each area belonged to different families and individuals living in and around Cannington. I will henceforth refer to the different areas excavated as “house areas”. The material culture will be discussed in four separate sections, one for each house area.

All of the archaeological deposits excavated for this project were locations of secondary refuse deposition. Secondary refuse, defined by Michael Schiffer in *Formation Processes of the Archaeological Record* (Schiffer 1987), is where artifacts are deposited in locations other than those in which they were originally used or dropped, such as a collection of household trash that has been collected and dumped at a location outside the household. I was not able to discern alternate episodes of dumping



within the stratigraphy of the deposits, though undoubtedly there were some; however, the importance of the artifacts to the discussion at hand is in the nature of the consumer choices they represent, and less in the site formation processes that led to their arrival in the earth. For this reason, I feel it is more useful to discuss the artifacts within their functional categories, rather than in terms of the levels in which they were excavated, which were arbitrary divisions simply used to facilitate clarity in recording.

Finally, the focus of this project is the cultural, ideological, and material meanings behind the purchasing choices of Cannington Manor residents. Therefore, the main focus of this chapter will be on those artifacts and artifact categories that have the potential to contribute to this discussion. Detailed information on all the artifacts excavated for this project is provided in Appendix C.

### ***7.2.1 The Blacksmith's House and Shop***

Four hundred and seventy-six artifacts were recovered at the Blacksmith's house and shop and were classified into 9 Activity Groups and 15 Subactivity Groups, summarized in Table 7.2. In this table, as in all the general tables for the house areas, I have included a calculation of the percentages of the artifacts in their functional categories. The sum totals of the fragment counts existing within the various categories are expressed in terms of their relationship to the total number of artifacts found in the whole; that is, as a percentage of the total artifact count. Calculating percentages of raw fragment counts is of questionable usefulness in drawing comparative conclusions between collections;

however, it is useful in illustrating to others what the archaeologist can see intuitively or can learn from historical documents; that is, the basic function of a site area.

**Table 7.2. Artifacts and Functional Categories of the Blacksmith's House and Shop, n = 476**

Activity Group	Subactivity Group	Quantity	Percentage of total artifacts in house group
<b>Social/Recreational and Indulgence, n = 6</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>1.3%</b>
	Alcohol Consumption	5	1 %
	Smoking	1	0.2%
<b>Food Preparation and Consumption, n = 4</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>0.8%</b>
	Food Storage Containers	1	0.2%
	Single Use Food Storage Containers	2	0.4%
	Reusable Food Storage Containers	1	0.2%
<b>Household Furnishings, n = 3</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>0.6%</b>
	Lighting	2	0.4%
	Window Dressing	1	0.2%
<b>Household Maintenance, n = 252</b>		<b>252</b>	<b>53%</b>
	Heating	252	53%
<b>Architectural, n = 80</b>		<b>80</b>	<b>17%</b>
	Architectural Hardware	14	3%
	Building Materials	4	0.04%
	Window Hardware and Materials	62	13%
<b>Agriculture, Gardening, and Animal Husbandry, n = 62</b>		<b>62</b>	<b>13%</b>
	Agricultural Equipment and Tools	2	0.4%
	Animal Husbandry	60	13%
<b>Transportation, n = 1</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>0.2%</b>
	Transport- Animal Powered	1	0.2%
<b>Hunting/Defense, n = 1</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>0.2%</b>
	Ammunition	1	0.2%
<b>Unclassified, n = 17</b>		<b>17</b>	<b>3.6%</b>
	Unclassified Glass	7	1.5%
	Unclassified Metal Fastenings	10	2%
<b>Unidentified, n = 17</b>		<b>17</b>	<b>3.6%</b>
	Unidentified Metal	17	3.6%
<b>Unidentifiable, n = 33</b>		<b>33</b>	<b>7%</b>
	Unidentifiable Metal	32	6.5%
	Unidentifiable Lithic	1	0.2%

When compared to the Maltby house area and the Vicarage house area (Table 7.3), both of which are known from historical records to be household lots, we can see that the materials retrieved from the Blacksmith's house and shop have comparatively few artifacts relating to household activities. The Blacksmith's Food Preparation and Consumption category, for example, has .8% of the total count for the house area, as compared to 36.3% and 33.1% respectively for the Maltby and Vicarage. By contrast, the Agriculture/Animal Husbandry category for the Blacksmith's area is significantly higher than the same category for the Maltby House and Vicarage (13% as compared to 1% and .1%).

These numbers serve to confirm what was suspected during excavation, that the remains found near the Blacksmith's house and shop were representative of work activities related to smithing and not household activities. The high percentage of the Agriculture/Animal Husbandry category is the result of a large number of horseshoe nails (n = 59). All were bent or broken, and can be inferred to have resulted from the removal of horses' old shoes prior to re-shoeing, a typical and ongoing blacksmithing activity.

Because this house area does not represent household activities, and more to the point, because none of the artifacts have identifying markings that could tie them to purchasing choices beyond those of which were universal to all Cannington inhabitants, this house area will not be discussed further in this section. All or most of the households of the community would have purchased tobacco (a single tobacco can seal was recovered), nails for housing and shoeing horses, and alcohol; all or most would have used lamps and kept guns and ammunition (one .45 calibre bullet was recovered).

Therefore, the usefulness of this house area to a discussion of consumer choices is limited. For a detailed description of the artifacts found at the Blacksmith's house and shop, see Appendix C.

**Table 7.3. Percentages of Functional Categories (fragment count of functional category divided by the total fragment count for the house area) for Maltby, Vicarage, and Blacksmith's House Areas.**

Activity Group	Maltby House Area	Vicarage Area	Blacksmith's House and Shop Area
Personal	0.2	0.8	–
Health and Healing	1.3	0.6	–
Children and Childrearing	0.5	0.3	–
Social/Recreational and Indulgence	3	6	1.3
Food Preparation/Consumption	36.3	33.1	0.8
Reading, Writing and Education	0.0002	1	–
Household Furnishings	4.4	11.3	0.6
Household Maintenance	26.3	3	5.3
Architectural	14	13	17
Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	0.1	1	1.3
Transportation	–	0.2	0.2
Hunting and Defence	0.0002	0.3	0.2
Unclassified	12.1	22.4	3.6
Unidentified	0.4	1.3	3.6
Unidentifiable	1.5	5.1	7

### *7.2.2 The Maltby House*

The count for the Maltby House came to a total of 4,719 artifact fragments. Sixteen Activity Groups and 41 Subactivity Groups were represented. These are summarized in Table 7.4. I will discuss the categories present at the Maltby House in more detail, as some of the artifacts present may serve to underline the points made in our discussion of purchasing choices at Cannington.

#### *7.2.2.1 Personal Artifacts*

The Personal category had a total of eight artifacts, representing 0.2% of the total fragment count for the house area. Artifacts of interest include a metal toggle button, and the sole of a shoe, probably a woman's, to judge from the size and shape.

#### *7.2.2.2 Health and Healing Artifacts*

Three artifacts (1.3%) relate to Health and Healing. Two bottle finishes were found. One is a Perry-Davis type, the other a patent lip. A third artifact was found almost entirely complete. This aqua medicine bottle is made from a cup-bottom mould and has a hand-applied finish. Embossed letters read "WHITTEMORE BOSTON U.S.A.". The base has a manufacturer's mark reading simply "10". This bottle has been identified as a medicine bottle due to its size, shape, and aqua colour; though there is a possibility it also could have been a container for a toilet item such as cologne or hair tonic.

**Table 7.4. Artifacts and Functional Categories of the Maltby House, n = 4,719**

Activity Group	Subactivity Group	Quantity	Percentage of total artifacts in house group
<b>Personal Artifacts, n = 8</b>		<b>8</b>	<b>0.2%</b>
	Clothing Materials	3	0.06%
	Clothing Fasteners	4	0.8%
	Curated Personal Artifacts	1	0.0002%
<b>Health and Healing Artifacts, n = 60</b>		<b>60</b>	<b>1.3%</b>
	Medicine Bottles (human)	60	1.3%
<b>Children and Childrearing Artifacts, n = 21</b>		<b>21</b>	<b>.5%</b>
	Food Preparation/Consumption - Children	21	0.5%
<b>Social/Recreational and Indulgence, n = 143</b>		<b>143</b>	<b>3%</b>
	Alcohol Consumption	142	3%
	Games	1	0.0002%
<b>Food Preparation and Consumption, n = 1,716</b>		<b>1,716</b>	<b>36.3%</b>
	Kitchenware	51	1%
	Single Use Food Storage Containers	523	11%
	Reusable Food Storage Containers	3	0.06%
	Subsistence-Related Faunal Remains	39	0.8%
	Subsistence-Related Organic Remains	21	0.5%
	Tableware	1,080	23%
<b>Reading, Writing, and Education, n = 1</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>0.0002</b>
	Writing	1	0.0002%
<b>Household Furnishings, n = 206</b>		<b>206</b>	<b>4.4%</b>
	Lighting	205	4.3%
	Heating Devices	1	0.0002%
<b>Household Maintenance, n = 1240</b>		<b>1240</b>	<b>26%</b>
	Heating	1240	26%

**Table 7.4 Continued**

<b>Architectural, n = 658</b>		<b>658</b>	<b>14%</b>
	Architectural Hardware	95	2.1%
	Building Materials	323	6.8%
	Window Hardware and Materials	240	5.1%
<b>Agriculture, Gardening, and Animal Husbandry, n = 3</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>.1%</b>
	Animal Husbandry	1	0.0002%
	Fencing	2	.04%
<b>Hunting/Defense, n = 1</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>0.0002%</b>
	Ammunition	1	0.0002%
<b>Unclassified, n = 573</b>		<b>573</b>	<b>12%</b>
	Unclassified Ceramics	109	2%
	Unclassified Glass	141	3%
	Unclassified Metal	321	6.7%
	Unclassified Organic	1	0.0002%
	Unclassified Lithics	1	0.0002%
<b>Unidentified Artifacts, n = 18</b>		<b>18</b>	<b>0.4%</b>
	Unidentified Glass	1	0.0002%
	Unidentified Faunal	14	0.3%
	Unidentified Organic	3	0.06%
<b>Unidentifiable, n = 71</b>		<b>71</b>	<b>1.5%</b>
	Unidentifiable Glass	12	0.3%
	Unidentifiable Metal	34	0.7%
	Unidentifiable Faunal	12	0.3%
	Unidentifiable Composite	13	0.3%

### 7.2.2.3 Children and Childrearing Artifacts

Earnest and Mary Maltby had two children while living in the house. At least at some point, they sampled Mellin's Infant's Food, a mixture designed to be given to children and, to judge from its advertisements (see below), to even replace mother's milk. The bottle is circular in planview and is made of aqua glass. It was made in a three or more piece mould with a cup bottom base, and has a hand applied finish. Embossed

lettering reads “MELLIN’S INFANT’S FOOD” over “DOLIBER-GOODALE CO.” over “BOSTON”. The words “LARGE SIZE” are embossed on the shoulder. The base exhibits a manufacturer’s mark reading “P” over “14”. The bottle is 16 cm high (6 ¼”) with a base diameter of 8 cm (3”) and a rim diameter of 4 cm (1.5”). This Mellin’s Infant Food bottle dates to ca. 1892 (Wilson 1971).

The following quote is an advertisement for Mellin’s Food, ca. 1876:

To Mr. Mellin:

From Charles Juff, Langton Villa, Wellesley Road, West Croyden, Oct. 15<sup>th</sup>, 1876.

My second boy had diarrhoea and sickness when three months old, which the doctor could not stop. I tried your food, and it cured him in forty-eight hours. My third and fourth sons have been brought up on it exclusively since the first four days of their birth, and never had a drop of mother’s milk nor any wet nurse, and both have done well on it. I shall send you two parcels of empty bottles, 101 in number, and, in exchange for them, I shall be obliged if you will send half-a-dozen bottles as soon as possible, as we cannot be a day without the Food. I have recommended the Food to several friends, and have never heard it fail. [Wilson 1971: 59]

This bottle is the single artifact for the Maltby House in the Children and Childrearing category (.45%). Due to the solitary nature of the bottle, we cannot assume that the Maltbys made use of Mellin’s Food on a regular basis. Further excavation, and a sample that could be more confidently said to represent all of the dumping episodes throughout the entire uselife of the house, is the only way to know for certain.



#### *7.2.2.4 Social/Recreational and Indulgence Artifacts*

Three percent (3%) of the artifact fragments collected at the Maltby house relate to Social/Recreational and Indulgence activities. Here the archaeological record confirmed legend through the presence of a small rubber tennis ball fragment.

The rest of the category is made up of artifacts related to alcohol consumption. One dark olive green wine bottle was recovered nearly intact. Unfortunately no markings are present to identify it further than as a wine bottle. The bottle is turn-moulded. It has a hand-applied finish, flattened-side with a slight pouring lip, and a down-tooled string rim. Interestingly enough, an identical finish appeared in a test excavation dating to the early twentieth century, at the Humphrys/Hewlett house.

A wine bottle base was recovered that was made of the glass that is generally called “black”, though in actuality it is a very dark olive green. The Maltbys had at least one occasion to celebrate, for one champagne bottle was found. Though incomplete, this bottle was likely quite large, to judge from the base (base diameter of 7.2 cm) and the height of the existing body. Aqua in color, it had a prominent push-up, which is the reason this bottle is thought to have contained alcohol. Finally, along with numerous green and dark olive green body sherds, a turn-moulded amber glass bottle rounds out this category.

#### *7.2.2.5 Food Preparation and Consumption Artifacts*

The largest number of fragments (36.3%) belonged to the category of Food Preparation/Consumption (Table 7.5). In the Kitchenware category, sherds of a large, thick-walled earthenware bowl (probably a mixing bowl) with an unidentified black floral pattern, and another with a plain glaze, make up the majority of the fragment count.

Four hundred and eighty-nine fragments of metal Single Use Food Storage Containers were recovered. None had markings or remaining identification, but size, shape and closure types were used to draw some tentative conclusions about the containers' contents.

One item is inferred to be a tea canister due to its rectangular shape and hinged slip lid closure. Another tin was identified as a seafood tin, based on its key strip closure, rectangular shape, and flatness (2.31cm high). Several lever or plug-in-lid closures may have contained tea, cocoa, or food spreads. Several key strip closures associated with rectangular planviews were thought to have contained tinned meats. Key strip closures came into use on meat tins in the 1890s (Brandon 1989). Coffee cans were also known to use keystrips (Brandon 1989), so that beverage material may also be represented here.

Two hole-in-top closures were identified. Both have very small vent-holes that were sealed with solder, and so are inferred to have contained evaporated milk. The one specimen with a measurable base end also conforms to the size measurements noted by Brandon for evaporated milk cans (Brandon 1989).

**Table 7.5 Food Preparation and Consumption Artifacts (Maltby House), n = 1,716**

Subactivity Group	Quantity	Percentage of Functional Category
<b>Kitchenware</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>3%</b>
Bowls	48	2.8%
Plates	3	0.2%
<b>Reusable Food Storage Containers</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0.2%</b>
<b>Single Use Food Storage Containers</b>	<b>522</b>	<b>30%</b>
Glass Bottles	34	2%
Metal Food Containers	488	28%
<i>Honey Pail (lug)</i>	1	0.1%
<i>Tea Canister</i>	142	8.3%
<i>Seafood Tin</i>	48	2.8%
<i>Tea, Cocoa or Food Spread Containers</i>	133	7.8%
<i>Meat Containers</i>	129	7.5%
<i>Evaporated Milk Tins</i>	35	2%
<b>Subsistence-Related Faunal Remains</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>2.3%</b>
<b>Subsistence-Related Organic Remains</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1.2%</b>
<b>Tableware</b>	<b>1,080</b>	<b>63%</b>
Ceramic Tableware	1,043	60%
<i>Plates</i>	37	2.2%
<i>Bowls</i>	33	2%
<i>Saucers</i>	10	0.6%
<i>Teacups</i>	13	0.8%
<i>Teapots</i>	92	5.4%
<i>Serving Dishes</i>	791	46%
<i>Sugar/Creamer or Gravy Boat</i>	5	0.3%
<i>Unidentified</i>	62	4%
Glass Tableware	37	2.2%

Two glass containers were found that were classified into the category of Single Use Food Storage Containers. One consisted of fragments of a Dr. Price's Extract bottle.

This bottle was made in a two-or-more piece mould. Embossed lettering reads “PRICE’S” over “(DELI)CIOUS” over “EXTRAC(T)”. Brandon dates this type of flavouring bottle in the range of 1862-1894, based on its occurrence in known archaeological sites, though further research into manufacturing dates could expand this estimate (Brandon 1989).

A second container was a Lea & Perrins Worcestershire Sauce bottle. This bottle is pale aqua green and made with a cup-bottom-mould. Lettering is embossed. A manufacturer’s mark on the base reads “A C B Co.” This mark most likely represents the Aire and Calder Bottle Company, based in England (Lea and Perrins was not bottled in North America for Canadian markets until 1947) (Lunn 1981). Based on the operating dates of this factory, and archaeological evidence from Canadian sites, Lunn (Lunn 1981, also Brandon 1989) places the dates of bottles of this type between 1860 and 1920. The base diameter is 53 mm, making this bottle most likely the smallest size available, a “half-pint” (Lunn 1981).

In the Subsistence-Related Faunal Remains subactivity group, several bones were recovered that exhibited saw marks. Two represented the consumption of beef loin steaks or rib roasts, and one was a beef shank roast. A ham leg roast was also represented. A large number of remains from *Gallus domesticus* indicated that roast chicken was a common meal as well.

Ceramic Tableware made up the bulk of the Food Preparation/Consumption category. In this category, I find it is most useful to organize the discussion around the patterns and waretypes that were present (Table 7.6), although the reader will note that in Appendix C and Table 7.5, ceramic wares are organized by vessel form.

**Table 7.6 Maltby Ceramic Tableware**

Waretype/Pattern	Associated Manufacturer's Mark	Dates	Vessel Types Represented	Quantity (total fragment count)	Percentage of total Ceramic Tableware
<b>Earthenware</b>				<b>999</b>	<b>96%</b>
Unidentified Green Floral Pattern	Old Hall Earthenware Co.	ca. 1861 - July 1886	plate (2 vessels), saucer (2), teacup (1), bowl (1), sugar/creamer (1), also 2 base sherds and 59 body sherds that belong to the pattern but otherwise are not identified.	116	11%
Brown glazed interior/exterior			teapot (1)	92	8.8%
Unidentified "Acorn" Pattern	Ridgways	1878 - 1920	serving dish (1)	791	76%
<b>Semi- Porcelain</b>				<b>15</b>	<b>1.4%</b>
Unidentified "Acorn" Pattern	Ridgways	1878 - 1920	plate (1)	5	.5%
Plain Glazed			bowl (1), teacup (1), creamer (1)	10	1%
<b>Porcelain</b>				<b>29</b>	<b>2.8%</b>
Unidentified Green Thistle Pattern	Havilland and Co.	1886-1898	soup bowl (1)	29	2.8%

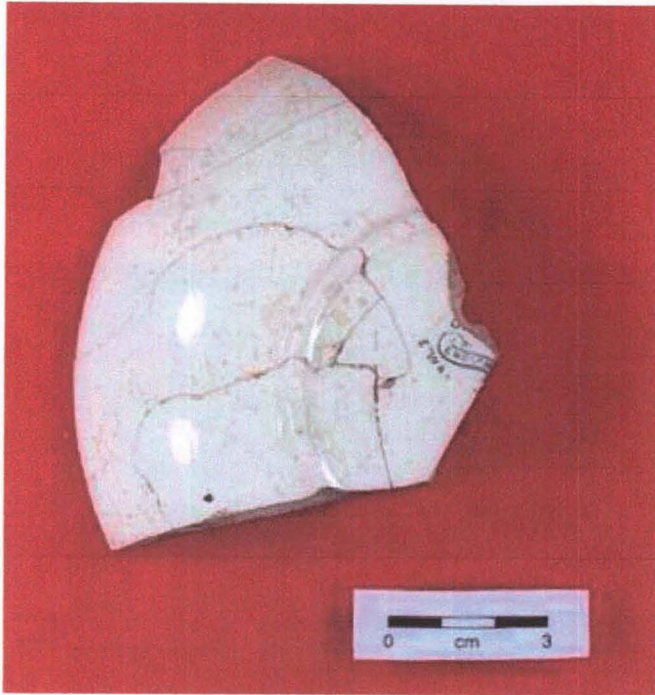
The predominant matching set in the Maltby tablewares is a green floral pattern, underglaze transfer printed on earthenware. Figure 7.1 shows some of the pieces recovered.



**Figure 7.1.** Earthenware saucer, bowl, and base sherds with an unidentified green floral pattern, underglaze transfer printed, made by Old Hall Earthenware Co. Photo by author.

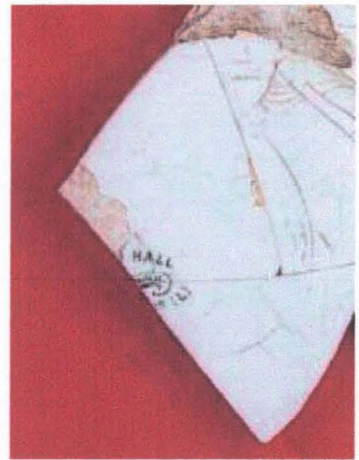
At least seven vessels of this pattern were represented (Table 7.6). They included two plates, two saucers, a teacup, a bowl, and what is possibly part of a sugar or creamer. In addition, two base sherds and 59 body sherds were recovered that exhibited the pattern but which could not be identified as to vessel form. Two base sherds exhibited maker's marks (Figure 7.2). The most likely manufacturer for this set is Old Hall Earthenware Co., run by Charles Meigh in Hanley, Staffordshire, England (Godden 1972). Based on the dates of operation for this potter, the pattern was produced between 1861-1862 and July 1886.





U-  
ENCI-AN  
E'WAH -

HALL  
AND  
(L)



**Figure 7.2.** Backmarks for vessels of the type shown in Figure 7.1. Photos by author. Drawings by L. Amundson.

A second pattern that is represented in at least two vessels is an unidentified “acorn” pattern that displays that nut along with branches and leaves (Figure 7.3). This pattern was found on at least two vessels, a large serving dish and a plate. Interestingly enough, the serving dish is earthenware while the plate is much harder semi-porcelain, though both display the same pattern and maker’s marks. The marks both show a British Patent Office Design Registration mark (Figure 7.4). Both unfortunately are missing the crucial elements that would identify the year in which the pattern was registered. The accompanying “Quiver and Bow” mark and lettering “Ridgways Stoke on Trent” (shown on both vessels), however, were trademarked 1879. This mark indicates that the vessels were made at the Ridgways Bedford Works in Staffordshire, that operated (under that name) from 1878 to 1920 (Kowalsky 1999). The “Ridgways Stoke on Trent” lettering has also been noted to appear on later rather than earlier pieces within this time frame.



**Figure 7.3.** *Semi-porcelain plate and serving dish fragments with pattern by Ridgways. Photo by author.*



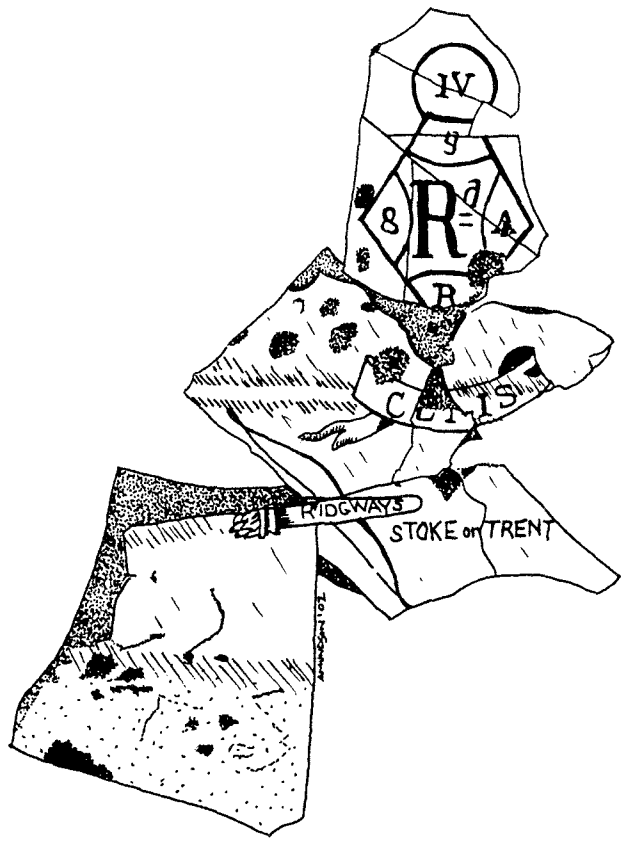
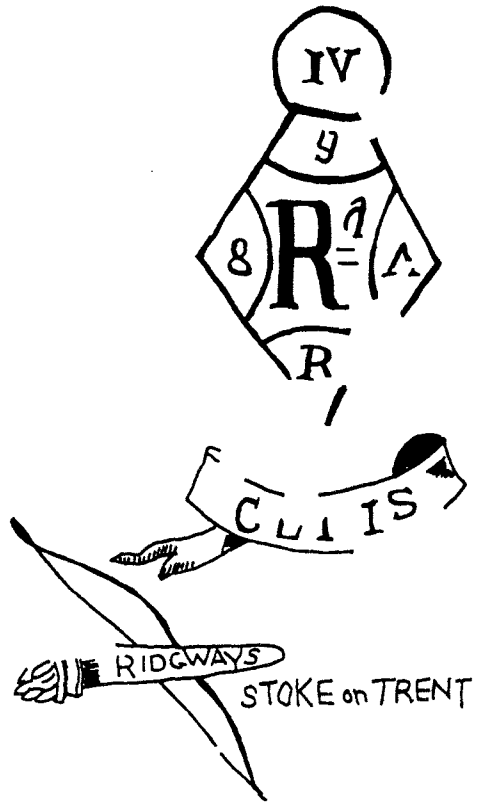
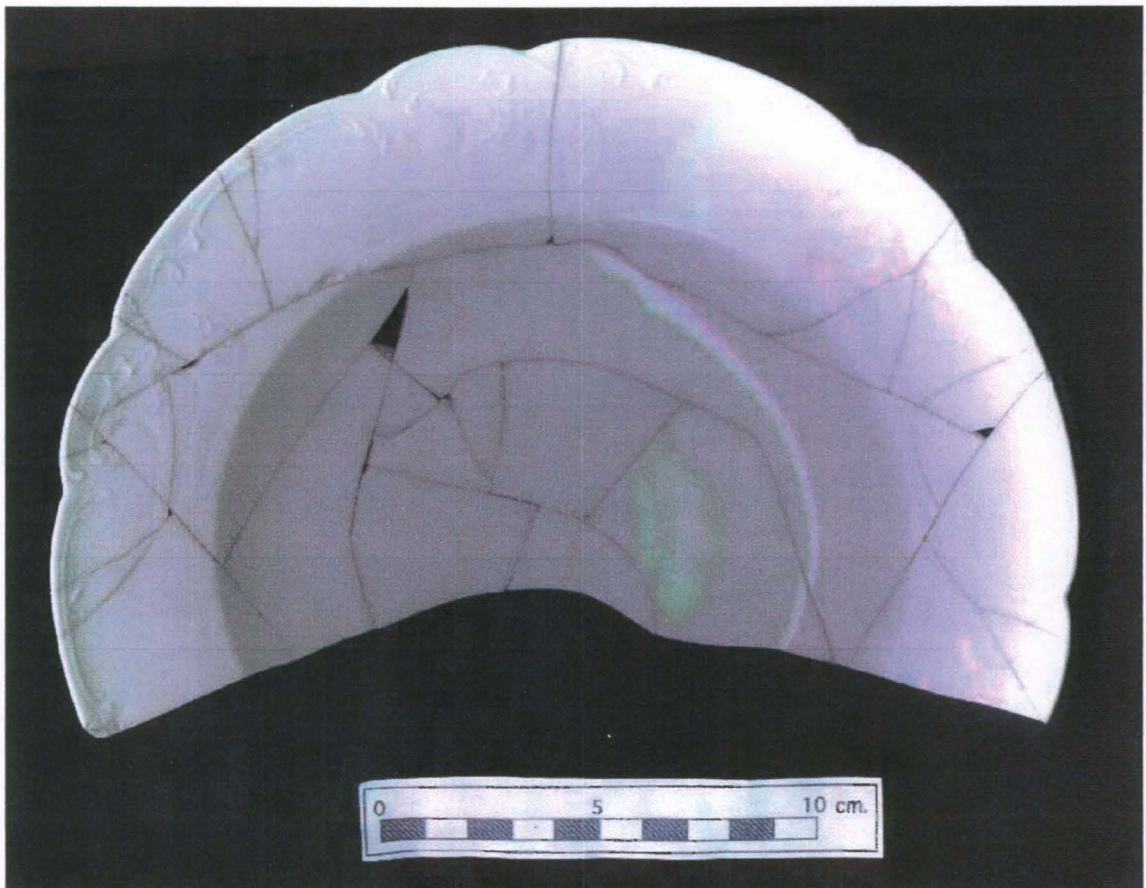


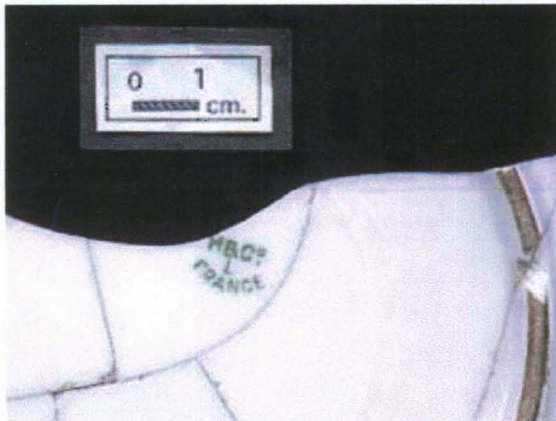
Figure 7.4. Re-assembled backmark from vessel in Figure 7.3, and lettering found on same, showing British Patent Office Registry Mark and Ridgways "Quiver and Bow" Trademark. Drawings by L. Amundson.



Another ceramic pattern of interest is an overglaze transfer printed “thistle” pattern on a porcelain soup bowl (Figure 7.5). This is the only piece that exhibits this pattern. It is backmarked “H & Co.” over “L” over “FRANCE”, in underglaze green, with an overglaze red “Haviland & Co” over “Limoges” (Figure 7.6). This manufacturer’s mark indicates that vessel was made by Havilland and Co. between 1888 and 1896 (Gaston 1984).



**Figure 7.5.** Havilland porcelain. Photo by author.



**Figure 7.6.** *Havilland backmark. Photo by author.*

Finally, a large number of fragments belong to a plain, dark brown glazed earthenware teapot.

In the glass tablewares category, two tumblers, one panelled; one plain sided, were found. In addition, there is a pressed glass bowl that resembles what tableware catalogues call a “nappy”.

#### *7.2.2.6 Reading, Writing, and Education Artifacts*

One colourless inkwell rim shard is the sole artifact from this category, making up .0002% of the total fragment count for the house area.

#### *7.2.2.7 Household Furnishing Artifacts*

In addition to ubiquitous lamp glass fragments, the handle of a portable lamp was recovered. This category comprises 4.36% of the total fragment count for the house area.

#### *7.2.2.8 Household Maintenance Artifacts*

This category (26.6%) was entirely taken up by evidence of household heating activities (charcoal and clinker).

#### *7.2.2.9 Architectural Artifacts*

In addition to building materials such as chinking and plaster, pane glass, and wood fragments, this category (13.9%) was composed of architectural hardware in the form of nails. Machine cut nails formed the bulk of the architectural hardware (68% of the subactivity group), with wrought nails the next most common (18%). Wire drawn nails were the least represented (12%). This type of distribution is consistent with what we know about the construction of the Maltby House. It was built in 1886, so we can expect that the bulk of the nails would be machine cut, with some wrought as well. Additions and repairs after the spread of wire drawn nails in the 1890s (Brandon 1989) would result in the presence of that nail type.

#### *7.2.2.10 Agriculture, Gardening and Animal Husbandry Artifacts*

Artifacts pertaining to Agriculture, Gardening and Animal Husbandry make up 0.06% of the total fragment count. Of interest is a horseshoe, draft - sized, made for a hind foot. No markings are apparent, so it was likely made by the local blacksmith. It is the single artifact of its type at the Maltby House.

#### *7.2.2.11 Hunting/Defence Artifacts*

One fired cartridge case was found (0.0002% of the total fragment count). The head stamp code reads “W.R.A.Co.” and “45-90 W.C F”. This type of cartridge could be used in a Winchester Model 1886 Repeater or single shot (45-90 Winchester) rifle, introduced in 1886, or smokeless powder version of the same introduced in 1895 and used until 1936 (Barnes 1989). This artifact dates between 1886 and 1936.

#### *7.2.2.12 Unclassified Artifacts*

Unclassified artifacts (12.1%) are artifacts whose function can potentially overlap several categories. Unclassified ceramics include body and rim sherds that cannot be confidently identified as either table, kitchenware, or any other possibility. Unclassified glass includes shards that were clearly from bottles, but the function of the bottles cannot be determined for certain. The unclassified metal category includes numerous metal scraps that most likely are fragments of food or tobacco containers.

#### *7.2.2.13 Unidentified Artifacts*

This category (0.38%) contained several unidentified faunal fragments. It also contained an interesting artifact, a single colourless glass shard that enigmatically (to the author) reads “129.O(X)” over “MADE IN”.

#### *7.2.2.14 Unidentifiable Artifacts*

These artifacts (1.5%) included glass melted beyond recognition, burned and tiny bone fragments, and unidentifiable scraps of metal.

### ***7.2.3 The Vicarage***

A total of 1,170 artifact fragments were found at the Vicarage (Table 7.7), classified into 15 Activity Groups and thirty nine Subactivity Groups. As with the Maltby House, I feel that a more detailed discussion is warranted as these artifacts may prove useful to our discussion of Cannington lives.

#### *7.2.3.1 Personal Artifacts*

This category (0.76%) contained clothing fasteners in the form of brass and ferrous buttons, fragments of a glass cold cream jar, and a small metal ring that may have been part of jewellery.

**Table 7.7 Artifacts and Functional Categories of the Vicarage, n = 1,170**

Activity Group	Subactivity Group	Quantity	Percentage of total artifacts in house group
<b>Personal Artifacts, n =9</b>		<b>9</b>	<b>0.8%</b>
	Clothing Fasteners	2	0.2%
	Adornment	1	0.09%
	Toiletry Items	6	0.5%
<b>Health and Healing Artifacts, n = 7</b>		<b>7</b>	<b>0.6%</b>
	Medicine Bottles (human)	7	0.6%
<b>Children and Childrearing Artifacts, n= 3</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>0.3%</b>
	Children's Toys	2	0.2%
	Food Preparation/Consumption-Children	1	0.09%
<b>Social/Recreational and Indulgence, n = 73</b>		<b>73</b>	<b>6%</b>
	Alcohol consumption	55	5%
	Smoking	17	1.5%
	Memorabilia	1	0.09%
<b>Food Preparation and Consumption, n = 388</b>		<b>388</b>	<b>33%</b>
	Kitchenware	7	0.6%
	Single Use Food Storage Containers	70	6%
	Reusable Food Storage Containers	1	0.09%
	Subsistence-Related Faunal Remains	22	2%
	Tableware	288	25%
<b>Reading, Writing, and Education, n = 12</b>		<b>12</b>	<b>1%</b>
	Writing	5	0.4%
	Education	7	0.6%
<b>Household Furnishings, n = 133</b>		<b>133</b>	<b>11%</b>
	Lighting	130	11%
	Heating Devices	1	0.09%
	Washstand Items	2	0.2%
<b>Household Maintenance, n = 35</b>		<b>35</b>	<b>3%</b>
	Heating	35	3%

**Table 7.7 Continued**

<b>Architectural, n = 155</b>		<b>155</b>	<b>13%</b>
	Architectural Hardware	137	12%
	Building Materials	3	0.3%
	Door Hardware and Materials	3	0.3%
	Window Hardware and Materials	12	1%
<b>Agriculture, Gardening and Animal Husbandry, n = 12</b>		<b>12</b>	<b>1%</b>
	Gardening Implements	10	0.9%
	Fencing	2	0.2%
<b>Transportation, n = 2</b>		<b>2</b>	<b>0.2%</b>
	Transport- animal powered	2	0.2%
<b>Hunting/Defence, n = 4</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>0.3%</b>
	Ammunition	4	0.3%
<b>Unclassified, n = 262</b>		<b>262</b>	<b>22%</b>
	Unclassified Ceramics	35	3%
	Unclassified Glass	143	12%
	Unclassified Metal	80	7.8%
	Unclassified Metal Fastenings	4	0.3%
<b>Unidentified, n = 15</b>		<b>15</b>	<b>1%</b>
	Unidentified Metal	8	0.7%
	Unidentified Faunal	5	0.4%
	Unidentified Composite	2	0.2%
<b>Unidentifiable, n = 60</b>		<b>60</b>	<b>5%</b>
	Unidentifiable Glass	44	3.8%
	Unidentifiable Faunal	5	0.4%
	Unidentifiable Metal	6	0.5%
	Unidentifiable Organic	4	0.3%
	Unidentifiable Composite	1	0.09%

### 7.2.3.2 Health and Healing Artifacts

Three glass medicine bottles (0.59%) were represented in the fragments from this section. They include two base fragments, one oval, the other rectangular, and a possible



prescription lip finish that was made of manganese – tinted glass. These fragments are inferred to be medicinal in nature because of their shape, size, and planviews.

#### *7.2.3.3 Children and Childrearing Artifacts*

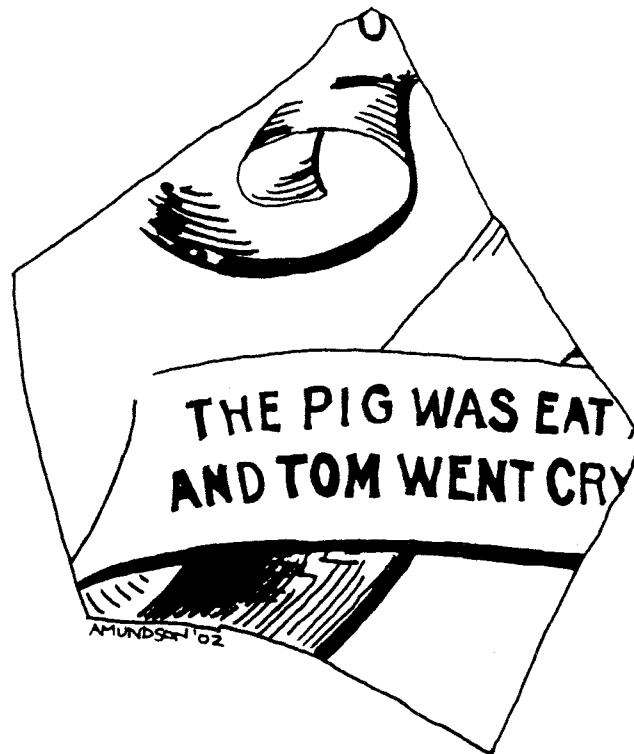
Three items (0.25%) are represented by the fragments in this category. One is a fragment of a porcelain doll's head. Another is a handle from a porcelain child's teacup. A third item is represented by a mug or bowl body sherd that reads "THE PIG WAS EAT" over "AND TOM WENT CRY" (Figure 7.7) (see also Chapter 8).

#### *7.2.3.4 Social/Recreational and Indulgence Artifacts*

Six percent of the total fragment count for the house area was classified into the Social/Recreational and Indulgence category. A number of fragments in this category relate to alcohol consumption, such as metal corkscrew and several glass wine bottle base and body shards in "black" (dark olive green), dark olive green, olive green, pale green, and amber.

Smoking was also represented by a clay pipe bowl and pipestem fragments. This artifact had a manufacturer's mark "TD" engraved on the bowl. Brandon (1989) notes that pipes of this mark are not particularly useful for dating, as it first appears in 1755 and was used by many manufacturers over the years.

Finally, memorabilia was represented in this category by a small brass photograph album cover corner. This most likely would have been the corner on the cardboard page of a personal photograph album.



**Figure 7.7.** "The Pig was Eat". Drawing by L. Amundson.

#### 7.2.3.5 Food Preparation and Consumption Artifacts

Three hundred and eighty eight (33.1%) fragments were classified into the Food Preparation and Consumption Activity group. In the Kitchenware category, two salt-glazed mixing bowls of earthenware and stoneware made up the majority of the fragment count.

The Single Use Storage Containers subactivity group contained several items of interest. Sixty-nine fragments of metal containers were recovered. None had identifiable markings, but, as for the Maltby house, some conclusions were drawn based on the size, shape, closure, and planview of the items.

Two cork-lined crown closures were recovered. Crown closures were patented in 1891 (Brandon 1989). Liners changed from cork to plastic in 1960. Therefore the date range on these crown closures is 1891-1960.

Several containers were inferred to have held tinned meats based on their key-strip closures (though, as mentioned above, key strips could also have been used on coffee containers). One in particular was interpreted as a corned beef hash or stew tin because of its rectangular shape and hole-in-top nature, stew or corned beef hash being the only sort of meat that would fit in through a hole-in-top. Brandon (1989) also suggests rectangular hole-in-tops could have contained asparagus.

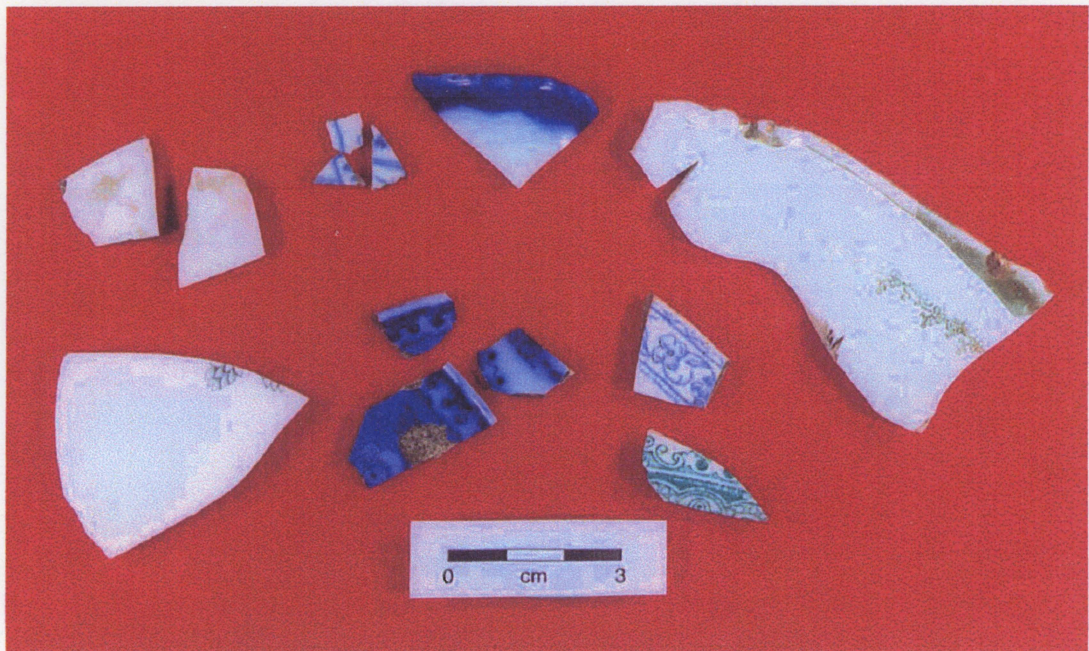
One container with a lever/plug in lid could have contained tea, cocoa, or food spreads.

Twenty - two fragments were classified into the Subsistence-Related Faunal Remains subactivity group. Beef rib roasts were in evidence from sawed and cut-marked rib and vertebral fragments. A sawed, right proximal radius from a sheep was also recovered, indicating that lamb shanks were being consumed. A single turkey drumstick and a pig phalange (pig's feet?) finish off this category.

Ceramic artifacts made up the majority of the Tableware subactivity group. In contrast to the Maltby house, where many items were at least partially complete, the Vicarage ceramics were by and large far more fragmentary, with few patterns exhibiting



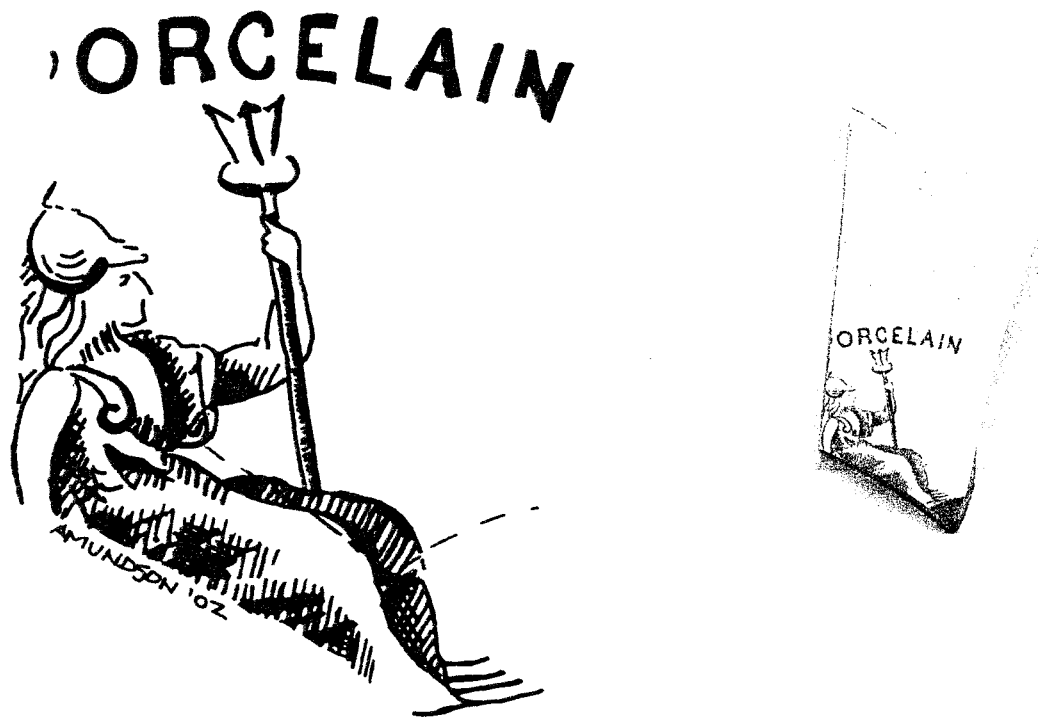
more than just rim sherds (Figure 7.8). Few patterns, also, were represented on more than one vessel (Table 7.8). As such, no “sets” of dishware can be said to have been observed. However, the far greater variety in patterns seen at the Vicarage, in contrast to the Maltby House, probably relates the fact that the Vicarage tended to be occupied by different families for short periods of time, as opposed to one single family for the entire history of the building. One backmarked sherd was identified. This piece pictures a seated Britannia figure (Figure 7.9). A very similar figure was used by Dudson, Wilcox, and Till, Brittanic Works, Hanley, Staffordshire. Based on the manufacturing dates for this ceramic producer, this artifact dates between 1902-1926. This date range fits within the occupation period of the Vicarage, as the house was not abandoned until 1912.



**Figure 7.8.** *Ceramic patterns from the Vicarage. Photo by author.*

**Table 7.8 Vicarage Ceramic Tableware**

Waretype/Pattern	Associated Manufacturer's Mark	Dates	Vessel Types Represented	Quantity (total fragment count)	Percentage of total Ceramic Tableware
<b>Earthenware</b>				<b>160</b>	<b>63%</b>
Unidentified Blue Floral Pattern			plate (1 vessel), teacup (1)	5	2%
Unidentified Green "Oriental" Pattern			plate (1)	7	3%
Unidentified Flow Blue Pattern I			bowl (1)	148	58%
<b>Semi-Porcelain</b>				<b>54</b>	<b>21%</b>
Unidentified Peridot Green Pattern	Dudson, Wilcox and Till	1902-1926	plate (1)	24	9%
Unidentified Pale Blue Leaf Pattern			plate (1)	4	1.6%
Unknown	partial backmark, "ND"		plate (1)	1	0.4%
Unknown	"VICTORIA" over "AUSTRIA"		plate (1)	1	0.4%
Unidentified Mottled Pink Pattern (gilded)			teacup (2)	15	5.9%
Unidentified Flow Blue Pattern II			teacup (1)	1	0.4%
Moulded and Gilded Pattern			butter dish (lid and base (1)	8	3%
<b>Porcelain</b>				<b>13</b>	<b>5%</b>
Unidentified Blue "Oriental" Pattern			unknown, 9 body sherds	9	3.5%
Unidentified Flow Blue Pattern III			sugar/creamer (1)	4	1.6%



**Figure 7.9.** *Seated Britannia figure, Dudson, Wilcox, and Till, Brittanic Works. Photo by author. Drawing by L. Amundson.*

Two items were of interest in the Glass Tableware category. Two different colourless glass serving or candy dishes, both with elaborately scalloped rims, were found.

#### 7.2.3.6 Reading, Writing, and Education Artifacts

An inkwell rim sherd and pencil leads were recovered in this category, which represents 1% of the total artifact count for the house area. As well, several slate pieces were recovered. Prior to the construction of the School/Town Hall, many English children were educated at home. However, Rev. Cartwright (1888-1889) reportedly



taught the Humphrys children, but whether at their home or his is not clear. It is quite possible that the Vicarage also was the site of teaching and learning activities for children prior to the opening of the town school. Alternatively, the slate pieces may simply have belonged to children living in the house.

#### *7.2.3.7 Household Furnishing Artifacts*

Besides furnishing artifacts like lamp glass and a turn button for a cast iron stove, this category (11% of the total) had two large sherds of a ceramic washbasin with a moulded relief pattern.

#### *7.2.3.8 Household Maintenance Artifacts*

This category (3%) was entirely taken up by evidence of household heating activities (charcoal and burned wood).

#### *7.2.3.9 Architectural Artifacts*

In addition to building materials such as chinking, plaster, and pane glass, this category (13%) was filled with architectural hardware in the form of nails. Machine cut nails formed the bulk of the architectural hardware (50% of architectural hardware), with wrought nails the next most common (31%). Wire drawn nails were the least represented (16%). This type of distribution is consistent with what we know about the time period

in which the Vicarage was constructed. The remaining 3% of architectural hardware consisted of wood screws and wood screw fragments.

Three metal fragments were also found that were interpreted as belonging to the internal mechanism of a lockset. Interestingly enough, the records of the Moose Mountain Trading Company show that Reverend Field, the first occupant of the house, bought a “latch set” along with a “cupboard catch” in 1887 (Moose Mountain Trading Company 1887).

#### *7.2.3.10 Agriculture, Gardening and Animal Husbandry Artifacts*

This category (1%) is taken up by two fence staples and fragments of a wooden gardening stake.

#### *7.2.3.11 Transportation*

The two items of interest in this category (0.2%) were both related to animal powered transport. One was a metal harness part, the other a snaffle-type bit for a riding horse.

#### *7.2.3.12 Hunting/Defence Artifacts*

The Hunting/Defence category (0.4%) is represented by four artifacts. One was a single .30 calibre bullet. The second is a cartridge case with the head stamp code D ^ C,



and a style code of 8 C VI (Figure 7.10). Two twelve gauge shotgun shells were also recovered with a head stamp code of “ELEY LONDON No. 12.” These were made by Eley Bros. of London. Based on the manufacturing dates for this company, Brandon (1989) dates this type of shell between 1860 and 1925 (Figure 7.10).

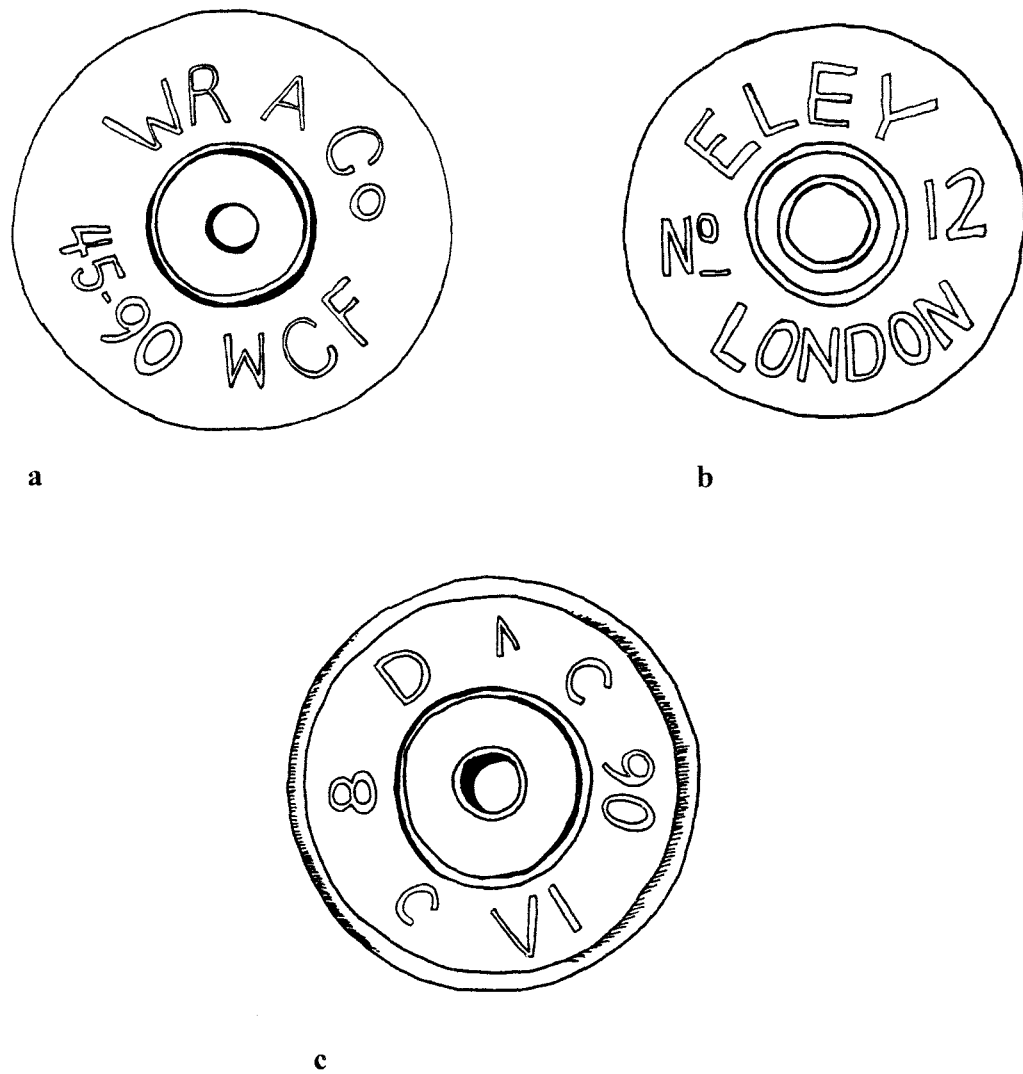
#### *7.2.3.13 Unclassified Artifacts*

Unclassified artifacts (22%) are artifacts whose function can potentially overlap several categories. Unclassified ceramics include body and rim sherds that cannot be confidently identified as either tableware, kitchenware, or any other possibility. Unclassified glass include shards that were clearly from bottles, but the function of the bottles cannot be determined for certain. One glass jar rim sherd and a rim sherd from what was probably a dish are included in this category. The unclassified metal category includes numerous metal scraps that are most likely fragments of food or tobacco containers

Also included are two carriage bolts, a nut, and a bolt fragment that have unclassified uses.

#### *7.2.3.14 Unidentified Artifacts*

This category (1%) contained several faunal fragments. Several unidentified pieces of wire and metal strapping are also included.



**Figure 7.10.** Headstamps: **a** Winchester Rifle Association, 1886-1936 (rifle cartridge from the Maltby house); **b** Eley Bros., London, 1860-1925 (shotgun shell from the Vicarage); **c** Dominion Cartridge Company (rifle cartridge from the Vicarage). Drawings by L. Amundson.

#### *7.2.3.15 Unidentifiable Artifacts*

These artifacts (5%) included glass fragments too small to identify, burned and tiny bone fragments, and unidentifiable scraps of metal.

#### **7.2.4 *The Humphrys/Hewlett House***

Three hundred and fifty artifacts were recovered from test excavations at the Humphrys/Hewlett House (Table 7.9). As mentioned in Chapter Six, great difficulty was encountered in finding remains at the Humphrys/Hewlett House that dated to the time period during which Cannington was an active town. The test excavation materials recovered on the Humphrys/Hewlett property are all believed to date to the period post-1909. In Test 3.6, this is confirmed by the presence of a single “Brasso” brand metal polish container (Figure 7.11). The “Brasso” brand was introduced into Canada in 1908, however, it was not marketed in the west until 1909 (Alicia Freeman, Consumer Relations Manager for Reckitt-Benckiser Canada Inc., personal communication). Since metal polish tends to have a long shelf life in the home, there is also the potential for this container to date much later than 1909. Test 3.1, the only other positive test excavation, cannot be conclusively proven to date past 1909, although it did contain exclusively wire drawn nails. Regardless, this test excavation did not contain any artifacts that were not ubiquitous to most households in and around Cannington. For these reasons, the artifacts from the Humphrys/ Hewlett house will not be discussed in further detail. Detailed artifact descriptions of this house area can be found in Appendix C.

**Table 7.9. Artifacts and Functional Categories of the Humphrys/Hewlett House, n = 350**

Activity Group	Subactivity Group	Quantity	Percentage of total artifacts in house group
<b>Personal Artifacts, n = 2</b>		2	0.6%
	Toiletry Items	2	0.6%
<b>Social/Recreational and Indulgence, n = 68</b>		68	19%
	Alcohol consumption	68	19%
<b>Food Preparation and Consumption, n = 55</b>		55	16%
	Kitchenware	5	1.4%
	Single Use Food Storage Containers	4	1.1%
	Reusable Food Storage Containers	1	0.3%
	Subsistence-Related Faunal Remains	1	0.3%
	Tableware	44	12.6%
<b>Household Furnishings, n = 21</b>		21	6%
	Lighting	13	3.7%
	Furniture	8	2.3%
<b>Household Maintenance, n = 1</b>		1	0.3%
	Cleaning	1	0.3%
<b>Architectural, n = 88</b>		88	25%
	Architectural Hardware	12	3.4%
	Building Materials	76	22%
<b>Agriculture, Gardening and Animal Husbandry, n = 58</b>		58	17%
	Agricultural Equipment and Tools	58	17%
<b>Unclassified, n = 26</b>		26	7%
	Unclassified Glass	6	1.7%
	Unclassified Metal	20	5.7%
<b>Unidentified, n = 5</b>		5	1%
	Unidentified Faunal	1	0.3%
	Unidentified Composite	4	1.1%
<b>Unidentifiable, n = 26</b>		26	7%
	Unidentifiable Ceramic	7	2%
	Unidentifiable Glass	18	5%
	Unidentifiable Metal	1	0.3%



**Figure 7.11.** *“Brasso” metal polish container. Photo by author.*

*“...a gallant band of pioneers whose dreams and industry, failures and spirit of adventure are forever woven into the fabric of the history of Saskatchewan”*

*-“Early Days in the Shiny House”, The Beaver, 1977 (Humphrys 1977)*

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **CANNINGTON MANOR SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS: MATERIAL MEANINGS**

As mentioned in Chapter Six, the purpose of this project is to seek out the symbolic meanings of the material culture found in the archaeological record of Cannington Manor. This chapter is a discussion of the observations that have resulted from the analysis of that material culture, as well as some of the general insights that have been produced for the site as a whole. The majority of the information that is of use to the discussion of social relationships at Cannington Manor comes from two of the house areas excavated, the Maltby House and the Vicarage. The Maltby house data, in particular, have generated some insights into the differential experience of Cannington Manor by gender.

## 8.1 The Archaeological Dataset

A discussion of the observations that were generated from the archaeological data at the Maltby House and Vicarage must, unfortunately, be preceded by some fairly substantial qualifications, as several concerns exist.

The first involves the nature of the deposits themselves. It is clear that the deposits from both houses are secondary refuse, but the exact nature of that secondary refuse can be called into question. Precisely what created these deposits? Were they accumulated from periods of habitual deposition over the life of the house, and can the remains be said to represent all of the accumulated refuse from that home? The relative sparsity of the deposits suggests that this is not the case.

The date ranges noted for the artifacts in both house areas were consistent with the range of time in which the houses were known to be occupied, but little in the way of more specific dating information came to light. Therefore, there is not a great deal that can be said about the exact timing of the dumping episodes, and hence the formation processes that created them, at least by this means.

However, evidence from both house areas suggests that these deposits were not created in single episodes. In the Vicarage, the great variety in small, seemingly unique patterned sherds suggests the multiple, short lived occupations that we know characterized the house's life (ministers usually stayed for about two or three years, although a few stayed longer). If my suggestion that one ceramic piece was made by Dudson, Wilcox, and Till's Brittanian Works in Staffordshire is correct, the deposit was still in use towards the end of the house's life history, since that piece could not have

been deposited before 1902. At the Maltby house, substantial amounts of charcoal and clinker were encountered in the westernmost units suggests multiple dumping episodes of oven or hearth refuse.

All in all, it is my interpretation that these deposits were created over several episodes of dumping, possibly throughout most of the life course of the properties. However, they do not represent all of the refuse remains generated by the houses' occupants. This is suggested by their relatively small size and low density of artifacts. If a general town dump did exist, and hauling refuse away from homes was the most common behaviour, then these deposits may represent dumping of materials that "missed the wagon" to the dump for various reasons. It is my opinion that a town dump probably did exist, but was not discovered, even though some the efforts of this research project were bent towards its discovery.

Uncertainty about the formation processes of the deposits calls into question the conclusions that have been derived from the artifacts found in them. Though the observations that I will discuss here are supported by the data available, it is possible that further excavation would reveal different processes, or alternate explanations for the patterns observed.

A second concern involves the volume of the deposits. In terms of overall numbers of artifacts collected, the archaeological materials excavated at Cannington for this project were not substantial. The most productive area was clearly the Maltby House, but even there only a total of six square meters were excavated. It was initially hoped that privy deposits or the town dump would materialize. As discussed in Chapter Six, however, they did not. Therefore, the overall data set is relatively small. It is in fact too



small to give statistical validity to any other observations that will be presented here, and so these observations must remain, for the present, at the level of conjecture only. Of more importance, however, is what this means for the study of the symbolic meanings of material goods. In order to be able to get a sense of the ways in which artifacts were used by people, and also to get a sense of the traits or characteristics of those objects that resulted in a preference for them over other types of objects by different groups of people, a great deal of material culture must be examined. Also, large quantities of data are preferable in order that patterns, once noted initially, can be seen to repeat themselves, and can be proven to be more than mere coincidences of deposition events. This cannot be said of the initial observations made here.

## **8.2 Material Meanings**

In the search for material meanings at Cannington, it was initially hoped that differences would become apparent in the archaeological record between the two groups under study, the English and the Farmers. As already discussed, material culture for the Farming element has proved elusive, and so a discussion of that group in Cannington social relationships necessarily must rely more heavily on documentary resources. The absence of this element in the archaeological data renders the comparison of English and Farmer through material culture somewhat difficult. However, the research into material culture has generated a few interesting observations about Cannington lives.

One concerns the locations of places for refuse disposal, discussed in Chapters Five and Six. As was mentioned, the English at Cannington appeared to be particularly

fastidious about refuse disposal. This was in evidence from the paucity of garbage remains found in the areas explored and the potential for wastes to have been hauled to a dump, probably located on the western end of town (as far as possible from the homes of English residents). It was also in evidence from the English habit of collecting human wastes in various receptacles, such as wooden trays, and hauling them off their properties entirely, rather than making use of outhouses or privies. This is particularly unusual when one considers the somewhat less practical nature of this arrangement, with the occasional construction of a new privy likely to be less effort than the regular carrying of wastes to some alternate location. Without further study, it is difficult to state firmly what characteristics this speaks to in the English mindset (most likely ideas about the proper levels of cleanliness). However, the entire issue of refuse disposal at Cannington presents excellent possibilities for future research. A comparative study of the refuse habits of both English and Farmer would no doubt reveal a great deal about the attitudes and traditions of these two groups of people.

A second point that should be touched on here, in terms of material culture choices, is the attitudes of the English towards childrearing, discussed in Chapters Five and Seven. As mentioned in the latter chapter, a ceramic sherd with a fragment of a child's rhyme: "THE PIG WAS EAT...AND TOM WENT CRY..." was recovered from the Vicarage property. This text is from a children's nursery rhyme, English in origin, that goes as follows:

Tom, Tom, the piper's son,  
Stole a pig, and away did run!  
The pig was eat,  
And Tom was beat,  
And Tom went crying  
Down the street.

In this rhyme, the word “pig” does not refer to the animal, but to a pig-shaped pastry stuffed with raisins and spices (and having raisins for eyes) (Delamar 1987). These pastries were commonly sold on the streets in England in the eighteenth century. As Tom receives a beating for his behaviour, one can see that this rhyme is about the dangers inherent in stealing food treats when one is not supposed to. This rhyme, and the fact that it is on a food-related vessel, offers a glimpse of some insight into English attitudes towards children. The fact that Tom steals a snack (and is punished as a result) may be emphasizing, through the example of food, the self-control and obedience that Victorians expected of their children. Children were not supposed to take control of their own eating, as Tom did by stealing the pastry, but rather to eat the food given to them by their parents, at the time when the parents deemed it appropriate. The fact that this verse may have been inscribed on a bowl for a child who, during at least part of the bowl’s use, may not have been able to read it, is also telling. This may indicate that the rhyme also (or primarily!) had the function of reminding *adults* of traditions of control and obedience in childrearing.

Children, and attitudes toward them, provide an interesting way to examine material meaning because children are ubiquitous, and yet there is potential for consumer choices to be observed in the material culture pertaining to them. Further research into Farming children, then, could no doubt reveal much about the wider traditions of both groups through their attitudes toward their youngsters.

I would now like to turn to an observation that sheds some further light on the English community at Cannington, through the archaeological data for the Maltby

House area. This observation relates to the idea, discussed at length in Chapter Four, that people at Cannington experienced the social dynamics of class there in different ways depending on their gender, a circumstance that served to affect their overall perceptions of Cannington and Cannington relationships.

The Maltby House (also discussed in Chapter Six) was completed in 1887 by Ernest Maltby. In 1892, Ernest married Mary Humphrys, who was the daughter of one of Cannington's most socially active families.

In the archaeological data for this house area, a pattern was noted in ceramic remains of different ware types. Pieces of a serviceable earthenware tableware set, decorated in an underglaze green floral pattern (Figure 7.1), were highly represented. At least seven vessels were present, including two plates, two saucers, a teacup, a bowl, and a sugar or creamer. In addition to this, there were 61 sherds that exhibited the pattern on them but were unidentifiable as to vessel form. The backmarks on these pieces indicated that the most likely manufacturer was the Old Hall Earthenware Company that operated out of Hanley in Staffordshire, England, from 1861 to July of 1886 (Figure 7.2). Being that the manufacturer closed its doors in 1886, and even allowing for some lag time for the wares to come to the consumer, there is a good possibility that Ernest Maltby may have been in possession of the set prior to moving into the house in 1887, or at least before his marriage in 1892. It did not likely belong to Mary, since she would have had to have purchased the set several years prior to her marriage, and in England. The set would have had to have made the overseas passage with her.

This set was present in large amounts, particularly when compared to other ceramic wares in the assemblage, such as a hard semi-porcelain plate made by Ridgways

Bedford Works, that operated in Staffordshire from 1879-1920 (Figures 7.3 and 7.4). The only other piece of this pattern was a large, fragmentary serving dish that was decorated in the same pattern but made of earthenware.

Another very nice piece, the only example of its kind found in the assemblage, was a porcelain soup bowl made by Havilland and Co., that operated between 1886 and 1898 (Figures 7.5 and 7.6). This piece has the remains of an overglaze transfer print pattern, possibly with a thistle motif, that has been worn away. Havilland and Co. was an American business that opened up a pottery in Limoges, France, for the purpose of making quality porcelains with patterns that suited North American tastes. Havilland china has a far-reaching reputation for quality. The company even supplied the American White House with china for a time.

The archaeological record here, then, is showing a relatively high concentration of the chronologically earlier green floral earthenware pattern, and then a lesser concentration of higher quality semi-porcelains and porcelains, represented by the Rigdways and Havilland pieces, that at least had the potential to have been purchased at a later date (see Table 7.6).

In an article entitled *Theoretical and Methodological Considerations for Excavating Privies* (Wheeler 2000), Kathleen Wheeler noted that large concentrations of complete vessels found in privies may sometimes represent abandonment dumping activities related to a change in ownership of a property. She suggested that it was women who, being often placed in charge of portable material goods like ceramic wares, were the ones responsible for unceremoniously dumping the wares of a previous owner and replacing them with their own goods.

I would like to suggest that something similar is happening here, although not in the context of abandonment, since the Maltbys were the only owners of the house. It is my hypothesis that, upon her marriage in 1892, Mary Maltby took over the running of the Maltby household and did one of two things: either dumped the green earthenware set that Ernest had been using prior to their marriage entirely, or relegated it to daily usage, which would tend to result in a higher representation in the archaeological record due to an increased potential for breakage. She began replacing it with better quality wares such as the Ridgways and Havilland patterns noted above.

Once Mary Maltby arrived in her new home and began life as a married woman, she wanted to use tableware that better symbolized and reflected her and her husband's position as members of the English upper-middle class, rather than the serviceable but inelegant ware her husband had used during his bachelor days. This illustrates how Mary, as an English woman, might have been more conscious of visibly demonstrating her upper class status than an unmarried man. Ernest, by all accounts, was not a slovenly or coarse man. His green floral china set was perfectly serviceable and pleasing to the eye. He clearly kept up the proper appearance for a man of his station in life while a bachelor, but he might have been *less* conscious, during that time, of demonstrating his upper class tradition through material objects, than a woman of the same tradition. The green tea set was good enough for him while a bachelor, but as his marriage to Mary became imminent, a change was required. Not only were household furnishings like tablewares to be replaced with higher quality items, but the house itself underwent renovation and expansion in anticipation of the arrival of its new mistress.

In the life of the Maltby house and house lot, then, there is a difference that can be perceived between the regime of an English bachelor, and that of a married English couple. The difference is in evidence from the alteration in the material world that occurs at the point of change from one regime to the other, with the renovation of the house property and the dumping of ceramic goods from Ernest's bachelor days.

These different constructions of meaning for Ernest and Mary serve to underline the point made earlier, that English women, in their role as guardians of middle-class values, might have perceived and experienced class relationships at Cannington Manor in a different way than their husbands or unmarried English men did. Mary might have been more conscious than her husband of the need to reinforce their status as upper middle class English, and she did so symbolically by replacing the earthenware set with elegant, quality tableware. This tableware would signify, to all who ate off of it, both the Maltby's social status and Mary's role as a preserver of English middle-class tradition. In addition, the intention to entertain more frequently, if it can be inferred from this, symbolizes Mary's desire to participate in the social rituals of reciprocal visiting that characterized the lives of upper middle class Victorian women.

This hypothesis is based on the assumption, of course, that semi-porcelains and porcelains were considered to be more symbolic of higher status and English tradition than earthenwares. Fine porcelains, at least, while maintaining an appearance of translucence and delicacy, have been noted as having poorer resistance to impact and thermal shock, making them less practical for everyday use and more expensive to replace (Majewski and O'Brien 1987). In this light, they might well have been symbols of the Maltbys having the resources to replace elegant wares if they happened to break,

even though more practical wares might have been better suited to the hardships of life in a prairie town. However, without further material culture data, it is difficult to say what exactly constituted the most desirable goods for the English at Cannington. It is possible that waretype had little to do with the desirability of a ceramic vessel. In trade catalogues of the period, highly decorated wares have been noted to be more expensive than plainer vessels (Bosomworth 1991), so decoration might have been more of a deciding factor in purchasing decisions than ware type. Without greater numbers of vessels and patterns in the assemblage to compare and examine, it is difficult to say.

The acquisition of further data from Cannington or from comparable assemblages is required in order to test the observations noted above. With further study, it is possible that similar patterns might emerge in the archaeological data, or different patterns entirely might come to light that would support the differential experience of Cannington Manor social relationships according to gender.



*“It’s all right to be friendly, and I like the Birds and Maltbys very well, but friendship should not run at thirty five percent.”*

*-Mrs. Sheldon-Williams, Cannington resident (Roberston 1930)*

## **CHAPTER 9**

### **SUPPLIERS OF MATERIAL GOODS: R. D. MCNAUGHTON’S STORE, MOOSOMIN, AND THE MOOSE MOUNTAIN TRADING COMPANY STORE IN CANNINGTON MANOR**

This chapter discusses documents pertaining to one aspect of the life history of material culture, that of the organizations that supplied goods to the consumer. Two resources are used here. One is the McNaughton Store Notes, discussed below, and the other is a fragment of a record book from the Moose Mountain Trading Company. As we shall see, both provide insights into the lives of Cannington residents.

#### **9.1 Purchasing Choices at Cannington Manor**

As described in Chapter Two, the McNaughton Store Notes are a series of documents that belong to Thomas Beck, who came across them during his own research

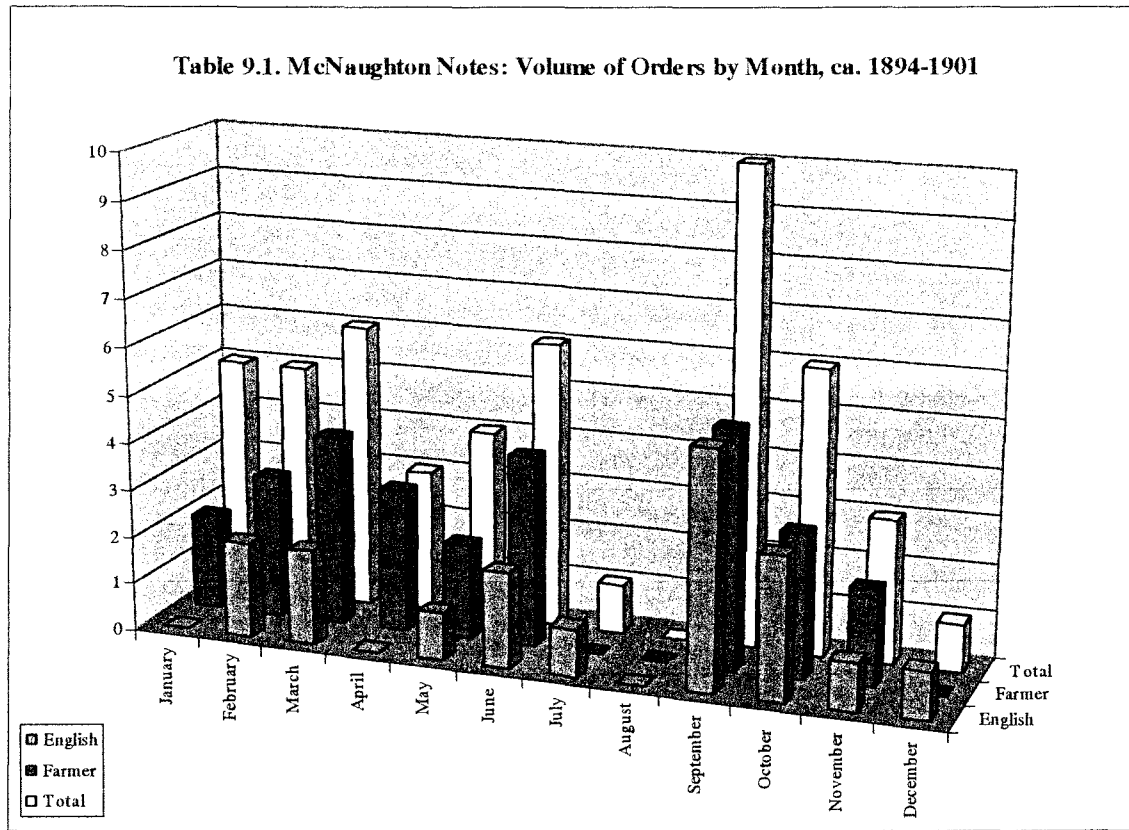
into Cannington Manor. The McNaughton Store, owned by R.D. McNaughton, was the general store in Moosomin, Saskatchewan, from which the Moose Mountain Trading Company Store in Cannington received its supplies.

There are a total of 90 “notes” that pertain to residents of Cannington Manor. The dates on the notes range from March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1894, to December of 1901. It would appear that many residents of Cannington Manor were in the habit of sending lists of goods requested, as well as other correspondence to the McNaughton store via friends and neighbours who happened to be making the trip themselves. The clerks at the store would assemble the goods and send them off with the bearer of the note, or with the scheduled delivery wagons that ran between Moosomin and Cannington. It would appear that cash was sent with the goods at some times, and at others, the store allowed the goods to go out on credit, with accounts to be settled at a later date.

A fragment of a record book belonging to the Moose Mountain Trading Company is also available. Between the two, these documents reveal several interesting insights into purchasing patterns of Cannington residents.

The first of these pertains to the McNaughton Store Notes. In analysing them, I made note of the times of the year in which goods were requested. Even with a small sample size (only a little over half of the notes are dated), a pattern can be observed. Table 9.1 shows the volume of orders sent into the store by month. Included are the volume of orders from families that fall into the category of “Farmer” and those that fall into the category of “English”. A predictable pattern is evident: orders decrease in the months of July and August, in fact there were no notes in the collection that were dated in August of any year. In September, the volume of orders increases dramatically. There

is also a slight dip over April and May. This pattern may correspond to the yearly round of a farming community.



During July and August, which are typically very busy with haying and the beginnings of harvest (and also during spring seeding in April and May), the numbers drop due to the busy seasons for farmers. In the late summer, this probably also corresponds to Farmers' available cash being depleted to its utmost. In September, when it is clear whether or not a good harvest can be anticipated, larger volumes of goods are purchased. This pattern, in the main, does not differ significantly between English and Farmers. However, it is difficult to gauge this information properly for the English, since their total volume of orders is significantly less than that of the Farmers throughout the collection.

This leads us to the next general point in our discussion. The McNaughton notes consist of 22 notes sent in by members of the English Community, compared to 66 sent in by Farmers (two notes were unidentified as to sender). It is my hypothesis that this relates to differing levels of support for the Cannington Store by members of the English and Farming communities.

It is clear from the notes themselves (Figure 9.1) (discussed below, also reproduced in Appendix D) that the Farmers were not requesting out-of-the-way or unusual items that the Cannington Store did not stock. Rather, they were getting the majority of their purchasable goods from the McNaughton Store. The relative paucity of requests for goods from the English may relate to their preference, in most cases, for supporting the Moose Mountain Trading Company. However, it is indicated in the documentary records that to shop at the Cannington Store really was to “support” the English endeavour at Cannington, since their prices may have been significantly higher than those found in the store at Moosomin. This is in evidence from the reminiscences of Hume Robertson, Cannington’s blacksmith, about an English woman reputed for her independence and business savvy: “Mrs. Sheldon-Williams, smart old woman that. Talking of the Moose Mountain Trading Company, she sent into Moosomin for groceries, and the Birds thought she shouldn’t and she said “It’s all right to be friendly, and I like the Birds and Maltbys very well, but friendship should not run at thirty five percent” (Robertson 1930).

Cannington Feb 28<sup>th</sup> 1879  
Mr McNaughton  
Dear Sir please  
send by Mr E. D. Pierce of  
Cannington 18 worth of your  
blue Bitter tea and Oblige  
Samuel Brayford  
I hope to be in before long  
and will settle for it

**Figure 9.1.** Note for the McNaughton Store. Photo by author.

It is clear, therefore, that members of the English community were expected to support the Cannington Store to some extent. The cash-conscious Farmers, on the other hand, had no compunction about sending out to the cheaper McNaughton Store. Also, the McNaughton store lists regularly include names like Turton, Hindmarch, Brayford, and Brockman who, it will be remembered, were classed as “serious-minded” English Farmers in our earlier discussion (Chapter Four). Their representation in the notes and their habit of purchasing from Moosomin rather than Cannington supports the suggestion that they had more in common, in class and general outlook, with the Canadian farmers than with the upper middle class English, despite their English backgrounds.

Differential support for the Cannington Store from English and Farmer is confirmed to some extent by the fragments of a Moose Mountain Trading Company Store Account book (Moose Mountain Trading Company 1887). In this record, the

major purchasers of goods from the Cannington Store are mostly English. Charles Pryce, Canadian Farmer, seemed to purchase building supplies regularly, but this may have been a part of his role as the major contractor for many of Cannington's buildings.

This account book, unfortunately, does not facilitate a comparison between the consumer choices of English and Canadian. The purchases in the account book all seem to be bulk purchases, mostly of flour, grains, or building supplies. Clearly the Store either did not keep detailed records of small purchases and purchases of everyday groceries, or those records were kept in a different account book. However, this book is useful in demonstrating that, at least for these types of purchases, the Cannington Store was patronized mostly by members of the English community.

There is a single exception to this, and this is in the case of flour. It was noted that the Farmer's McNaughton lists almost never included requests for flour. The Cannington Store may have been losing business to the store in Moosomin, but in the area of flour that trend was dramatically reversed. Most of the Farmers purchased flour from and had their wheat ground by the Moose Mountain Trading Company. In addition, the company records show that the Moose Mountain Trading Company supplied flour to many towns in the immediate area and beyond. The McNaughton store regularly bought bulk shipments of flour, as did numerous other stores from nearby towns. So despite the ultimate failure of the Cannington venture as a business, the Mill was clearly a going and profitable concern, or at least had the potential to be, had the rail line not diverted business elsewhere.

## **9.2 The McNaughton Store Notes**

An analysis of the contents of the English and Farmer's grocery lists for the McNaughton store has the potential to reveal further insights into the lives of Cannington residents. It should be noted that this analysis constitutes a fairly basic analysis of consumer requests. A great deal more could be done with this unique dataset. Unfortunately, time and space limitations prevent more in-depth analysis within this thesis. I have classified the requests for various goods into functional categories much the same as were used for the archaeological record (Table 9.2). In the discussion, I will focus on only those aspects of the notes that generate useful insights into Cannington lifestyles. For a complete transcription of the notes themselves, see Appendix D.

### **9.2.1 *Personal Requests***

Requests for personal items made up 14% of the total number of requests (67 out of 491) and as such represented a large volume of items. The requests are summarized in Table 9.3. Footwear was the most requested item (31 requests), for men's, women's, and children's shoes. Footwear requests also tended to come in large batches, where the footwear for an entire family was replaced all at once. Men's overalls were requested frequently (10 times). The remainder of the category is made up of requests for items from men's and boy's suits to corsets.

**Table 9.2. Requests for the McNaughton Store by Functional Category, ca. 1894-1901**

Activity Group	Subactivity Group	Number of Requests	Percentage of Total Requests
<b>Personal</b>	<i>See Table 9.3</i>	<b>67</b>	<b>14%</b>
<b>Health and Healing</b>	Medicine	7 7	1.4% 1.4%
<b>Social/Recreational and Indulgence</b>	Crafts Tobacco Chewing Wine Making	9 1 7 1	1.8% 0.2% 1.4% 0.2%
<b>Food Preparation/Consumption</b>	<i>See Table 9.4</i>	<b>238</b>	<b>48%</b>
<b>Reading, Writing, and Education</b>	Writing	4 4	0.8% .8%
<b>Household Furnishings</b>	Household Decorative	1 1	0.2% 0.2%
<b>Household Maintenance</b>	Cleaning Equipment and Supplies	36 36	7.3% 7.3%
<b>Architectural</b>	Chimney Collar Building Materials Window and Door Hardware & Materials Window Glass	7 1 1 2 3	1.4% 0.2% 0.2% 0.4% 0.6%
<b>Agriculture, Gardening and Animal Husbandry</b>	Agricultural Equipment and Tools Tack Repair and Maintenance Sheep Shearing Gardening Pest Control Fencing	47 6 1 1 36 2 1	9.6% 1.2% 0.2% 0.2% 7.3% 0.4% 0.2%
<b>Transportation</b>	Transport-animal powered Boating	6 5 1	1.2% 1% 0.2%
<b>Hunting/Defence</b>	Ammunition	1 1	0.2% 0.2%



**Table 9.3. Requests for the McNaughton Store by Functional Category: Personal Items**

Activity Group	Subactivity Group	Number of Requests	Percentage of Total Number of Requests (all notes)
<b>Personal</b>		<b>67</b>	<b>14%</b>
	Clothing- Pants	1	0.2%
	Clothing- Ties	1	0.2%
	Clothing- Suits	4	0.8%
	Clothing- Socks	3	0.6%
	Clothing- Shirts	6	1.2%
	Clothing- Overalls	10	2%
	Clothing- Mittens	1	0.2%
	Clothing- Headwear	4	0.8%
	Clothing- Footwear	31	6.3%
	Clothing- Corsets	1	0.2%
	Clothing- Coats	1	0.2%
	Clothing- Smocks	1	0.2%
	Hairdressing	1	0.2%

### ***9.2.2 Health and Healing Requests***

Medicines were requested seven times (1.4%). The types of items asked for included cod liver oil, “electric oil”, castor oil, glycerine, and laudanum. All are medicines designed to improve health and vigour, with the exception of laudanum, which is an opiate used for its calming properties. Some lists were specific as to brands, such as a request for “Mother Siegel’s Syrup”, a tonic and restorative (Wilson 1971), and “Beef Iron Wine”.

### **9.2.3 Social/Recreational and Indulgence Requests**

T & B brand chewing tobacco was asked for seven times. One request was for “pink and white craft paper”. One pound of tartaric acid was requested, which may have been used in the making of wine. The individual who requested it was the former head jockey for the Becktons, and may well have been one of several individuals in the area who were known to have brewed their own alcoholic beverages.

### **9.2.4 Food Preparation/Consumption Requests**

Almost half the requests (48%) were for food items. These are summarized in Table 9.4. Dried, canned, and fresh fruits and vegetables were the most common requests (12%). Sugar was asked for often (6%), mostly white and brown, with white being preferred. Icing sugar was asked for once. Next on the list is tea (5%). The most popular tea was black “Blue Ribbon” tea that sold for 35 cents a pound. The Turtons always asked for Ceylon tea, almost the only ones to do so. Coffee clearly did not enjoy as much popularity as it was only asked for six times (1.2%).

Most of the residents of Cannington were clearly producing most of their meat for themselves, since “bacon” is only asked for five times.

Another point of interest is requests relating to butter. Farming families asked for products related to *making* butter three times (butter color, a wooden butter paddle, and dairy salt), while one English request came for the butter itself. This suggests that the farming families were producing butter while the English were typically purchasing it.

**Table 9.4. Requests by Functional Category: Food Preparation/Consumption**

Subactivity Group	Item	Number of Requests	Percentage of Total Number of Requests (all notes)
Baking Chocolate		2	.4%
Baking Powder		7	1.4%
Baking Soda		3	0.6%
Barley		2	0.4%
Beef Broth	Johnston's Fluid Beef Tea	1	0.2%
Biscuits		3	0.6%
Butter	butter 2 lbs (E), .25 c worth (F)	2	0.4%
Butter Making	bag dairy salt	1	0.2%
	Butter spoon wood	1	0.2%
	small bottle butter color	1	0.2%
Candy		6	1.2%
Cheese		2	0.4%
Cocoa		3	0.6%
Coffee		6	1.2%
Cooking Utensils	whisk	1	0.2%
Cornstarch		3	0.6%
Dried Pasta	macaroni	1	0.2%
Egg Production	egg case (36 doz)	2	0.4%
Flavourings	lemon flavouring	3	0.6%
	peppermint flavouring	3	0.6%
	vanilla flavouring	1	0.2%
Flour		1	0.2%
Fruits and Vegetables- Canned	canned fruits and vegetables	9	1.8%
Fruits and Vegetables- Dried	raisins, currants, apples, prunes, beans, figs	31	6.3%
Fruits and Vegetables- Fresh	apples, lemons, oranges, peaches, apricots	19	4%
Jams and Jellies	Balger's Jellies	6	1.2%
Lard		2	0.4%
Meat	bacon, boiling beef	5	1%
Nuts and Seeds	almonds, filberts, caraway seeds	3	0.6%
Oatmeal		8	1.6%
Pepper		2	0.4%
Rice		7	1.4%
Salt		8	1.6%

**Table 9.4 Continued**

Spices	mustard, curry, cloves, allspice, ginger	10	2%
Sugar	white	18	4%
	brown	10	2%
	yellow	1	0.2%
	icing	1	0.2%
Syrups and Molasses		8	1.6%
Tapioca		1	0.2%
Tea	Blue Ribbon tea, black tea, Ceylon tea	27	5%
Vinegar		4	0.8%
Yeast		4	0.8%

Charles Couper mentions, in his memoir, that the Cannington Store frequently purchased butter from farm wives. However, this must remain at the level of conjecture since such a small data sample does not truly indicate from where the English were getting their butter. As well, Mrs. Turton asked for cases for “36 dozen eggs” on two separate occasions, indicating that, like many other farm women, she was having some success at raising eggs for sale.

### ***9.2.5 Reading, Writing, and Education***

Envelopes and note paper were asked for four times (0.8%).

### ***9.2.6 Household Furnishings***

One request was sent in for wallpaper samples (0.2%).

### ***9.2.7 Household Maintenance***

Items related to cleaning and household maintenance were requested 36 times (7.3%). A number of requests were for items like brooms, mops, and scrub brushes (6). “Royal Crown” Soap was requested 12 times, and “Surprise Soap” was asked for twice. A washboard, mangle, clothespins, laundry starch, and blueing (“Oxford Washing Blue”) were items that related to doing laundry.

### ***9.2.8 Architectural***

Building materials such as lumber, a chimney collar, window panes, and window putty made up the requests in this category (1.4%).

### ***9.2.9 Agriculture, Gardening and Animal Husbandry***

Forty-seven (9.6%) requests were included in this category. Agricultural equipment and tools such as mower parts, a shovel, rake teeth, binder twine, barbed wire, a pail, and a small hand saw file were asked for. One English man asked if the McNaughton store provided bags in which to ship wool. Mrs. Hindmarch put in a request for “gopher traps”.

### **9.2.10 *Transportation***

Joseph Newman asked for several parts related to constructing wagons and buggies, no doubt for Cannington residents. Willard Hill may have asked for “oarlocks” for a boat, but the word is unclear on the document.

### **9.2.11 *Hunting and Defence***

One farming resident asked for No. 12 shotgun shells with No. 4 shot.

### **9.2.12 *Brand Names***

One of the interesting aspects of the McNaughton Store notes is that many brands are requested by name, providing more in-depth clues to the kinds of goods that were available to Cannington residents. The items that were requested by brand name are tabled below (Table 9.5). As mentioned above, the constraints of space within a master’s thesis prevent a more in-depth analysis of this particular line of evidence. However, researching the brand names available at Cannington is just one of the many ways that future scholars could gain more information about Cannington and about early settlement period purchasing patterns in general.

**Table 9.5 Brand Names Requested from the McNaughton Store**

<b>Brand</b>	<b>Item</b>	<b>Number of Requests</b>
Bensdorf's Cocoa	Cocoa	1
Epps Cocoa	Cocoa	1
Silver Cream Baking Powder	Baking Powder	1
Royal Yeast Cake	Yeast	1
Windsor Salt	Salt	1
Balger's Jellies	Jams available in raspberry, orange, lemon	3
Blue Ribbon Tea	Black tea	4
Japan Rice	Rice	1
Royal Crown Soap	Soap	12
Pine Jar (Tar?) Soap	Soap	1
Surprise Soap	Soap	2
Oxford Washing Blue	Laundry Blueing	1
Beef Iron Wine	Restorative	1
Johnston's Fluid Beef Tea	Restorative?	1
Mother Seigel's Syrup	Restorative	1
T & B Tobacco	Chewing Tobacco	4
Bose Best Prunes	Prunes	1

*Built upon a raw new country on unstable foundations, the anomaly could not endure, but the short life was a merry one...If we did nothing else, we contributed a piquant chapter to the literature of pioneering.*

*-Inglis Sheldon-Williams, Cannington resident (Pugh 1980b)*

## **CHAPTER 10**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

This project has used multiple lines of evidence, gleaned from documentary sources, the local traditions of folklore from the descendants of Cannington pioneers, and archaeological excavation for the purpose of saying something about the lives of two groups of people who lived in what is now Saskatchewan, over one hundred years ago. Their time was an interesting one, as it came during the period when Canada was being formed as a nation through the manoeuvrings of eastern expansionists. To the expansionists, the dream was a noble one, no less than that of (as they perceived it) spreading the light of civilization to the wilderness.

Groups of upper middle class British subjects came into the west, therefore, who hoped to provide for their families in Canada the way they had been unable to in England. They were mostly urban professionals who made their living by owning and directing business interests that would serve the new and expanding industrial economy.



They brought with them the leisure traditions of their class, that included the genteel pursuits of art and music. In addition, an attempt was made to adhere to the sporting life of the landed gentry, mostly through the wealthy Becktons, with their stone mansion, thoroughbred horses, and fox hunts.

Englishwoman Jessie Pierce Beckton, like others of her country and class, was aware of her family's role in "paving the way to a new world" (Pierce Beckton 1930:1). Together with her mother and sisters, she organized and paid for the construction of All Saints Anglican Church, in addition to performing many other duties of a charitable nature. While English men were building up Cannington Manor through industrial business endeavours, English women were living up to their obligation, informed by the social expectations placed upon members of their gender, to be the principal bearers of the light of morality to the world around them. In the eyes of Jessie Pierce Beckton and other members of her class, Cannington Manor was built by the English upper middle class as an early stepping stone along the way to a civilized nation.

At the same time, other settlers were arriving in the Moose Mountain area. Some were English, some Irish, some Scottish, but all had the labouring attitudes of the lower middle classes. Some were farmers already. Many others were trades people who, displaced from their places of birth by the need to seek better opportunities, were searching for a new start. Their trade or agrarian origins were such that their accustomed way of making cash, if it needed to be made, was to perform labour for others. On the prairie, the working-class backgrounds of these settlers evolved into a system that was necessary for survival and that was similar to settlement communities all over the west. Religion helped families to cope with illness, death, and hardship. Doctors were unavailable, and children ubiquitous, so illness and high infant mortality were common.

Essential to survival was neighbourliness and the willingness to help others. This provided a system of reciprocal support upon which everyone could rely in times of trouble.

As the culture of pioneers developed, hard manual labour also came to be seen as a badge of honour. Hard work was necessary to make a farming operation run, but more than that, it provided a source of common identity and pride among people who saw themselves as “not being afraid to get their hands dirty”. Perhaps for this reason, the traditions of the upper middle class English, particularly in terms of their leisure activities, seemed to chafe a little with the farming community. However, this effect was mitigated by the need the two groups had for each other. The English wanted to organize the construction of a town and a church, and someone had to perform the labour for that. The farmers needed cash and a way to become established, especially since low wheat prices and depression worked against farming until almost the turn of the century. So everyone worked together to build Cannington, though each group within the context of their own class roles.

However, the differences were such, and the contrast so colourful, that when most of the English left abruptly before the turn of the century, the void they left was filled with legends, stories, and myths that captured the interest of people all over Saskatchewan. Mixed in with these myths was a new telling of the story, where the farmers who had stayed in the region recounted their own part in the legend, told from their own perspective; a perspective that reiterated the ideals upon which the farming community was founded. For them, Cannington Manor, like the rest of the West, was built by the endurance, faith, and strength of the farming community.

The analysis of the factors that created Cannington Manor and its social dynamics has been a fruitful exercise in approaching data from a framework that takes gender as one of the fundamental organizing principles of human existence. In constructing a history of the town from documentary sources, it became obvious that a great deal needed to be done in simply re-including women's experiences in the historical narrative. Trying to write from an alternate perspective, in this case with gender in mind, served as a reinforcement of the fact that there really are "multiple visions" of Cannington Manor - those of the people who lived there, those of the modern community, those of the tourists who visit the park site today, and those of the organization that interprets the park to them. In addition, there is the historical "vision" of Cannington and, last but not least, an archaeological "vision". Each perspective has unique points and contains a grain of the reality that was once Cannington Manor.

As well, in searching the documentary record, while trying to make sense of the seeming contradictions present there on the subject of English and Farming relationships, it became clear that "multiple visions" existed even among Cannington's own residents. English upper middle class women, it would seem, perceived Cannington and their experiences there through the lens of their own identity, an identity that was influenced by Victorian constructions of womanhood and women's roles. As a result, in the new land where the rigours of the old British system had the potential to be re-negotiated, English upper middle class women upheld class barriers where their menfolk were, in some small ways, more receptive to breaking them down. The English women's experience was thrown into sharp relief through the contrast between them and the freewheeling bachelors. This group's closer interactions with the farming community

and their freedom from the moral implications of associating with members of all classes led them to experience Cannington from yet another viewpoint.

The analysis of the contrasting views of Cannington, in particular those of the two social worlds of English and Farmer, was put to the test in the archaeological record. Though the data proved insufficient to demonstrate a reliable pattern, the observation was made that, at the Maltby house, the material world may have been altered in 1892 when Mary Maltby came to live in the house. The renovation of the building, and the possible discard of material objects from Ernest Maltby's bachelor days, speaks to a change from one "vision" to another. Mary Maltby may have rejected goods that did not have enough connotation of the symbolic importance of upper middle class dining and visiting rituals, and chosen instead goods that did properly underline, for her, the importance of dining.

Finally, some documents were examined, albeit briefly, that had the potential to shed light on the availability and purchasing choices of Cannington residents. These documents were useful in demonstrating a difference in support for the Moose Mountain Trading Company between English and Farmers. Where the English were expected to almost subsidize the store to ensure the success of the English experiment at Cannington, the Farmers did not feel enough loyalty to that cause to do the same- or at least, even if they had felt that loyalty, their tight budgets would never have allowed them to do so. There is a great deal more that can be done with these interesting documents, and it is my hope that other researchers will someday use them to further understand consumption in early settlement history.

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Wawota and District History Committee

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**APPENDIX A**  
**AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CANNINGTON RESOURCES BY**  
**COLLECTION**

This bibliography is intended to gather all of the documents, books, and other references that pertain to Cannington (that are known to this author) in one place for the convenience of future researchers. The information is organized according to the locations of the various repositories where Cannington materials are available. Within these locations, the references are organized alphabetically by author, with their local call/manuscript/file number listed first in order to facilitate retrieval.

Several points should be noted in considering this appendix. In creating this bibliography, I included all those texts that I encountered in my own research. I also reviewed the bibliographies of other authors on Cannington, most notably Garth Pugh (Pugh 1980a, 1980b), and included sources that I did not review personally as they did not relate directly to this particular project, but that may be of interest to other authors. Therefore it should be noted that I have not personally confirmed the existence of some of the references, most notably those in the Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management's Historic Parks Operational Files. However, I have reviewed the works of these other authors (particularly Pugh) quite extensively, and have confidence in the general accuracy of their references. Another important point to note is that I have repeated here all of the references contained the References Cited section of this thesis, so that this appendix will be complete unto itself. All of the annotations contained here are my own except for those found in the section on the Arthur S. Morton Manuscripts Collection (Adam Shortt Library of Canadiana, University of Saskatchewan). Those are the annotations of the archivist who catalogued that particular collection for the University library. In the case of the annotations for those works that, as mentioned above, I did not review personally, I found that most were so extensively quoted and reviewed by Garth Pugh that I was able to write a short description of their general contents.

Finally, future authors should not take this reference as complete in containing all the known references to Cannington, they are only those that are known to the author.



The material on Cannington is so extensive that simply searching under that name in archival indexes calls up a vast amount of information. More in-depth searches and cross-referencing the names of people and events mentioned in the references listed below may call up still more information on this interesting and well-documented Saskatchewan Historic site.

### **1.1 Arthur S. Morton Manuscripts Collection, Adam Shortt Library of Canadiana, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan**

A large amount of Cannington material resides at this location. The majority of the collection was acquired from Mrs. Hewlett by Arthur S. Morton, chief librarian at the University of Saskatchewan from 1914 to 1940.

The astute observer will notice that some of the materials seem to be duplicates in one way or another; this is because when Mrs. Hewlett turned over her collection to the University, she included not only her notes on Cannington, but all the drafts of her works as well as final copies. Therefore, there is commonly repetition of information throughout the references.

In addition to these written documents, there are also a large number of photographs (about two hundred and fifty), of both people and places related to Cannington Manor.

It should also be noted that this rather large amount of material (578 references in total, if one includes the photographs) represents everything that is called up in the Adam Shortt Library catalogue under a simple keyword search for *Cannington Manor*. By cross-referencing the names and places mentioned in these resources, future researchers may be able to discover additional material pertaining to Cannington in this collection.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.31

Allingham, Dr.

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor old timers. Reminiscences of the following Cannington Manor settlers: Dr. Allingham, Bob Reed, Hume Robertson, Jim Wiggins, Mrs. Donald Murray, Mrs. Cross, Angus McDougall, John McVigar, Joe Gerard, Alan Haldane

Wilson and Joe Lawford. Most of their recollections pertain to their arrival in Saskatchewan, the search for work, the establishment of their homesteads, living conditions, social and sporting activities and the development of Cannington Manor and the Moose Mountain districts. There are a number of references to Louis Riel and the state of his health prior to the North West Rebellion of 1885. 28 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.2 "A"

ca. 1970s Arthur Wellesley Allingham. A short biographical note on Arthur Wellesley Allingham (1864 - 1940), a physician who practiced in Broadview, Saskatchewan. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.2 "A"

1971 Mrs. Lily Appleton passes, "Carlyle," vol. 35, no. 52. 3 June 1971. Newspaper clipping. An obituary of Mrs. Lily Appleton, the first white child born at Cannington Manor, NWT in 1882. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Baker, Reginald F.

1971 Reg F. Baker to Mrs. A. E. M. Hewlett. 1 February- 29 March 1971. Letters. Baker's reminiscences of Cannington Manor, a brief description of the type of British settler who came to Moose Mountain and Cannington Manor, a comment about weather conditions and the terrible winter of 1906-07, Baker's work with 4-H clubs, and some of their social activities. 13 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Ball, Blatchford (Rev.)

ca. 1970s Rev. Blatchford Ball. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Bayles, Richmond E.

1970 Richmond E. Bayles to Mrs, A. E. Hewlett. 8 - 19 November 1970. Letters. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.37

Beatty, Mrs. Jim

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor old timers. Verbatim notes. Reminiscences of Mrs. Jim Beatty (nee Hill), Mrs. W. Brayford, Norbert Boyer (?) and Sam Brayford, settlers of the Cannington Manor and Moose Mountain districts. 9 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.32

Bennett, J. H.

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor old timers. Reminiscences of the following Cannington Manor settlers: J. H. Bennett, Joe Dorrance, Thomas Harkness, Scotty Bryce, William Bryce, Mrs. William Long, and William Lees. Most of their recollections pertain to their arrival in Saskatchewan, the search for work, the establishment of their homesteads, living conditions, social and sporting activities and the development of Cannington Manor and the Moose Mountain districts. 14 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.99

Bird, Harry

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor. Harry Bird arrived at Cannington Manor in 1886. He formed a partnership with Captain Pierce and brought in cattle and constructed a flour-mill. Bird's recollections include comments about other settlers and sporting activities like fox hunting. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.102

Bird, Joe

ca. 1930s Joe Bird, Broadview. Bird describes his experiences as a railway foreman and a construction superintendent on the Canadian Pacific Railway in western Canada during the 1880s and 1890s. He also expresses his biases about the different ethnic groups working on railroad construction. Bird makes numerous anti-union comments

about the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) whom he calls the " I Won't Work." He blames the IWW for problems in the construction camps. 16 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.15 "L"

Bothwell, J. R.

1939 Legislative library re school district. Correspondence and notes pertaining to the establishment of the Cannington Manor school district No. 160 on May 8, 1889. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.35

Brockman, Henry

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor old timers. Recollections of the settlers and pioneers of the Cannington Manor and Moose Mountain districts. Most of their reminiscences pertain to their arrival in Saskatchewan, the search for work, the establishment of their homesteads, living conditions, social and sporting activities and the development of these districts. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Brownlee, William A.

1939 Brownlee, William A. A request to have a stone cairn erected to the memory of the pioneers of Cannington Manor. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.36

Bryce, Scotty

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor old timers. Verbatim notes. Recollections of Scotty Bryce by his daughter Mrs. Taylor. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.47

Cameron, Donald

ca. 1931 Donald Cameron. Cameron describes the problems that Ashton Lyons, a homesteader, had with his stove pipe and house fire. As well, he explains the practical joke that Harry Keel played on Lyons. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.46

Cameron, Donald

ca. 1932 Mr. and Mrs. Donald Cameron, Sr. (Arcola, Sask.). Cameron describes the establishment of his homestead at Cannington Manor in the 1880s. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.52

Campbell, Dan

ca. 1930s Dan Campbell. A brief comment about repairing Campbell's Red River Cart. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.41

Campbell, Donald Angus

ca. 1930s Donald Angus Campbell. Campbell's reminiscences of his homestead experiences near Cannington Manor during the 1880s. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.5 "C"

1939–1953 Campbell, J. J. Campbell was the Indian agent on White Bear Reserve at the time Cannington Manor was settled. In his recollections, he discusses his various experiences and humorous encounters with the people of Cannington Manor. There is also correspondence pertaining to Hewlett's story of Cannington Manor and Helen Reynolds's book "The Fur Brigade." 13 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.44

Cannington churchyard.

ca. 1930s A list of the inscriptions on the tombstones at Cannington churchyard. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11.1a

Cannington cricket club.

ca. 19--? This is a short account of the establishment of a cricket club at Cannington Manor, Saskatchewan. Typescript of the article numbered 14.11.1. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.19 no.3

1955 Cannington Manor was bit of old England. Regina The Leader-Post 16 May 1955. Newspaper clipping. A brief account of the English settlement that Captain Pierce established at Cannington Manor during the 1880s. He promoted fox hunting, cricket, horse racing and other sporting and social events. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.57

Carey, Mrs. Sidney

ca. 1930s Abraham Evans, as told by daughter Mrs. Sidney Carvey (Wawota, Sask.). The first part of the reminiscence refers to the tragic death of the older Mrs. Ramage during the terrible snowstorm of 1892. The second provides some details about the homestead of the Evans family. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.45

Carmichael, William

ca. 1930s William Carmichael. Carmichael outlines the order in which English settlers obtained homesteads at Cannington Manor. He also notes the construction of the mill in 1886, the hotel in 1887, the store in 1888 and the Moose Mountain Trading Company. As well, there are references to fox hunting and other sporting activities. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.49

Carswell, Andrew

ca. 1930s Andrew Carswell, Oxbow. Carswell, a member of the 95th Manitoba Grenadiers during the North West Rebellion of 1885, describes the arrest of Star Blanket and his men for holding a "Sun Dance." 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.11a

Cash book.

The ladies' guild, Cannington Manor. 15 May 1896. A list of the members of the ladies' guild. Transcribed as 11b. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.11b

Cash book

The ladies' guild, Cannington Manor. 15 May 1896. A list of the members of the ladies' guild. Transcription of 11a. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.50

Cheyne, James

ca. 1930s James Cheyne. Cheyne was a Scottish immigrant who homesteaded near Oxbow, Saskatchewan during the 1880s and 1890s. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.5 "C"

Clayton, Mrs. Gladstone

ca. 1950s Clayton, Mrs. Gladstone. A brief recollection of a few pioneer experiences. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.51

Colborn, Walter

ca. 1930s Walter Colborn. Colborn's account of the search for the lost Turton child. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.5 "C"

1960 Colborne, Walter. Newspaper clipping. Obituary of Walter Colborne, a homesteader in the Cannington Manor district. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.60

Connor, A. J.

1939 Snow storm of March 8, 1892. A copy of a letter from the Department of Transport, Meteorological Division, regarding the weather of 8 March 1892. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.40

Cook, Harry

ca. 1930s Harry Cook, Moose Mountain pioneer. Autobiographical article about Harry Cook, a British immigrant, who settled in the Moose Mountain district in 1882. He describes the work involved in establishing a homestead. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.5 "C"

Cook, Mrs. Harry

ca. 1950s Cook, Mrs. Harry. A brief comment about Communion. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.8

Three Obituaries

ca. 1930s Newspaper clipping. Obituaries of Thomas Cory, former Indian agent at White Bear Reserve; Harry Cooke, a British settler who arrived in Canada in 1882; and E. C. McDiarmid, a former member of the Territorial Council. The collection contains the original newspaper clippings and a typed transcription. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.48

Cross in church.

ca. 1930s The words on the cross marking Frederich Robert Blagden's grave. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.5 "C"

Couper, Charles J.

ca. 1920s 45 Years in Canada. Being reminiscences recalled at random of my life in Saskatchewan and British Columbia. Couper notes that he did not record the events in chronological order, but "just as they came into [his] mind." His observations are based



on a series of minor events rather than major happenings. Nevertheless, there is much useful information about the establishment of Cannington Manor and the type of settlers who arrived during the 1880s and 1890s. As well, he has some interesting accounts of sporting events and social activities. 56 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.42

Couper, Charles J.

ca. 1930s Charles Couper. Couper explains that it was Ernest and Billy Beckton who encouraged fox hunting and horse racing at Cannington Manor. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.43

Couper, Charles J.

ca. 1930s Charles Couper. Couper comments on the nature of the English settlement at Cannington Manor and the homesteads that were established at Moose Mountain, Saskatchewan. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.5 "C"

Couper, Charles J.

ca. 1939 Couper, Charles J. Couper's experiences at Cannington Manor during the 1880s, Cannington sports days, and comments about the Pierce family. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.13

Couper, Charles J.

ca. 19--? This little old world of ours and other poems. Charles J. Couper, an English settler, published a volume of verse, one of which is about two Cannington Manor oxen. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.30

Dallas, Alexander

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor old timers. Reminiscences of the following Cannington Manor settlers: Alexander Dallas, George Weatherald, E. D. Harrison, Mrs. Dorrance,

W. M. K. Sedgwick, and D. W. Taylor Whitewood. Most of their recollections pertain to their arrival in Saskatchewan, the search for work, the establishment of their homesteads, living conditions, social and sporting activities and the development of Cannington Manor and the Moose Mountain districts. 13 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.54

Dawson, Charles Royal

ca. 1930s Charles Royal Dawson. A brief reference is made to the death of Captain Pierce on the 1887 sports day at Cannington Manor. Dawson left Cannington Manor in 1891 in order to seek other employment opportunities. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.21

Dill, J. M.

1942 Oxbow old timers. Reminiscences of the early pioneers who homesteaded in the Oxbow and Cannington Manor districts. Reference is also made to early teacher training and the school system. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.53

Downey, Tom

ca. 1930s Tom Downey pioneer. The Downey family settled on a homestead near Cannington Manor in 1882. Downey provides an account of the early band of English immigrants who homesteaded in the Cannington Manor and Moose Mountain districts. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.18a

Dorrance, J. A.

1930 J. A. Dorrance to Mrs A. E. Hewlett. 6 August 1930. Letter. This a brief summary of Dorrance's success at establishing a homestead near Moose Mountain, Sask. Transcription at 18b. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.18b

Dorrance, J. A.

1930 J.A. Dorrance to Mrs A. E. Hewlett. 6 August 1930. This is a brief account of Dorrance's success at establishing a homestead near Moose Mountain, Sask.

Transcription of 18a. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.55

Drinnan, Mrs. James

ca. 1930s Mrs. Drinnan, daughter of Alex Aitken. Reminiscence about the first school at Cannington Manor established in 1883. As well, Drinnan describes some of the difficulties the Aitken family encountered on their homestead. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

E. D. A.; Hill, Mrs. A.

1954 Franklin H. Hill (1866 - 1954). Biographical information about Frank Hill, a pioneer of Cannington Manor. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.56

Entwhistle, Joe

ca. 1930s Joe Entwhistle. A brief note about Entwhistle's first job with the Pigot family. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.3

Farrell, Clare Ward

ca. 1930s Pioneer's vision of sporting empire on prairie realized in fine old manor near Moosomin. Newspaper clipping. A romanticised version of the story of Cannington Manor. A. E. M. Hewlett attached a note pointing out that there are many inaccuracies in the story. The collection contains the newspaper clipping and three a typed transcript. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.19 no.5.

Fitzgerald, Mary Ann

1952 The Fabulous Venture at Cannington Manor. Newspaper clipping. Three articles based on interviews with pioneers of Cannington Manor. The articles also have photographs of Cannington Manor. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.61

Fleming, E. W.

ca. 1930s E. W. Fleming (Ned). Fleming describes some of the social activities and sporting events such as horse racing and cricket matches that were held at Cannington Manor. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.20

Forsythe, Mrs. Bruce

1964 Joseph Newman. Biographical information about Joseph Newman, a Scottish immigrant, who arrived with his family at Cannington Manor in 1890. Newman was hired to complete the woodwork on the barn at the Beckton ranch. Later he was employed to construct a number of the buildings at Cannington Manor. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.76

Fought the police. Some fresh young men get into trouble at the opera house.

ca 1930s A description of how Police Chief McRae suppressed the nuisance created by ten members of the Western Assiniboia Football team at the Princess Opera House. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.72

Frank, William

1931 Frank Humphrys, Mrs. George Husband, Francis Kidd, and Amos Kinsey. Brief biographical notes about four homesteaders who settled in the Cannington Manor district. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.19 no.7.

Gellatly, Clare

1943 Prairie Folk Once Rode to Hounds in Saskatchewan. Newspaper clipping. This brief article is based on the recollections of William Murison, the first foreman on the Beckton ranch. He describes the horse racing and other sporting events that took place in the Cannington district. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.63

Geoghegan, John

1938 John Geoghegan, RNWMP. 12 Dec. 1938. A small detachment of North West Mounted Police arrived at Cannington Manor on 1 August 1888 and was responsible for patrolling the Moose Mountain reserve and district. He also describes some of the police activities and responsibilities during this early period. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.11 "G"

Gibson, R. L.

1940-1942 R. L. Gibson to A. E. M. Hewlett. Letters. Gibson's explanation of the stage coach route between Moosomin and Boscevois, his account of a hunt for bronchos, the tragic accident of Rushbrooke, Gibson's recollection of the North-West Rebellion of 1885 and the transportation of Riel to the Regina jail, comments on some pioneer illnesses, the importance of maintaining good health, a copy of Gibson's poem "The Village Blacksmith's gone", the impact of weather on crops and homesteads, the lack of different kinds of food in pioneer diets, and Gibson's comments on the first mounted police trail going west to Alberta in 1874. 17 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.62

Graham, W. M.

1938 W. M. Graham, Indian Commissioner. 2 Dec. 1938. Graham explains that an Assiniboine tribe and White Bear's Saulteaux band shared a reserve in the Moose Mountain district near Cannington Manor. He notes that the relations between the Indians and white settlers were relatively good. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.67

Hamilton, Mrs. W.

ca. 1930s Mrs. W. Hamilton. Hamilton was employed as a domestic worker in the foreman's house at Cannington Manor. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.26

Hamilton, T.

1931 Cannington Manor old timers. Reminiscences of the following Cannington Manor settlers: T. Hamilton, Norbert Boyer (Metis hunter), William McQueen, Arthur Le Mesurier, Kenneth Price, Frank Humphrys, William Carmichael, J. Murison, John Morrison, and James Pryce. Most of their recollections pertain to work on their homesteads, living conditions, social and sporting activities and the development of Cannington Manor. As well, a number of these homesteaders comment on the Riel Rebellion of 1885. 48 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.22 "P"

Hamilton, Z. W.

1945-1964 Spencer Page. Correspondence pertaining to Page's work as a Legislative Assembly member for Cannington Manor, biographical information about him, Page's appointment to the position of first commissioner for the Bureau of Child Protection of Saskatchewan, horse racing competition between the Becktons and Lascelles, an inquiry into the career of Frank Sayer, and the plans for the restoration of Cannington Manor. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

ca. 1940s Edmund Harkness. An obituary of Edmund Harkness, a jockey who rode for the Beckton brothers at Cannington Manor. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

Harkness, James J.

1953 Thomas Harkness. Letter. A short biographical note about Thomas Harkness, a sheep herder for the Cochrane Ranch Co. In 1892 he went to Cannington Manor in order to purchase a thoroughbred horse and some greyhounds. 11 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

1963 William Harkness dies, aged 100. *The Kipling Citizen* 23 May 1963. An obituary of William Harkness, a pioneer who settled in the Moose Mountain district in the 1880s. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.91

Hawkes, John

1925 Notes from old Cannington Manor. The story of an English settlement in Saskatchewan. John Hawkes's story focuses on Captain Edward Michell Pierce, the British army officer who was instrumental in establishing Cannington Manor. Hawkes describes the development of the settlement and the social and sporting events. But the most interesting parts are the encounters with Sha-wa-kal-coosh, Chief White Bear's son, and the Indians during the 1885 rebellion. This article was printed in the "Grain Growers Guide" February 11, 1925. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.24 "S"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1924 Saskatchewan and its People. Research notes taken from John Hawkes, Saskatchewan and its People. These notes pertain to the consecration of the Cannington church, a list of the ministers, a few settlers and Spencer Page, the first member of the Legislative Assembly for Cannington. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.18

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1920s-30s Cannington Manor notebooks (3). The three notebooks contain information pertaining to the history and development of the settlements in both the Cannington Manor and Moose Mountain districts. Also there are references made to the

business operations of the Moose Mountain Trading Company and Captain Pierce's store and flour mill. And there are biographical accounts of the settlers and pioneers of Cannington Manor, including Captain Pierce, John McPherson, Harry Bird, Matthew Taylor, Rev. John Geddes, Mrs. J. McPherson, Mrs. Charles Pryce, Mrs. Rowle and Mrs. Jim Beatty. Three bound notebooks.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.6 "C"

Hewlett, A.E.M.

1928-1971 Cannington Manor. Notes, correspondence and clippings on the history of Cannington Manor and its inhabitants. As well, there are research notes on Cannington Court and its historical associations from 1171 to 1928. Finally, there are a number of the reminiscences of the early pioneers who settled in the Moose Mountain and Cannington Manor districts. 106 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.18 no.1

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1 September 1929 - 3 July 1952 Correspondence between Mrs. A. E. M. Hewlett and A. S. Morton and others. Correspondence pertaining to Captain Pierce's role in attracting British settlers to Cannington Manor; John Hawkes work on his three volume book "The History of Saskatchewan and Its People;" a description of Beckton Brothers stock farm; notes on the history of Cannington Manor; a list of Hewlett's photos of Cannington; Hewlett's request to obtain a map of the trails around Cannington and Moose Mountain; the publication of some of Hewlett's stories on Cannington in the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix and the Regina Leader-Post; Hewlett's efforts to get some of her stories published in other magazines that will pay her for them; notes on the Moose Mountain pioneers; Hewlett's series on the women of Cannington Manor; and reminiscences of the pioneers. 115 pages.



MSS C555/2/14.11 no.4

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Pioneer settlers spend enjoyable evening. Newspaper clipping. A description of the first annual re-union of old-timers of the Cannington Manor district. The collection contains the newspaper clipping and a typed transcription. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.7 "D"

Hewlett, A.E.M.

ca. 1930s Dawson, Charles Royal. Research notes pertaining to some social activities and sports at Cannington Manor. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 9

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Harry Cook. Moose Mountain pioneer. A biographical account of Harry Cook's experiences as one of the original 1882 settlers in the Moose Mountain district. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 12a

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Old Cannington Manor, N. W. T. First draft of a short history of the development of the Cannington Manor settlement. It also discusses the contributions made by early settlers such as E. C. McDiarmid and Captain Pierce. 16 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 12b

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor, N. W. T. Second draft of an article which provides a brief social history of Cannington Manor. The emphasis is on social and sporting activities such as fox hunting, horse racing, cricket, and rugby. 25 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 14a

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Old Cannington Manor, N. W. T. Draft of detailed photo captions for an article about the history of Cannington Manor. 13 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 14b

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Old Cannington Manor, N. W. T. Typescript of the detailed photo captions for an article on the history of Cannington Manor. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 14c

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Missing paragraphs for Canadian National Geographic magazine. A typescript of this material is at 14d. 18 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 14d

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Missing paragraphs for Canadian National Geographic Magazine. Typescript of the ms at 14c. These paragraphs provide more details on the history of Cannington Manor. For example, Fair Day was considered to be an important social event for the community. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 15a

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Old Cannington Manor, N.W.T. An experiment in English colonisation. 26 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 15b

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Typescript of Hewlett's article. Old Cannington Manor, N.W.T. An experiment in English colonisation. The first draft is 15a, the final draft is 15c. 12 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 15c (c.1 and 2)

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Old Cannington Manor, N.W.T. An experiment in English colonisation. Two copies of the final draft of Hewlett's article on the history of Cannington Manor. She argues that Pierce's colony anticipated many of the features of modern rural life, and points out that there were three social strata in the colony. 12 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.11 "G"

Hewlett, A.E.M.

ca. 1930s Geoghegan, John. Geoghegan briefly describes some of his duties as a Sergeant in the Royal North West Mounted Police during the late 1880s and the South-African war of 1899-1902. As well, there is a brief biographical note about the Beattie family who had settled at Cannington Manor. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.14 "K"

Hewlett, A. E. M

ca. 1930s Amos Kinsey. A brief note about Captain Pierce's homestead. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.98

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Miscellaneous reminiscences. "Old timers" describe their working and living conditions on the homesteads, the construction of the mill and other buildings at Cannington Manor, and the various social and sporting activities they pursued such as fishing, horse racing, fox hunting, sport shooting, tennis and cricket. 21 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.88

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Old Mac of Cannington Manor. A biographical article about E. C. McDiarmid, a homesteader near Cannington Manor, and a member of the Northwest Assembly under the Haultain Regime until 1905. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.5

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930s Pioneers of Cannington Manor gather for picnic. A description of the picnic held for the pioneers who came to the Cannington Manor district prior to 1890. The collection contains the newspaper clipping and a typescript. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.9

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1931 Mrs. Hindmarch, pioneer of Cannington Manor, "Darlington and Stockton Times." 3 Jan. 1931. Newspaper clipping. An obituary of Mrs. Hindmarch, a British immigrant who settled with her family near Cannington Manor in 1882. Collection contains the original newspaper clipping and a typed transcription. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.6

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1931 An oldtimer of Cannington. A sketch of Thomas J. Brayford. Newspaper clipping A biography of Thomas J. Brayford, a British settler who came to Canada with his family in the early 1880s. The collection contains the newspaper clipping and a typescript. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.85

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1931 Jase Phillips, a winner and sire of winners. This is the racing record of Jase Phillips, a chestnut horse (foaled 1881) bred at the Belle Meade Stud, Nashville, Tenn. The Beckton brothers brought the horse to Cannington Manor in 1898. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 13a

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1932 Cannington Manor. Draft of an article to mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of Cannington Manor. It explains that there were two main streams of settlers

who came to homestead and develop a British colony. (A typescript of the article is at 13b). 13 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 13b

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1932 Cannington Manor. Typescript of the article on the 50th anniversary of the founding of Cannington Manor (no. 13a). 15 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.7

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1932 Florence Nightingale, Vancouver, Mrs. Fanny D. Redmond. 15 April 1932. Newspaper clipping. An obituary of Mrs. Frances D. Redmond, an early settler of the Cannington Manor district, who nursed in Vancouver for many years. The collection includes the newspaper clipping and a typed transcription. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.38

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1932 Alexander Aitkin. A western pioneer of 1859. A biographical article about Alexander Aitkin, a former Hudson's Bay Company employee who eventually settled on a homestead near Cannington Manor during the early 1880s. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11.2

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1933 Passing of a pioneer. Newspaper clipping. This is an obituary and short biographical article about Mrs. Ann Hindmarch, an early British pioneer and settler of the Cannington Manor district. The collection contains the newspaper clipping and a typescript. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 10

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1935 Jubilee of All Saints Church, Cannington Manor. A brief history of All Saints Church, the first one built at Cannington Manor. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1935-1960 Clara Adelaide Beattie. Biographical information about Clara Beattie, one of the early pioneers of Cannington Manor. 7 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1935-1971 Beckton family. Notes on the history of Cannington Manor, the building of All Saints Church, the description of the Beckton ranch, and biographical notes on the Beckton family members. 27 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.13 no. 1a

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1938 Cannington Manor, North West Territories. Draft of the script at MSS C555/2/14.13 no. 1b. 8 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.13 no. 1b

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1938 Cannington Manor, North West Territories 13 December 1938. One of several scripts written for C.B.C. radio. This talk describes the layout of the land, the Indian buffalo hunts, and the location of Cannington Manor. As well, Hewlett describes the early pioneers who came to establish a British colony at Cannington. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.13 no. 1c

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1938 A. E. Hewlett to Dr. A. S. Morton. 14 December 1938. Letter. Correspondence pertaining to Hewlett's first radio talk on Cannington Manor which aired on CBC in December 1938. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.13 no. 2

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1938 Cannington Manor, North West Territories. Talk 2. 20 December 1938. One of several scripts written for C.B.C. radio. This talk describes Captain Pierce's involvement in the construction of Cannington Manor, and the establishment of the Beckton ranch at which they raised throughbreds and race horses. As well, there is reference to "pups" or farm pupils and pioneer women. 8 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.13 no. 3b

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1938 A. E. M. Hewlett to Dr. A. S. Morton. 24 December 1938. Letter. Correspondence pertaining to the problems of reading the radio script about Cannington Manor on air. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.13 no. 3a

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1938 Cannington Manor, North West Territories. Talk 3. 27 December 1938. One of several scripts written for C.B.C. radio. This talk describes an Englishman's house and living conditions in the village of Cannington Manor. In addition to the social activities, the British settlers planned to make Cannington a centre of rural industry. 8 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.3 "A"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1938-1972. All Saints Church, Cannington Manor. Manuscripts, typescripts, correspondence and notes. 104 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no.1

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of Western Pioneers. 1 February 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. Relates the story of the

Hindmarch family's trek to Cannington, accompanied by Harry Cook. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no.1a

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. February 1939. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. This is a biographical article about John Turton, a cattleman and farmer who lived near Cannington Manor. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no.2

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. 15 February 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. This is a brief description of the British immigrants who settled in the Moose Mountain and the Cannington Manor districts. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 3

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. 1 March 1939. clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. This article describes the self-reliance of a group of British pioneers from Pembina, Manitoba who settled near Cannington Manor, Saskatchewan. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 4

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers, The Saskatchewan Farmer. March 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. This



article describes the experiences of the Montgomery family and Donald Cameron, who arrived at Cannington Manor in the 1880s and did odd jobs like digging a well for the mill. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 5

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. 1 April 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. This is a short biographical account of Alex Aitken who emigrated from the Orkneys in 1859 and found employment with the Hudson's Bay Cannington Manor. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 6

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. 15 April 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. This is a description of some of the hardships that Alex Aitken's family experienced on their homestead near Moose Mountain, Saskatchewan during the 1880s. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 7

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer April 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. This is an account of the hardships that most of Cannington's settlers experienced during the big snow storm of 24 May 1882. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 8

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. 15 May 1939. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. John Morrison, a Cannington Manor homesteader, describes the time he tried to stop rustlers from stealing his horses. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 9

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer, vol. 1 June 1939. Newspaper clipping. Summary: One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. A brief description of the layout of Cannington Manor and the construction of the church. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 10

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers, The Saskatchewan Farmer. 15 June 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. A description of Cannington Manor, including the surrounding homesteads, dwellings and race track. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 12c

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Romantic Cannington Manor, Winnipeg Free Press. 24 June 1939. Newspaper clipping. Published version of the article drafted in 12a and 12b. It discusses the legend that has developed about Cannington Manor, the unique British colony with its fox hunting and thoroughbred horse racing. It briefly outlines the settlement's demise. Also contained are photographs of some of the early settlers of Cannington Manor. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 11

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. 3 July 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. A description by E. C. MacDiarmid of some of the earliest settlers near Cannington Manor. As well, a story about a Mountie who shot himself in order to be a hero. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 12

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. 15 July 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. A biographical note about E. C. MacDiarmid, one of Cannington Manor's best known pioneers, auctioneer and MLA. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 13

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. 1 August 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. A biographical article about Tony Purser, a British jockey, who emigrated from Bedfordshire in 1885. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 14

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. August 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. This

article describes the various sporting events that were held at Cannington Manor. The most common were horse racing, fox hunting, tennis, cricket and rugby. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 15

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. 1 September 1939. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. A biographical article about James Pryce, a carpenter and pioneer, who emigrated from Nairn, Scotland in 1885. As well, there is an interesting discussion about the impact of the North West Rebellion of 1885 on the communities of Medicine Hat and Lethbridge. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 16

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. 15 September 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. A biographical article about E. D. Harrison, a London printer, who commenced homesteading near Moose Mountain in 1885. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 17

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. 2 October 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. Mrs. Jim Beatty, one of the pioneer women of Cannington Manor, describes some of the harsh conditions that pioneers experienced. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 18

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. October 1939. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. Charles Couper, a British settler, describes living conditions and some social activities in Cannington Manor during the late 1880s and early 1890s. Couper took photographs of the citizens of Cannington Manor, the Beckton ranch, the Beckton's race horses, tennis parties, and fox hounds. Many of Couper's photos are in the Libraries' collection. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.13 no. 4

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Cannington Manor, North West Territories. Talk 1. 1 October 1939. One of several scripts written for C.B.C. radio. This talk points out that Cannington Manor was established in 1882 and lasted about fifteen years before being abandoned. Tourists can still see the remains of the church, the race track, the flour mill and several of the big houses. 8 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.13 no. 5

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Cannington Manor, North West Territories. Talk 2. One of several scripts written for C.B.C. radio. This talk describes living conditions and daily life at Cannington Manor. Most of the Cannington pioneers struggled like pioneers elsewhere on the prairies. 8 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.13 no. 6

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Cannington Manor, North West Territories. Talk 3. One of several scripts written for C.B.C. radio. This talk describes the work and conditions of the pioneer women who lived at Cannington Manor. It also refers to the various social and sporting events that were held in the district. 8 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.13 no. 7

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Cannington Manor, North West Territories. Talk 4. One of several scripts written for C.B.C. radio. This talk is a discussion of the sport of fox hunting at Cannington Manor during the 1880s and 1890s. 7 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 19

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. 1 November 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. Angus McDougall provides a brief account of his encounter with Jesse James in 1877 and Louis Riel in 1885. As well, he describes his experience freighting during the 1885 rebellion. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 20

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. November 1939. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. A biographical article about Tom Weatherald, a British immigrant, who arrived in 1881 and took a job as a surveyor. Later he became president of the Patrons of Industry and president of the Grain Growers' Association. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 21

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. The Saskatchewan Farmer. 1 December 1939. clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. A biographical article about W. H. (Scotty) Bryce, a Scottish immigrant, who became a farmer

instructor for Captain Pierce at Cannington Manor, Saskatchewan. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 22

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Yarns of western pioneers. December 1939. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," which were published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. This article deals with two events involving John Turton, a Cannington Manor pioneer. One is an account of the search for a lost child in the Moose Mountain district; and the other is Mrs. Turton's encounter with sixteen hungry Indians. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.27 "W"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Alan Haldane Wilson. Wilson's brief recollections about some of the settlers at Cannington Manor. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.39

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939 Names of pioneers. This document lists the names of pioneers from the Cannington Manor district who had their stories published in "The Saskatchewan Farmer" between February and December 1939. It also lists the names of the pioneers from the Moose Mountain district who gave verbatim notes to A. E. W. Hewlett. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.24 "S"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939-1945 Dr. F. Tom Stanier. Notes and Letter. Biographical information about Tom Stanier, a British immigrant, who settled at Cannington Manor during the 1880s. As well, a brief reference is made to the social activities and lifestyles of the inhabitants of Cannington. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939- ca. 1953 Joe Bird. Biographical information on Joe Bird, a pioneer of Cannington Manor. As well, Bird provides some of his humorous recollections and experiences as an early British settler. 34 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.10b

Hewlett, A.E.M.

1939-1960 French Counts of St. Hubert. The counts left France with their families in the mid-1880s and settled in the districts near Whitewood, Saskatchewan. Although they did not build houses on the same scale as Cannington Manor, they did import whole families; land workers, gardeners, grooms, house servants and craftsmen to work for them. As well, a number of French missionaries arrived at Whitehood in 1903. As the community developed, some entrepreneurs invested in a cheese factory, a brush factory and the raising of thoroughbreds. This material also contains biographical information on the counts and those who moved on to homesteads in the Whitewood district. The photographs originally contained in this file have been moved to the Morton Photograph Collection. 223 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 23

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1940 Yarns of western pioneers. February 1940. One of a series of articles entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," which were published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. Captain Kenneth Price, post master of Moosomin, describes some of the difficulties that pioneers experienced at Cannington Manor. As well, he tells a number of horse racing stories. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 24

Author: Hewlett, A. E. M.

1940 Yarns of western pioneers, The Saskatchewan Farmer 15 March 1940. Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor,



N.W.T.," which were published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. A brief note about the decline of Cannington Manor. By 1912 it was considered a deserted village, save the church. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 25

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1940 Yarns of western pioneers, The Saskatchewan Farmer 1 April 1940.

Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," which were published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. An interesting description of pioneer women's work at Cannington Manor during the 1880s and 1890s. Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 26

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1940 Yarns of western pioneers, The Saskatchewan Farmer. 1 May 1940.

Newspaper clipping. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," which were published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. The article discusses some of the tragic events that occurred near Cannington Manor. As well, Alex Dallas describes the Indian ritual of "the making of the brave." Collection includes a typescript copy. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.12 no. 27

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1940 Yarns of western pioneers May 1940. One of a series of articles, entitled "Tales of Cannington Manor, N.W.T.," which were published in The Saskatchewan Farmer during the period 1939 to 1940. This is a story about Charles Pryce, a Scottish immigrant, who settled near Cannington Manor in 1885. Pryce was employed in several occupations, including boat building for the troops in the 1885 rebellion. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 1a

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s Old Cannington Manor, Assiniboia, N. W. T. Draft of an article describing Captain Edward Michell Pierce's efforts to establish an English colony at Cannington Manor. As well, Hewlett explains the type of social activities and sports that the British settlers pursued. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 1b

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s Old Cannington Manor, Assiniboia, N. W. T. Corrected draft of an article describing Captain Edward Michell Pierce's efforts to establish an English colony at Cannington Manor. As well, Hewlett explains the type of social activities and sports that the British settlers pursued. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 2

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s Beckton Brothers racing stables, old Cannington Manor. The article describes the construction of the Beckton brothers ranch, the race track and stables. As well, Hewlett discusses the efforts to breed thoroughbreds at the Beckton ranch. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 3

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s The Women of Old Cannington Manor, N. W. T. The article describes the arrival of the first English women and their attempt to combine prairie farming with the life of sport and culture to which they were accustomed. 14 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 4a

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s The Women of Old Cannington Manor, N. W. T. First draft of an article which discusses the contributions that a group of English women made to the Cannington Manor settlement. It emphasizes daily domestic experiences. 24 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 4b

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s The women of old Cannington Manor, N. W. T. Discusses the contributions that a group of English women made to the Cannington Manor settlement. It emphasizes daily domestic experiences. 11 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 5

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s Yarns of old Cannington Manor, N. W. T. 8 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 6

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s The building of old Cannington Manor, N. W. T. The article describes the trek of the first British settlers who arrived in 1882 and settled on homesteads near the district of Cannington Manor. Later Captain Pierce began the construction of the village. 8 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 7

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s Life of old Cannington Village. The article discusses the establishment of the first post office in the Moose Mountain district in the early 1880s. As well, reference is made to the construction of Cannington Manor, and the services provided by the hotel owner, the blacksmith and the doctor. 12 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 8

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s One of the pioneers. Richard Peyton. This biographical article discusses some of Richard Peyton's experiences during the 1885 Rebellion, his attendance at several Sun Dances and his work at other jobs. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s John George Hardy. The inscription on Dr. Hardy's gravestone at Carlyle cemetery. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.7 "D"

Hewlett, A.E.M.

ca. 1940s Downey, Tom. Brief biographical notes on Mr. and Mrs. Tom Downey. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s Brayford, Henry. This is Brayford's recollection of his experiences as a pioneer settler at Cannington Manor during the 1880s and 1890s. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.22 "P"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940 Charles Pryce. Brief biographical notes on Charles Pryce, a British immigrant, who began homesteading in the Cannington Manor district in 1885. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.24 "S"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1940s A. C. Sarvis. Biographical information about A. C. Sarvis, a British immigrant, who took up homesteading in the Cannington district in the 1880s. Sarvis provides an account of his family's experiences on their homestead. As well, he describes his other occupations as engineer, surveyor, teamster, contractor, cowboy and a field hand to the government geologist R. G. McConnell. 19 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Hewlett, Mrs. A. E. M.

ca. 1940s Brayford, Sam. Brayford's eldest daughter, Ethel, recounts the family's experiences as pioneer settlers at Cannington Manor during the 1880s and 1890s. The article by Z. M. Hamilton discusses the story of the Beckton brothers who settled at Cannington Manor. 19 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 1

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1942 That was a blizzard, Regina Leader Post. 6 April 1942. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 2 (c1 and c2)

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1942 Cannington Manor made history in the west, The Winnipeg Tribune. 25 April 1942. Newspaper clipping. Hewlett provides an interesting narrative of the establishment of the English colony at Cannington Manor in 1882. The article is illustrated with photographs from the University of Saskatchewan Library. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.7 "D"

Hewlett, A.E.M.

1942 Mrs. J. A. Dorrance passes. Newspaper clipping. Obituary of Mrs. J. A. Dorrance. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.24 "S"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1942 Charles Y. Stanier. Biographical information about Charles Stanier, a yeoman farmer from England, who settled with his family at Cannington Manor in 1888. In addition, there is a brief outline of the development and eventual dispersal of the settlement. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 3

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1942 Sixty long years ago. An account of the impact of the snow storm of 24 May 1882 on a small group of settlers near Moose Mountain, Saskatchewan. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.27 "W"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1943 Women's life. Brief recollections of the lifestyles of the pioneers who established an English colony at Cannington Manor. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.22 "P"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1943-1958 Reginald Purser. Purser, a British immigrant, arrived at Cannington Manor in 1887. At first he was employed as a jockey for the Beckton brothers. Later he and his family moved to a homestead in the Cannington Manor district. Most of this material pertains to his experiences as a jockey and as a homesteader. 12 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1944-1962 William Brayford family. An account of the family's experiences as farmers in the Moose Mountain and Cannington Manor district. As well, there is an obituary of William Brayford's son, Charles. 8 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 6a

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1945 Querying visitor, The Regina Leader-Post. 21 April 1945. Newspaper clipping. The article addresses the issue of whether or not David Lloyd George, prime minister of Great Britain, visited Cannington Manor. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 6b

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1945 Cannington Manor. Eunice Whitman to Mrs. Hewlett. 22 April 1945. Letter. Correspondence pertaining to David Lloyd George's first visit to Canada in September 1899. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.11 "G"

Hewlett, A.E.M.

ca. 1945 David Lloyd George in Cannington. David Lloyd George, the Liberal Prime Minister of Great Britain, was said to have visited Cannington Manor in 1899. Hewlett investigated the story by querying three of the pioneers who supported it: W. Humphrys, G. Dicken and Hume Robertson. 7 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.24 "S"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1945-1969 Frank Sayer. Biographical information about Frank Sayer, comments about some of the homesteaders in the Cannington district, and Sayer's service as constable in the North-West Mounted Police during the period 1884 to 1885. 11 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.8 "E"

Hewlett, A.E.M.

1947 Joseph Entwistle passed away, The Observer (Carlyle, Sask.) December 1947. Newspaper clipping. Obituary of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Entwistle. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.24 "S"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1949-1967 Miss Catherine E. Sheldon-Williams. Biographical information about Miss Sheldon-Williams, who was a pioneer Saskatchewan educationalist and an active participant in Regina public affairs. In 1889 her family left Hampshire, England and settled at Cannington Manor. Catherine worked hard on the homestead before becoming a teacher at an industrial school at Wolseley. In 1920 she moved to Regina and joined the Department of Education. 9 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1950s James Hindmarch. A brief biographic note on Hindmarch written by his grandson. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1950s Walter Husband. Part of a typescript pertaining to Husband's homesteading experiences near Cannington Manor. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.14 "K"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1950s Harry Keal. Biographical information about Harry Keal, who was a homesteader and a foreman at the Beckton ranch, near Cannington Manor. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 4

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1952 The Beckton's best jockey, Canadian Cattlemen. December 1952. Newspaper clipping. A biographical article about Reginald (Tony) Purser, a jockey for the Beckton Brothers ranch in Cannington. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 5

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1952 England on the prairies, The Beaver. December 1952. Article. The article discusses the establishment of a British colony by Captain Edward Michell Pierce at Cannington Manor in 1882. Pierce set up the Moose Mountain Trading Company which built and owned all the village, save the church, vicarage and school. The article is illustrated with photographs of Cannington Manor and its inhabitants. 6 pages.



MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 7

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1952 Cannington Manor. Article. The article discusses the establishment of a British colony by Captain Edward Michell Pierce at Cannington Manor in 1882. Pierce set up the Moose Mountain Trading Company which built and owned all the village, save the church, vicarage and school. The article was produced for the Wawota Board of Trade as a souvenir of a tour of Cannington Manor. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.105

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1952 Frank Hill, Cannington. Hill discusses some of the problems homesteaders encountered when individuals wilfully set fires to destroy property and livestock. In addition, Hill refers to the government's recommendation to name Hill Bay after his son, George Wesley Hill who was killed in action while in Italy during World War II. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.106

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1952 Mrs. Maltby. Maltby provides brief biographical information on several of the families and individuals who settled at or near Cannington Manor, including Ted Pierce, Harry and Bob Bird, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hanson, Mr. and Mrs. Sheldon Williams, Mr. Stanier, Mr. and Mrs. Fripp and Mrs. Alan Troughton. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.107

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1952 Cannington notes. Charles Dawson. Dawson discusses some of the reasons for the failure of Cannington Manor as a settlement. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1954 Brayford, Tom. Brayford's account of his experiences as a homesteader in the Moose Mountain and Cannington Manor district. Included is Hewlett's biographical article on Brayford. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.10a

Hewlett, A.E.M.

1954-1959 French Counts of St. Hubert. The counts left France with their families in the mid-1880s and settled in the districts near Whitewood, Saskatchewan. Although they did not build houses on the same scale as Cannington Manor, they did import whole families; land workers, gardeners, grooms, house servants and craftsmen to work for them. As well, they brought thoroughbred horses and dogs in order to establish a French, upper class community. 76 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.18 no.2

Hewlett, A. E. M.

8 March 1954 - 8 July 1970 Correspondence between Mrs. A. E. M. Hewlett and D. C. Appelt and Ruth Murray. Correspondence pertaining to Hewlett's concerns about the public using the Cannington Manor collection deposited in the University of Saskatchewan Library; the publication of Hewlett's article on the French Counts of Whitewood in the March 1954 issue of "The Beaver;" the National Film Board's interest in using Hewlett's photos of Cannington Manor; the publication of Hewlett's "Yarns of pioneers" in the "Saskatchewan Farmer;" Ruth Humphrys's intention to write a book on the settling of Cannington Manor; Hewlett's efforts to get her book on Cannington Manor published; and Hewlett's arrangements to have her material on Cannington Manor deposited at the University of Saskatchewan Library. 96 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 10

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1955 Arthur Le Mesurier of Cannington Manor. Pioneer prince of yarners, Regina Leader-Post. 29 June 1955. Newspaper clipping. A biographical article on Arthur Le Mesurier, a homesteader who settled near Cannington Manor in 1889. He was noted for his sense of humor, social activities and sporting events. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 9

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1956 Historic church of All Saints, Regina Leader-Post. 7 July 1956. Newspaper clipping. A short history of All Saint's Anglican Church which was built in 1884 and served the needs of the community for many years. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1956-1958. Brockman, Henry B. Biographical information on Henry Brockman, one of the original English colonists who settled near Cannington Manor in 1885. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.22 "P"

Hewlett, Mrs. A. E. M.

1957 Pioneers of Moose Mountain. A biographical article on Godfrey Porteous and his brothers who promoted the development of Moose Mountain. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.27 "W"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1957 Wiggins family. Brief biographical information about members of William Wiggins family who homesteaded in the Cannington Manor district in the 1880s and 1890s. In addition, there is an obituary of Robert H. Wiggins. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1958 William Hislop and Mrs. McLellan (sister). These are the recollections of Hislop and his sister who homesteaded with their family in the Cannington Manor district during the 1880s and 1890s. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.15 "L"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1958-1960 Arthur Le Mesurier. The notes pertain to some of the community's social activities such as Christmas parties, chess games, and music. As well, there are a few brief biographical statements about some of the pioneers. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.5 "C"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1959 Cheshire. A brief biographical note on Cheshire, a pioneer of Cannington Manor. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.7 "D"

Hewlett, A.E.M.

1960 Drinnan, Candlish. A brief note about Drinnan's help in building the Cannington mill. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1960 Cannington Manor loses another pioneer, "The Observer" (Carlyle, Sask.). Newspaper clipping Obituary notice of Henry Appleton Hindmarch. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.27 "W"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1960 George Weatherald. George Weatherald, and his two brothers Charles and Tom, started homesteading in the Moose Mountain and Cannington Manor districts in

1888. Most of this material pertains to George's tales about driving cattle to Moosomin.  
5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 8 (2 copies)

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1960 The Manorless Manor of Cannington. *The Producing News*. Article. The article discusses the establishment of a British colony by Captain Edward Michell Pierce at Cannington Manor in 1882. The settlement's aim was to establish a community life that would be patterned as closely as possible upon the English country gentleman's. As well, the article contains illustrations and photographs of Cannington Manor. 7 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.16 "Mc"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1960 William McLellan. Biographical information about William McLellan, a British pioneer, who settled with his family in the Cannington Manor district, near Fish Lake in 1889. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.15 no. 11

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1960s Old Mac of Cannington Manor. A biographical article on E. C. McDiamid, a Cannington Manor pioneer who became a member of the North West Assembly during the Haultain period. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.1

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1960s Names of people from whom notes taken on Cannington Manor. This is an index of the people interviewed about the history of Cannington Manor. 16 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.4 "B"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1960s Bennett, Mr. and Mrs. Joe. This is Bennett's recollection of his experiences as a pioneer settler at Cannington Manor during the 1880s and 1890s. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.5 "C"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1960s Cameron, W. C. A brief biographical note on Cameron. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.7 "D"

Hewlett, A.E.M.

ca. 1960s Dalesboro. Notes on the community and people of Dalesboro, taken from the book, Green Hill: the story of a Prairie Community and its Pioneers. 8 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1960s Humphrys family. Biographical information about the Humphrys family, their involvement in the Moose Mountain Trading Company, their settlement at Cannington Manor and the different occupations of family members. As well, there is a list of the Humphrys' descendants. 18 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1960s Manitoba library. These are notes taken from books on the history of Manitoba in the Winnipeg municipal library. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.19

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1960s Cannington Manor research notes. The research notes pertain to the amateur theatricals and some of the differences in the social activities of the upper class and the working class at Cannington Manor. Also there are references to the business operations of the Moose Mountain Trading Company and Captain Pierce's store and flour mill. And there are biographical accounts of the settlers and pioneers of

Cannington Manor, including Leslie Foote, C. S. Latimer, Mrs. McCrea, A. Le Mesurier, Syd Porteous, Duncan McEwan, Peter McLellan, Sam Hodgson, James Ramsey, Hume Robertson, Tony Purser, Scotty Bryce, James Beattie, Ernest Backton, and John Geoghegan. 61 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.27 "W"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1960s Tom Weatherald. Tom Weatherald, and his two brothers Charles and George, started homesteading in the Moose Mountain and Cannington Manor districts in 1885. Most of this material pertains to biographical information about Tom and his work as a homesteader, cattleman and surveyor on the third principal meridian. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1960s Manitoba library. These are notes taken from books on the history of Manitoba in the Winnipeg municipal library. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.27 "W"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1960s Charles Weatherald. Charles Weatherald, a pioneer from Ontario, homesteaded in the Moose Mountain and Cannington Manor districts. Most of this material pertains to his work, farming activities and the growth of his orchard. 16 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1961 Manor, Sask. These notes were taken during a conversation A. E. Hewlett had with Rug Bradley, Andy Robinson, A. Le Mesurier on 16 May 1961. The clipping pertains to the history and development of Manor, Saskatchewan. As well, there are photographs and illustrations of Manor and some of its citizens. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 11

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1961 Veteran's story. The Queen shook hands, The Observer (Carlyle, Sask.). 7 September 1961. Newspaper clipping. This is a biographical article about Alfred John Webb, a pioneer of Cannington Manor and a veteran of the South African War, 1899-1901. He describes his duties as a soldier. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 12

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1961 Old record books reveal Cannington Manor history, Regina Leader-Post. 1 December 1961. Newspaper clipping. The article describes two record books about Cannington Manor that were given to Mrs. A. E. M. Hewlett in 1961. One is the account of a day book of the Moose Mountain Trading Company covering the period from June 13, 1887 to June 9, 1888. The other is called "Confessions" and refers to such things as food, clothing, occupation, poet, painter, etc. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 13

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1961 Grist mill lists pioneer roll call, Regina Leader-Post. 2 December 1961. Newspaper clipping. The article describes the types of entries in the account book of the Moose Mountain Trading Company from June 13, 1887 to July 11, 1888. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.14 no. 14

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1961 Cannington development plan was wide in scope, Regina Leader-Post. 4 December 1961. Newspaper clipping. The article describes the plan that Captain Edward Michell Pierce had for the English colony at Cannington Manor. 1 page.



MSS C555/2/14.16 no.25 "T"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1964 John Turton. John Turton, an English immigrant, settled with his family in the Cannington Manor district in 1882. He describes how he and his family handled an encounter with a band of Sioux on his homestead. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.27 "W"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1965 Alfred John Webb. An obituary notice and biographical information about Alfred Webb, one of the original English bachelors who settled at Cannington Manor in the 1880s. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.19 no.8a.

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1965 Cannington Manor Historic Park. Explains the establishment of the historic park and the history of Cannington Manor. It also gives recognizes the hard work of the pioneers who built the settlement. 24 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.9 "F"

Hewlett, A.E.M.

1966 Fish Lake (now Kenosee). Research notes pertaining to pioneers who settled at Cannington Manor. 7 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1969-1971 Humphrys, James. Biographical information about James Humphrys. 9 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.9 "F"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1970s Fuller, A. T. A brief biographical note on A. T. Fuller. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.25 "T"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1970s Threshing crew. A list of the type of workers needed on a threshing crew. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.9 "F"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1971 Forsythe, Mrs. Bruce. Biographical information about the Forsythe family who lived at Cannington Manor. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.25 "T"

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1971 A. Thomas. A brief note about A. Thomas, an English artist, who settled in the Cannington Manor district and practised his art. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.18 no.3

Hewlett, A. E. M.

May 1971 - May 1974 Correspondence between Mrs. A. E. M. Hewlett and Lorraine LaBrash and Ruth Murray. Correspondence pertaining to Hewlett's research work with Professor A. S. Morton on Cannington Manor; Hewlett's instructions to the University of Saskatchewan Library not to have her manuscript material photocopied without her approval; a list of the items in Hewlett's collection; Professor Greenough's use of Hewlett's photographs for a film on Cannington Manor; Cecily Humphry's offer to identify photographs of Cannington Manor pioneers; Professor McCourt's article on fox hunting at Cannington Manor; biographical information about Charles Couper and the Beckton brothers; Hewlett's notes on a settlement of French counts in Saskatchewan; and Hewlett's attempts to get some of her articles on Cannington Manor published. 109 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.65

Hewlett, Arthur

ca. 1930s Arthur Hewlett. Hewlett describes some of the social and sporting events that were held at Cannington Manor. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.108

Hewlett, Arthur

1945 Henry Brockman chatting to Arthur Hewlett. Recollections about some of the early pioneers who settled in the Cannington Manor and Moosomin districts during the 1880s. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

Hewlett, Arthur

ca. 1950s Arthur Hewlett. An account of farming and ranching in the Cannington Manor district. Hewlett points out that the cheese factory, the pork factory and some of the other agricultural industries commenced their operations in the 1890s. Finally, there are brief biographical notes of some of the key pioneers who settled in the district. 33 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.109

Hewlett, Arthur

1961 Town of Manor. Notes on a conversation between Rug Bradley, Andy Robinson, A. Le Mesurier and A. Hewlett concerning the establishment of the town of Manor, Saskatchewan. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.24

Hewlett, A. W.

ca. 1925 List of old timers before 1891. This list includes the heads of British families who settled near Fernley and west along Moose Mountain, Saskatchewan prior to 1890. This list was compiled with the help of E. C. McDiarmid and T. M. Weatherald in 1925. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.22

Hewlett, A. W.

ca. 1930s The great snowstorm of 1890. This is a story about the terrible plight that befell Abraham Evans and Mrs. Ramage who were caught travelling near Moosomin, Saskatchewan during the snowstorm of 8 April 1890. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.23

Hewlett, A. W.

ca. 1930s Old timers of Moose Mountain rather than Cannington Manor proper. Verbatim recollections of Mr and Mrs Chipman Hill who commenced homesteading near Moose Mountain Indian reserve during the 1880s. They provide an account of a number of their experiences as homesteaders. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.14

Hewlett, A. W.

ca. 1930s Alexander Aitkin. A western pioneer of 1859. Alexander Aitkin, an Orkneyman, came in 1859 to work for the Hudson's Bay Company at York Factory. Hewlett describes Aitkin's various experiences as an HBC employee first, and then later as a pioneer on his homestead near Moose Mountain. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.15

Hewlett, A. W.

ca. 1930s. Manor loses first pioneer. Newspaper clipping. Obituary of Robert Montgomery, a long-time homesteader near Manor, Saskatchewan. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.64

Hill, Chipman

ca. 1930s Mr and Mrs Chipman Hill. A description of the Hill homestead and some of their activities. As well, reference is made to the journal, "The Nor West Farmer" and its value in providing useful farming information. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.66

Hill, Chipman

ca. 1930s Chipman Hill. An account of the Hill family's trip to their homestead near Cannington Manor. Hill describes some of the difficulties the settlers encountered in establishing their homesteads. But they also had enjoyable times hunting and engaging in various social activities. 13 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.68

Hill family.

ca. 1930s A copy of a letter written on the eve of the family's departure to the North West in 1875. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

Hill, Willard

ca. 1940s Willard Hill. The recollections of Willard Hill, a pioneer of Cannington Manor. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.70

Hodgson, Sam

ca. 1930s Sam Hodgson. A brief comment about horse riding and grooming at the Cannington Manor stables. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

1945 Samuel Hodgson passes, "The Observer" (Carlyle, Sask.). Newspaper clipping. Obituary notice of Samuel Hodgson, a pioneer of Cannington Manor. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.26

Humphrys, William

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor old timers. Reminiscences of the following Cannington Manor settlers: William Humphrys, Arthur Le Mesurier, Charles Pryce, Mr. Dallas, Dick Watson, J. J. Murison, C. Royal Dawson, R. Purser, Don Cameron, and E. W.

Fleming. Most of their recollections pertain to work on their homesteads, living conditions, social and sporting activities and the development of Cannington Manor. 45 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.71

Humphrys, William

ca. 1930s William Humphrys. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.69

Humphrys, Mrs. James

ca. 1930s Mrs. James Humphrys. An extract from a letter which describes some of social activities and sporting events held at Cannington Manor. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.100

Humphrys, Mrs. James

ca. 1930s Recollections of the Cannington Manor church. Mrs. James Humphrys describes the construction of the church and its decoration with gifts from friends and other settlers. She also discusses the development of the community in terms of the arrival of more settlers and the construction of other buildings. As well, she provides a brief account of the social life of Cannington Manor. 9 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

1939 Double tribute. Reycraft and Humphrys honored on retirement from C.P.R., Winnipeg Free Press, vol. 66, no. 7. 13 July 1939. A brief survey of Humphrys' employment history with the Canadian Pacific Railway. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.13

1939 Indians on White Bear Reserve. Biographical information about KaKaKeway and an obituary of Mrs. White Bear. Both of them had been long-term members of the White Bear Indian Reserve at Moose Mountain near Cannington Manor. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.20

Irr, W.

1927 Old Cannington Manor. 22 May 1927. An account of the history of Cannington Manor, starting with the first white settler Rev. Baldwin, a preacher and missionary. Most of the information pertains to Captain Pierce, the remittance men and the British settlers who tried to establish a British community at Cannington Manor. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.19 no.6.

Kerr, John

ca. 1950 Cannington Manor, CBC Times. Article. A brief note about a CBC radio talk that A. E. M. Hewlett gave about the Cannington Manor pioneers. It also includes a few photographs of Cannington and the pioneers's reunion in 1927. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.14 "K"

Kidd, S. E.

ca. 1917 Oh, for a breath of the prairie again. This is a poem written overseas in 1917 by the late S.E. Kidd. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.14 "K"

Kidd, Frank

ca.1952 Old Cannington Manor. The typescript entitled "Old Cannington Manor" was written by Frank Kidd. It is a history and description of life at Cannington Manor. The clippings provide biographical information about Kidd.15 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.110

Kritzwiser, Kathleen

1952 Mariner far from Sea. *The Leader Post* 29 August 1952. Newspaper clipping. The newspaper article tries to clear up some of the misinformation that has been spread about the original settlers of Cannington Manor. It outlines the development of Cannington Manor from its beginning when Captain Edward Michell Pierce constructed a loghouse in the area in 1882. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.73

Laing, William

ca. 1930s William Laing. Laing's reminiscences refer to a number of events such as some British settlers paying to be taught how to farm, hunting horses for the Becktons, Jack Evans being lost in a snow storm, and the establishment of Laing's homestead. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.74

Legislative library re school districts.

ca. 1930s Information pertaining to the establishment of the Cannington Manor school district no. 160 on May 8, 1889. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.75

Legislative library re politics.

ca. 1930s A list of the members of the Assiniboia Council, the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories and Saskatchewan, and the Prime Ministers. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.77

Le Mesurier, A.

ca. 1930s A. Le Mesurier A collection of short stories about various incidents such as the fight that A. Le Mesurier and his football teammates caused at the Queens Hotel in Winnipeg; the fight that broke out amongst Ka-Ka-Ka-Way's three wives; the occasional shooting that occurred at the Moosomin hotel; cattle roundups; the living arrangements for bachelor homesteaders; holding a party and drinking a ten gallon keg of Scotch whisky; practical jokes; a cricket match at Cannington Manor; and the occasional travelling photographer, phrenologist and musicians. 10 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.78

Le Mesurier, Mrs A.

1939 Mrs. A. Le Mesurier. An appreciation. A brief note about Cannington Manor being a quiet English country place with its cricket games and foxhunting. 1 page.



MSS C555/2/14.16 no.15 "L"

Le Mesurier, Cecil

ca. 1950s Cecil Le Mesurier. Le Mesurier's book of "Confessions," which contains the names and personal characteristics of some of the Cannington Manor pioneers. 12 pages

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.24a

Lincoln, George

ca. 1900s Memoirs. George Lincoln, a British immigrant, settled on a homestead in the Glenadelaide district near Cannington Manor in 1905. In his memoirs, he discusses his experiences and some of the history of Cannington Manor. 10 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.15 "L"

ca.1950s Ashton Lyon. A brief note about Ashton Lyon, a Cannington Manor settler who had been caught in a terrible snow storm. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

ca. 1933 Ma Ma. Song. This is a song taken from J. D. Higinbotham, "When the West was Young." 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.19 no.2

Macdonald, R. H.

1951 Cannington Manor, "The Western Producer magazine." Newspaper clipping. Macdonald describes Cannington Manor as it existed in 1951. As well, he reports on Mrs. A. E. M. Hewlett's efforts to keep the story of Cannington Manor alive by her writings and her collection of papers, correspondence and photographs deposited at the University of Saskatchewan library. Two copies of the printed story plus a typescript. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.19 no.4

MacEwan, Grant

1957 The Lord Mayor of Cannington, The Western Producer. Newspaper clipping. A biographical article about Captain Edward Michell Pierce who was instrumental in establishing an English settlement at Cannington Manor during the 1880s. The author also outlines the various social and sporting activities of the community. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.16 "Mc"

ca.1940s J. N. MacKinnon. MacKinnon was a pioneer of the Moosomin district and an historian of western Canada. The clipping is his obituary notice, while the note is an extract from his book, "Moosomin and Its Pioneers." 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.58

Maltby, Mrs. Ernest

ca. 1930s Mrs. Ernest Maltby (Miss Mary Humphrys). This recollection refers to the sporting, social and cultural activities that took place at Cannington Manor during the 1890s. For instance, the community had a tennis club, a Glee club, several talented musicians and plays. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

Maltby, Mrs. Ernest

ca. 1950s Mrs. Maltby. Maltby's recollections of her family's pioneering experiences at Cannington Manor from their arrival in 1889. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.79

McDiarmid, E. C.

1925 List of old timers and heads of families who came West. A list of the pioneers who moved to Cannington Manor, Fernley and Moose Mountain during the period 1882 and 1890. 11 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.28

McDiarmid, E. C.

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor old timers. Reminiscences of the following Cannington Manor settlers: E. C. McDiarmid, Bervelleau Meredith Jones, Andrew Carswell, Mrs. Archie Hislop, Amos Kinsey, Wesley Noble, Arthur Hewlett, Charles Pryce, T. L. Neish, J. J. Murison, Thomas Marwood Weatherald, Sam Brayford, and Chipman Hill. Most of their recollections pertain to their arrival in Saskatchewan, the search for work, the establishment of their homesteads, living conditions, social and sporting activities and the development of Cannington Manor and the Moose Mountain district. 24 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.86

McDiarmid, E. C.

ca. 1930s E. C. McDiarmid. McDiarmid describes some of the tragic accidents and difficulties that the pioneers and settlers experienced in the Cannington Manor and Moose Mountain districts. He also mentions the wages paid to farmworkers in the 1880s. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.16 "Mc"

McLellan, Jeanette

ca. 1940s Peter McLellan. McLellan's decision to dig a mill well at Captain Pierce's homestead, while the 1885 Rebellion was in progress. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.16 "Mc"

McLellan, Margaret

1959-1960 Mrs. Peter McLellan. Biographical information about both Mrs. Peter McLellan and Jeanette McLellan, a description of Arcola, Saskatchewan, the birth of Mrs. McLellan's children at Cannington Manor, a reference to articles on Cannington Manor in Macleans Magazine, and a comment about some of the pioneers. 13 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

McLellan, Peter

ca. 1950s Mountain Trail. A brief description of the Moose Mountain Trail (i.e. the Hudson's Bay Trail to Willow Bunch), and to Peter McLellan, a homesteader in the Cannington Manor district. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.87

McPherson, John

ca. 1930s John McPherson. McPherson, a settler from Bruce County, Ontario, started homesteading near Wawota, Saskatchewan in 1882. He refers to the economic boom that Captain Pierce stimulated with the development of Cannington Manor. 3 pages.

MSS 49 #3.3

McPherson, A. E.

1979 Correspondence between Jocelyn and Naomi Page and A.E. McPherson. Correspondence pertaining to Jessie Pierce Beckton's manuscript dealing with the early days of Cannington Manor, a list of materials on Cannington Manor in the A. S. Morton collection, Page's research trip to the University of Saskatchewan Library, and Page's presentation of her manuscript on Cannington Manor to the Adam Shortt Library of Canadiana. In addition, there is a copy of the genealogical chart of the Pierce family in Canada, 1882 to 1969. 11 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.89

McQueen, William

ca. 1930s William McQueen. McQueen started homesteading in 1882. He describes some of the sporting and social events at Cannington Manor. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.82

Montgomery, Mrs. Robert

ca. 1930s Mrs. Robert Montgomery of Cannington Manor. Montgomery provides a description of the difficulties her family experienced in their trip from Liverpool to western Canada in 1871. They were finally able to obtain a homestead near Manor in 1878. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.81

Moore, William Albert

ca 1930s William Albert Moore. Moore's recollections pertain to his family's work and living conditions on the homestead, the production of crops and the responsibility of supplying wheat for the Cannington Manor settlement. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

Moore, William Albert

ca. 1950s William Albert Moore. Moore describes his attempts to find a job working on the railroad during the 1880s. Later he decided to take up homesteading near Cannington Manor. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

Moore, James

1958 James Moore. A few brief notes about the daily activities and experiences of the Moore family on their homestead near Cannington Manor. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

Moore, Fred

1958 Fred Moore. A few brief notes about the daily activities of the Moore family on their homestead near Cannington Manor. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

1967 Mrs. Mary Rachel Moore (Scorah). Newspaper clipping. Obituary of Mary Scorah. She and her family homesteaded near Moose Mountain and Cannington Manor. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

1947-1966 Moosomin, Sask. Clippings and notes including: the Moosomin Courier's brief comment about the outbreak of the Riel Rebellion of 1885, a program of an old timers banquet, a book about the Moosomin Hunt Club, the closure of the R. D. McNaughton Company Ltd., the founding of Moosomin, and Mrs. Maltby's amusing story about Cannington Manor. 7 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.80

Morrison, Mrs.

ca. 1930s Mrs. Morrison, granddaughter of Captain Pierce. A brief note about the activities of the sons of Captain Pierce. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.27

Morrison, John

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor old timers. Reminiscences of the following Cannington Manor settlers: John Morrison, Robert Wiggins, William Albert Moore, John McPherson, Mrs. Drinnan, Mrs. Jim Beatty, and Mr. Cheyne. Most of their recollections pertain to the circumstances for their arrival in Saskatchewan, the search for work, the establishment of their homesteads, living conditions, social and sporting activities and the development of Cannington Manor. 25 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.83

Morrison, John

1932 John Morrison. Morrison explains that he arrived at Cannington Manor in 1882 and started working for Captain Pierce. Later he moved on to his own homestead. He

also provides a brief note about the encounter some of the homesteaders had with the Indians during the Riel Rebellion of 1885. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

Morrison, John

ca. 1950s John Morrison. A brief note about Morrison's trip from Manitoba to Cannington. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.10

Murison, J. J.

1930 J.J. Murison to Mrs. A. E. Hewlett. 20 November 1930. Letter. Correspondence pertaining to horse racing and the names of the Beckton Brothers' race horses and jockeys. The original letter is on Murison's letterhead, there is a typed transcription. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.84

Murison, J. J.

ca. 1931 J. J. Murison. Murison provides an account of the fox hunting and the horse racing that the Beckton brothers engaged in at Cannington Manor. He also describes the layout of Cannington Manor, the Didsbury stock farm and the steeple chase track. As well, Murison makes a brief comment about an Indian pow-wow. 11 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

1950 William Murison dies at 79, Regina Leader-Post. Newspaper clipping. Obituary of William Murison, a former foreman of the Beckton ranch in the Cannington Manor district. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.90

Neish, T. L.

ca. 1930s T. L. Neish. Neish provides an interesting commentary about the attempts to establish a British colony (with all the old customs and traditions) at Cannington Manor. As well, he tries to explain why this attempt failed. 9 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.33

1947 R. J. Noble. R. J. Noble was the first homesteader in the Moose Mountain district in 1882. Shortly thereafter other British immigrants settled on homesteads in the Cannington Manor district. However, as they accumulated some capital, they gradually moved away from Cannington Manor. 3 pages.

MSS 49 #3.1

Page, Frances Michell (Pierce)

1979 A few Reminiscences of our Early Life in the North West. Typescript. Frances Michell (Pierce) Page is the daughter of Captain Edward Pierce, the founder of Cannington Manor. Her reminiscences provide an account of her family immigrating to Canada and finding the location of their settlement was to become Cannington Manor. Page describes the conditions that they were subjected to and the procedure for constructing the houses and buildings. As well she discusses a number of memorable events. 16 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.22 "P"

Paxman, George

ca. 1940s George Paxman. This is a collection of stories about: three homesteaders who got drunk and lost their way in a snow storm, a cricket match on a train, the Cannington Soft Ball Cup, two farmers who got into a fight over roaming cattle, the purchase of alcohol from a "blind pig," the lack of medical services on the homesteads and various social activities. 20 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.22 "P"

Perry, Stewart



ca. 1960s George Perry. Correspondence pertaining to Hewlett's Cannington Manor articles and biographical information about George Perry, the first hotel keeper in Cannington. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.34

Pierce Beckton, Jessie (Mrs. Ernest)

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor old timers. Mrs. Ernest Beckton (Jessie Pierce). Reminiscences of one of the early settlers of the Cannington Manor district. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.21

Pierce Beckton, Jessie

1934 Cannington Manor notes. 9 May 1934. Jessie Beckton describes the building of a church at Cannington Manor during the period 1884 to 1885. This information is based on her "The History of the First North West English Settlement, Cannington Manor." 4 pages.

MSS 49 #3.2

Pierce Beckton, Jessie

1943 Cannington Manor. A Tale of Early Settlement Life. Typescript. Beckton provides a vivid description of the prairie West and the setting up of a homestead at what was to become Cannington Manor. Beckton discusses living conditions and the social, cultural and sporting events of the community. As well, there is a chapter on the history of Moose Mountain from 1892 to 1908. Part of this chapter includes an account of the settlers' relationship with the Assiniboines and the Cree, both of whom had reservations in the area. 91 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.92

Price, Kenneth

ca. 1930s Kenneth Price. Price explains the establishment of the stage line and postal route to Cannington Manor. As well, he describes a number of the tragedies that occurred at the settlement. 10 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.104

Price, Kenneth

1952 Kenneth Price, Moosomin. Price refers to the horse training for the Beckton brothers at Cannington Manor. He also describes entering his horse at a trotting race in Brandon, Manitoba. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.22 "P"

ca. 1957 J. Pryce. A very brief note about Pryce's death. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.17a

Pryce, Charles

1930 Charles Bryce to Mrs A. W. Hewlett. 6 Dec. 1930. Letter. Correspondence pertaining to the construction of buildings at Cannington Manor by Thomas Grayson contractor of Moosomin. As well, the wages for stonemason, bricklayers, plasterers and carpenters are listed. Transcribed as 17b.: 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.17b

Pryce, Charles

1930 Charles Bryce to Mrs A. E. Hewlett. 6 Dec. 1930. Letter. Correspondence pertaining to the construction of buildings at Cannington Manor by Thomas Grayson contractor of Moosomin. As well, the wages for stonemason, bricklayers, plasterers and carpenters are listed. Transcription of 17a. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.93

Pryce, Charles

ca. 1930s Charles Pryce account book. The account book records the transactions with various individuals and companies like the Moose Mountain Milling Company. 11 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.94

Pryce, Charles

ca. 1930s Charles Pryce. Notes of address to old timers and homemakers. Pryce points out that it was a community effort which established Cannington Manor. Those experienced in prairie farming and homesteading helped those who were new or inexperienced. As well, he describes some of their social and sporting activities. 9 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.97

Purser, Reginald

ca. 1930s Reginald Purser, C. Y. Stanier, Dr. Tom Stanier, J. Wiggins, J. R. Trumpour, Charles Weatherald, Tom Weatherald, R. Wiggins, R. Watson, John Turton, Mabel Turton. "Old timers" describe their conditions on the homesteads, the construction of Cannington Manor, and the various social and sporting activities they pursued. 16 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.103

Purser, Reginald

1952 Cannington notes. Purser provides some autobiographical information about himself and the establishment of his homestead and horse ranch near Cannington Manor. As well, he describes some serious incidents pertaining to his efforts to reduce his weight in order to be a better jockey for the Beckton brothers. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.59

Ramage, Mrs. Charles

ca. 1930s Charles Ramage (daughter of Abraham Evans). Recollection of the terrible snow storm of 8 March 1892 in which Mrs. Ramage's mother-in-law died and her father lost his legs. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.12a

Reed, C. W.

1931 C. M. Reed to Mrs. A. E. Hewlett. 2 Feb. 1931. Letter. Pertaining to E. C. McDiarmid's abilities and interest in helping out pioneers who were experiencing difficulties on their homesteads near Cannington Manor. As well, there is a brief biographical note about him. Transcribed as 12b. 4 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.12b

Reed, C. W.

1931 C. M. Reed to Mrs. A. E. Hewlett. 2 Feb. 1931. Letter. Correspondence pertaining to E. C. McDiarmid's abilities and interest in helping out pioneers who were experiencing difficulties on their homesteads near Cannington Manor. As well, there is a brief biographical note about him. Transcription of 12a. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.23 "R"

Riddel, George

ca. 1940s A memorandum of some events since June 1824. George Riddel describes his difficult ocean voyage from Newcastle town, England to Quebec. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.96

Robertson, Hume

ca. 1930s Hume Robertson. Robertson, a blacksmith from Brandon, explains that he was invited to move to Cannington Manor on the condition that the Moose Mountain Trading Company would build him a blacksmith shop and a house. He also describes some of the other developments and social activities that occurred in the community. 7 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.23 "R"

ca. 1920s? Hume Robertson. Newspaper clipping. Obituary notice of Hume Robertson, a blacksmith from Ontario, who homesteaded in the Cannington district during the 1880s. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.23 "R"

ca. 1887 On the death of Fred Rushbrook. Poem. The poem explains the circumstances that lead to the death of Fred Rushbrook, a Cannington homesteader, on November 23, 1887. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.101

Sarvis, Mr.

ca. 1930s Mr. Sarvis of Moosomin. A record of a conversation between Sarvis and Mr. McKinnon. The discussion covers topics such as the sale Massey Harris binders, the sale of homesteads, fox hunting, the establishment of a historical society, voting procedures, the legal profession in Moosomin and the number of English and Scottish settlers in the Cannington Manor district. 9 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.19 no.8 (c.1 and 2).

Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources

1965 Cannington Manor Historic Park. Pamphlet. This is a Saskatchewan Department of Natural Resources publication which explains the establishment of the historic park and the history of Cannington Manor. It is a revised version of the pamphlet at MSS C555/2/14.19 no.8a.16 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.24 "S"

ca. 1950s Mrs. Wilson Seeley. 103rd birthday at Maryfield. A brief biographic note on Mrs. Seeley, a settler from Ontario, who moved with her husband to Cannington Manor in 1896, and later homesteaded near Walpole, Saskatchewan. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.19 no.1

Shaw Page, Lily

1924 Life in Old Country Settlements. This is a brief account of the establishment of the Cannington Manor settlement. It also lists the early pioneers who settled in the district. Originally found in John Hawkes' *Saskatchewan* (Hawkes 1924, see the references cited section of this thesis). 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.16

Sheldon-Williams, C. Evelyn

1938 Chronicles of Cannington Manor. This is a brief history and description of Cannington Manor, from its origin as Captain Edward Michell Pierce's homestead through to its growth into a village. As well, a list of the early pioneers and some of their experiences and social activities are provided. A letter from the author to A. S. Morton is attached to the first copy. 7 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.24 "S"

ca. 1960 Shooting party. Descriptions and identification of the people photographed at Cannington Manor in 1897 or 1898. The photographs are in the Couper album. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.29

Standing Ready, Fred

ca. 1930s Cree Indians. This document contains the recollections and stories of some of the Cree Indians who lived in the Cannington Manor and Moose Mountain districts. A number of the stories pertain to buffalo hunting, living conditions on the reserves and Indian-white relations. Also includes a few pages of recollections from some of the settlers. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.95

Taylor, Sidney

ca. 1930s Grenfell notes. Sidney Taylor provides a few brief statements about a polo match between Grenfell and Moosomin, fox hunting at Cannington Manor, a cricket club and his trip to the Klondike gold rush in 1898. 2 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.25 "T"

Tennyson, Bertram

ca. 1940s Bertram Tennyson. Bertram Tennyson, nephew of the poet Lord Tennyson, lived in the Moosomin and Cannington Manor district during the 1880s.

Included are extracts from the book he wrote entitled "The Land of Napioa and other essays in prose and verse." As well, there is a photograph of Bertram. 6 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.22 "P"

Tyre, Robert

1952 The squire of maples, "The Leader-Post" (Regina). Biographical article about Kenneth Price, a British immigrant, who arrived at Cannington Manor in 1887 in order to become a farmer. Later he drove a stage coach from Moosomin to Birtle, and then pursued a number of other occupations. It is interesting to note that he introduced fox hunting, steeple-chase and cricket to the residents of Cannington Manor and Moosomin. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.33

Vail, William

ca. 1930s Cannington Manor old timers. Recollections four of the pioneers of the Cannington Manor and Moose Mountain districts. Most of their recollections pertain to their arrival in Saskatchewan, the search for work, the establishment of their homesteads, living conditions, social and sporting activities and the development of these districts. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.26 "V"

1967 Grandma Vail dies in Wawota. Newspaper clipping. Obituary notice of Hannah Jane Vail (Kerr), a former resident of Ontario, who moved with her husband to Cannington Manor in 1890. They lived there until 1927 when they decided to move to Wawota, Saskatchewan. 1 page.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M"

Viskochil, Larry A.

1968 Moose Mountain Trading Company. Correspondence pertaining to an award issued to the Moose Mountain Trading Company. In addition, there is an extract from the company's account book for the period 13 June to 6 July 1887. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.19 no.9.

Vivian-Neal, A. W.

1960 Cannington Court, Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings, vol. 104. Article. This article reviews the history of Cannington house (in Somerset, England) visited by the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society in June 1960. 27 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.23 "R"

Vliet, Mrs. J. G. (Bertha Emily Reed)

1960-1964 Robert James Reed. Correspondence and notes pertaining to Hewlett's broadcasting of old timer tales over CBC, Bertha Reed's recollections of her father, Robert Reed's account of his experiences as a homesteader in the Cannington Manor district, a reference to Reed's story about Louis Riel, and Reed's work on improving the quality of livestock. 10 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.12 "H"

Walker, Mrs.

1956 Hill, Chipman. A brief description of Hill obtaining his homestead near Cannington Manor in the 1890s. 3 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.16 no.22 "P"

Walsh, Phyllis

1963-1970 Captain E. M. Pierce. Correspondence pertaining to the Beckton's family tree, the history of Cannington Manor, the plaque placed in the church at Cannington Manor, biographical information about Captain Edward Michell Pierce and his family, comments on the sporting and social elements at Cannington, and a few brief pioneer recollections. 17 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.19a

Watson, Richard W.



1923 Richard W. Watson to Mrs. Baker. 2 December 1923. Letter. Correspondence pertaining to old timers stories about Cannington Manor and some extracts from Watson's "The First Settlers' Stories." Transcribed as 19b. 5 pages.

MSS C555/2/14.11 no.19b

Watson, Richard W.

1923 Richard W. Watson to Mrs. Baker. 2 December 1923. Correspondence pertaining to old timers stories about Cannington Manor and some extracts from Watson's "The First Settlers' Stories." Transcription of the letter at 19a. 3 pages.

## **1.2 Saskatchewan Archives, Regina, Saskatchewan**

There is some duplication between the collection at Saskatchewan Archives in Regina and the more extensive one located in the Shortt Library in Saskatoon. However, there are also several unique materials on Cannington in the Saskatchewan Archives, in particular some of Mrs. Hewlett's correspondence. Information is contained in many of these letters that is not directly related to this study, but that is nonetheless a glimpse into the life of an interesting Saskatchewan author and historian: Mrs. Hewlett's promotion of Cannington as a potential historic site, her arrangements to have her collection housed at the University of Saskatchewan, and other details of her life.

It should be noted that although the main components of Saskatchewan Archives material on Cannington have been covered here, there may still be some material which has eluded this author. By taking the above list as a starting point and cross-referencing, future authors may be able to bring further materials on Cannington to light. In particular, the Biographies file may contain more information on Cannington settlers.

It should also be mentioned that in addition to the written material listed below, Saskatchewan Archives has over two hundred photographs of Cannington Manor, both of the town and of the people who lived there.

R-E3901

Beck, Thomas

ca. 1980s Fish Lake. A short history of Kenosee Lake, formerly known as Fish Lake, as pertaining to the early Cannington area settlers who visited it.

R-390

Beck, Thomas

Various dates. Contains correspondence from Mary Maltby, Jessie Pierce Beckton, and others; biographical sketches, poetry, information on All Saints, and verbatim pioneer reminiscences. Obviously mostly Mrs. Hewlett's work, compiled and submitted by Thomas Beck.

R-2.303 (Microfilm)

Couper, Charles

ca. 1920s Forty-Five Years in Canada. Same as MSS C555/2/14.16 no.5 "C", found in the Adam Shortt Library of Canadiana, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

R-E3573

Fripp, Percy

ca. 1896 Diary of Percy Fripp, Cannington homesteader.

R-E2744

Gerlock, J

Letter concerning the Baldwin family.

R-50

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1911-1933. Correspondence between Mrs. Hewlett and her mother in England.

R-2.510 (Microfilm)

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1916-1970 Press releases and contributions to various papers.

R-2.381 (Microfilm)

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1930-1944 Scrapbook of articles written by Mrs. Hewlett.

R- E4364

Hewlett, A. E. M.

1939-1960 Articles by Mrs. Hewlett concerning the French Counts of St. Hubert.

R-E702

Hewlett, A. E. M.

ca. 1970s Leonard Woods provides typewritten copies of many of the letters found in R-50.

SHS 88

Hewlett, A. E. M.

Notes, copies of newspaper articles, correspondence with Jessie Pierce Beckton.

R-E3090

Hewlett, A. E. M.

Correspondance between Mrs. Hewlett and A. Turner regarding Cannington homesteader Ned Fleming.

R-2.457 (Microfilm)

Hewlett, A. E. M.

Communist Party Scrapbook.

R-49.2

Hewlett, Arthur

1907-1908 Journals 1907-08. Interesting information on the yearly round of farming duties of the Hewlett farming operation.

R-2.316 (Microfilm)

LeMesurier, Arthur

1903 Diary of Arthur LeMesurier.

R-2.303 (Microfilm)

1887 Moose Mountain Trading Company Account Book. Likely similar to that found in MSS C555/2/14.16 no.17 "M" in the Adam Shortt Library of Canadiana, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

R-E1679

Morgan, Martha

1892-1893 Nine letters from Martha Pritchard, a servant to the Humphrys family, to her friend Martha Morgan.

R-E445

Page, Frances Michell

1979 A few Reminiscences of our Early Life in the North West. Same as MSS 49 #3.1, found in the Adam Shortt Library of Canadiana, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

R-E446

Pierce Beckton, Jessie

1943 Cannington Manor. A Tale of Early Settlement Life. Same as MSS 49 #3.2, found in the Adam Shortt Library of Canadiana, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

R-E3466

Sheldon Williams, Inglis

Clippings and articles about a former Cannington resident who went on to become an artist of some repute.

R-641.1

Sinclair, Clayton

Research materials concerning the French Counts of St. Hubert. Similar material to be found in R-1496.

R-E579

Turner, A.R.

Report to Subcommittee on Historical Publications and Sites. Regarding possibilities of designating places like the Humphrys/Hewlett house designated as historic sites.

R-E1677

Walsh, Phyllis Pierce

The Fragrant Wind. Memoir of Phyllis Pierce Walsh, granddaughter of Edward Pierce. Interesting perspective of a person who, as a child, lived at Cannington during its last days.

### **1.2.1 *Homestead Records***

Homestead records for Saskatchewan, available through the Saskatchewan Archives, are an invaluable source of basic information on homesteading families. The homestead records can be accessed either with the name of the person applying for patent on a section of land, or through the legal description of the land in question. Homestead records are particularly useful to archaeologists because, at the very least, they provide information on the country of origins of an immigrant, the dates on which they began residence on land, and a description of the types of buildings on the land, and whether the homesteader had a family (and if so, how many children). They also occasionally contain other information such as the ages of immigrants at the time of settlement, as well as any correspondence regarding the application for patent.

## **1.2 Sir John A. MacDonald Papers, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario**

MG26A, vol. 394, part 1, 188636-188641

J. A. Donaldson to Sir John A. MacDonald. Letter regarding the value of Captain Pierce, and English settlers like him, to the development of the West.

MG26A, vol. 395, part 1, 189000-189002

1883 J. A. Metcalfe to Sir John A. MacDonald 3 July 1883. Letter concerning reports of unrest among Moose Mountain area First Nations during the Riel Rebellion.

MG26A, vol. 394, 188642-188647

1883 Edward Michell Pierce to J.A. Donaldson 2 June 1883. Letter regarding Moose Mountain area lands that, though advertised as being open for settlement, were in actuality closed to homesteaders.

### **1.3.1 *Manuscript Room, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario***

MG29 C85

Morgan, Martha

1892-1893 Nine letters from Martha Pritchard, a servant to the Humphrys family, to her friend Martha Morgan. Same as those found in R-E1679 at the Saskatchewan Archives, Regina, Saskatchewan.

## **1.4 Historic Parks Operational Files, Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management, Parks and Special Places Branch, Parks Management Services, Regina, Saskatchewan**

These are the operating files of Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management (SERM), which are this organization's general records of research, artifact acquisition, and Historic Park operations. As such, these files are not a public archive.

However, the Parks files for Cannington do contain some information which does not appear to reside in any of the other places discussed here, and so I felt it was important to make note of the existence of these documents, which Garth Pugh refers to in his *Historical Report on the Humphrys/Hewlett Property* (Pugh 1980a). Parks operational files also contain records of reconstruction and maintenance activities since Cannington became a Historic Park.

Beck, Thomas

ca. 1980s *All Saints Church*. Thomas Beck, Wawota, Saskatchewan.

Gibson, T. and P. Rea

1977 *An Archaeological Investigation of Cannington Manor School/ Town Hall*. Document describing the archaeology of Cannington Manor School/ Town Hall.

Humphrys, Ernest

1888 Ernest Humphrys to Jane Humphrys. Ernest's impressions of arriving in Canada, which were slightly less optimistic than those of his father. 2 pages.

Humphrys, James

1888 James Humphrys Letters to his Wife March-August 1888. Letters from James Humphrys to Jane Humphrys in England, prior to the latter's arrival at Cannington. Contains much information on construction and plans for the Humphrys/Hewlett house, as well as James' impressions of the settlement. 37 pages.

Humphrys, James

1892 James Humphrys Letters to his Wife April-July 1892. Letters from James Humphrys to Jane Humphrys in England, while the latter was there visiting relatives. Contains a detailed description of Mary Humphry's wedding to Ernest Maltby. Both this set of letters and the one referenced above contain insights into James Humphrys, into the Humphrys family, and into their experience at Cannington. 23 pages.

(Humphrys) Troughton, Nettie

1942 Nettie (Humphrys) Troughton to Nephew. Letter from the Humphrys' second eldest daughter to a nephew in England. Contains some biographical information on the Humphrys family's life in England prior to their arrival in Cannington.

Morgan, Martha

1892-1893 Nine letters from Martha Pritchard, a servant to the Humphrys family, to her friend Martha Morgan. Same as those found in R-E1679 at the Saskatchewan Archives, Regina, Saskatchewan, and in the Public Archives of Canada (MG29 C85).

Perry, D.

1974 Hotel 1974- Excavations. Perry's field notes on his 1974 excavations of the Mitre Hotel .

Pugh, Garth

1980a Historical Report on the Humphrys/Hewlett Property Near Cannington Manor for the Period 1888-1920. Manuscript on file, Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management, Regina, Saskatchewan.

Pugh, Garth

1980b Historical Report on Cannington Manor Village 1882-1905. Manuscript on file, Saskatchewan Environment and Resource Management, Regina, Saskatchewan.

Roberts, Lianne K.

1982 Cannington Manor. Research Paper for Honours Seminar in Western Canadian History.

Royal Saskatchewan Museum

1974 Lively History for the Mitre Hotel. A press release giving some information on Dale Perry's 1974 investigations of the Mitre Hotel.



Sheldon Williams, Inglis

The Track of a Rolling Stone. A brief autobiography of Inglis-Williams, who came to Cannington with his mother and sister in 1888, and which mostly concerns his time there.

### **1.5 Newspaper and Magazine Articles**

Cannington has been the subject of myriad newspaper articles over the years. Listed below are newspapers that the author has noted as containing references to Cannington Manor, but this list should be considered a beginning only as there are no doubt many more. This list excludes those newspaper references that have been archived as clippings in the repositories listed above.

*The Leader-Post*, Regina, Saskatchewan:

April 18 1974

September 29 1962

(Available at the University of Saskatchewan Library, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan)

*The Moosomin Courier*, Moosomin, Saskatchewan:

October 1886

October 1891

June 7 1888

June 14 1888

August 21 1888

August 23 1888

September 6 1888

(Available at the Saskatchewan Archives in Regina, Saskatchewan)

*The Western World*

May and October 1893

*The Winnipeg Tribune*, Winnipeg, Manitoba

April 25 1942

*The World Spectator*, Moosomin, Saskatchewan

May 7 1896

October 1 1896

In addition, Pugh (Pugh 1980a; 1980b) notes that many English newspapers carried Captain Pierce's articles, written to persuade fellow English to emigrate to the Canadian West. Some of these include the *Yorkshire Gazette* (circa 1886), the *Yorkshire Post* (circa 1886), and the *Manchester Guardian*. There are no doubt many more. Some Magazine articles include:

Humphrys, Ruth

1977a *The Shiny House and the Man Who Built it. The Beaver Spring 1977: 49-55.*

Humphrys, Ruth

1977b *Early Days in the The Shiny House. The Beaver Summer 1977: 20-28.*

## **1.6 Books**

Beck, Thomas

1984 *Pioneers of Cannington Manor 1882-1984*. Thomas Beck, Wawota, Saskatchewan.

Carlyle and District Historical Society

1982 *Prairie Trails to Blacktop*. Carlyle and District Historical Society, Canada.

Hawkes, John

1924 *The Story of Saskatchewan and its People*. S. J. Clarke, Regina, Saskatchewan, pp. 787-792.

Hewlett, A.E.M.

1970 *A Too Short Yesterday*. Golden Harvest Book Service, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Manor and District Historical Society

1982 *Memories are Forever*. Manor History Book Committee, Canada.

McCourt, Edward

1968 *Saskatchewan*. The Traveller's Canada. MacMillan, Toronto, Ontario, pp. 27-32.

Morton, Arthur S.

1938 *History of Prairie Settlement*. Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. II. MacMillan Company of Canada, Toronto, Ontario, pp.78-79.

Wawota and District History Committee

1994 *A Flight Through Time Vol. I-II*. Wawota and District History Committee, Canada.

### **1.7 Regina Land Titles Office, Regina, Saskatchewan**

The Land Titles Office for Regina contains much information on land ownership in the Moose Mountain area. The succession of Certificates of Title for any given section of land can be obtained from here. Garth Pugh, for example, examined the Certificates of Title for the Humphrys/Hewlett property in researching his study for the same (Pugh 1980a). As he notes, Certificate of Title documents keep track of any “liens, mortgages, or monetary encumbrances placed against land at the time that a new Certificate is issued” (Pugh 1980a: 81), providing some indication of the financial situation of a property owner.

### **1.7 Diocese of Qu'Appelle Records- All Saints Anglican Church**

Another potential source of information on Cannington residents is the Church records pertaining to All Saints Anglican Church and the Diocese of Qu'Appelle. In particular, Pugh notes that the Registry of Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths for 1884-1910 is still in existence, though incomplete (Pugh 1980b).

**APPENDIX B**  
**SETTLERS IN THE CANNINGTON MANOR AREA, 1881-1900**

This table contains information on the origins and occupations of families living in the Cannington Manor area from 1881 to 1900. Under each family name, I have usually made only one entry and included the backgrounds and activities of all the members of that family, even where (as is often the case) members of the same family came west together but took out separate homesteads. I have tried to be as complete as possible, but there were no doubt families and individuals living in the area which are not included, or for whom little information is available. There were large numbers of individuals, for example, who came to Cannington to work at various jobs for the Becktons. Many of these people took out homesteads, but when the Becktons and their money left, these people disappeared also, and little is known about them. Finally, I chose to cut off the roll call of settlers at 1900 because, as E.C. "Mac" MacDiarmuid used to announce at the annual Old Timer's picnics, "If you were not here before 1900, you are not an old timer!" (Beck 1984:12).

Family Name	Birthplace	Residence Prior to CM	Arrived CM	Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM	Occupation (s) at CM	English or Farmer?
Anderson			by 1888	stonemason	built stone houses for John Turton, Henry Brockman, stone barn and pork processing plant for James Humphrys	Farmer
Baker	England	England	1888	comfortable middle to upper-middle-class	farmed, members of the musical Glee Club; organist for ASAC	English
Baldwin	United States? (U. E. Loyalists)	(ca.) 1876-1882: New Brunswick; St. Thomas, Ont.; Manitoba	1882	Baptist Minister	operated stopping place along Moose Mountain Trail, held church services, operated post office until 1888, (when Cannington opened post office)	Farmer

Family Name	Birthplace	Residence Prior to CM	Arrived CM	Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM	Occupation (s) at CM	English or Farmer?
Beattie						unknown
Beckton	England	England	1887	borrowing money off of relatives (comfortable middle to upper-middle-class)	agricultural student at Captain Pierce's, raised thoroughbred horses, organized hunt club, members of cricket team	English
Bellhouse	England	England	1887	comfortable middle to upper-middle-class	agricultural student at Captain Pierce's, member of cricket team, homesteaded	English
Bird	England	England	1884	comfortable middle to upper-middle-class	Partner in MMTC, judged horse races, members of cricket team,	English
Blagdon	England	England	1883-1885	comfortable middle to upper-middle-class	agricultural student at Captain Pierce's	English
Boissevain			by 1885		homesteaded, raised purebred cattle	unknown
Brayford	Cheshire, England	may have farmed on an estate in England	1885	carpenter, farmer?	homesteaded, construction (ASAC), hired man for John Turton	Farmer
Brockman	Suffolk, England	Suffolk, England	1885		agricultural student at Captain Pierce's, homesteaded; operated Mill	Farmer

Family Name	Birthplace	Residence Prior to CM	Arrived CM	Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM	Occupation (s) at CM	English or Farmer?
Brownlee	Fermanagh, Ireland	1867-1881: Detroit, Ontario, Winnipeg	1881	baker, government surveyor	homesteaded, raised cattle	Farmer
Bryce	Stirling, Scotland	Ireland?	1884	father was a veterinarian	homesteaded, raised horses, was the instructor for Captain Pierce's agricultural school	Farmer
Cameron			by 1885		homesteaded, dug well for Mill	Farmer
Carmicheal		Ontario	by 1888	Carpenter		unknown
Cartwright	England		1888	Anglican Minister	Minister of ASAC (1888-1889), member of cricket team	English
Christopher		Germany?	1893		built "resort" near Kenossee lake, cut the Christopher trail through the bush west of CM to Kenossee; baked bread and did laundry for bachelors	unknown
Colbourne	Dorset, England	Dorset, England	1893		homesteaded, hired man for Brayfords, Hansons	Farmer
Cooke	Lancashire, England	Lancashire, England	1882	tenant farmers	homesteaded, built barn and stable for Rev. Baldwin, made lime, held Rifle Club meets on homestead	Farmer

Family Name	Birthplace	Residence Prior to CM	Arrived CM	Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM	Occupation (s) at CM	English or Farmer?
Cornell			by 1884	carpenter	construction (ASAC)	Farmer
Couper	England	England	1886	comfortable middle to upper-middle-class	agricultural student at Captain Pierce's, homesteaded, raised bees, photography	English
Dallas	Scotland	Poplar Point, Man.?	1883		homesteaded, construction (ASAC, Mill, many other CM buildings); midwifery	Farmer
Dawson	England	England	1882	comfortable middle to upper-middle-class	agricultural student at Captain Pierce's, homesteaded	English
Dicken	Walsall, England	Walsall, England	1888		learned farming from the Staniers, operated Mitre Hotel, worked at Mill, helped Joseph Newman and Hume Robertson with odd jobs	Farmer
Dorrance			1883	gov't surveyor	homesteaded, construction (many CM builds)	Farmer
Downey	Ireland	Ontario; Winnipeg (1879-1882)	1882	shoemaker, railway construction; hairdresser; blacksmith	homesteaded, blacksmith, construction (cornered ASAC, many other CM buildings), made lime for CM buildings; baked bread for bachelors; owned a thresher and ran threshing crew	Farmer
Drinnan	Montreal	Ontario	1883	carpenter, farmer	homesteaded, construction (many CM buildings)	Farmer



Family Name	Birthplace	Residence Prior to CM	Arrived CM	Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM	Occupation (s) at CM	English or Farmer?
Eaton			by 1885		first Mill operator (with T. McIntyre), instructed English (Sidney Brockman) to operate	Farmer
Entwhistle			by 1887		homesteaded, secretary of the Moose Mountain Agricultural Society	Farmer
Field	England	Ceylon, India	by 1888	Owned coffee plantation	homesteaded	English
Fripp	England	India?	1888	may have been in military	operated Mill	Farmer
Fuller			by 1888		construction (Beckton Ranch)	Farmer
Geoghegan		Windsor, Ont.	1888	NWMP Officer	NWMP Officer for Cannington 1888-1889	n/a
George			1887		agricultural student at Captain Pierce's	English
Greyson			by 1888	stonemason	construction (Beckton Ranch)	Farmer

Family Name	Birthplace	Residence Prior to CM	Arrived CM	Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM	Occupation (s) at CM	English or Farmer?
Hanson	England	Constantinople	1888	Highly placed civil servant	raised purebred polled Angus cattle, members of the Glee Club	English
Hardy	Durham, England	England	1889	Doctor	Doctor, Justice of the Peace and Medical Officer for the White Bear Reservation, played cricket	English
Hewlett	Lancashire, England	England (left CM to learn farming in Ontario for a few years, then returned)	1893	Uppingham Public School	hired man for Piggots, Brockmans, worked at Cheese Factory, drove for Dr. Hardy, homesteaded	Farmer
Higgins			by 1884		construction (many CM buildings)	Farmer
Hill	United States? (U. E. Loyalists)	(ca.) 1876-1882: New Brunswick, St. Thomas, Ont., Manitoba	1882	hauled freight, railway construction	homesteaded, hauled wood for CM residents, construction (ASAC, Mill, Baker House)	Farmer
Hindmarch	Newcastle-on-Tyne, England	Newcastle-on-Tyne, England	1882	stonemason	homesteaded, midwifery; construction (stonemasonry for Humphrys house, Beckton Ranch, may have worked on Hanson and Piggot houses)	Farmer
Hislop			by 1885		cut wood for Mill	Farmer
Humphrys	Dartmouth, England	England	1888	Engineer, Marine Architect, Manager of shipyards at Barrow-in-Furness	farmed, owned pork processing plant, leader of MMAS, organized Glee club, lay reader for ASAC, Justice of the Peace	English

Family Name	Birthplace	Residence Prior to CM	Arrived CM	Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM	Occupation (s) at CM	English or Farmer?
Husband			1885			Farmer
Joyce			by 1885		operated Mill	Farmer
Keal	England	England (probably)	by 1884	father was foreman of a horse-raising operation in England	homesteaded, ploughed furrows for main street of CM, foreman of the Beckton Ranch	Farmer
Kerr	Enniskillen, North Ireland		1885			Farmer
Kidson	England	England	1885		groom for Becktons, member of the cricket club, raised sheep	Farmer
King			by 1888		drove a stagecoach, "the Cannington drunk"	Farmer
Kinsey	England		1882	carpenter, railroad construction, horse trainer, drove team of two trained elk	homesteaded, built race track for Beckton bros.	Farmer
Laing	Glasgow, Scotland	Glasgow, Scotland	1882-1885?	butcher	homesteaded, hired man for John Turton	Farmer

Family Name	Birthplace	Residence Prior to CM	Arrived CM	Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM	Occupation (s) at CM	English or Farmer?
Lees			1882-1883		homesteaded, broke land for Hills, Captain Pierce	Farmer
LeMesurier	Karchi, India	Karchi, India	1889		agricultural student at Jack Baker's, homesteaded, "offset prohibition through his own means"	English
Lyon	England	England	1885	comfortable middle to upper-middle-class	agricultural student at Captain Pierce's, homesteaded	English
MacDairmuid	Port Glasgow, Ont.	Oak Lake, Man.	1882	railroad construction, father owned mercantile business	homesteaded, judged horse races, Member of Leg. Assembly for NWT's 1896-1904 (Conservative)	Farmer
Maltby	England or India	India	1888	civil servant	partner in the MMTC, ran post office, member of cricket team, member of Lawn Tennis Association	English
McIlvena			by 1888	stonemason	construction (Beckton Ranch, may have worked on Hanson and Piggot houses)	Farmer
McIntyre			by 1885		first Mill operator (with T. Eaton), instructed English (Sidney Brockman) to operate	Farmer
McLellan			by 1885		dug wells for Pierce home and Mill	Farmer

Family Name	Birthplace	Residence Prior to CM	Arrived CM	Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM	Occupation (s) at CM	English or Farmer?
McPherson			by 1885		homesteaded, construction (Mill)	Farmer
McQueen	Nairnshire, Scotland	Nairnshire, Scotland	1888	carpenter	homesteaded, midwifery; construction (many CM buildings), hired man for Fields, Becktons	Farmer
Monteny			1888-1893?		domestic servant to Becktons	n/a
Montgomery	Antrim, Ireland	1871-1882: Mitchell, Ont.; Muskoka, Ont.	1882	railway construction	homesteaded; baked bread for bachelors	Farmer
Moore	Ireland or Ontario	Carlston County, Ont.; Winnipeg (1876-1882)	1882	probably farmer	homesteaded, midwifery; construction (many CM buildings)	Farmer
Morgan	England	England	1892	domestic servant	domestic servant to Humphrys family	n/a
Morrison	Cape Breton, Nova Scotia	Cape Breton, Nova Scotia; Ontario; Winnipeg (1876-1882)	1882	stonecutter, railroad construction	homesteaded, hired man for Captain Pierce, butcher at pork plant for Mr. Humphrys, caught and sold rabbits to English	Farmer
Murison			by 1888		homesteaded, foreman for the Becton Ranch (after Harry Keal); maids in the Beckton home	Farmer

Family Name	Birthplace	Residence Prior to CM	Arrived CM	Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM	Occupation (s) at CM	English or Farmer?
Newman	Ayshire County, Scotland	1865-1887: Montreal; Sand Lake, Ont.	1887	policeman (Glasgow and Montreal), carpenter (Sand Lake)	carpenter	Farmer
Page	England	England	1882	B.A. from Cambridge University, England	MLA for Cannington 1882 (Conservative), schoolteacher for school in CM, Warden for ASAC; captain of the CM Cricket Club; raised prize hens; hauled freight for MMTC.	English
Peel	England		by 1888		agricultural student at Captain Pierce's	English
Phipps	England	England	1889	Page to Queen Victoria	Land Titles Agent	English
Pierce	Somerset, England	Devon, England	1882	May have been in Military, Banking, or Wine buisness; comfortable middle-class.	partner in MMTC, Warden for ASAC, Justice of the Peace	English
Piggot	England	England	1888	comfortable middle to upper-middle-class	raised horses and cattle, members of cricket team	English
Pryce	Nairn, Scotland	Eastern Canada	1883	built coal cars and elevators for CPR	homesteaded, construction (ASAC, Mill, Beckton Ranch, many other CM buildings)	Farmer
Purser	Bedford, England	1884-1887 United States	1887	jockey	jockey for Becktons, raised horses and cattle	Farmer

Family Name	Birthplace	Residence Prior to CM	Arrived CM	Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM	Occupation (s) at CM	English or Farmer?
Ramage	Scotland		by 1890	military, horse racing		Farmer
Robertson			1885		blacksmith	Farmer
Rushbrooke	England		by 1888		agricultural student at Spencer Page's	English
Sayer	England	England	1882		homesteaded, ploughed garden for Captain Pierce; Officer of the NWMP	English
Sheldon-Williams	England	Germany; Brandon, Man. (1884-1887)	1887	Inglis Sheldon-Williams learned farming for three years in Brandon, Man.	raised sheep and cattle	English
Simms			by 1885		construction (Mill)	Farmer
Stanier	Shropshire, England	Shropshire, England	1888	tenant farmer	farmed, raised cattle	English
Steedman	England		1889		agricultural student at Captain Pierce's	English

Family Name	Birthplace	Residence Prior to CM	Arrived CM	Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM	Occupation (s) at CM	English or Farmer?
Sutherland						unknown
Taylor	Yorkshire, England; Scotland	Hudson's Bay area	1882	engineer for a shipbuilding firm, surveyor for HBC	homesteaded	English
Tennyson	England	England	1884	poet (nephew to Alfred, Lord Tennyson)	poet, member of cricket team	English
Troughton	England	England	by 1885	father was English clergyman	agricultural student at Captain Pierce's	English
Turton	Yorkshire, England	1869-1882: Windsor, Ont.; Poplar Point, Manitoba	1882	farmer	homesteaded, raised cattle, supplied beef to Can. village and White Bear Reserve, involved in organization of cheese factory, owned race horses	Farmer
Weatherald	Hamilton, Ontario	Goderich, Ontario	1881, 1884	gov't surveyor, passing through CM 1881, returned 1884	homesteaded, construction (Humphrys House, many CM buildings); sold elk meat to Becktons; hired man for McQueens, hauled freight for Becktons	Farmer
Whitlock			1882		operated stopping place on Moose Mountain Trail, construction (Pierce house, Mill)	Farmer
Wiggins	Huron County, Ont.		1882		hauled freight for MMTC, and McNaughton Store, hired man for E.C.MacDiarmid; stagecoach driver, construction (cornered log buildings at CM); homesteaded, hired man for John Turton, Matt Taylor, Becktons	Farmer



<b>Family Name</b>	<b>Birthplace</b>	<b>Residence Prior to CM</b>	<b>Arrived CM</b>	<b>Occupation (s) Before Arrival at CM</b>	<b>Occupation (s) at CM</b>	<b>English or Farmer?</b>
Williams	Ontario	Ontario	1884		homesteaded	Farmer

**APPENDIX C:**  
**MATERIAL CULTURE RECOVERED FROM CANNINGTON MANOR AND**  
**AREA IN JULY OF 2000 AND 2001**

**Table C1. The Blacksmith's House and Shop, n = 476**

**Social/Recreational and Indulgence Artifacts, n = 6**

***Alcohol Consumption, n = 5***

*Glass wine bottle body sherd (green), n = 2.*

*Glass beer bottle body sherd (amber), n = 3.*

*Notes: Amber glass may be a modern intrusion.*

***Smoking, n = 1***

*Tobacco can seal, n = 1.*

**Food Preparation and Consumption Artifacts, n = 4**

***Food Storage Containers, n = 1***

*Glass bottle body sherd (colourless), n = 1.*

***Single Use Food Storage Containers, n = 2***

*Metal container base end, cylindrical (single seam), n = 1.*

*Metal container base end, cylindrical (capped on), n = 1.*

***Reusable Food Storage Containers, n = 1***

*Glass jar rim sherd (colourless), n = 1.*

**Household Furnishing Artifacts, n = 3**

***Lighting, n = 2***

*Lamp glass (colourless), n = 2.*

***Window Dressing, n = 1***

*Bracket, n = 1.*

*Notes: Yellow metal curtain rod holder.*

**Household Maintenance Artifacts, n = 252**

***Heating, n = 252***

*Clinker, n = 252.*

**Architectural Artifacts, n = 80**

***Architectural Hardware, n = 14***

*See Table C1.1*

***Building Materials, n = 4***

*Chinking, n = 2.*

*Chinking/Plaster, n = 2.*

*Notes: Chinking with plaster adhering.*

***Window Hardware and Materials, n = 62***

*Window Glass (colourless), n = 62.*

**Agriculture, Gardening, and Animal Husbandry Artifacts, n = 62**

***Agricultural Equipment and Tools, n = 2***

*Nut, square (3 cm), n = 1.*

*Harrows replacement tine (cast), n = 1.*

*Notes:* Both these artifacts belong to heavy agricultural equipment. The harrows replacement tine has a threaded top and is for a diamond-harrows. Both artifacts probably related to post-occupation agricultural activities.

***Animal Husbandry, n = 60***

*Horseshoe nails, n = 59.*

*See Table C1.2*

*Pitchfork tine, n = 1.*

*Notes:* Ferrous, machine made fork tine from 3-pronged (manure) fork.

**Transportation Artifacts n = 1**

***Transport- Animal Powered, n = 1***

*Metal brace, n = 1.*

*Notes:* Ferrous, broken carriage or wagon part. Most likely a stationary brace.

**Hunting/Defense Artifacts, n = 1**

***Ammunition, n = 1***

*Bullet, lead (.45 calibre), n = 1.*

**Unclassified Artifacts, n = 17**

***Unclassified Glass, n = 7***

*Bottle body sherd (manganese tinted), n = 4.*

*Bottle body sherd (colourless), n = 3.*

***Unclassified Metal Fastenings, n = 10***

*Carriage bolt, complete (3 5/8"), n = 1.*

*Bolt, head and shank, n = 2.*

*Stove bolt, head and shank, n = 3.*

*Nuts, square (1.3cm), n = 4.*

### **Unidentified Artifacts, n = 17**

#### ***Unidentified Metal Artifacts, n = 17***

*Unidentified scrap metal (ferrous), n = 7.*

*Unidentified scrap metal (yellow), n = 1.*

*Unidentified drawn wire, n = 9.*

*Notes: Wire is possibly for fencing.*

### **Unidentifiable Artifacts, n = 33**

#### ***Unidentifiable Metal, n = 32.***

*Unidentified scrap metal (ferrous), n = 32.*

*Notes: Thirty-one small metal scraps, most likely related to blacksmithing activities.*

#### ***Unidentifiable Lithic Material, n = 1.***

*Unidentified lithic material (chert), n = 1.*

*Notes: Initially thought to be a flake, but later dismissed as simply a rock.*

### **Table C1.1 Blacksmith House: Architectural Hardware, n = 14**

#### ***Machine cut nails, n = 10***

*Common, complete (2 ½"), n = 1.*

*Common, complete (1 ¼"), n = 1.*

*Common, complete (4"), n = 1.*

*Common, head and shank, n = 1*

*Bellows or shingle, head and shank, n = 1*

*Brad, shank and point, n = 1*

*Shank only, n = 4*

***Wrought nails, n = 3.***

*Common, complete (1 1/2"), n = 2.*

*Shank only, n = 1.*

***Screws, n = 1***

*Wood screw, complete (3/4"), n = 1.*

**Table C1.2. Blacksmith House: Horseshoe Nails, n = 59**

***Horseshoe nails, n = 59.***

*Complete, bent (2 1/4"), n = 1*

*Complete, bent (2"), n = 2*

*Head and shank, n = 38*

*Shank and point, n = 1*

*Point only, n = 17*

**Table C2. The Maltby House, n = 4,719**

**Personal Artifacts, n = 8**

***Clothing Materials, n = 3***

*Shoe part (sole, woman or child's), n = 1*

*Shoe part (grommet), n = 2*

***Clothing Fasteners, n = 4***

*Toggle button (metal), n = 4*

*Notes: Toggle button, broken in four pieces.*

***Curated Personal Artifacts, n = 1***

*Agate rock (polished), n = 1*

*Notes:* Not a naturally occurring agate for the region, could be a curio, hence "personal" category designation.

### **Health and Healing Artifacts, n = 60**

#### ***Medicine Bottles (human), n = 60***

*Whittemore Boston bottle, n = 58*

*Medicine bottle finish (hand applied patent lip, aqua), n = 1*

*Medicine bottle finish (Perry-Davis type, aqua), n = 1*

*Notes:* Perry Davis type finishes date to the late nineteenth, early twentieth centuries.

### **Children and Childrearing Artifacts, n = 21**

*Mellin's Infant Food Bottle, n = 21.*

### **Social/Recreational and Indulgence, n = 143**

#### ***Alcohol Consumption, n = 142***

*Glass wine bottle (dark olive green), n = 60*

*Notes:* Base, body sherds, and finish. Turn moulded. Hand-applied finish, flattened side, down-tooled string rim, and pouring lip.

*Glass wine bottle (amber), n = 48*

*Notes:* Base and body sherds. Turn moulded.

*Glass wine bottle ("black", actually a very dark olive green), n = 1*

*Notes:* Base. Mould blown.

*Glass champagne bottle (aqua), n = 4*

*Notes:* Base and body sherds. Ricketts-type mould. Prominent kick-up. Based on colour, size, and presence of kick-up, this bottle is inferred to have contained champagne.

*Glass wine bottle body sherd (dark olive green), n = 27*

*Glass wine bottle body sherd (olive green), n = 2*

***Games, n = 1***

*Tennis ball fragment, n = 1*

**Food Preparation/Consumption Artifacts, n = 1,716**

***Kitchenware, n = 51***

*See Table C2.1.*

***Single Use Food Storage Containers, n = 523***

*Glass Bottles, n = 34*

*Dr. Price's Extract Bottle, n = 5*

*Notes:* Colourless. Finish and body sherds. Two-or-more piece mould. Finish is hand-applied patent lip. Embossed lettering reads: "PRICE'S" over "(DELI)CIOUS" over "EXTRAC(T)".

*Lea & Perrins Worcestershire Sauce Bottle, n = 29*

*Notes:* Aqua green. Base, body and shoulder sherds. Cup-bottom mould. Embossed lettering reads "E S T E R" over "(L)EA", with an "S" oriented perpendicular to the other letters. Manufacturer's mark on base reads "A C B Co."

*Metal Containers, n = 489*

*See Table C2.2.*

***Re-usable Food Storage Containers, n = 3***

*Glass jar rim (colourless), n = 3*

*Notes:* Threaded.

***Subsistence-Related Faunal Remains, n = 39***

*Bos taurus (sawed, loin steak, adult), n = 5*

*Bos taurus (sawed, loin steak or rib roast, juvenile), n = 1*



*Bos taurus* (sawed, shank, adult), *n* = 1  
*Sus scrofa* (sawed, leg roast, adult), *n* = 1  
*Bos taurus* (rib roast, adult), *n* = 1  
*Bos taurus* (shank, adult), *n* = 1  
*Gallus domesticus* (drumstick), *n* = 7  
*Gallus domesticus* (leg discard), *n* = 5  
*Gallus domesticus* (roast), *n* = 12  
*Gallus domesticus* (wing), *n* = 5

***Subsistence-Related Organic Remains, n = 21***

*Eggshell, n = 21*

***Tableware, n = 1,080***

*Ceramic Tableware, n = 1043*

See Table C2.3.

*Glass Tableware, n = 37*

*Tumbler rim and body shard, colourless, pressed glass panels, n = 25*

*Tumbler body shard, colourless, plain sided, n = 9*

*Bowl base, body and rim shard, mould blown, pressed glass, colorless, n = 3*

**Reading, Writing, and Education, n = 1**

***Writing, n = 1***

*Inkwell rim shard, colourless, n = 1.*

**Household Furnishings, n = 206**

***Lighting, n = 205***

*Lamp glass body shard, colourless, n = 185*

*Lamp glass body shard, opaque, n = 3*

*Lamp parts (metal), n = 17*

*Notes:* Metal parts from a portable lamp caddy.

***Heating devices, n = 1***

*Cast stove part, n = 1*

**Household Maintenance n = 1240**

*Heating, n = 1240*

*Charcoal, n = 1119*

*Clinker, n = 121*

**Architectural Artifacts, n = 658**

***Architectural Hardware, n = 95***

*See Table C2.4.*

***Building Materials, n = 323***

*Chinking, n = 309.*

*Plaster, n = 14.*

***Window Hardware and Materials, n = 240***

*Window glass (aqua), n = 65.*

*Window glass (colourless), n = 65*

*Notes:* Aqua pane glass shards were found inside wooden frame (see below).

*Window frame, n = 110.*

*Notes:* Fragments of a wooden frame surrounding a single (broken) pane of glass.

**Agriculture, Gardening and Animal Husbandry Artifacts, n = 3**

***Animal Husbandry, n = 1***

*Horseshoe, n = 1.*

*Notes:* Wrought. Heavy (draft) horse sized; hind shoe. No markings apparent, so likely made by local blacksmith. Probably cast by a horse passing by the house, not indicative of blacksmithing activities.

***Fencing, n = 2***

*Barbed wire, n= 2.*

*Notes:* “Glidden Square Strand” type, patented 1876 by Joseph Glidden.

**Hunting/Defence, n = 1**

***Ammunition, n = 1***

*Cartridge case (fired), n = 1*

*Notes:* Complete brass fired cartridge. Head stamp code reads “W.R.A.Co.” and “45-90 W.C F”. Could be used in a Winchester Model 1886 Repeater or single shot (45-90 Winchester), introduced in 1886, or smokeless powder version of the 45-90 introduced in 1895 and used until 1936 (Barnes 1989). This artifact dates between 1886 and 1936.

**Unclassified Artifacts, n = 573**

***Unclassified Ceramics, n = 109***

*Earthenware body sherd, (plain glazed), n = 60*

*Earthenware rim sherd, (plain glazed), n = 4*

*Earthenware rim and body sherd, (plain glazed), n = 10*

*Earthenware handle/knob fragment, (plain glazed), n = 1*

*Semi-porcelain body sherd, (plain glazed), n = 17*

*Semi-porcelain handle, base, and body, sherd (plain glazed), n = 2*

*Semi-porcelain rim sherd, (plain glazed), n = 11*

*Vitrified White Earthenware body sherd (plain glazed), n = 3*

*Vitrified White Earthenware body sherd (moulded relief), n = 1*

**Unclassified Glass, n = 141**

*Bottle body sherd (aqua), n = 14*

*Bottle base sherd (colourless), n = 6*

*Bottle base and body sherd (colourless), n = 16*

*Bottle body and neck sherd (colourless), n = 2*

*Bottle body, shoulder and rim sherd (colourless), n = 13*

*Bottle body sherd (colourless), n = 84*

*Bottle rim sherd (colourless), n = 2*

*Bottle body sherd (pale green), n = 4*

**Unclassified Metal, n = 321**

*Unclassified metal containers, n = 307*

*Metal container, base end and body fragments, capped on, cylindrical, n = 68*

*Metal container, base end and body fragments, single seam, cylindrical, n = 38*

*Metal container, base end and body fragments, single seam, square/rectangular, n = 29*

*Metal container, base end, capped on, n = 15*

*Metal container, base end, single seam, n = 25*

*Metal container, body fragments, lapped side seam, n = 132*

*Unclassified metal strapping, n = 14*

**Unclassified Organic, n = 1**

*Unclassified wood, n = 1*

**Unclassified Lithics, n = 1**

*Plagioclase feldspar, n = 1*

*Notes: Possibly curated.*

**Unidentified Artifacts, n = 18**

***Unidentified Glass, n = 1***

*Glass shard, colourless, n = 1*

*Notes: Reads "129.O(X)" over "MADE IN".*

***Unidentified Faunal, n = 14***

*Rib, mammalian, n = 1*

*Right proximal scapula, mammalian, n = 1*

*Phalanges, possibly feline, n = 12*

***Unidentified Organic, n = 3***

*Wooden bosses, n = 3*

*Notes: May be decorative bosses on a chest, or on a harness.*

**Unidentifiable Artifacts, n = 71**

***Unidentifiable glass, n = 12***

*Glass shards, melted, n = 12*

***Unidentifiable metal fragments, n = 34***

*Metal scraps, n = 34*

***Unidentifiable faunal fragments, n = 12***

*Burned and unidentifiable bone, n = 12*

***Unidentifiable composite fragments, n = 13***

**Table C2.1. Maltby House Kitchenware, n = 51**

***Bowls, n = 48***

*Mixing bowl rim and body sherd, earthenware, unidentified black floral pattern, n = 30*

*Mixing bowl rim and body sherd, earthenware, plain glazed, n = 16*

*Glass bowl rim shard (colourless), n = 2.*

***Plates, n = 3***

*Plate rim sherd, earthenware, plain glazed, n = 1*

*Plate base, rim sherd, highly vitrified earthenware, plain glazed, n = 2*

**Table C2.2. Maltby House Single Use Food Storage Containers: Metal Containers, n = 488**

***Honey Pail lug, n = 1***

*Lug, n = 1*

***Tea Canister, n = 142***

*Tea Canister sealer/closure and body fragments, hinged slip lid, rectangular, n = 132*

***Seafood Tin, n = 48***

*Metal container sealer/closure and body fragments, key strip, rectangular, 2.31 cm high, n = 48*

*Notes:* This tin is inferred to have contained seafood, possibly kippers, because of its key strip closure, rectangular shape, and flatness (less than 3 cm high).

**Tea, Cocoa, or Food Spread Containers, n = 133.**

*Metal container top/shoulder, base end, and body fragments, lever lid, single seam base, cylindrical, n = 47*

*Metal container top/shoulder and body fragments, lever lid, double seam top, cylindrical, n = 37*

*Metal container top/shoulder and body fragments, lever lid, cylindrical, n = 39*

*Metal container sealer/closure and body fragments, slip lid, cylindrical, n = 10.*

**Meat Containers, n = 129**

*Metal container, key strip, square/rectangular (base, sealer, and body fragments, single seam), n = 50.*

*Metal container, key strip, square/rectangular (top/shoulder, sealer, and body fragments, single seam), n = 42.*

*Metal container, square/rectangular (base end, single seam), n = 11.*

*Metal container, square/rectangular, (base end and body fragments, capped on), n = 20.*

*Metal container, key strip, (sealer and body fragments), n = 6.*

*Notes:* These tins are inferred to be meat tins on the basis of their key strip closures and rectangular planviews.

**Evaporated Milk Tin Fragments, n = 35**

*Metal container top/shoulder, sealer and body fragments, hole-in-top, capped on interlocked side seam, cylindrical, n = 17.*

*Metal container top/shoulder, sealer and body fragments, hole-in-top, capped on, cylindrical, n = 17.*

*Metal container sealer/closure, hole-in-top, fragment only, n = 1.*

*Notes:* These closures all exhibit very small holes sealed with solder, and so are most likely evaporated milk tins.

**Table C2.3. Maltby House Ceramic Tableware, n = 1043**

***Plates, n = 37***

*Plate base/footring/side/brink/brim, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified green floral pattern, n = 30*

*Plate base/footring, semi-porcelain, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified “acorn” pattern, n = 5*

*Notes: Base says “Ridgways Stoke on Trent” with “Quiver and Bow” trademark (1879-1920) (Kowalsky 1999).*

*Plate body sherd, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified green floral pattern, n = 2*

***Bowls, n = 33***

*Soup bowl base/footring/side/brink/brim, porcelain, overglaze transfer printed, unidentified green thistle pattern, n = 29*

*Notes: Haviland and Co. manufacturer’s mark in underglaze green. “H & Co.” over “L” over “FRANCE” with overglaze red “Haviland & Co” over “Limoges”.*

*Deep plate/soup bowl rim and brink, semi-porcelain, plain glazed, n = 3*

*Bowl body sherd, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified green floral pattern, n = 1*

***Saucers, n = 10***

*Saucer foot/body/rim, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified green floral pattern, n = 7*

*Notes: Manufacturer’s mark: Old Hall Earthenware Co Ltd.*

*Saucer rim sherd, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified green floral pattern II, n = 3*

***Teacups, n = 13***



*Teacup or Mug rim and body sherd, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified green floral pattern, n = 10*

*Teacup rim sherd, semi-porcelain, plain glazed, n = 3*

***Teapots, n = 92***

*Teapot base, rim and body sherd, earthenware, dark brown glazed interior, n = 92*

*Notes: "Brown Betty".*

***Serving Dishes, n = 791***

*Serving dish base/footring/side/rim, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified "acorn" pattern, n = 791*

*Notes: Ridgways manufacturer's mark in underglaze red, also British Patent Office Design Registration mark indicating the pattern was registered in August of 1871. The accompanying trademark "Quiver and Bow" and lettering "Ridgways Stoke on Trent" was trademarked 1879.*

***Sugar/Creamers or Gravy Boats, n = 5***

*Sugar or creamer base/footring, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unident. green floral pattern, n = 1*

*Creamer or gravy boat rim sherd, semi-porcelain, plain glazed, n = 4*

***Unidentified Tableware, n = 62***

*Base sherd, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified green floral pattern, n = 2*

*Notes: Manufacturer's mark: Old Hall Earthenware Co Ltd. c.1861- July 1886.*

*Body sherd, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified green floral pattern, n = 60*

**Table C2.4. Maltby House Architectural Hardware, n = 95**

***Machine Cut nails, n = 65***

- Common, complete (1 ½"), n = 13*
- Common, complete (1 ¾"), n = 2*
- Common, complete (2 ¼"), n = 4*
- Common, complete (2 ½"), n = 7*
- Common, complete (2"), n = 1*
- Common, complete (3"), n = 1*
- Common, complete (4"), n = 4*
- Common, complete, end curled under, n = 1*
- Common, head and shank, n = 18*
- Barrel, complete (1 ¼"), n = 3*
- Barrel, head and shank, n = 2*
- Shank and point fragments, n = 9*

***Wrought Nails, n = 17***

- Common, complete (1 ¼"), n = 2*
- Common, complete (1 ½"), n = 1*
- Common, head and shank, n = 1*
- Barrel, complete (1 ¼"), n = 3*
- Fine nail, complete (1"), n = 1*
- Head and shank, n = 1*
- Shank and point, n = 1*
- Shank only, n = 6*
- Completeness unknown (perhaps a large broken rosehead?), n = 1*

***Wire Drawn Nails, n = 11***

- Common, complete (2"), n = 3*
- Common, head and shank, n = 6*
- Fencing, head and shank, n = 1*

*Point only, n = 1*

***Screws, n = 2***

*Wood Screws, complete, threaded (1/14"), n = 2.*

**Table C3. Vicarage, n = 1,170**

**Personal, n = 9**

***Clothing Fasteners, n = 2***

*Button, two holed, brass, n = 1*

*Button, ferrous, n = 1*

***Toiletry Items, n = 6***

*Cold cream jar body sherd (opaque white), n = 6*

***Adornment, n = 1***

*Metal ring, n = 1*

*Notes: Possibly from jewellery.*

**Health and Healing, n = 7**

***Medicine Bottles (human), n = 7***

*Medicine bottle base and body sherds (aqua, rectangular), n = 3*

*Medicine bottle base sherds (aqua, oval), n = 1*

*Medicine bottle finish and sherds (manganese tinted), n = 3*

*Notes: May be a prescription lip.*

### **Children and Childrearing, n = 3**

#### ***Children's Toys, n = 2***

*Doll's head fragment, porcelain, n = 1*

*Child's teacup handle, porcelain, plain glazed, n = 1*

#### ***Food Preparation/Consumption-Children, n = 1***

*Children's Tableware, n = 1*

*Mug or bowl body sherd, semi-porcelain, underglaze transfer printed), n = 1*

Notes: Image shows scrolls and text "THE PIG WAS EAT" over "AND TOM WENT CRY". This text is from a children's nursery rhyme.

### **Social/Recreational and Indulgence, n = 73**

#### ***Alcohol consumption, n = 55***

*Corkscrew (metal), n = 1*

*Glass wine bottle body sherd ("black", actually a very dark olive green), n = 3*

*Glass wine bottle base and body sherd (dark green), n = 4*

*Glass wine bottle body sherd (dark olive green), n = 10*

*Glass wine bottle base and body sherd (pale green), n = 36*

*Glass wine or bitters bottle body sherd (amber), n = 1*

#### ***Smoking, n = 17***

*Clay pipe bowl and pipestem fragments, n = 17*

Notes: Marked "TD".

#### ***Memorabilia, n = 1***

*Photograph album corner, brass with cardboard adhering, n = 1*

## **Food Preparation and Consumption, n = 388**

### ***Kitchenware, n = 7***

*Bowl body sherd, earthenware, plain glazed, n = 2*

*Bowl body sherd, stoneware, salt glazed, n = 1*

*Bowl rim and body sherd, earthenware, salt glazed, white interior/buff exterior, n = 4*

### ***Single Use Food Storage Containers, n = 70***

*See Table C3.1*

### ***Re-usable Food Storage Containers, n = 1***

*Glass jar rim sherd, colourless, threaded, n = 1*

### ***Subsistence-Related Faunal Remains, n = 22***

*Bos taurus (rib roast, cut marked), n = 4*

*Bos taurus (rib roast, sawed), n = 9*

*Bos taurus (rib roast), n = 6*

*Ovis aries (front shank, sawed), n = 1*

*Sus scrofa (leg discard), n = 1*

*Melagrididae meleagris (drumstick), n = 1*

### ***Tableware, n = 288***

*Ceramic Tableware, n = 255*

*See Table C3.2*

*Glass Tableware, n = 33*

*Dish rim sherd, colourless, decorative scalloped edge I, n = 18*

*Serving Dish rim sherd, colourless, decorative scalloped edge II, n = 3*

*Tumbler base sherd, colourless, n = 1*

*Unidentified Glass Tableware body sherd, colourless, etched design, n = 6*

**Reading, Writing, and Education, n = 12**

***Writing, n = 5***

*Inkwell rim sherd, colourless, n = 2*

*Pencil lead, n = 3*

***Education, n = 7***

*Slate pieces, n = 7*

**Household Furnishings, n = 133**

***Lighting, n = 130***

*Lamp glass (manganese tinted), n = 130*

***Heating Devices, n = 1***

*Cast stove turn button, n = 1*

*Notes:* Turn button, cast, for holding doors of a metal stove closed.

***Furniture, n = 2***

*Ceramic washbowl rim and body sherd, vitrified white earthenware, moulded relief, n = 2*

**Household Maintenance, n = 35**

***Heating, n = 35***

*Charcoal, n = 14*

*Wood (burned), n = 21*

**Architectural, n = 155**

***Architectural Hardware, n = 137***

*See Table C3.3*

***Building Materials, n = 3***

*Plaster, n = 2*

*Cement, n = 1*

***Door Hardware and Materials, n = 3***

*Lock parts, n = 3*

***Window Hardware and Materials, n = 12***

*Window glass, n = 12*

***Agriculture, Gardening and Animal Husbandry, n = 12***

***Gardening Implements, n = 10***

*Wooden garden stake, n = 10*

***Fencing, n = 2***

*Fence staples, n = 2*

***Transportation, n = 2***

***Transport- animal powered, n = 2***

*Harness part, n = 1*

*Notes: Metal buckle for harness.*

*Bit, plain snaffle with cheekpiece, n = 1*

## Hunting/Defence, n = 4

### *Ammunition, n = 4*

*Bullet, n = 1*

*Notes: .30 calibre*

*Cartridge case, n = 1*

*Notes: Head stamp code reads D ^ C 90, cartridge style code is 8 C VI.*

*Shotgun shells (12 gauge), n = 2*

*Notes: Headstamp reads ELEY LONDON No. 12. Made by Eley Bros., London.*

Brandon (Brandon 1989) dates these 1860-1925.

## Unclassified, n = 262

### *Unclassified Ceramics, n = 35*

*Earthenware body sherd, plain glazed, n = 24*

*Earthenware body sherd, exfoliated, n = 6*

*Earthenware body sherd, underglaze transfer printed, n = 2*

*Semi-porcelain body sherd, plain glazed, n = 1*

*Porcelain body sherd, plain glazed, n = 2*

### *Unclassified Glass, n = 143*

*Bottle glass body sherd (colourless), n = 58*

*Bottle glass neck and shoulder sherd (colourless), n = 1*

*Bottle glass base sherd (colourless), n = 7*

*Bottle glass base sherd (aqua), n = 2*

*Bottle glass body sherd (manganese tinted), n = 19*

*Bottle glass body sherd (aqua), n = 29*

*Bottle glass body sherd (pale green), n = 26*

*Glass dish rim sherd (colourless), n = 1*

*Glass jar rim sherd (colourless), n = 1*

*Notes: Threaded rim, could be a cosmetic or storage jar.*



**Unclassified Metal, n = 80**

*Unclassified Metal Container base end and body fragments, interlocked side seam, capped on, n = 39*

*Unclassified Metal Container base end and body fragments, cylindrical, lapped side seam, capped on, n = 1*

*Unclassified Metal Container base end and body fragments, cylindrical, capped on, n = 25*

*Unclassified Metal Container base end and body fragments, single seam, n = 2*

*Unclassified Metal Container base end and body fragments, double seam, n = 2*

*Unclassified Metal Container base end, cylindrical, capped on, n = 3*

*Unclassified Metal Container base end, cylindrical, single seam, n = 3*

*Unclassified Metal Container body fragments, n = 5*

**Unclassified Metal Fasteners, n = 4**

*Carriage bolt (1 1/4"), n = 1*

*Carriage bolt (4"), n = 1*

*Bolt fragment (distal end, threaded), n = 1*

*Square nut (1/2"), n = 1*

**Unidentified, n = 15**

**Unidentified Metal, n = 8**

*Unidentified metal strapping, n = 2*

*Unidentified metal wire, n = 6*

**Unidentified Faunal, n = 5**

*Unidentified Avian limb elements, n = 3*

*Unidentified phalange, possibly Cervidae, n = 1*

*Unidentified Mammalian limb element, possibly Neotoma, n = 1*

*Unidentified Composite, n = 2*

*Strapping, n = 2*

**Unidentifiable, n = 60**

***Unidentifiable Glass, n = 44***

*Unidentifiable glass body shard (aqua), n = 2*

*Unidentifiable glass body shard (colourless), n = 18*

*Unidentifiable glass body shard (pale green), n = 24*

***Unidentifiable Metal, n = 6***

*Unidentifiable metal fragments, n = 6*

***Unidentifiable Fauna, n = 5***

*Unidentified bone fragments, n = 5*

***Unidentifiable Organic, n = 4***

*Wood fragments, n = 4*

***Unidentifiable Composite, n = 1***

*Plastic tab (modern), n = 1*

**Table C3.1. Vicarage Single Use Food Storage Containers, n = 70**

***Crown closure (cork lined), n = 2***

***Tea, Cocoa, or Food Spread Containers, n = 10***

*Metal container, top end/shoulder and body sherd, lever lid/plug in lid, cylindrical, double seam top: starting edge, n = 10*

***Meat Containers, n = 24***

*Corned Beef Hash or Stew tin, sealer/closure and body fragments, hole-in-top, square/rectangular, n = 17*

*Metal container base and body, key strip, cylindrical, capped on, n = 4*

*Metal container closure, key strip, n = 1*

*Metal container base end and body fragments, pull tab, n = 2*

*Notes:* Key strip closure is inferred to mean that meat was the most likely contents of these tins. Keystrips came into usage in the 1890's (Brandon 193).

***Food Containers, n = 34***

*Metal container sealer/closure and body fragments, hole-in-top, cylindrical, n = 32*

*Metal container sealer/closure, hole-in-top, n = 2*

**Table C3.2. Vicarage Ceramic Tableware, n = 255**

***Plates, n = 41***

*Plate rim sherd, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified blue flower pattern, n = 4*

*Plate base, body and rim sherd, semi-porcelain, underglaze transfer printed, moulded relief, unidentified peridot green floral pattern, n = 24*

*Notes:* Backmark reads "(P)ORCELAIN" over Britannia figure in peridot green. Dudson, Wilcox, and Till, Brittanica Works, Hanley, Staffordshire, 1902-1926.

*Plate base/footring, semi-porcelain, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified pale blue leaf pattern, n = 4*

*Plate base, body, and brink, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, moulded relief, unidentified green oriental pattern, n = 7*

*Plate base sherd, semi-porcelain, n = 1*

*Notes: Item has a partial backmark that reads "ND".*

*Plate base sherd, semi-porcelain, n = 1*

*Notes: Item has backmark reading "VICTORIA" over "AUSTRIA" in orange with a crown motif.*

### ***Teacups, n = 17***

*Teacup base and rim sherd, semi-porcelain, gilded, n = 4*

*Teacup rim sherd, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified blue flower pattern, n = 1*

*Teacup base, rim and body sherd, semi-porcelain, underglaze transfer printed, gilded, sponged? n = 11*

*Teacup handle, semi-porcelain, underglaze transfer printed, overglaze painted, flow blue and red, n = 1*

*Notes: Teacup handle underglaze transfer printed in blue, then painted over with red during use life.*

### ***Mugs, n = 1***

*Mug handle, vitrified white earthenware, plain glazed, n = 1*

### ***Butter Dishes, n = 8***

*Butter dish base, rim, and lid sherd, semi-porcelain, moulded relief, gilded, n = 8*

### ***Sugar/Creamers, n = 4***

*Creamer rim sherd, porcelain, underglaze transfer printed, flow blue, n = 4*

**Bowls, n = 14**

*Bowl base, body and rim sherds, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, flow blue, n = 148*

**Unidentified Ceramic Tableware, n = 36**

*Unidentified Ceramic Tableware body sherd, porcelain, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified blue oriental pattern, n = 9*

*Unidentified Ceramic Tableware body sherd, semi-porcelain, plain glazed, n = 23*

*Unidentified Ceramic Tableware base sherd, semi-porcelain, plain glazed, moulded relief, n = 1*

*Unidentified Ceramic Tableware rim sherd, semi-porcelain, moulded relief, gilded, n = 2*

*Unidentified Ceramic Tableware rim sherd, semi-porcelain, underglaze transfer printed) n = 1*

*Unidentified Ceramic Tableware (porcelain, plain glazed), n = 1*

**Table C3.3. Vicarage Architectural Hardware, n = 137**

**Machine Cut Nails, n = 68**

*Common, complete (1 1/4"), n = 1*

*Common, complete (1 1/2"-2 1/2"), n = 3*

*Common, complete (1 1/2"-3"), n = 2*

*Common, complete (1 3/4"-2 1/2"), n = 2*

*Common, complete (2"-2 1/2"), n = 2*

*Common, complete (2 1/4"), n = 1*

*Common, complete (2 1/2"), n = 2*

*Common, complete (2 1/2"-3"), n = 7*

*Common, complete (2 1/2"-4"), n = 2*

*Common, complete (3"), n = 5*

*Common, head and shank, red coloration near head, n = 1*

*Common, head and shank, n = 22*

*Common, shank and point, n = 18*

***Wrought Nails, n = 22***

*Common, complete (1 1/8"), n = 1*

*Common, complete (1 1/2"), n = 5*

*Common, complete (1 7/8"), n = 1*

*Common, complete (1"-3"), n = 4*

*Common, complete (2 1/4"), n = 1*

*Common, complete (2 1/2"), n = 1*

*Common, complete (2"), n = 1*

*Common, shank and point, n = 8*

***Wire Drawn Nails, n = 42***

*Common, complete (1 1/8"), n = 1*

*Common, complete (1 1/4"), n = 2*

*Common, complete (1 1/4"-3 1/4"), n = 10*

*Common, complete (1 1/2"), n = 1*

*Common, complete (1 1/2"-3"), n = 4*

*Common, complete (1 5/8"), n = 1*

*Common, complete (2"), n = 4*

*Common, complete (2"-3 1/8"), n = 3*

*Common, complete (2 1/4"), n = 1*

*Common, complete (2 1/2"-2 3/4"), n = 4*

*Common, complete (2 1/2"-3"), n = 2*

*Common, complete (3"), n = 3*

*Common, head and shank, n = 2*

*Common, shank and point, n = 3*

*Pole Nail, complete (6"), n = 1*

***Screws and Screw Hooks, n = 5***

*Wood screw, complete (1") n = 1*

*Wood screw, head and shank, n = 1*

*Slotted screw, head and shank, n = 2*

*Screw hook (1 3/4"), n = 1*

**Table C4. The Humphrys/Hewlett House, n = 350**

**Personal, n = 2**

***Toiletry Items, n = 2***

*Cold cream jar rim sherd, milk glass, opaque white, n = 2*

**Social/Recreational and Indulgence, n = 68**

***Alcohol Consumption, n = 68***

*Glass wine bottle body sherd (olive green), n = 5*

*Glass wine bottle body sherd (dark olive green), n = 6*

*Glass wine bottle base, body and finish ("black", actually dark olive green), n =*

*57*

**Food Preparation/Consumption, n = 55**

***Kitchenware, n = 5***

*Bowl body sherd, coarse earthenware, salt glazed, buff, n = 3*

*Bowl base/footring and rim sherd, coarse earthenware, salt glazed, buff interior,  
orange/buff exterior, n = 2*

***Single Use Food Storage Containers, n = 4***

*Glass bottle body sherd, aqua, n = 2*

*Notes: Embossed CA(NADA?).*

*Glass bottle body sherd, colourless, n = 2*

*Notes: Pressed glass design around base, possibly a condiment bottle.*

***Reusable Food Storage Containers, n = 1***

*Glass jar rim sherd, amber, threaded, n = 1*

***Subsistence Related Faunal Remains, n = 1***

*Bos taurus (shank), n = 1*

***Tableware, n = 44***

*Ceramic Tableware, n = 41*

*Plate rim and base sherds, earthenware, underglaze transfer printed, unidentified wide blue band pattern, n = 22*

*Teacup base/footring, handle, and rim sherd, semi-porcelain, underglaze painted, unidentified green floral pattern, n = 17*

*Bowl rim sherd, porcelain, unidentified purple band pattern, n = 2*

*Glass Tableware, n = 3*

*Bowl body and rim sherd, colourless, fluted, n = 3*

**Household Furnishings, n = 21**

***Lighting, n = 13***

*Lamp glass (colourless), n = 13*

***Furniture, n = 8***

*Mirror shards, n = 8*

**Household Maintenance, n = 1**

***Cleaning, n = 1***

*Brasso Metal Polish container, threaded cap, ovoid, n = 1*



*Notes:* Faint lettering is visible "AKE" and "A(S?)TI, also a blue sunburst and the letters "BR". Brasso Metal Polish, introduced in 1905 by Reckitt Benckiser.

### **Architectural, n = 88**

#### ***Architectural Hardware, n = 12***

*Wire drawn nails, common, complete, galvanized, (1 ¾ to 4"), n = 12*

#### ***Building Materials, n = 76***

*Lead flashing, n = 25*

*Paint bucket and handle, lever lid, n = 44*

*Chimney brick fragments, n = 7*

### **Agriculture, Gardening and Animal Husbandry, n = 58**

#### ***Agricultural Equipment and Tools, n = 58***

*Metal pail base, body, and rim fragments, lugs attached, n = 57*

*Shovel blade, 30 cm length, n = 1*

### **Unclassified, n = 26**

#### ***Unclassified Glass, n = 6***

*Glass bottle body and base sherds (aqua), n = 3*

*Glass bottle body and base sherds, cup bottom, (aqua), n = 2*

*Glass bottle body sherds (colourless), n = 1*

#### ***Unclassified Metal, n = 20***

*Metal container base end and body fragments, capped on, cylindrical, n = 20*

**Unidentified, n = 5**

***Unidentified Faunal, n = 1***

*Unidentified Bos taurus skull fragment, n = 1*

***Unidentified composite, n = 4***

*Round artifact that has the appearance of burned rubber, n = 4*

**Unidentifiable, n = 26**

***Unidentifiable Ceramic, n = 7***

*Unidentifiable earthenware body sherds, plain glazed, n = 7*

***Unidentifiable Glass, n = 18***

*Bottle body shard (colourless), n = 11*

*Flat glass shards (colourless), n = 6*

*Amber glass, melted, n = 1*

***Unidentifiable Metal, n = 1***

*Unidentifiable metal strapping, n = 1*

**Table C5. Artifact Totals: All House Areas, n = 6,715**

Activity Group	Subactivity Group	Quantity
<b>Personal Artifacts, n =19</b>		<b>19</b>
	Clothing Materials	3
	Clothing Fasteners	6
	Adornment	1
	Toiletry Items	8
	Curated Personal Artifacts	1
<b>Health and Healing Artifacts, n = 67</b>		<b>67</b>
	Medicine Bottles (human)	67
<b>Children and Childrearing Artifacts, n =24</b>		<b>24</b>
	Children's Toys	2
	Food Preparation/Consumption-Children	22
<b>Social/Recreational and Indulgence, n = 290</b>		<b>290</b>
	Alcohol consumption	270
	Smoking	18
	Games	1
	Memorabilia	1
<b>Food Preparation and Consumption, n = 2163</b>		<b>2163</b>
	Kitchenware	63
	Single Use Food Storage Containers	600
	Reusable Food Storage Containers	6
	Subsistence-Related Faunal Remains	62
	Subsistence-Related Organic Remains	21
	Tableware	1411
<b>Reading, Writing, and Education, n = 13</b>		<b>13</b>
	Writing	6
	Education	7
<b>Household Furnishings, n = 363</b>		<b>363</b>
	Lighting	350
	Heating Devices	2
	Furniture	8
	Window Dressing	1
	Washstand Items	2
<b>Household Maintenance, n = 1528</b>		<b>1528</b>
	Heating	1527
	Cleaning	1
<b>Architectural, n = 981</b>		<b>981</b>
	Architectural Hardware	258
	Building Materials	406
	Door Hardware and Materials	3
	Window Hardware and Materials	314

**Table C5 Continued**

<b>Agriculture, Gardening and Animal Husbandry, n =135</b>		<b>135</b>
	Agricultural Equipment and Tools	60
	Animal Husbandry	61
	Fencing	4
	Gardening Implements	10
<b>Transportation, n = 3</b>		<b>3</b>
	Transport- animal powered	3
<b>Hunting/Defence, n =6</b>		<b>6</b>
	Ammunition	6
<b>Unclassified, n = 878</b>		<b>878</b>
	Unclassified Ceramics	150
	Unclassified Glass	291
	Unclassified Metal	421
	Unclassified Metal Fastenings	14
	Unclassified Organic	1
	Unclassified Lithic	1
<b>Unidentified, n = 55</b>		<b>55</b>
	Unidentified Glass	1
	Unidentified Metal	25
	Unidentified Faunal	20
	Unidentified Composite	6
	Unidentified Organic	3
<b>Unidentifiable, n = 190</b>		<b>190</b>
	Unidentified Ceramic	7
	Unidentifiable Glass	74
	Unidentifiable Metal	73
	Unidentifiable Faunal	17
	Unidentifiable Organic	4
	Unidentifiable Composite	14
	Unidentifiable Lithic	1

APPENDIX D

MCNAUGHTON STORE NOTES FROM CANNINGTON MANOR AND AREA,  
1896-1901

**E.C. Pierce, March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1894**

29<sup>th</sup> March 1894

McNaughton & Co.

Kindly give Mr. [Mailes] the barrel of salt ordered for the M.M.T.Co Cann. Manor.

E.C. Pierce

**Percy C. Fripp, December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1895**

Fish Lake

Cannington Manor

Dec. 10<sup>th</sup> 1895

Mssrs. R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Moosomin

Dear Sirs

Please let me have per bearer Mr. [Keovell] \$1.00 worth of Japan Rice

& oblige

I am dear Sirs

Yours faithfully

Percy C. Fripp

**James Humphrys, October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1895**

Oct. 7/95

Memorandum from James Humphrys

from McNaughton a case of evaporated apples, some bars of iron, some glass in a  
crate, (n?) & ordered by letters of Oct. 2nd & Oct. 7th

a small lot of lumber from Barton ordered Oct. 7<sup>th</sup>

**James Humphrys, September 24<sup>th</sup>, 1895**

Memo for E.C.Pierce – to bring out groceries from McNaughtons also 30 lbs binder twine and 1 reel (smallest they have in stock) of barbed wire from Millar Co. I think the lot will be about 1000 lbs.

Sept. 24/95

James Humphrys

**John McDermott, September 5<sup>th</sup>, 1895**

Mr. McNaughton

Please send me 50 cts white sugar 50 cts brown sugar and two \$ worth of bacon

And Oblige

John McDermott

**Rev. W. Milton, October 10<sup>th</sup> 1895**

Please pay Mr. Malcolm Campbell the value of \$2.25 in goods and charge same to  
Rev. W. Milton. \$ 2.25

[*Wellwy G*] Milton

Oct 10 1895

**Kenneth L. Ball, June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1896**

June 30<sup>th</sup> 1896

R. D. McNaughton & Co

Please give the bearer James Hamilton the amount of this tub butter in sugar dark 20 lbs per dollar and to send No. 10 shoes the same kind as the take back.

Kenneth L. Ball

**R. Bird, January 21<sup>st</sup> 1896**

R.D. McNaughton Co

Please give the bearer E.C. Pierce for us 1 Barrel of 3lb bag Salt "Windsor or Rice" & 3 50 lb Sacks Salt.

The Moose Mtn. Trad. Co.

R. Bird

Jan 21<sup>st</sup> 1896

**R. Bird, June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1896**

To R.D.McNaughton & Co.

Moosomin

Please send by the bearer Jas. Moore

1 Sack Rock Salt

The Moose Mtn Trad. Co

R. Bird

**James Colbourne, July 1st, 1896**

Cannington Manor

July 1<sup>st</sup> -96

R.D. McNaughton & Co.

Sirs

Please give the bearer F. O'Brien goods to the value of \$7.00 and charge to my a/c.  
and oblige

Yours truly,

James Colbourne

**A. L. Kisbey, February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1896**

Cannington Feb. 18<sup>th</sup> 1896

R.D.McNaughton & Co.

Dear Sirs

Please send in per stage

White sugar 1\$

Emery powder 25 cts

and also a sample of your prints and gingham

Yours Truly

A. L. Kisbey

**Wm. Pigott, May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1896**

R D McNaughton & Co

May 15/96

Please deliver to bearer 4 doz oranges & 5 doz lemons & charge to Mrs. M. J.  
Piggott, Can. Man

Wm Pigott

**I. Sheldon-Williams, March 16<sup>th</sup>, 1896**

Cannington Manor

March 16 96

Please deliver to Mr. I Courbarron two sacks oatmeal (rolled oats.) 50 lb sacks- and  
charge same to our account-

I. Sheldon-Williams



**A. Downey, ca. 1897**

Mar 4/97

a/c of A. Downey

Feb 1<sup>st</sup> tp 27<sup>th</sup>

92 ¾ Job & Repair work	18.55
Piece work	<u>10.50</u>
	\$29.05

**H. C. Moore, June 11<sup>th</sup>, 1897**

Cannington Manor

June 11<sup>th</sup> 97

Mssrs. R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Dear Sirs

Please send me out a caddy of T & B. tobacco.

Yours truly

H.C. Moore

**A. Summer, May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1897**

Mssrs. R. D. MacNaughton & Co.

2 lbs Blk 35c Tea (Yellow label)

Sugar (White) 1.00

1 lb 50c Ground coffee

3 boxes Yeast cakes 25c .25

1 lb T & B.

carrots .05

lettuce .05

parsnips .05

white turnip .05

Onions .05  
Chive? .05  
Cabbage .05  
*[Vig harrow]* .05  
Peas .10  
Beans .10  
& oblige  
A. Summer

**L. H. Beckton, December 4<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor  
Dec. 4<sup>th</sup> 99  
Dear Sirs  
Please send out as soon as the weather is favorable, one case of oranges,  
& oblige  
Yours Truly  
L. H. Beckton

**Arthur S. Bellhouse, February 12<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor  
Feb: 12. 99 Moose Mts:  
Mr: McNaughton  
Dear Sir  
Please let the bearer Mr: P. Brockman have.  
Caddy tea. 35c per lb  
sugar, white 2\$  
dried apples 2\$  
small tub treacle black molasses  
collar for brick chimney

6 inch

small caddy T.B.

I will forward cheque next week to square up present acct.

Arthur S. Bellhouse

**Arthur S. Bellhouse, September 6<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor

Moose Mts.

Assa.

Mr. McNaughton

Dear Sir

Mr. Bellhouse will be obliged if you will send him out per: bearer Mr. King  
the [*illegible*] articles.

Sugar 2 \$ White

Common soap 1\$ Royal Crown

Arthur S. Bellhouse

**Arthur S. Bellhouse, October 24<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

R. D. MacNaughton & Co

Dear Sir

Please let the bearer Mr. W. Hamilton have  
tea 1 caddy as per usual

Sugar White 1\$

& oblige yrs:

Arthur S. Bellhouse

Oct. 24.99

**Robert Bird, February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor

Feb 18<sup>th</sup> 1899

R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Dear Sirs

Please send by bearer 1 doz oranges & 1 pkt Balger's Jelly Raspberry 1 pint size

Yours faithfully

The Moose Mtn. Trad. Co.

Robert Bird

**Samuel Brayford, February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington

Feb. 28<sup>th</sup> 99

Mr. McNaughton

Dear Sir Please send by Mr. Ed Pierce of Cannington 1\$ worth of your blue ribbon  
tea and Oblige

Samuel Brayford

I hope to be in before long and will settle for it.

**Harry Cooke, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor N.W.T

Sept. 11 1899

Will you kindly send me out 2 dollars worth of white suggar

& 40 lbs sack of oat meal

1 small pale of jam strawberry or raspberry.

I shall be in town after threshing is over.

and oblige

Your etc.

Harry Cooke

**Theodora Humphrys, September 6<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor N.W.T

September 6<sup>th</sup> 1899

Messrs

R. D. McNaughton & Co

Gentlemen

Please send by Harry King on Friday, Sept. 8th as follows:

2 yds Blk Serge at about 50 cents per yard.

Sample enclosed.

Yours Truly

Theodora Humphrys

**Wm. Kidson, June 26<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

To R D MacNaughton & Co

Dear Sirs

Do you send wool bags when a person is sending wool. If so will you please send me what you think will do for 35 fleeces by Return Mail and I will send the Wool the first freight to Moosomin. Also kindly send one 3 lb tin of tea at 75 cents the tin and some Epps cocoa to make up the Dollar should you not supply Bags will you send me Bags and put them against the Wool account also the Dollar for the tea and cocoa.

Yours Respectfully

Wm. Kidson

**H. King, March 30<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Can.Man. March 30. 1899

Dear [*Herb*]

Will you kindly give Webb these goods for me & hold the check for them until i  
come in on Tuesday & Oblige

H. King

Soap royal crown 50

granulated Suggar 50

**Alexander B. McKae, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Oct. 25.1899

Cannington Manor

Mr. R. D. McNaughton

Please give the Bearer Sandy Duncan McDougall a pair of Shoe Packs & a  
fur cap and charge the same to me Put a bill of the amount in the cap  
and Oblidge

Alexander B. McKae

**Jeanie N. McDonald, January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor

Assa. N. W. T.

Jan.14/99

R.D. McNaughton & Co:

Dear Sirs:

Please send me

1 yd red melton 48 in @ 28 = 28

2 yd rose pink glazed lining @ 7 = 14

42

postage 8

50

find enclosed 50 cents for the above order & will you please send the goods out by mail

& oblige yours truly

Jeanie N. McDonald

**Jeanie McDonald, September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor

Assa. N. W. T.

September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1899

R.D. McNaughton & Co:

Moosomin

Dear Sir:

Please send me by H. King

3 yds print same as sample .42 cts.      .42 cts

3 yds print same as sample .42 cts.      .42

.84 cts

Send money back by return of mail

and oblige

Yours Truly

Jeanie N. McDonald

**Joseph Newman, October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor

Oct. 9<sup>th</sup> 99

R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Dear Sir

Please send me by Mr. H King (stage-driver)

2 yds skirting (same as sample) @ 80 cts - \$1.60

To be charged to my account.

Enclosed please find 20 cts. cash to be placed to Miss L. W. McDonalds account,  
balance of acc.

& oblige

Yours Truly

Jos. Newman

**Joseph Newman, November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1899**

Can. Manor

Nov. 1<sup>st</sup> 99

R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Moosomin

Dear Sir

Please send by freight 1 lb apples, either northern spice or greenings

Will you please pay the freight on the above

& oblige

Yours Truly

Jos. Newman

**(S.?) Perry, 1899**

R. D. McNaughton & Co

1 can B. Powder	20
1 can Apples	30
1 can Pears	25
4 3/4 lb sugar	25
4 1/2 lb lemons	25
Caraway Seeds	05
1/2 lb lime	<u>2.00</u>
	3.30



By Cash 1.30  
2.00

**W. Duncan Pierce, July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

To R. D. McNaughton & Co

Will you kindly send me some patterns of [*nausivk*] (not lawn) width and price.

15 yds print

15 yds white goods

6 yds muslin

Please charge to

W. Duncan Pierce

**Florence Purser, April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor

April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1899

Dear Sir

I am returning you the 2 cakes of Jar Soap which are not what I required - I only wanted [*Mecanhaes*] - will you take them back & deduct them from the bill! I send them by Mr. Pierce

Yours Truly

Florence Purser

**R. Purser, May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor

May 15<sup>th</sup> /99

Dear sir

Will you please send out by Mr. Percy Brockman 100 lbs [*shorp*] for me.

Yrs. Sincerely

R. Purser

**Florence Purser, November 10<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor

Nov 10<sup>th</sup>, 1899

Dear Sir

Will you please send out the goods on enclosed list by [*Nash*] to Mr. Reginald Purser. Should the oranges and lemons be more than 40 cents per dozen I would rather have only 1 dozen oranges and no lemons & should the weather be cold and the oranges likely to get frozen please not to send any. I do not know the exact price of childrens felt slippers but I believe you have them at about 35 cents per pair. I do not want expensive ones & I want the cardigan rubbers large enough to wear over the slippers I think no. 7 should not be too large.

Yours Faithfully

Florence Purser

20 lbs rolled oats

1 10 lb canister Tea at 35 cents .35

1 lb black pepper

\$1 White Sugar \$1

Brown ditto (sugar)

1 lb almonds

2 pks Desert rasins

2 lbs mixed candies at 12 1/2 cents per lb

2 lbs mixed sweet biscuits at about 16 or 18 cents per lb

2 Balger's Jellies- raspberry & orange

2 lbs cheese

1 lb nuts (filberts)

2 Pkts Cooking chocolate at 12 1/2 cents per Pkt

2 dozen oranges

1/2 dozen lemons

1 pair child's felt slippers age 6  
1 pair child's cardigan rubbers age 7  
Please weigh box and put weight in lid

**Scott and Cooke, March 30<sup>th</sup>, 1899 (added to H. King, March 30<sup>th</sup>, 1899)**

Scott and Cooke  
1.00 worth of boiling beef

**Mrs. Jas. Troughton, September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor  
R. D. McNaughton & Co  
Moosomin

I beg to return the bacon received from you lately. You will notice one piece has been cut from, well till it was fried it seemed nice and sweet but afterwards not only did the bacon smell very badly but it is uneatable - evidently the meat became high before it was cured- so we preferred to return the other piece uncut, as until it is in process of cooking one does not discover it's bad qualities; if you think fit to charge for what has been taken from the smaller piece, I am agreeable to pay for it.

When do you expect to receive your greengages? If they are not coming- will you send another basket of plums

and oblige  
yours Truly

[*Alaust*] Jas. Troughton

**Mrs. Jas. Troughton, November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor  
Nov 7<sup>th</sup> 1899  
R D MacNaughton & Co

Moosomin

Would you kindly send a barrel of greening apples by Wm Colborn  
and oblige

Yours Truly

[*Alaust*] Jas. Troughton

**J. W. Vail, March 13<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor

March 13/99

R. D. McNaughton Esq

Dear Sir

Would you send me in by Mr. Turton one pair of rubbers No. 8 to go over  
socks and Oblige

J. W. Vail

**J. W. Vail, April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor

R. D. McNaughton Esq April 15/99

Dear Sir

would you kindly send me the following goods. I have sold my farm and are  
waiting for the transfer papers to come from the C. P. R. office [*illegible*] they should of  
been here before this but as soon as they come I will be in Moosomin and settle my full  
account.

\$1.00 sugar

two lbs B.R. tea

1.00 prunes

25cts R. C. soap

7 lbs blue stone

over halls 32.30

one dark working shirt

By sending me the above you will greatly Oblige.

J. W. Vail

**J. W. Vail, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor

June 1/99

Mr. Jameson

Dear Sir

Will you please change pants send me a pair one inch shorter in the leg and at least one inch bigger around waste I don't care if they are two inches bigger in the waste if you have not the same pants send the nearest to those you can.

Yours faithfully

J. W. Vail

**J.W.Vail, September 4<sup>th</sup>, 1899**

Cannington Manor

Assa N.W.T

Sept 4/99

R. D. MacNaughton & Co

Dear Sir

Please send me in two lbs black 35. ct. tea. by stage  
and Oblige

yours truly

J.W.Vail

**H. Brockman, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1900**

R. D. McNaughton & Co

Please send the following

1 bag dairy salt

R. C. Soap 1.00

H. Brockman

**Mrs. A. Hindmarch, April 17<sup>th</sup>, 1900**

Cannington Manor

Assa.

April 17.1900

To R. D. McNaughton

Dear Sir

I enclose fifty dollars will you please send me

10 lbs tea

prunes 1.00

[Leds] Emulsion Cod Liver Oil

1 pair girls shoes round toes [size] 4 1/2 price 1.40

1 cap suitable for a boy 7 yrs old about 35 cts

5 yds black serge 50 ct per yd

2 1/2 yds White Lawn 20 ct per yrd

kindly send goods by stage & please balance our account

& oblige

Mrs. A. Hindmarch

I will send more as soon as possible.

**Joseph Newman, January 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1900**

Cannington Manor

Jan. 22 1900

R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Moosomim

Dear Sir-

Please send me,

100 lbs Gran. Sugar

10 lbs can of Ceylon Tea

\$1 worth of Good Rice

50 cts worth of Tapioca

50 cts [*worth of*] Ground Rice

50 cts [*worth of*] icing sugar

1 lb tin of Bendsdorf's cocoa

1 pail of Blackstrap Syrup 20 lbs

1 bottle essence of Peppermint (small)

1 or 2 oz [*bottle of essence*] of Vinalla

1 lb box of candied Peel

1 doz no. 40 white Spools of thread

20 lbs rolled oats

1 pr. Corsets 30 in about & 1.25 not very long waisted for invalid

2 lbs Plates for the top centre of buggy whiffletrees, with round hole

2 lbs ferrels for buggy whiffletrees

2 long wagon neck yokes complete

2 long wagon neck yokes woods

1 [*long*] buggy neck yoke, complete

& oblige

Yours Truly

Jos. Newman

5 doz Clothes Pins (same as sample)

**Joseph Newman, February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1900**

Cannington Manor

Feb. 8<sup>th</sup> 1900

R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Dear Sirs

Please send me a 75 ct tin of Johnston's Fluid Beef Tea

& oblige

Yours Truly

Jos. Newman

**Hume Robertson, January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1900**

R. D. McNaughton & Co

Moosomin

Please send out by *[name]*

2\$ white sugar 2.00

1\$ yellow sugar

50 ct of Royal Crown Soap

5 lbs 35 ct tea

\$1 of Vaporated apples

50 ct of apricots

50 ct of prunes

50 ct of Prized Peaches

80 lb of oatmeal

and Oblige

Hume Robertson

**A. Le Mesurier and Hume Robertson, December 1901**

1899 July- 16 Mower section	1.60
4	.40
1 rake tooth	<u>.30</u>
	2.00



**Angus Beaton, no date**

2 lbs Black Water Tea	\$ .70
White Sugar	50
Royal Yeast Cake	25
All spiece	5
Currants	25
Raisins	<u>25</u>
	2.00
Royal C. Soap	2.25

Angus Beaton

*On reverse:*

Measurement- Macintosh length 4 ft 5 in Bust-Measure 35.5 inch Waist 29 inch

**Arthur S. Bellhouse, no date**

Cannington Manor

Moose Mts.

Mr. McNaughton

Dear Sir

Kindly let me have 1\$ of 30 c black tea.

Arthur S. Bellhouse

**Mrs. Brockman, no date**

R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Cannington Manor

Please send per bearer Mr. Purser 10 lbs of tea.

Mrs. Brockman

**Mrs. W. Bruce, no date**

20 c seed onions  
10 c of red [*onions*]  
10 c of yellow [*onions*]  
10c seed carrots half long  
10c [*seed*] parsnips [*half long*]  
10c [*seed*] beets [*half long*]  
10c [*seed*] Radish [*half long*]  
10c Winter Radish [*half long*]  
10c [*winter*] lettuce [*half long*]  
10c [*winter*] parsley [*half long*]  
10c [*winter*] Peas [*half long*]  
20c butter beans  
5c cucumber for pickling  
5 pickling onions  
10 c green corn  
5 c citrion  
25 c cooking onions  
25 a box of pink peels  
5 yds of Dark [*Curtain Creation*] 6 or 7 c e per yrd  
35 a broom a good one  
The balance in [*m*] Biscuits  
Will you please make those in a small box for Mr. King  
& Oblige  
Mrs. W. Bruce  
Valley

**Mrs. J. (G?) Courbarron, no date**

\$1.00 worth of surprise soap                      \$1.00

50 c worth of Ev apples	.50
1 can of peaches	.35
1 can of pears	.35
1 can of tomatoes	.15
1 can of silver cream baking powder	.25
Oxford washing Blue	<u>.10</u>
	\$2.70
1 bottle of lemon	.20
1 bottle of vanilla	<u>.20</u>
	\$3.10

Mrs. J. [G] Courbarron

**Harry B. Hartley, no date**

Mr. M. Smith c/o R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Dear Smith

Will you please let me have 12 bags 1.00 and hold for me till I come in on Saturday. I am meaning to buy.

I remain

Harry B. Hartley

**James Harvie, no date**

Mr. McNaughton

Please give the bearer Mrs. Langley

1 [Irae] of Royal Crown Washing Lye & half gal of vinegar & bag of salt

3 lb tea of [magawatta] tea and charge the same to my account, yours

James Harvie

**W.V. Hill, no date**

Send shoes two sizes smaller  
10 cts square envelopes  
10 cts ruled note paper  
1 lb 50 ct B Tea  
2 yds same as pattern  
one pair blue overhauls 37.31  
small Bottle of Laudanum  
W.V. Hill

**W.V. Hill, no date**

1 bottle of Glycerine  
25 cts of Royal Crown Soap  
10 yds of flannel as near to pattern as you have  
1 lb of 50 ct black tea  
W.V. Hill

**Willard V. Hill, no date**

1/4 lb large red Wetherfield onions  
2 quarts E shalots  
2 [*papers*] early cabbage  
1/2 lb mangle  
1 pkt wild flower seeds  
1 pkt poppy  
1 sunflowers  
1 pkt mignorette  
1 pkt citron  
1 oz short scarlet carrot

1 pkt cauliflower  
1 pkt lettuce  
good whitewash brush  
one stick potash  
box black lead  
small box starch  
a mop handle  
send in [*oarlocks*] for boat ordered  
small hand saw file  
Willard V.Hill

**Mrs. Hindmarch, no date**

2 pairs Overalls 2.00  
1 Overall I 'est Chest measure 40 1/2  
1 Black Shirt 1.00 neck 16. inch  
2 light Shirts 1.00 each 16. inch  
3 Ties 1 Cap 1 Boys Cap.  
1 pr Ladies fine boots- No 6  
1 pr Misses Strong Buttoned boots - No 4 1.40  
2 Prs Ladies Strong Buttoned boots - No 5 1.40  
1 pr Boy Boots size L  
2 Miss. Fine boots  
1 (") long (?) boots  
Overalls Waist 34. Inside 32  
(") Waist 34 (") 33  
Please change these overalls for. 35 waist 33 inside V(?) boots 1 instead of these.  
Mrs. Hindmarch

**Mrs. Hindmarch, no date**

Cannington Manor

R. D. McNaughton & Co

Please send out with stage

50 loaded shells No. 12 No. 4 shot & two small gopher traps without chains,  
oblige

Mrs. Hindmarch

**Mrs. Hindmarch, no date**

20 lb Tea

1 small bag Salt

150 lb [*Best*] granulated sugar

3 lb coffee

3 lb baking powder

13 [*lbs*] currants

Rice 1.00

pail syrup

starch 25 cts

egg [*cace Jn*] 36 doz

2 small writing pads

bottle lemon flavour 50

50 lb [*Bose?*] Best Prunes

Broom 35

Envelopes 25

[*Bose By*] C Soap

[*peurline*] powder

1/2 Bushel White beans

Mrs. Hindmarch

**Mrs. Hindmarch, no date**

2 yds waist lining  
6 yds shirt lining 10 cts  
6 yds black serge 55 cts per yard  
6 yds aprons cloth 14 cts per yard like pattern  
6 yds flannelette 14 cts per yard like pattern  
6 white spools No. 36  
6 black spools No. 36  
1 pair boys light boots No. 12 about 1.25 or 1.30  
1 pr girls boots buttoned No. 13 1.30  
1 pr girls boots string, No. 4  
1 pr childs ankle strap slippers No. 9 lighter black or yellow  
10 lbs tea  
2 lb coffee  
3 lb baking powder  
13 lbs currants 1.0  
white sugar 2.0  
brown sugar 1.0  
prons 1.0  
Butter 25 .25  
1 pail syrup 1.25  
1 Egg [*base*] 36 doz

**Mrs. A. Hindmarch, no date**

2 1/2 yds strong blue Derry  
12 yds factory 10 wh.  
5 yds unbleached sheeting 28  
1 1/2 yds Black Crape 1.40 per yard  
6 yds Turkey red

4 yds White Lawn for childrens pinafores

6 yds Black skirt lining 14

4 yds slate- waist lining 15

1 pr. elastic front slippers No. 5 1/2 1.40

1 pr. girls laced boots No. 1 1.25 or 1.30

3 lbs coffee 50 cts per lb

1 pail syrup

small bottle butter color

if you have not 5 1/2 size slippers send 5. Please send 100 lb of oat meal & send the goods with H. Hindmarch

A. Hindmarch

**[L.Jopp], no date**

[L.Jopp]

3 tubs Baking Soda

2 glasses 10 by 12

4 glasses 8 by 10

Putty

sugar brown 1.00

[Insedt] Powder

Raisins 50

Apples Evap.

Currants 25

Overalls 30- 36 1.25

Rice 25

Mustard 30

[Jorfel] Soap

B. Powder 25



**T.P. Joyce, no date**

T.P. Joyce  
2 boxes matches  
Surprise Soap .25

**Mrs. Harry Keal, February 20<sup>th</sup>, 18?**

Cannington Manor  
Mr. McNaughton      Feb the 20  
Please send with first team coming to Cannington  
White Sugar            \$3.00  
Black tea 5 lb            1.75  
coffee 2 lb              .80  
tomatoes                1.00  
canned Peaches        1.00  
canned Apples         .50  
caned Straw Berries   .50  
cranberries             1.00  
cocoa                    .50  
                                 \$10.05

Mrs. Harry Keal  
Cannington Manor

**Joseph Newman, January 19<sup>th</sup>, 189?**

Can. Manor  
January 19 18-  
R. D. McNaughton & Co.  
Moosomin  
Please send by bearer 50 cts worth of good barley

& oblige  
Yours Truly  
Jos. Newman

**Mrs. Spencer Page, no date**

*[top of list torn off]*

Mrs. Spencer Page

If the carrier is gone please let the bearer have 2 lbs butter only send the rest on Monday

**(S?) Perry, March 31, 18?**

Mr. Smith Esq.

Sir

I am very sorry I am not able to pay for the groceries I had last week as I promised (but- I have been disappointed in three of the people staying here) but- would be very obliged Sir if you would charge them.

Thanking you Sir for your kindness at all times

Yours truly,

[S]. Perry

M. Smith Esq.

**E. Pierce, no date**

E. Pierce

sugar brown 25

Tea 1 lb 35

1 pail 40

1 bottle Mother Seigel's Syrup

50 cts worth white sugar

**Wm. Pigott, no date**

To R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Please give bearer

5 doz oranges

1 doz lemons

5 bushels of potatos & charge to Mrs. M. Pigott (WP)

one harness brush

**Wm. Pigott, no date**

Please deliver to bearer 5 doz oranges & 1 doz lemons & charge to Mrs. M. I.  
Pigott

R. D. McNaughton & Co.

W. Pigott

**A. Pryce, no date**

R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Gran. Sugar \$1.00

T & B Tobacco .25

To be charged

A. Pryce

**A. Pryce, no date**

10 lbs dried bacon not too fat

charged to

A. Pryce

**Florence Purser, no date**

To Mr. R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Dear Sir

Will you please send out by Mr. Brockman the following groceries for Mrs.

Reginald Purser

2\$ white sugar

1\$ brown ditto [*sugar*]

50 cents ground rice

50 cents sultanas

50 cents Evap. apples

50 cents ditto prunes

50 cents [*do*] apricots

1 bottle lemon essences

1 small bottle curry powder

1 lb mixed peel

1 box soda biscuits

3 packets Corn Starch

\$1 worth of Royal Crown Soap (unwrapped)

5 lbs tea at 35 cents per lb

1/2 tin of Mustard

3 cakes Pine Jar Soap

4 lbs cheese

1 tin golden syrup

3 Balger Jellies- orange-lemon-strawberry

**Florence Purser, no date**

To R. D. McNaughton & Co.

Kindly send out to Mr. R. Purser the following goods by [*Nash*].

5 gallons wail oil at 25 Cents per gal.

2 lbs baking soda  
1 lb powdered tartaric acid  
\$1 Royal Crown Soap (unwrapped)  
\$1 white sugar  
50c Evap. Apples  
50c Prunes  
1 bottle curry powder  
1/2 lb Tin of Mustard  
50 cents macaronie  
samples of wall papers for small dinning room & bed room  
1 shovel  
1 pr. of overalls - waist measures 34 length 32- about 75 Cents per pair  
Colour (grey)  
Patterns of white or cream serge. Also of white [*nuns*] veiling & pink gingham or  
cambric- have you one with a white spot on?

**Hume Robertson, March 16<sup>th</sup>, 189?**

Cannington March 16 1891

R.D. McNaughton Co.

Please send with Bearer E.C. Pierce \$2 of white sugar and \$1 of brown

one can of Baking Powder

one pale of syrup

one pair of child's laced shoes no. 7

too bars of S. S. Steel 2 x ¼

and [*Platen Spring Bidur*] and send it out

and oblige

H. Robertson

**A. Summer, no date**

1 lb Black Tea  
Bacon \$ 1.00  
3 plugs T & B  
2 pair wool mitts  
Please give to bearer and charge to me  
A. Summer

**A. Summer, no date**

R. D. McNaughton & Co  
White Sugar \$1  
salt 25c  
Lard 6 lbs  
Syrup  
Bluestone (pure) 50c  
E. apples 50c  
Cooking Figs 25c  
24 yds cottonade at 25 c  
4 yds coat lining (not expensive)  
10 yds unbleached callico  
1 box hairpins  
Clothes pegs 25c R. D. McNaughton & Co  
& oblige  
A. Summer

**A. Summer, no date**

R. D. McNaughton & Co  
White Sugar \$ 1.00

Yeast Cakes 10 c  
Tea 1 lb (Black blue ribbon) 35c  
Coffee 1 lb  
Oatmeal 25c  
Currants 25c  
1 small pail of Lard  
1 pail of Raspberry Jam  
& oblige  
A. Summer

**Bertram Tennyson, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 189?**

25<sup>th</sup> Oct. 189

Mr. [*Eustace*] is away in Winnipeg & his hired man wants a pair of long green boots. Please let him have them at our Estate's expense - I will be responsible for them

Yours Truly

Bertram Tennyson

**A. Turton, no date**

100 lbs granulated sugar  
25 lbs rolled oats  
1 dollar R crown soap 1.00  
5 lbs ceylon tea  
5 lbs corn starch  
1 pkt celolide starch  
2 bags flour  
2 gallon vinegar  
2 gallon coal oil  
2 lbs B soda  
3 lbs B Powder

1 lb Black pepper  
1/2 lb allspice  
1/2 lb ground cloves  
1/2 lb ginger  
1/2 lb scinneman  
1 bottle china [*cavent*]  
1 bottle paper [*cervalt*]  
1 bottle electric oil  
2 brooms  
broom [*evrn*]  
scrub brush  
whisk  
1 box shoe black  
2 cakes chocolate  
3 lbs mixed candies  
5 lbs raisins  
5 lbs currents  
10 lbs rice  
5 cents caraway candies  
10 cents pink and white craft paper  
1oz vanilla

**A. Turton, no date**

Butter Spoon wood  
10 lb pot barley  
wash board  
1 bottle B [*Iron*] wine  
1 bottle castor oil  
2 gallon vinegar



1 bag salt  
2 gallon coal oil  
25 lb beans  
5 lbs cornstarch  
20 yards twilled shirting like sample  
15 yds dress duck like sample  
2 pair braces  
3 yds black garter elastic  
10 yds 7 cent factory  
2 coarce combs  
2 yds large lamp wick  
putty enough for to put in 16 window frames 12 x 24  
1 doz white spools no 40  
1/2 doz M S no 24  
1 doz black spools no 40  
1/2 doz B S no 10  
15 yds twilled grey flannel  
15 yds pink flannellette  
15 yds grey flannellette  
4 lbs dark grey yarn  
2 lbs light grey yarn  
3 lbs dark garnet yarn  
2 lbs black yarn

**A. Turton, no date**

boys suit light grey tweed or some very small pattern of tweed for boy nine years  
29 inch chest measurement like the pattern enclosed

For boy of 6 years

Boys suit of navy blue serge like the picture enclosed 27 inch chest measurement

For boy of 5 years

Boys suit navy blue serge like the picture 25 inch chest measurement  
1 pair ladies buttoned shoes no. 5  
2 pair ladies buttoned shoes no. 4 half price  
2 pair common ladies laced shoes no. 4  
1 pair common ladies laced shoes no. 5  
1 pair child's common buttoned shoes no. 10  
1 pair child's common buttoned shoes no. 12  
1 pair boys common buttoned shoes no. 2  
2 pair mens laced shoes no. 7  
2 pair mens laced shoes no. 9  
6 pair spun crofter socks for men  
overalls for 4 men different size  
suit for Mr. Turton

**A. Turton, no date**

5 gallons vinegar  
5 lbs Ceylon tea  
25 cents yeast germs  
50 cents chewing tobacco  
25 cents chewing tobacco  
one dark working shirt mens no. 16  
one dark working shirt for men no. 15  
1 pair mens hose  
3 1/2 yds good grey flannell twilled

**Mrs. J. F. Wallace, September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 18?**

Cannington Manor  
R. D. McNaughton & Co

Please send samples of dress goods for fall and winter wear from thrity to forty cents a yard.

Mrs. J. F. Wallace  
Cannington Manor  
N. W. T

**Henry H. Webb, no date**

R. D. M.  
Please give Bearer James Hamilton  
2 pairs of Socks  
2 Shirts  
Charge.  
Henry H. Webb

**Unknown, no date**

3 bars of S. S (steel)  
3 bars of iron  
10 lb of black tea  
1 box of raizons  
Too Glaces?  
2 bars Rd Iron 5/8

**Unknown, no date**

I fore [*plot*] Hee [*aper*] Shos  
8 9 change one smock send  
a L Size Send  
[*thebull*] of the good [*moarn*] got  
4 [*ples*] TB

*Translation (according to Thomas Beck):*

*I forgot*

*He wants a pair pf shoes*

*Size 8 9*

*Change one smock*

*Send a large size*

*Send the bill of the goods the man got*

*4 plugs T & B*