A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA FROM 1871 TO 1921

A Thesis

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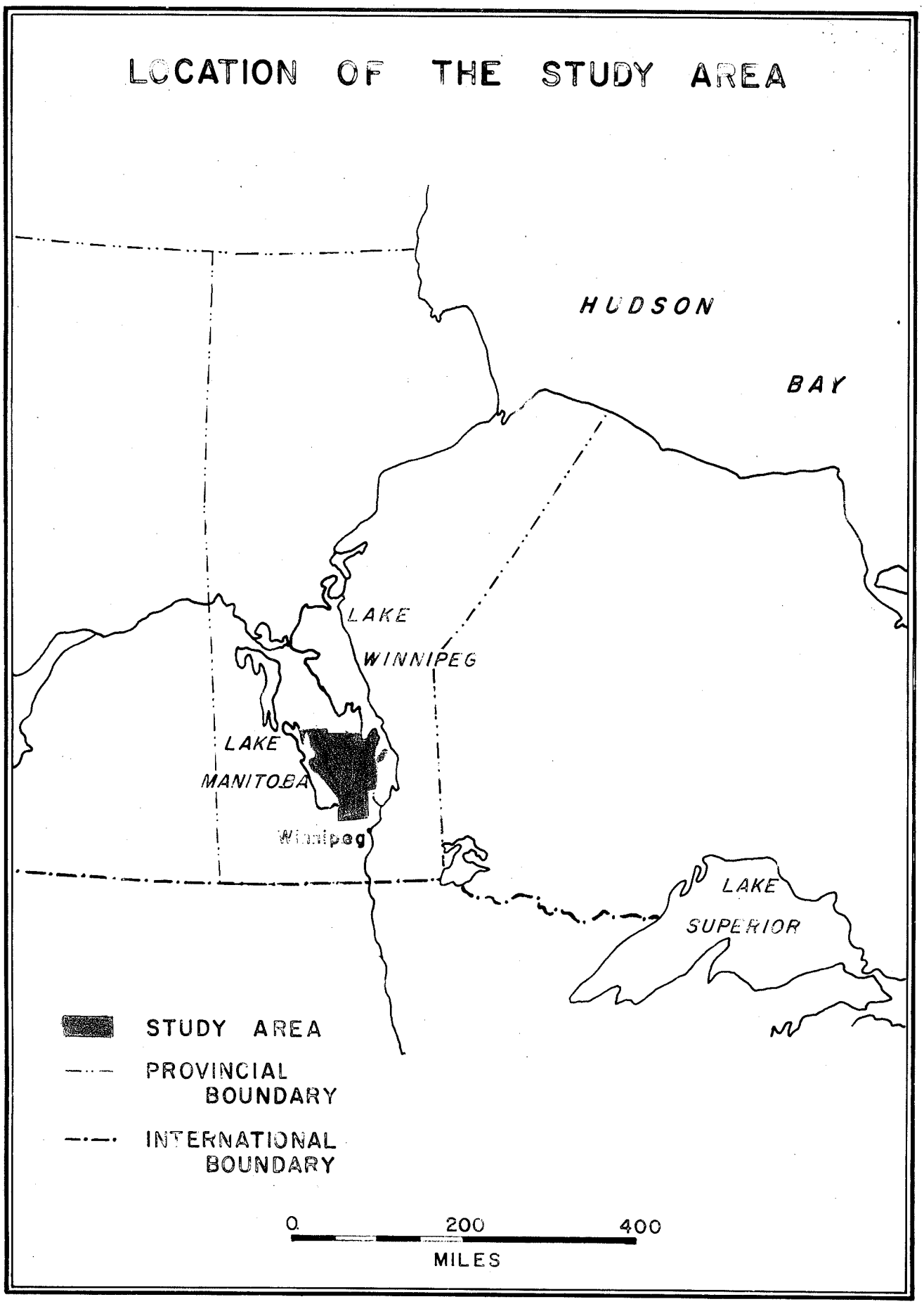
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Interlake area of Manitoba contains a great variety of physical and cultural phenomena of interest to historical geographers. The area was occupied only gradually, with most white settlement taking place between 1872 and 1920. During this period, settlers from almost every country in Europe (and some from elsewhere) entered the Interlake and soon far outnumbered the Métis and Indians already there. Though there was much mixing of ethnic groups, there were also a number of distinct ethnic settlements. Settlement took place in a great variety of natural environments. Soils ranged from deep, fertile, stone-free lacustrine soils to extremely thin, high-lime soils with bedrock less than six inches from the surface. The natural vegetation ranged from prairie grassland through scattered aspen groves to heavy spruce forests interspersed with tamarack and sedge swamps. The presence of lakes and rivers added another element of variety to the physical environment. With such a varied physical and cultural background, it is not surprising that there was also much variety in the type and intensity of economic activities and in the growth of transportation systems and service centers. The Interlake contained many examples of pioneer development that were illustrative of such development in the Canadian West as a whole.

The Interlake is that area lying between Lake Winnipeg and Lake

Manitoba in the province of Manitoba. These lakes are its eastern and western boundaries, but on the north and south its limits are more indefinite. For the purpose of this study, somewhat arbitrary boundaries were adopted (map 2). The northern boundary was drawn to include all the area of contiguous settlement (to 1921) and virtually all the area where scattered settlement took place. No attempt was made to follow the exact limits of settlement, largely because of the areas of non-contiguous settlement, but a convenient line was drawn which had the virtue of simplicity and included all the settled area. The southern boundary follows municipal boundaries so that census data (most of which are given by municipality) could be used. The southern and western boundaries of Woodlands and the southern and eastern boundaries of Rockwood were the only ones that remained constant from the formation of the municipalities until 1921 (the end of the period studied), so these boundaries were used as the southern boundary for this study. The use of any other boundary would have involved including only parts of municipalities, with consequent difficulties in the use of data, or the use of a different southern boundary for each period studied. Moreover, the use of this boundary is to some extent defensible in terms of the common characteristics of the area included. Although Rockwood and Woodlands municipalities at the southern limit of the study area do contain a considerable amount of land that is not typical of the rest of the Interlake, they also contain much land that displays typical Interlake characteristics--limestone rock at or near the surface, stony soils with a high lime content, and ridge and swale topography. A line could have been drawn to follow more exactly the southern limit of these


LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA
HUDSON
BAY
LAKE
WINNIPEG
LAKE
MANITOBA
Winnipeg
LAKE
SUPERIOR
STUDY AREA
PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
0
200
400
MILES

Map 2

characteristics, but as the boundary of each falls in a different place and there are a number of outliers with Interlake characteristics and inliers with a-typical characteristics, any such line would have been only a rough approximation, and data would have been almost impossible to find for any area so delimited.

The following study will attempt to trace the settlement of the Interlake, describe the cultural environment produced, and account for both. Relationships between physical and cultural phenomena and between various cultural phenomena are examined where it is felt such relationships exist. The study is arranged so that phenomena are grouped spatially rather than temporally. That is, the geography of the area as a whole is at ten-year intervals starting in 1871 and ending in 1921. Some effort was made to outline the changes that had occurred in the geography during each ten-year period, but only insofar as these changes manifested themselves in the geography existing at the end of the period. No separate historical section was included. The year 1921 was chosen for the last "geography" because it marked roughly the end of new settlement in the Interlake and because it was a year in which a very complete and useful census was compiled. Ten-year intervals were used because the years 1911, 1901, 1891, and 1881 were census years. A five-year interval was rejected as requiring undue repetition and because no census was taken in either 1876 or 1896. A fifteen-year interval would have masked some important trends and would have required the use of 1916 as a terminal date. In spite of the fact that the last census before 1881 was in 1870, an attempt was made to reconstruct the geography of 1871 instead, partly because the 1870 census was of such limited value

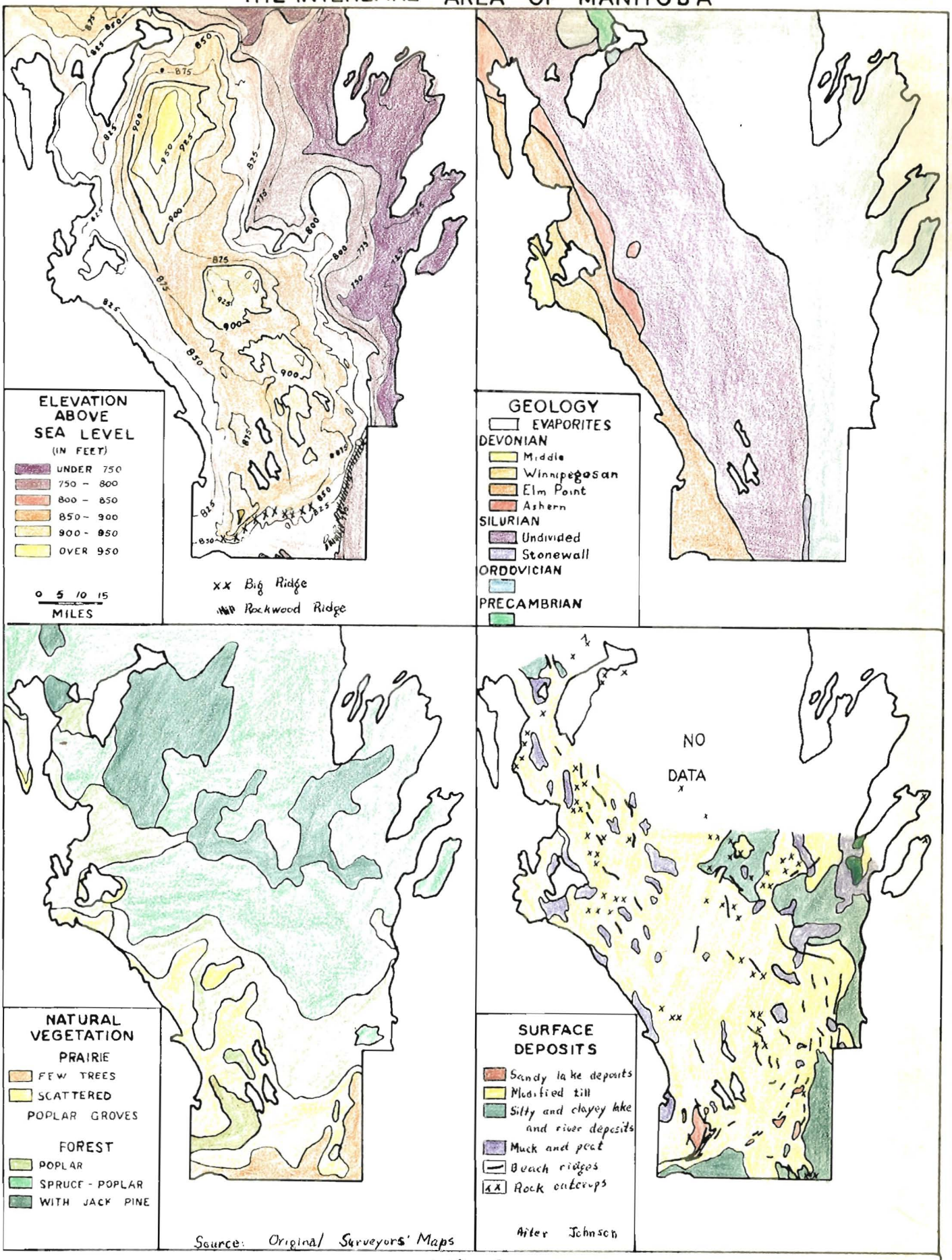
and partly because the use of this date preserved the uniformity of the interval between the reconstructions. In many ways the geography of 1871 was representative of Interlake geography for some decades before, insofar as it was the geography of the area before white settlement had become important. It is hoped that this study will be of value to the historian wishing to follow the pattern of development in the area and to the geographer seeking an understanding of the present-day geographical patterns.

Sources. The greater part of the material and almost all the data used in this study came from published and unpublished government sources. The census volumes provided the greatest single source of data, but much data also came from the tax assessment rolls compiled by the individual municipalities and on file in the municipal offices and from sources such as the Township Registers, the Townsite and Settlement Register, and the maps and field books of the early surveyors--all of which are found in offices of the provincial government. Other invaluable sources were federal publications such as the soils maps (covering most of the area) and the parliamentary sessional papers and provincial publications such as the crop reports and the annual reports put out by the Department of Agriculture. Other primary sources of considerable importance were contemporary Stonewall newspapers. Newspapers and magazines published for the West as a whole occasionally contained articles on the Interlake. Some information was also obtained from interviews with Interlake residents who had been in the area since 1921 or earlier. This interview information, however, was used mostly for

verification of doubtful material obtained from other sources, as the information sought pertained to a time at least forty years before the time of the interviews, and even the most reliable witness is prone to forget details over such a long period of time. Secondary sources were used only sparingly and were double-checked wherever possible. The most valuable of the secondary sources were two theses and a manuscript for a book on the Icelanders. Local histories on Rockwood and Woodlands were also used extensively, though with caution, as in some instances they contain contradictions. Other secondary sources had only limited information on the Interlake in this period.

Physical environment. The Interlake rises from an elevation of 714 feet above sea level (on the shore of Lake Winnipeg) to over 950 feet above sea level immediately south-east of Lake St. Martin (map 3). On its western margin, the Interlake rises from an elevation of 814 feet above sea level at Lake Manitoba toward the main ridge extending the length of the Interlake and sloping off to east and west. For the most part, the land is gently to very gently sloping, though there are steeper slopes in some locations, and on the lake shores the undercutting action of the water has produced a number of vertical cliffs. In the southern Interlake there are two "ridges" where the slopes are sufficiently steep and high for the inhabitants to give the features special names. The "Big Ridge" (as it is called locally and in this thesis) is in the south-western corner of the Interlake. The south slope rises rapidly from less than 825 feet to over 900 feet within a few miles, but on the north the slope is very slight. To the east of this there is a similar ridge known as the central ridge of Rockwood or the Rockwood ridge. It rises

THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA



MAP 3

steeply from under 775 feet (near the eastern boundary of the Interlake) to over 850 feet a few miles farther west. This feature is actually a ridge only at the southern end. A western slope is present only in the southern fifteen or twenty miles; to the north the land continues to rise slightly to the west and merges with the main ridge of the Interlake. As a result, the Rockwood ridge has no real northern terminus, but for the purpose of this study it will be regarded as terminating at the point where it leaves the study area--about thity-five miles north of the southern limit of the study area. There are even more pronounced slopes elsewhere in the Interlake, but none is of sufficient importance to the thesis to merit special mention.

The most important physical boundary in the Interlake lies (for most of its length) somewhere between the 800 and 825 foot contours and follows the lower slopes of the Big Ridge (map 3). It begins in the south-western corner of the Interlake at about the 825 foot level, follows the lower slope of the Big Ridge, cuts across the Rockwood Ridge, and continues north between the 800 and 825 foot contours, circling the Fisher River basin area. In general, this line marks the boundary between the lacustrine clay soils found below 800 feet and the Interlake soils (rendzinas developed on calcareous glacial till) found above the 825 foot contour. Although there are extensive areas of till soils and rock ridges below the 800 foot level, especially in that area for which no complete data are available, this boundary line generally divides the two soil types in the area mapped. The boundary itself is marked in many places by beach ridges, although this is not true for the entire Interlake, and numerous beach ridges also occur above the line.

On the glacial till plain found above the 825 foot contour, the soils series mapped by the Manitoba Soil Survey occur in such intricate patterns that it is quite impossible to show them except on a very large scale map.[1] The topography is mostly level to gently undulating, and much of the land has a distinctive low ridge and swale form with a general north-west to south-east linear pattern. The till plain is very high in lime content, and many of the soils developed on this till are infertile as a result. Almost all the soils are very thin and stony. The main factors affecting the development of different soil series in the till plain are the drainage conditions, proximity of the bedrock to the surface, the nature of the material covering the bedrock (clay, silt, sand, gravel), and the natural vegetation cover. For the purposes of this paper it was not deemed necessary to discuss the soils series in detail.

Below the 800 foot contour the pattern of the soils series is somewhat less intricate, but still too detailed for the scope of this thesis. The area is mostly level glacial plain and lake terrace, with soils ranging in texture from clay to sand. Over much of the area lacustrine sediments are thin and underlain with high lime till; elsewhere poor drainage has considerably limited the value of many of the soils. In soils where lacustrine deposits are deep, stones are rare or absent, but where the deposits are thin, soils are often very stony.

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[1]Pratt, Ehrlich, Leclaire, and Barr, Report of a Detailed Reconnaisance Soil Survey of Fisher and Teulon Map Sheet Areas (Province of Manitoba, Department of Agriculture and Conservation, 1961), the source used in this thesis for information on soils, discusses these soils series at some length and contains detailed maps showing the different series.

However, the lacustrine soils in general are the most fertile and most free of stones of any in the Interlake.

Surface drainage is poorly developed over most of the Interlake. The main rivers--the Icelandic, the Fisher, and the Mantagao (map 4)--drain only a small portion of the total area. Smaller streams drain other parts of the Interlake, but most of them are intermittent. Underground drainage through the limestone bedrock is important in preventing further development of surface drainage on some of the limestone ridges. However, over most of the till plain area, the ridges, lying across the general direction of land fall, tend to dam up the water and prevent runoff from reaching Lake Winnipeg or Lake Manitoba. As a result, the water collects in the swales between the ridges, where swamps and intermittent lakes are formed. The largest of these lakes are the Shoal Lakes and Dog Lake. Almost all lakes are of an indeterminate size and are surrounded by salt flats, marshes, or bogs. Only Lake St. Martin, on the waterway between Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipeg, tends to remain constant in size. Below the beach ridges at the 800 foot level, where the land is generally flat, natural drainage is poor. Some swamps have developed--particularly along the Icelandic River and below the 775 foot contour in the south-eastern part of the Interlake. Though most of the swamps on the lacustrine plain have been drained, those on the till plain cannot readily be drained because of the ridges and the lack of natural channels.

Bedrock in the Interlake (map 3) varies in age from Devonian to Precambrian, but as all the rocks are quite old and (except for the Precambrian) primarily limestone, the age of the rocks has little

importance to the geography of the Interlake. The middle Devonian are mostly limestone with thin beds of shale, the Winnipegosan formation is basically dolomite, and the Elm Point and Ashern formations are primarily limestone. The Silurian rocks of the central Interlake are almost entirely dolomite, and the Ordovician are limestone and dolomite with some shale and sandstone beds. In the north-west corner of the Interlake, the Precambrian rocks are of a granitic type, and the evaporites are almost all gypsum.

The proximity of the rocks to the surface was of more importance to the development of the Interlake than was the age of the rocks. Outcrops of rock are most numerous near the upper and lower limits of the Silurian strata, but there are many other outcrops as well. All rock outcrops in the Interlake are not shown on map 3, partly because many of the outcrops are very small, and partly because of incomplete data. Those shown are generally the more important ones. In addition to actual outcrops of rock, there are many places where bedrock is within 18 inches of the surface, rendering the land almost valueless for farming.

The natural vegetation of the Interlake is of two types--grassland and forest (map 3). The area of prairie grass in the southern Interlake was located in an area where the annual prairie fires kept the land free of trees and shrubs except in low-lying areas near open water where willows were to be found. Fertile soils supported a luxurious growth of grass--mostly prairie and meadow grass, but in the low areas coarse swamp grass--whereas the high-lime soils supported a much sparser grass cover. The area of open prairie gradually merged northward into an area where most of the land was covered with poplar and other trees

and shrubs. In the transition zone--which covered a large area--a zone of grassland with scattered groves of trees gradually changed first to an area of forest with scattered grassy openings and then to poplar forest where the only open spaces were to be found in swampy areas. In the transition zone between Shoal Lake and Lake Manitoba, oak trees were common, and swamps were generally bordered by willows. In the forest area, swamps were usually bordered by willow in association with black poplar, and tamarack swamps became increasingly common toward the north. Most of the trees in the Interlake were stunted because of the high lime content of the soil, and large trees were common only in swampy areas and in the eastern Interlake on the lacustrine soils. Lack of water also stunted the growth of trees on many of the ridges. In the poplar forest (for example, just north-east of Shoal Lake), hazel and similar shrubs were more common than poplars. On the northern edge of the poplar forest a few spruce were to be found, but only gradually did spruce replace poplar as one went north, and in many localities north of the poplar belt proper, there were few spruce to be found. The greatest spruce forests were in the northern and central-eastern Interlake, and there too were the greatest acreages of tamarack swamps. In the northern Interlake, jack pine were common on the dry stone and gravel ridges, but these trees were seldom found in the swales between the ridges, and in such areas spruce, jack pine, poplar, and sometimes tamarack were found close together. Forest in which jack pine was found is not to be considered a separate forest type, but is a modification of the poplar and spruce forest found throughout more than half of the Interlake. Throughout the forest belt, as in the grassland

belt, there were low-lying swamp areas in which grasses and sedges predominated. There was no large part of the Interlake in which such swamps did not exist--a reflection of the poor drainage common to the whole area.[2]

Though there are exceptionally good areas throughout the Interlake in which, even from earliest settlement, the natural environment has appeared to welcome settlement, the Interlake as a whole may be regarded as a region in which the natural environment discouraged settlement and made it difficult for man to engage in profitable farming enterprises.

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[2]The map and text on natural vegetation are based on Pratt, Ehrlich, et al. (See footnote no. 1 above) and on the maps of the first surveyors of each township (on file at the Surveys Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba).

CHAPTER II

1871

Prior to 1871 the Interlake area was known only to the Indian, the fur trader, the Métis, and the occasional traveller or missionary. On and near Lake Manitoba the Hudson Bay Company had built two trading posts, two missions had been established, and several groups of sedentary and semi-migratory Indians and Métis had settled. In the south, refugees from the Red River settlement had fled to Stony Mountain and other high land nearby during the 1821 and 1861 floods,[1] but apparently no settlement was made there until 1870 or 1871. The remainder of the Interlake, except along the shore of Lake Winnipeg and a few rivers, was little known except to the migratory Indians who hunted there. As a whole, the area had been little altered by man.

I. SETTLEMENT AND POPULATION

Though the Interlake as a whole may be regarded as having been almost uninhabited, there were three bands of Indians near Lake Manitoba, two groups of Métis near the southern end of the lake, and a small, scattered group of settlers of British origin near the southern limits of the study area.

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[1]E.E.R. Mills, The Story of Stony Mountain and District (Winnipeg: De Montfort, 1960), pp. 9 & 11 and R.B. Quickfall, Rockwood Echoes (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1960), pp. 63-65.

Indians. The Indians had been familiar with the Interlake for decades and perhaps for centuries. It is not known when they first moved into the area nor when they began to build permanent homes there, but by 1871 they were more or less permanent, year-round residents. At Lake St. Martin a Protestant mission had been established in 1851[2]--followed in five years by a Hudson Bay Company post.[3] These influenced the local Indians to spend most or all of the year in the area. No such influence was operative among the Indians around Dog Lake, and prior to 1871 they remained semi-migratory. In 1871 a treaty was signed with the Indians of the Interlake and surrounding areas, and three bands were assigned tracts within the Interlake. Although the exact limits of the reserves had not been surveyed, two bands had chosen land near Lake St. Martin and one south of Dog Lake on Lake Manitoba (map 4). The choice of the sites for the reserves was made by the Indians themselves and seems to have been based on the traditional use of these areas. The presence of water for fishing and transportation, familiarity with the area for hunting, and the presence, at Fairford, of the mission and trading post were probably the major considerations. No attention seems to have been paid to the nature of the soils or similar physical features. According to the Indian agent for the area, there were 92 Indians in the Fairford

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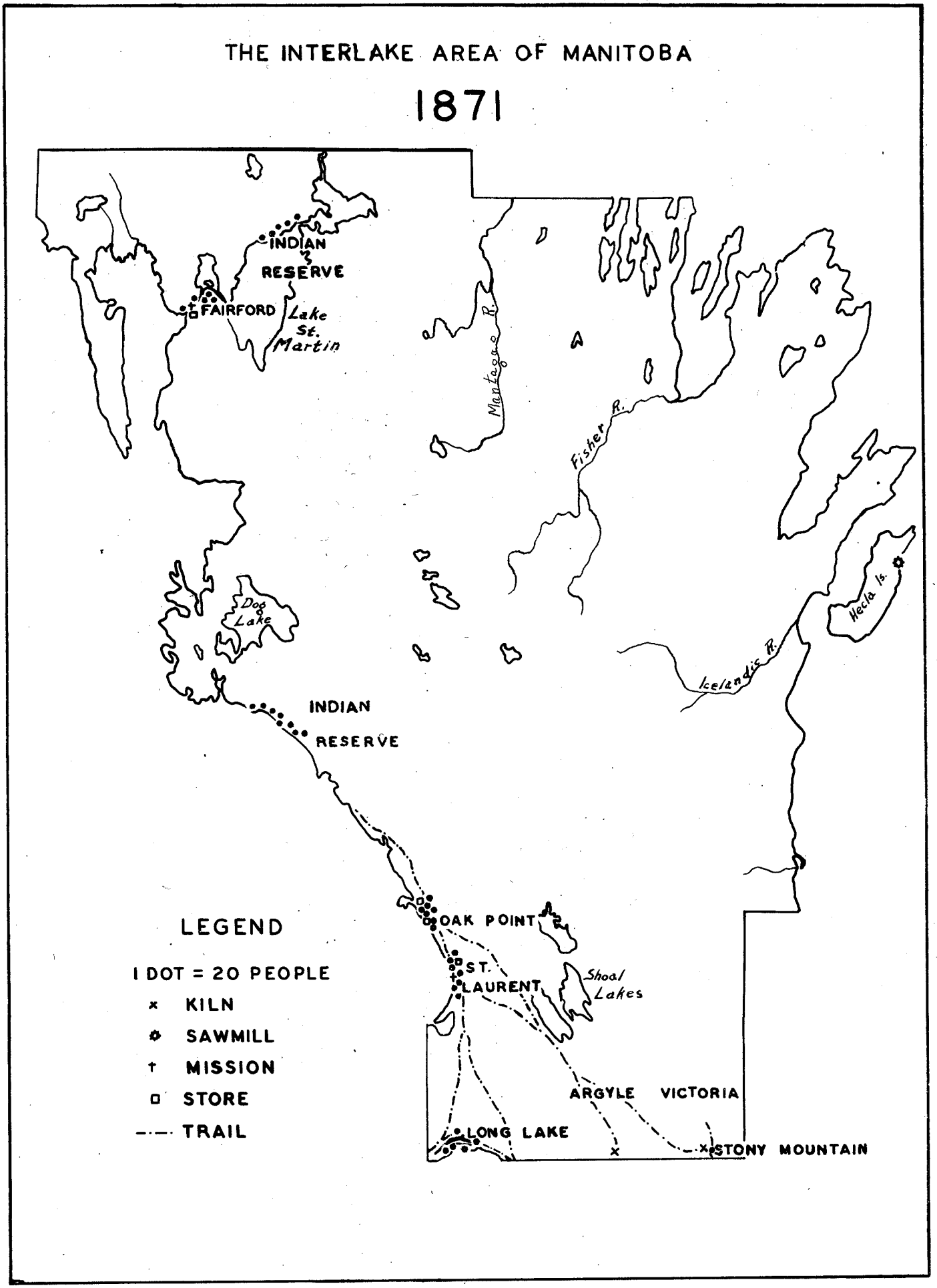
[2]Place Names of Manitoba (Ottawa: Geographical Board of Canada, 1933), p. 32; and Canada, Legislative Council, Sessional Papers: Vol. XVII: 1859. Henry Youle Hind in his "Reports on Progress" in this sessional paper states in chapter 9 that "the post has been recently established", but he gives no date. In the same paper J.S. Dawson in his "Reports on Explorations" said it was founded "about six years ago", i.e., in 1852.

[3]Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies, compiled by Ernest Voorhis (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1930), p. 66.


THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
1871
INDIAN RESERVE
FAIRFORD
Lake St. Martin
Montagne R.
Fisher R.
Dog Lake
Hecla Is.
Icelandic R.
INDIAN RESERVE
OAK POINT
ST. LAURENT
Shoal Lakes
ARGYLE
VICTORIA
LONG LAKE
STONY MOUNTAIN
LEGEND
1 DOT = 20 PEOPLE
KILN
SAWMILL
MISSION
STORE
TRAIL

Map 4

band, 81 in the Lake St. Martin band, and 154 in the Lake Manitoba band (at Dog Lake).[4] Most of the Indians lived in crowded camps along the lake shores or along the Fairford River. Their homes were mostly crude huts or tents (the latter used especially during the summer when travelling), though better log houses were to be found near the fort and the mission.[5] Probably the most primitive dwellings were to be found among the Indians of Dog Lake where the influence of white men was largely absent.

Métis. It is not known exactly when the Metis took up permanent residence in the Interlake. W.J. Russell asserts that part of the group of Métis who removed from Pembina in 1823 (the boundary changes of 1818 had made that area part of the United States) were the first Métis settlers of the St. Laurent area.[6] W.L. Morton adds that when the Métis first began coming to the area they spent only part of the year at this site--the rest of the year being spent elsewhere either hunting buffalo or otherwise employed.[7] At any rate, when Simpson visited the area about 1840, he found 11 families living just south of the present site

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[4]Canada, Parliament, "Annual Report on Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1873, Paper No. 23, p. 63.

[5]Canada, Legislative Council, Sessional Papers: Vol. XVII: 1859, "Report on Explorations" by J.S. Dawson.

[6]William John Russell, Geography or Roads West of Lake Winnipeg: Interlake Area (Master's thesis, McGill University, 1951), p. 99.

[7]W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (University of Toronto Press, 1957), pp. 60-93.

of St. Laurent,[8] but does not mention any other people in the area. In 1858, J.S. Dawson, who seems to have visited only Oak Point, found there "about a dozen houses" which he considered to be in a very poor condition.[9] The first writer to mention more than one settlement was Donald Gunn, who wrote in 1876:

> In this region there are at present three small villages: one at Oak Point, containing from 10 to 15 dwellings, called houses, of the most primitive kind; another at what is called the Bay (St. Laurent), consisting of seven or eight houses, and favoured as the residence of a Catholic priest. A third village is rising two or three miles to the south of the latter. The population of these villages is composed of Indians, of half, three-quarter, and of seven-eigth Indians, with a few very aged French Canadians.[10]

This exerpt seems to suggest that the Metis had become very sedentary (an impression strengthened by the rest of his report), a condition probably brought about to some extent by the presence of the Hudson Bay Company fort at Oak Point (perhaps dating from the 1820's) and the mission at St. Laurent (established in 1858).[11]

In 1870 the census reported 142 people at Oak Point and 166 at what was called Lake Manitoba. The latter appears to have included St.

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[8]Thomas Simpson, esq., Narrative of the Discoveries in the North-West of America (London: Richard Bentley, 1843), p. 28.

[9]J.S. Dawson (see footnote no. 5, above).

[10]Donald Gunn, "Notes of an Egging Expedition to Shoal Lake, West of Lake Winnipeg", Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year 1867 (Washington: Government, 1872),

[11]Marcel Giraud, Le Metis Canadien: Son Role dans L'Histoire des Provinces de l'Ouest (Paris: Institut d'Ethnology, 1945), p. 1077.

Laurent and the small settlement to the south of it.[12] The census does not show racial origins, so it is impossible to determine how many of these might have been missionaries or traders, but probably most were Métis. The 1871 population for all three areas was doubtless in excess of 300.

Though there were three nodes of settlement, each settlement was linear along the main trail through the settlements (map 5). This trail followed a slight rise at some distance from the lake--apparently an old shore line--which separated the meadow land of the lake flat from the higher wooded land of the interior. Located thus, the Métis were close to the meadows for hay and to the lake for fishing. The raised position and the slope to the lake provided drainage and all-weather roads, and the trees along the ridge provided shelter. The choice of these locations seems to have been connected with the presence of good fishing grounds nearby and the location on trails leading toward Fort Garry. These factors were connected with the location of the mission and trading post, but the causal relationship is not clear. Apparently a system of land ownership had evolved, for the surveyor in 1872 found fences delimiting some of the holdings.[13]

British settlers. Though there were British (and French) in the Interlake in connection with the missions and the fur trade almost from

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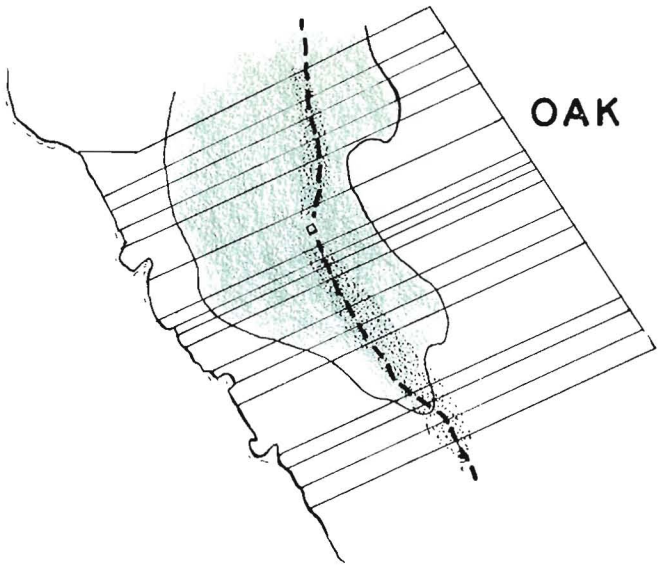
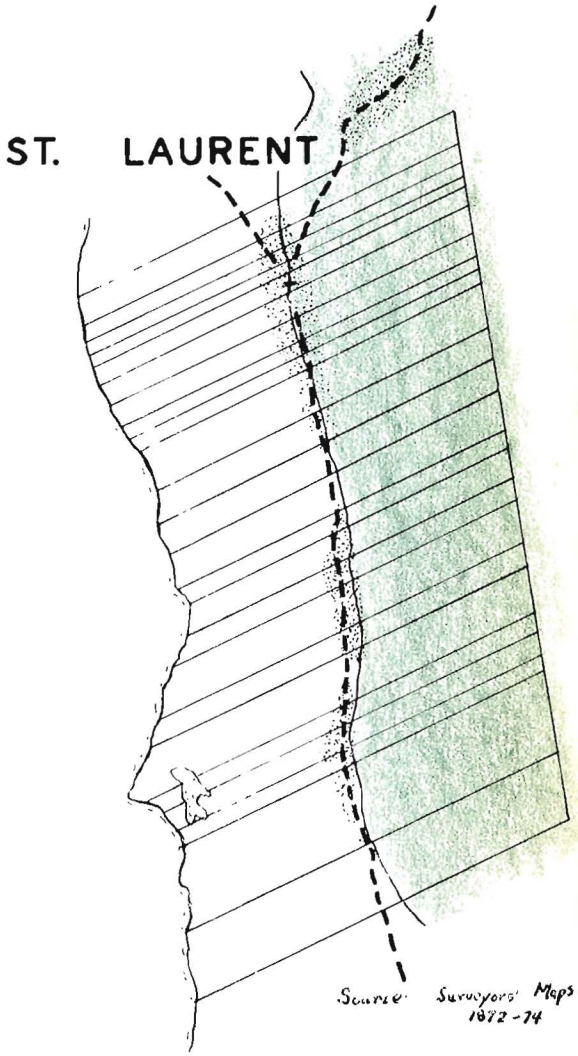
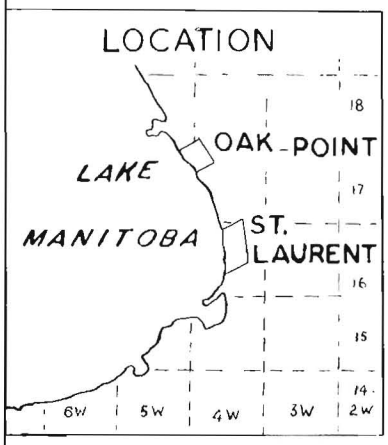
[12]Canada, Department of Agriculture, Census of Canada, Vol. 4, "Censuses of Canada: 1665 to 1871" (Ottawa: 1876), pp. 380-387.

[13]Field Book No. 257 (Original of the surveyors' field notes (on file at the Surveys Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba).

OAK POINT AND ST. LAURENT







LEGEND

- TRAILS
- GRASSLAND
- FOREST
- AREA WITH HOUSES
- CHURCH
- HUDSON BAY CO. POST

0 1 2
MILES

MAP 5

the beginning of the fur trade, actual settlement apparently did not begin until about 1870. In 1871 there were settlers to be found in three parts of the southern Interlake.

By 1870 there were 92 people at Long Lake, in the extreme south-western corner of the study area (map 4). They may not all have been of British origin, but the only three born outside North America were from the British Isles,[14] and it is assumed that a considerable number were of similar origin. No information is available concerning when they entered the area, but conditions were similar to those along the Assiniboine River a few miles to the south, and this may well have been an early overflow from there. The exact number within the study area cannot be ascertained, as only part of Long Lake was in the area, but that there were some is shown by the presence there in 1873 of eleven families.[15]

About 12 or 15 miles east of this there was another settler. Proctor states that there was a "stopping place" here on the road to Oak Point during the 1860's,[16] but the census shows no one there in 1870. However, in 1871 a man named Boyd received a military grant in the area,[17]

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[14] Census (see footnote no. 12, above), p. 386.

[15] Surveyors' maps (on file at the Surveys Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba).

[16] Madeline L. Proctor, Woodlands Echoes (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1960), p. 16.

[17] Military grants were given in 1871, and the Township Registers (on file at the Lands Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba) show Boyd's land as a military grant.

and appears to have settled there. By June, 1872, when the surveyors came, he had several buildings and some land under cultivation[18]--enough to suggest that he had begun in 1871.

Settlers were more numerous around Stony Mountain. According to Mills, the first settler registered his claim with the Hudson Bay Company in 1861, but Indians prevented him from occupying it until 1870.[19] In 1870 the census lists one person for what might be this area (called "Big Ridge" in the census),[20] possibly the settler referred to by Mills. However, Mills states that three settlers arrived on Stony Mountain in 1870 and five more in the surrounding area in 1871.[21] The surveyors in January, 1872, referred to "settlers" living there, but did not give any figures.[22] However, the 1873 surveyors recorded 23 settlers in the area,[23] so Mills' figure of eight settlers for 1871 seems quite reasonable.

Mills and Quickfall claim that settlers had also arrived in Victoria and Argyle districts by 1871,[24] but the surveyors' maps show no settlers in the former district in 1872 and 1873, and the two shown in Argyle

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[18] Field Book No. 185 (see footnote no. 13 above).

[19] E.R.R. Mills (see footnote no. 1 above), p. 13.

[20] Census (see footnote no. 12 above), p. 380.

[21] E.R.R. Mills (see footnote no. 1 above), pp. 13-15, 23, 33.

[22] Field Book No. 105 (see footnote no. 13 above).

[23] Surveyors' maps (see footnote no. 15 above).

[24] E.R.R. Mills (see footnote no. 1 above), p. 114; R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 1 above), p. 96.

took up their land during 1872. It seems highly unlikely that any were in fact present in 1871.

The pattern of these "settlements" was dispersed. The surveyors' maps show the settlers at Long Lake and at Stony Mountain at some distance from one another, though those at the former location were mostly found near the lake shore, and those at Stony Mountain were mostly on the top or the slopes of the "mountain" where there were trees and grassland nearby. The homes were probably nothing more than log shacks of a most rudimentary nature, as the settlers had not been in the area long enough to begin work on more substantial structures.

Outside the area occupied by the British, the Métis, and the Indians, the Interlake may be considered as having been an uninhabited wilderness. A few Indian and Métis hunters did make trips into the interior, and probably a few whites spent a large part of the year in some parts along Lake Winnipeg, but no permanent settlement was begun other than those discussed.

II. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

The transportation system of the Interlake was poorly developed in 1871. Methods were still very primitive, and motive power came largely from human muscle, though horses and oxen were also important.

Water transportation, for decades the main transportation method of the fur trade in summer, was of the greatest importance to the Indians and Métis of the area. The main routes followed Lake Manitoba (usually starting from Oak Point or St. Laurent and following the eastern shore as far as the "Narrows", then following either the eastern or the western

shore to the north), Lake Winnipeg, or the connecting route via Lake St. Martin and the Fairford River. Canoes and York boats brought furs from other areas and took back trade goods. The Indians and Métis also used the canoe to a great extent for their own transportation, as they generally lived near water and depended on fishing to a considerable extent for their food supply. Though this form of transportation was possible only in a small part of the Interlake, it was very important to the majority of the people.

The Indians and Métis also depended to a considerable extent on horses and oxen. The buffalo hunt, carried on on the plains to the south and west, required the use of horses. Though this hunt was becoming ever less important to the people of the Interlake as the buffalo were being driven farther west, the horses were still to be found in the settlements where they were still important for travel. Oxen were probably used only for drawing carts, especially for hauling salt and goods used in the fur trade. The salt was brought to Oak Point by York boat from the west side of Lake Winnipegosis, and from Oak Point a train of about twenty Red River carts followed the roads south to Portage la Prairie, or directly to Fort Garry.[25]

The few British settlers who were just settling in the Interlake depended on horses and oxen to till their fields, so doubtless the same animals also provided transportation. However, as these settlers were still few in number, they were of little importance in the overall pattern.

More important than the local traffic was the traffic passing

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[25]Manitoba Pageant, January, 1963, p. 17.

through the Interlake. The main trail from Fort Garry to Portage la Prairie and the country to the west swung north around Long Lake to avoid the low, swampy land between that lake and the Assiniboine River. Most of the settlers going west and some of the fur traders used this trail, and their Red River carts were a common sight. The second-most important route to Saskatchewan was the one used by the salt brigades. Trails led from Fort Garry and other points in the Red River settlement to Oak Point and St. Laurent. From there the route went north along Lake Manitoba, via Lake Winnipegosis to the Saskatchewan River. Though this was mainly a winter trail, at which time of year the frozen surfaces of lakes and rivers made excellent highways, it was also used in the summer for York boats and canoes.

On the whole, Interlake transportation in 1871 still followed the pattern set by the fur trade some decades earlier. Most of the Interlake was avoided altogether, and elsewhere through trails were most important.

III. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The activities of the area reflected the cultural background of the inhabitants and, to a lesser extent, the resource base of the area. Agriculture was most important in the south (though limited even there); hunting and fishing were the main activities along Lake Manitoba.

The settlers at Long Lake and Stony Mountain were mostly from Ontario and the Red River settlement and brought with them a tradition of farming. Immediately on taking up land, they began breaking the soil for fields to be sown to grain. However, as most of them had arrived very recently, it is unlikely that much land was planted in 1871, and

what was, may well have been used for potatoes and vegetables. These people were the first farmers in the Interlake who had come specifically to grow grain, but they were only the advance guard of a much larger group that was soon to follow.

Boyd's holding (see p. 21) was referred to on the surveyors' maps as a ranch, but there is no indication of the number of cattle he had. The abundant prairie grass made excellent feed, but the market at Fort Garry was very limited as cattle were raised throughout the "settlement belt" along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers for sale at the fort.

In this same area lime quarrying was carried on to some extent. The limestone in many places was very near the surface and was found in very thin, easily fractured sheets that made mining easy. The demand for lime for building in Fort Garry and the settlement belt encouraged a number of individuals to begin lime-burning operations. One kiln was in operation in June, 1872, near Boyd's "ranch" (map 4),[26] so it had probably begun operations during 1871. The surveyors in January, 1873, found "several good quarries" and "three or four lime burners" around Stony Mountain, adding that there was also some building stone being shipped to Winnipeg, 14 miles away.[27] There is no positive proof that these were operating in 1871, but Mills states that lime burning began there in 1870,[28] so it is probable that some were in operation in 1871.

The Indians and Métis had not varied their activities a great

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[26]Surveyors' maps (see footnote no. 15 above).

[27]Field Book No. 101 (see footnote no. 13 above).

[28]E.R.R. Mills (see footnote no. 1 above), p. 23.

deal for decades, preferring a life of hunting and fishing to one of farming. Fishing was the main activity of both groups, though hunting and trapping of fur-bearing animals was more important as a source of revenue. Some Métis earned money transporting salt from Lake Winnipegosis,[29] and both Indians and Métis frequently found full or part-time employment with the Hudson Bay Company. At Fairford, in 1858, Dawson found that "the people are rather industrious, and raise wheat, Indian corn, and a variety of articles",[30] and Hind reported, "The farm is in capital order."[31] This Indian farming operation was carried on primarily because of the influence of the missionaries and was unique in the Interlake. More typical of the Indian and Métis attitude to farming was that described by Gunn:

> These people are like the fowl of heaven; they neither sow nor reap, nor do they even as far as I have been able to see, plant potatoes. They possess a few cattle and horses; the latter roam through the wood summer and winter, living independent of their masters' care. The finest of hay grows within a few yards of their houses, yet I have been informed that many of these people are so indolent as to allow their animals to die in winter from starvation. There are two or three exdeptions to the above rule.[32]

In the same passage Gunn describes how these people (actually he is referring only to the Métis of Oak Point and St. Laurent) managed to subsist throughout the year. In the early spring they would catch the fish which at that time of year swarmed into the many little creeks

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[29]Marcel Giraud (see footnote no. 11 above), p. 1077.

[30]Canada, Legislative Council, Sessional Paper: Vol. XVII: 1859, J.S. Dawson, "Report on Explorations".

[31]Ibid., H.Y. Hind, "Reports on Progress", chapter XI.

[32]Donald Gunn (see footnote no. 10 above), p. 431.

flowing into the lake from the east. By May these easily-caught fish would have returned to the lake, and the Indians would shoot ducks and geese (just returning from the migration to the south) until these birds left the area in May. Thereafter, the main food would be muskrats and birds' eggs until July. Then they would find subsistence very difficult, "unless possessed of a means to enable them to draw on the settlement (to the south) for flour."[33] In October the whitefish came near the shore for spawning, "and those who command a little industry and plenty of nets will be able to lay in a good stock for winter use."[34] Gunn also mentions the importance of the fur trade (particularly in muskrat hides) as a source of money to get goods from the Hudson Bay trading posts.

William Wagner, who surveyed the area in 1872, found the inhabitants of Oak Point to be "mostly either traders (fur, etc.) or their followers or fishermen", though some also raised a few potatoes and vegetables.[35] At St. Laurent he found hunters and fishermen, and the only form of agriculture was potato raising.[36] These reports all serve to accent the fact that the Métis and Indians lived at a subsistence level.

At the northern end of the trail leading through Oak Point, "a very short kind of buffalo grass", found in abundance in the many open

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[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Field Book No. 257 (see footnote no. 13 above).

[36] Field Book No. 258 (see footnote no. 13 above).

prairies, made excellent cattle feed. Here the Hudson Bay Company had some "cattle feeding stations"[37] which may have been there for some years. The cattle supplied beef and dairy products to the Hudson Bay trading post at Oak Point and perhaps to the fur brigades which brought furs from farther west.

Although the entire northern part of the Interlake was clothed in forest, only one sawmill was in operation. In 1870 a Winnipeg group set up a mill on Hecla Island (map 4)[38] where the forest was most readily accessible and where boats could take the lumber down Lake Winnipeg to markets on the Red River. Distance from Fort Garry, the limited size of the markets and probably a shortage of labour were factors limiting the amount of production (no figures are available).

Thus, by 1871 new activities were being added to the subsistence activities which had been carried on for decades by the Indians and Métis. These new activities were still of minor significance, but they were soon to become the dominant activities of the Interlake as a whole.

IV. SERVICE CENTERS

There were no towns in the Interlake, and the only services were those found near Lake Manitoba. The most important services were the missions at St. Laurent and Fairford and the Hudson Bay posts at Fairford and Oak Point (map 4). These services made these points central places

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[37] Field Book No. 467 (see footnote no. 18 above).

[38] Province of Manitoba, Report of the Minister of Agriculture and Statistics for the Province of Manitoba for 1883 (Winnipeg: 1884), p. 168.

in that they became population centers and nodal points for transportation routes, and it would not be incorrect to refer to Oak Point, Fairford, and St. Laurent as service centers, even though their hinterlands were practically nil. At Oak Point, in addition to the Hudson Bay post, there were two smaller stores and a saloon, and at St. Laurent there was a small store.[39]

The settlers of British origin living in the southern Interlake were served by centers located in the settlement belt south and east of the study area, particularly by Fort Garry. The Indians and Métis also depended on Fort Garry to some extent, but much of their trade was carried on indirectly--i.e., the local stores brought in goods from Fort Garry to be sold to the local population. The whole Interlake was within Fort Garry's hinterland, either directly or indirectly.

V. SUMMARY

In 1871 most of the Interlake remained unoccupied and unexploited. In the settled portions there were two cultural groups--the settlers of British origin in the south and the Indians and Métis along Lake Manitoba. The former were much less numerous but were engaged in much more advanced activities--mixed farming, cattle-raising, quarrying and lime burning, and lumbering. The Indians and Métis clung to a subsistence way of life, depending on hunting, fishing, and gathering activities for a livelihood, and earning money to buy necessary supplies by selling furs or working for the Hudson Bay Company. Transportation was primitive throughout the entire area (as it was throughout all of Manitoba, with

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[39] Field Book No. 257; Field Book No. 258 (see footnote no. 18 above).

the exception of the steamboats on the Red River), and service centers were very poorly developed. Changes were just beginning to take place in the south, and more such changes could be expected in the future.

CHAPTER III

1881

In the decade following 1871, part of the Interlake underwent a great change. Surveys were carried out over a considerable area, the first railways entered the southern margins of the Interlake, settlement extended over much of the southern twenty or thirty miles of the area and along Lake Winnipeg, the first town was begun, a municipal form of government was set up, and agriculture became the most important economic activity. Much of the Interlake was unaffected by these changes, and what was a real revolution in a part of the Interlake did not even affect all of the settled areas.

I. POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT

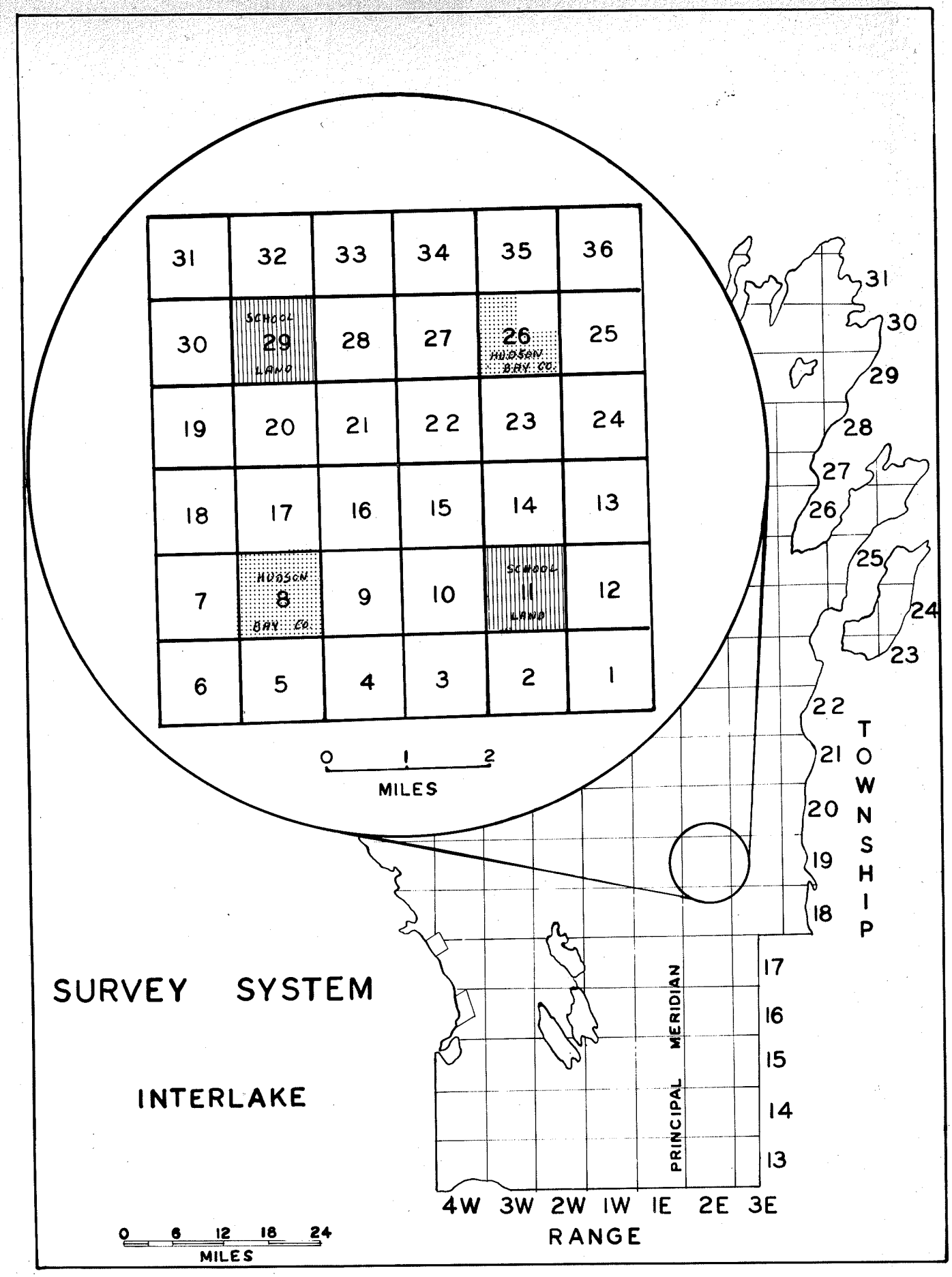
The population in 1881 may be divided into five groups. The most numerous were those of predominantly British origin in Rockwood and Woodlands (map 7). Along Lake Winnipeg was a small, scattered Icelandic settlement. The Métis of Oak Point and St. Laurent were still in the same area as in 1871. North of Oak Point was a mixed settlement--mostly made up of half-breeds and settlers of British origin. Farther north the three Indian bands had been given reserves, and two more Indian bands had moved into the area.

The Ontario element in the population of Manitoba as a whole had increased to the extent that they far outnumbered the French and Métis.

These Ontario settlers had been responsible for initiating a municipal or local form of government based on the Ontario model. In the Interlake these municipalities were Rockwood, Woodlands, and St. Laurent (map 7).

The coming of settlers to Manitoba made necessary the adoption of a survey system. After some hesitation, a system very similar to that in use in the United States was adopted. Most of southern Manitoba was divided into townships of 36 square miles each. These townships were numbered north from township one, at the International boundary. The townships were also grouped in ranges numbered east and west of the principal meridian. In reference to this township grid in this thesis, the location "Tp. 15-4W" should be read as township 15, range four, west of the principal meridian; "Tp. 18-2E" as township eighteen, range two, east of the principal meridian (map 6).

These townships were subdivided into sections of one square mile (640 acres) each, and these sections were in turn divided into square quarter-sections of 160 acres. The sections were numbered from 1 to 36, starting from the south-east corner of the township (map 6); the quarters are referred to according to compass direction from the center of the section (e.g., NE, NW, etc.). Sections 11 and 29 in each township were reserved for the province as school lands, and section 8 and three-quarters of section 26 were reserved for the Hudson Bay Company (map 6). Scrip of 240 acres was given to each half-breed in the province, and military grants of 160 acres or more were given to members of the Wolseley expedition. (The extent of such allocation of lands in the Interlake is shown on map 1) Originally, all remaining lands were open for homesteading or for sale, but sometime before 1881 this regulation was


31 32 33 34 35 36
30 SCHOOL 29 LAND 28 27 26 HUDSON BAY CO. 25
19 20 21 22 23 24
18 17 16 15 14 13
7 HUDSON 8 BAY CO. 9 10 SCHOOL 11 LAND 12
6 5 4 3 2 1
0 1 2
MILES
31
30
29
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20
19
18
TOWNSHIP
17
16
15
14
13
PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN
4W 3W 2W 1W 1E 2E 3E
RANGE
SURVEY SYSTEM
INTERLAKE
0 6 12 18 24
MILES

MAP 6

changed. Thereafter, only odd-numbered sections were open for homesteading; even-numbered sections were reserved for the railway. The southern Interlake was mostly surveyed by 1874, although a small amount of surveying was done later, mostly along the shore of Lake Winnipeg. By 1881 all of Rockwood, Woodlands, and St. Laurent municipalities had been surveyed, and some of the land along the shores of Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipeg had also been surveyed.[1]

Throughout the Interlake, none of the School Lands and almost none of the Hudson Bay lands had been sold by 1881, and most of the land given as military grants and half-breed scrip was in the hands of speculators.[2] These lands were being sold at very high prices brought on by a "boom" of speculation that was affecting the whole province. Few settlers would buy such land when free homestead land was to be had at only a slightly greater distance from the railway, and some settlers even took advantage of the high land prices to sell their homesteads and move farther west. As a result, most of the land alienated under special grants remained empty in 1881.

Rockwood and Woodlands. The settlers in these two municipalities were mostly from Ontario and mostly of British origin (tables 1 and 2).

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[1]T.M. Daly, A Description of the Province of Manitoba (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1893) gives the exact extent and date of surveys.

[2]The first proof of this is to be found in the Municipal Tax Assessment Rolls for 1883 (on file in the local municipal offices), but most sources agree it generally changed hands well before that.

In Rockwood there were 1,575 people, mostly located along the sides of the limestone ridge running down the center of the municipality[3] (map 6). Unfortunately, exact figures are not available for Woodlands. The 1881 census shows a population of 1,253, but as no figures are given for St. Laurent, "Woodlands" must include both these municipalities. This is not surprising in view of the fact that St. Laurent was made a municipality during 1881, perhaps even after the census was taken. Proof that the census "Woodlands" includes both municipalities lies in comparing the census figures with 1882 population figures for Woodlands and St. Laurent. In 1882 there were 371 people in St. Laurent,[4] just slightly more than the number of "French" listed for Woodlands in 1881 (table 1), but there were very few French in the municipality of Woodlands, and a great many at St. Laurent. Further, the population of the municipality of Woodlands was only 570 in 1882, so it is unlikely that more than 600 were there in 1881, particularly as this was generally a period when populations were increasing. (It will be noted that the total for Woodlands and St. Laurent municipalities does not exceed 1,000. It is postulated that the other 250 or 300 lived north of Oak Point.) The population of Woodlands was rather more dispersed than the population of Rockwood.

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[3]Source for population totals: Canada, Department of Agriculture, Census of Canada: 1880-81, Vol. 1. Unless otherwise stated, this is the source for all population figures used in this chapter. The distribution of the population as shown (map 6) is based on the location of homesteads to 1881 (map 1), and the location of the population in 1883 as shown in the municipal Tax Assessment Rolls for that year. (These rolls are on file in the various municipal offices.)

[4]Province of Manitoba, Report of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics for the Province of Manitoba for 1882 (Winnipeg), p. 62.

TABLE 1

ORIGINS OF THE POPULATION: 1881*

	Rockwood	Woodlands**
British	1,520	796
French	4	387
German	29	59
Other or not given	12	4
Total	1,575	1,253

*Source: Canada, Department of Agriculture, Census of Canada: 1880-81, Vol. 1.

**Includes more than just the municipality (see p. 36 above).

TABLE 2

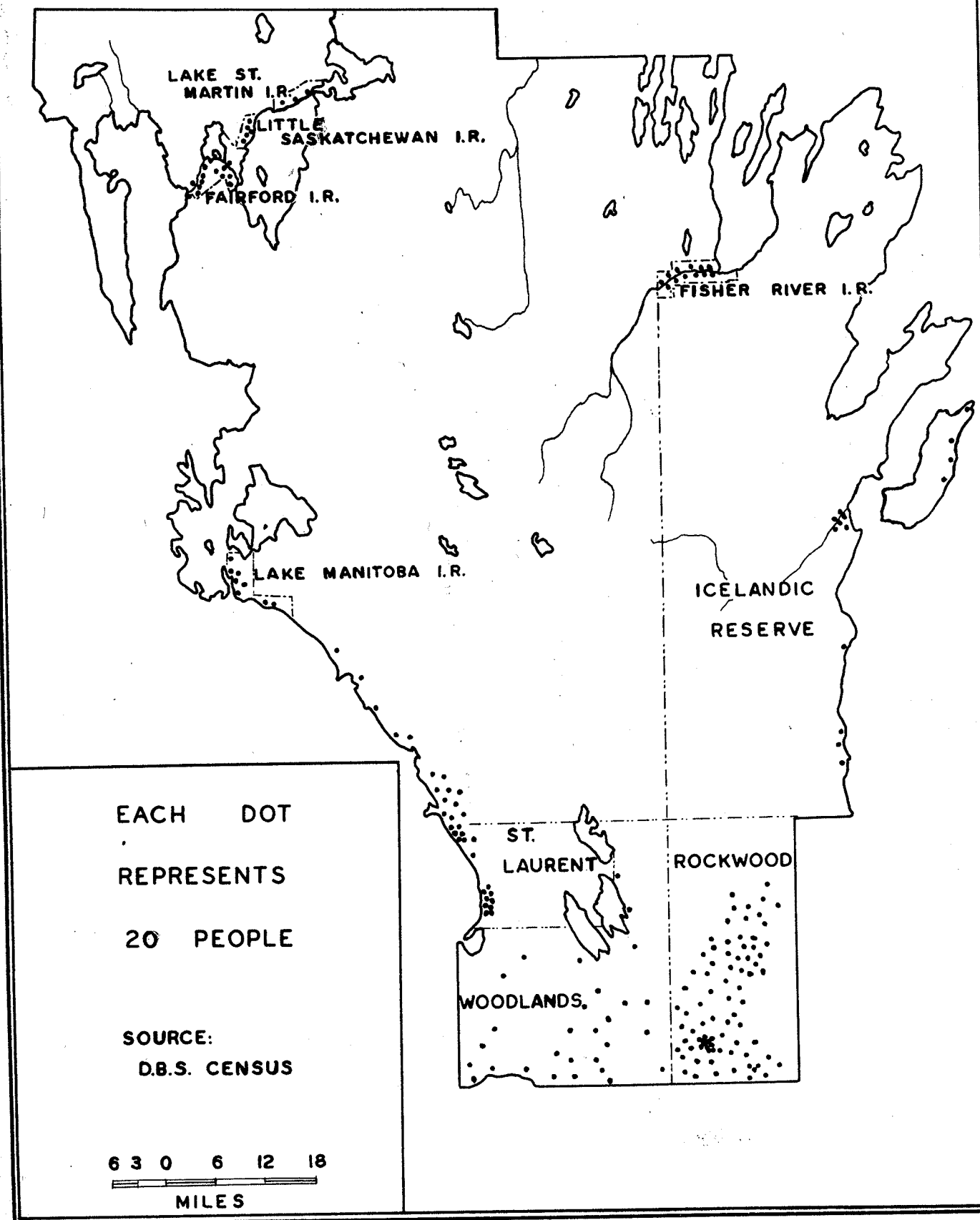
BIRTH PLACE OF THE POPULATION: 1881*

	Rockwood	Woodlands**
British Isles	293	152
Manitoba	152	595
Ontario	773	409
Elsewhere in Canada	50	47
Elsewhere or not given	29	50
Total	1,575	1,253

*Source: Canada, Department of Agriculture, Census of Canada: 1880-81, Vol. 1.

**Includes more than just the municipality (see p. 36 above).

THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
POPULATION - 1881



Map 7

Settlement of Rockwood and Woodlands took place mostly during two periods of settlement. The first, a continuation of the settlement tentatively begun in 1871, lasted until 1874 when a combination of grasshoppers, a depression, and the decision to build the transcontinental railway piecemeal combined to bring settlement almost to a standstill. This first settlement began only when equally good land closer to Winnipeg had been taken up, and most settlers chose this area because it was near the proposed route of the transcontinental railway. During the period of the grasshopper plague and the depression, some settlers left, but those who remained survived by working on the location of the line of the transcontinental railway or on the penitentiary at Stony Mountain.[5] Settlers who did come during this period avoided the Interlake and took up land to the west, apparently because of rumors that the railway route was to be changed. Renewed hopes that the railway was to be built soon and the return of prosperity brought settlers into Manitoba in great numbers after 1878. A limited number of settlers also took up land in Rockwood and Woodlands during this latter period (map 1), but most avoided the area because better land was available farther west.

The population of Rockwood was most heavily concentrated on the eastern slope of the central ridge, and to a lesser extent on the western and southern slopes (map 7). Not only were these the best locations

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[5]The Manitoba Free Press, November 20, 1875; November 28, 1875; March 25, 1876; R.B. Quickfall, Rockwood Echoes (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1960), pp. 28, 57; and E.R.R. Mills, The Story of Stony Mountain and District (Winnipeg: De Montfort, 1960), p. 21.

for agriculture (see below), but trails from Stonewall followed the limestone ridge and the beach ridges on the sides of the ridge and provided excellent means of communication with the service center at Stonewall and thence by rail with the Winnipeg market.

The latter years of the decade, particularly from 1876 on, were unusually wet years in the Interlake. As a result, low-lying areas were of no value for farming. On the sides of the Rockwood ridge, the soils, varying from clay loam to sandy loam, were adequately drained because of the slope of the land. The soils were developed on lacustrine material under a cover of grass and scattered trees and were generally quite fertile and well-suited to grain growing.

Some settlement did occur in areas of other soils, but there was a tendency to avoid poorer areas. A few settlers had chosen imperfectly drained land largely because of the location near settlement, the relative lack of trees, the high fertility of the soils, and the freedom from stones. Few such lands were chosen during the wet years after 1876. In the later years a few located on very stony soils above the ridge, partly because of proximity to the main settlement, but also because the soils were well-drained.

Part of Rockwood's attraction, particularly along the sides of the central ridge, was the combination of prairie lands (ideal for plowing up for fields) and woodland (for fuel, building material, and shelter). To allow more settlers to get these advantages, a few quarter-sections of wooded land were surveyed as 10 or 20 acre lots (map 1). These woodlots could be purchased by settlers whose homesteads were entirely prairie land. As well, a number of sections were surveyed

as "long" quarter-sections--that is, each quarter section was a mile long and a quarter-mile wide. These quarter-sections extended in an east-west direction in order to include timber in the west half and prairie in the east half (map 8). These were among the first quarter-sections settled (map 1), indicating the popularity of the arrangement.

Of the greatest importance in explaining the density of population along Rockwood ridge is the fact that both odd and even-numbered sections were settled and little land there was held by speculators.[6] As farms were generally of 160 acres (table 3), each township contained a large number of farms, with a resultant high population.

TABLE 3

FARM SIZE: 1881*

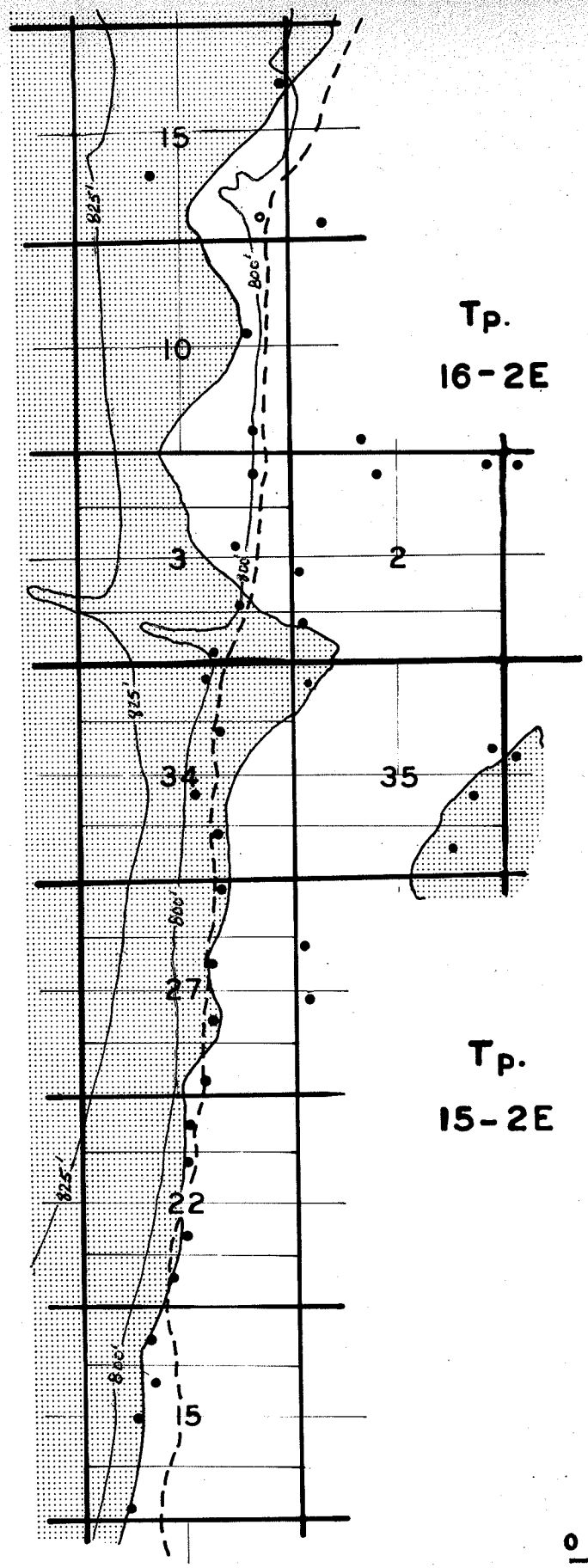
	0 to 100 acres	101 to 200 acres	over 200 acres
Rockwood	21 farms	206 farms	31 farms
Woodlands**	36 farms	83 farms	79 farms

*Source: Canada, Department of Agriculture, Census of Canada: 1880-81, Vol. 3.

**Includes more than just the municipality (see p. 36 above).

Population was sparser on the ridge areas where stony soils predominated. In the north-east, the factor limiting the extension of settlement was primarily distance from Winnipeg and the railway, although the better land was generally too heavily wooded to be ideal for

[6]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1883.



CENTRAL ROCKWOOD

SHOWING THE LONG QUARTER-SECTIONS

LEGEND

- POPLAR AND DENSE SCRUB
- PRAIRIE AND WILLOW
- ----- TRAIL
- —825'— CONTOUR
- BOUNDARY OF SECTION
- BOUNDARY OF QUARTER - SECTION
- • BUILDING SITES

SOURCE: SURVEYORS' MAPS

0 ½ 1 2
MILES

MAP 8

settlement. In the south and east, much of the land was held by speculators and was not in use. The lower parts of this land (particularly in range 3E) were subject to frequent flooding after 1876, and population was almost nil.

Some attempts had been made to reclaim this bog land, but they had met with little success. In 1880 an agreement was reached between the federal and provincial governments providing that the latter would receive one-half of all land drained by the province. This stimulated the building of drains, undertaken jointly by the provincial and municipal governments, but most were small. For example, the drain on Campbell's Creek in township 15 was only six feet wide and eighteen inches deep.[7] Such drains did little more than remove the excess water that accumulated because of the excessively heavy rainfall after 1876 and left most of the land unfit for settlement. A small amount of land was opened for settlement as a result of the drainage,[8] but settlers for the land must have been few, as almost no one was on these low-lying lands in 1883.[9]

The smaller population in Woodlands was much more widely scattered. The zone of good soil was generally lightly populated, though the heaviest population was in township 14-2E and the north part of township 13-2E where the fine sandy loams and mixed loams and the good drainage of the south slope of the ridge made conditions ideal for

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[7]The Winnipeg Free Press, July 3, 1880.

[8]Ibid., February 4, 1881.

[9]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1883.

farming. The heavier population here occurred where most of the land in each township was homesteaded (including both odd and even-numbered sections--map 1). Here, though much of the land was open prairie with few trees, wood lots were available on the "Big Ridge" a few miles to the east.

Although the best land lay south of the Big Ridge, the population was quite sparse because so much of the land was held by speculators,[10] and the lowest land was subject to flooding in those wet years. North of the ridge, settlement had come more slowly, and few settlers arrived before 1874.[11] When the second rush of settlement came after 1878, the odd-numbered sections had been reserved for the railways and were no longer available for settlement. Because the soil was mostly thin and very stony and the drainage very poor, only a few of the even-numbered sections were occupied, and the population was quite sparse. Settlers chose land that was relatively dry (even in those wet years) and land on which grass for cattle feed was available. A few were to be found on the better-drained areas along the south-west and east shores of Shoal Lake where conditions for cattle-raising were ideal. In general, farms in Woodlands were larger than those in Rockwood[12]

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[10] Woodlands Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1883. Most of the land was sold by the government to private companies or was given as military grants or half-breed scrip and subsequently sold to speculators.

[11] Tp. 14-3W was reserved for German settlers, but in 1876 it was thrown open for homesteading because no German settlers had arrived. (The Winnipeg Free Press, November 4, 1876.)

[12] Table 3. Most of the small farms shown for "Woodlands" were in St. Laurent municipality.

(perhaps due to the importance of cattle raising and the infertile nature of the land), and this helped limit the population density.

The distribution of farmsteads in both Woodlands and Rockwood produced an almost random pattern. The use of the square survey system (with roads to be built on all four sides of a section) made it possible for a settler to live on almost any part of his quarter-section and still be close to a road. This encouraged a scattered and haphazard distribution of farm buildings, a condition augmented by the large number of unoccupied quarter-sections. An exception was to be found along the eastern slope of the Rockwood ridge. On the "long" quarters, most farm buildings were located at the break in the ridge where the forest met the prairie (map 8), producing a linear pattern. In general, the farmsteads of Rockwood were closer together than those of Woodlands.

Probably most of the homes were still the original log shacks—with roofs of poles covered with grass or reeds and with floors of packed earth.[13] A few settlers had undertaken to put in floors or had built slab roofs. Some of the well-to-do farmers and most of the town dwellers had frame houses, at least some of which had basements walled with field stone cemented with lime and gravel.[14] There is no evidence that quarried stone was used in building prior to 1881. On the farms, outbuildings—usually a barn and perhaps another building—were almost

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[13]R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 5 above), p. 27.; Madeline L. Proctor, Woodlands Echoes (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1960), p. 61.

[14]Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Report of the Minister of Agriculture for the Province of Manitoba for 1881, pp. 33, 36.

invariably of log.

The Icelandic Reserve. The reserve was not heavily populated. A total of about 250 Icelanders lived there in small groups strung out along forty-five miles of coast[15] (map 7). These were all who remained of a much larger settlement.

The first settlers arrived in 1875. That year a deputation from an Icelandic settlement at Kinmount, Ontario arrived in Manitoba in search of a site for a colony. After some looking around, they chose this area on the shore of Lake Winnipeg, just outside of the province's northern boundary.[16] The federal government then reserved the area for Icelandic settlement exclusively.

This area was chosen as the most suitable because it was felt that the good stone-free soil would be ideal for grain growing, the area had always been free from grasshoppers, there was plentiful fish, game, berries, and wild birds, the climate appeared good, and the Icelandic River area offered navigation and good hay meadows.[17] The Icelanders' fear of the open prairie is reflected in the choice of a forest area where there was shelter from the wind and logs for fuel and building purposes and by the fact that they would have built well

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[15]N.W. Kristjanson, The Icelanders in Manitoba (Manuscript in the Manitoba provincial archives), chapter 7, p. 1.

[16]Until 1881, land north of township 17 was not part of Manitoba.

[17]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Agriculture", Sessional Papers: 1876, Paper no. 8, p. 169; Agantyr Arnason, Icelandic Settlements in America (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1929), p. 18 adds that the well-protected harbour was also important, but this applies only to the area near Gimli.

back in the forest had the surveyors not persuaded them to build near the shore.[18] Another factor in their choice may have been the feeling that they would have greater freedom if they settled outside the province.

Most of the settlers came directly from Iceland, though a few had spent a year or more in Ontario or Nova Scotia. Despite the outbreak of a smallpox epidemic in 1876, a shortage of supplies that winter because of the quarantine placed on them by the province,[19] poor fishing until the discovery of new fishing grounds at Grindstone Point in 1878,[20] and floods in 1878 and 1879, the population had reached 1,029 by the latter year.[21] However, shortly thereafter most of the settlers left for North Dakota or Argyle (near Glenboro).[22] Kristjanson gives the following reasons:

> The causes were numerous, restlessness, lack of knowledge of conditions elsewhere, persuasions brought to bear from outside, factionalism, and many other causes. The great flood was an additional factor, but probably only a few left because of damage caused by the lake, which was only in a few places.[23]

Other sources generally agree that these were the main causes for the exodus, but none consider the effect of inertia, which probably played

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[18] Field Book No. 607 (Originals of the surveyors field notes on file at the Surveys Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba).

[19] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Agriculture", Sessional Papers: 1878, Paper no. 9, pp. 65-67.

[20] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Agriculture", Sessional Papers: 1879, Paper no. 9, p. 51.

[21] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Agriculture", Sessional Papers: 1880, Paper no. 10, p. 175.

[22] Agantyr Arnason (see footnote no. 17 above), p. 25.

[23] N.W. Kristjanson (see footnote no. 15 above), chapter 7, p. 1.

an important part after the exodus had begun. As soon as one group of colonists left, those remaining were more isolated and the colony less self-sufficient. This then produced new problems, and the other settlers felt a greater desire to follow. The flooding caused so much damage to hay and crops around Gimli, and to a lesser extent elsewhere, that it was probably an important factor in starting the exodus. Then the other factors listed by Kristjanson came into play, deepening the crisis and perpetuating the exodus. If the settlement had been successful in its agricultural enterprises, all the settlers might well have remained.

Those who did remain, some in almost complete isolation, are more difficult to account for. The largest number, at Icelandic River, had the advantage of being in one large group. In addition, this was the center of a shipping and ship-building industry, and the employment and income from this activity were probably the main factors keeping the settlers there.[24] The other areas had no comparable advantages, and the few who stayed probably dreaded trying to start anew elsewhere, where it would be necessary to build new homes and where fishing might not be so dependable. Each individual decision to remain probably reflected factors uniquely applicable to the individual.

The Icelandic settlers were mostly living on "long" quarter-sections--each a quarter-mile wide and about a mile long--running back from the lake front or the Icelandic River. The Icelanders had first arrived in advance of the survey and had proceeded to make their own survey using this system. When the surveyors arrived at Icelandic

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[24]Ibid.

River in 1877, they found the Icelanders so satisfied with this survey system that it was adopted for the area along the river in township 23-4E, and made to fit in with the sectional survey.[25] Elsewhere in the reserve, the survey was made using conventional square quarter-sections, but in spite of the survey, the settlers registered their land in long quarter-sections running back from the lake shore.[26]

Most of the shore line was dotted with deserted log houses, each with a small clearing nearby. The houses themselves were little different from those of Rockwood and Woodlands, even though the Icelanders came from a land where there were no trees. When the first Icelanders arrived in 1875, they knew nothing about building log houses, but the Canadian government surveyors who were working in the area when the Icelanders arrived showed them how to put up the log houses and fill the chinks with a plaster of clay and grass.[27] These first homes often served for models for later Icelandic buildings, and as a result the houses and barns of the Icelandic reserve were virtually identical to those of other parts of the Interlake.

The small number and scattered distribution of the Icelanders made them a minor factor in the immediate future of the Interlake, but they represented the germ of a colony that would grow in size and importance through the years, and they were the first of the non-English

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[25] Field Book No. 675 (see footnote no. 18 above), a letter to the surveyor from John Taylor, the Icelandic agent.

[26] The location of the quarter-sections occupied in 1881 is not shown on map 1 because as late as 1883 the Icelanders were still refusing to apply for homesteads. Many of those shown for 1881 to 1886 were in fact occupied earlier.

[27] Field Book No. 607 (see footnote no. 18 above).

speaking immigrant groups that would eventually be predominant in the Interlake as a whole.

St. Laurent Municipality. In 1881 the Métis, following the example set by the Ontario settlers to the south, formed the municipality of St. Laurent. It included the two settlements of Oak Point and St. Laurent and all the land to the east that had originally been given out as half-breed scrip. Outside the two settlements, the municipality was almost completely unoccupied, as most of the scrip belonged to speculators,[28] and the non-scrip land nearer Shoal Lake had not yet been occupied (map 1).

The exact population of the municipality is not known, but it was apparently between 350 and 400. The 1881 census listed 391 French and Indians in "Woodlands", but it is believed that a large number of these (plus perhaps a few of British origin) were in the two settlements. The 1882 population of the municipality was 371.[29]

The form of the settlements had not changed significantly. In 1872 they were surveyed in regular quarter-sections, but in 1874, apparently because of vigorous complaints and a firm refusal to move, the two settlements were resurveyed. Long thin lots of varying widths running back from the lake for about two miles were laid out; 15 of them at Oak Point and 24 at St. Laurent (map 5). These lots made it possible for the Métis to retain the linear settlement pattern evident

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[28]St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1883 (see footnote no. 2 above).

[29]See page 36.

in 1871.

North of St. Laurent. North of the Métis settlements were an undetermined number of settlers--mostly British, British-Indian mixtures, and Metis. As indicated above (p. 36), the population is tentatively estimated at about 250. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about these settlers. Only four quarter-sections had been homesteaded in the area by 1881 (map 1), but many of the homesteads taken up to 1886 may have been recorded by members of this group. Most settlers appear to have been near the lake, and probably they were grouped near the main trail from Oak Point. They may have been retired men from the Hudson Bay Company; perhaps some were associated with the "cattle feeding stations" found there in 1874. The lack of information available on them suggests that they had little influence on the Interlake as a whole.

Indian Reserves. The Indians made up the only other racial group in the Interlake. They were in five bands, each with a separate reserve, and they were located in three general areas. On Lake Manitoba south of Dog Lake was the Lake Manitoba reserve with a population of 170 (map 6). Near the mouth of the Fisher River were the Fisher River Indians, numbering 237. Around Lake St. Martin were three reserves: the Fairford reserve had a population of 214; the Little Saskatchewan reserve had 92; and the Lake St. Martin reserve had 67.[30] There is

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[30]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1882, Paper no. 6, pp. 112-113.

evidence that half-breeds were living near the reserves as well,[31] but their numbers cannot be ascertained.

In 1873 the reserves were surveyed for the Lake Manitoba, the Fairford, and the Lake St. Martin Indians.[32] Dissatisfaction among the Indians, apparently mostly due to flooding of the reserves, led to the altering of the Lake Manitoba reserve boundaries in 1879,[33] and of the Fairford reserve boundaries two years later.[34] These boundaries (map 6) remained unaltered at least until 1921.

Two other groups of Indians moved into the Interlake during the decade following 1871. In 1875, each of ninety families of Indians from Norway House at the north end of Lake Winnipeg was given 90 acres of land along the Fisher River "for agricultural purposes",[35] and by 1881 fifty-five families, comprising 237 souls, had arrived at the reserve.[36] In 1881 another reserve of 3,200 acres was established on Lake St. Martin for a group of 100 Indians from the Little Saskatchewan River. They moved in at once and appear to have been satisfied with

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[31]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1880, Paper no. 4, p. 65.

[32]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1875, Paper no. 8, p. 53.

[33]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1880, Paper no. 4, p. 65.

[34]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1882, Paper no. 6, p. 138.

[35]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1876, Paper no. 9. p. 36.

[36]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1882, Paper no. 6, pp. 108-112.

the new area.[37]

The Fisher River group was given an area where agriculture was deemed to be practicable, but there is no indication of what criteria were used in locating the Little Saskatchewan group. All the Indians in the Interlake were well located for water transportation and fishing, but little care seems to have been taken to choose land well above flood level, and except on the Fisher River, the land was of little value for agriculture. Except for the St. Martin Indians, who were forced to move off the reserve due to floods,[38] all the Indians appear to have been settled on their reserves by 1881.

The Indians who had been in the area since 1871 had not materially altered the form of their settlements. The Indians of the Little Saskatchewan reserve were similarly crowded together along the lake shore in their reserve. Only on the Fisher River reserve, where each Indian had received an individual lot, was there a somewhat uniform, linear distribution of population and houses. The Indians as a whole lived in houses little different from those occupied in 1871, though perhaps more log cabins were in use. The Indians, however, seemed to prefer living in their wigwams even when they did have houses.[39]

Summary. Since 1871 at least one new racial group had entered the Interlake, and the relative importance of the other groups was

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[37] Ibid., pp. 136, 112.

[38] Ibid., p. 66.

[39] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1880, Paper no. 4, p. 65.

changing. The Indians and Métis had increased little in actual numbers since 1871 and were becoming less numerous relative to the other groups. The "new" Canadians, the Icelanders, had mostly come and gone and appeared to be destined to play a minor role in the area for some time. The settlers from Ontario, however, had come en masse, and, though their advance had begun to slow, they appeared destined to be the predominant race and to bring their way of life to the whole Interlake.

II. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

Although transportation over the greater part of the Interlake was virtually unchanged from 1871, many local changes had taken place in Rockwood, Woodlands, and the Icelandic reserve. Two railways crossed the southern townships, a series of roads fanned out from the railway stations, new steamboats were plying on Lake Winnipeg, and a postal system had been inaugurated. In addition, the ox-cart had disappeared, at least in Rockwood and Woodlands, and had been replaced by buggies, democrats, and wagons.[40]

Rockwood and Woodlands. The greatest developments had taken place in these two municipalities. Here were the railways, the greatest number of new roads, and all but four of the new post offices.

The most important development was the construction of the railways. In 1880, a section of the first Canadian transcontinental railway was built west of Winnipeg. It ran north from Winnipeg to the quarries at Stony Mountain, and thence north-west along a ridge

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[40] R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 5 above), p. 47.

to another limestone hill about four miles distant (Stonewall, map 9). From there it continued almost straight west just below the "Big Ridge", where the land had sufficient slope to be well-drained. The railway continued west to Portage la Prairie and beyond.

During 1881, railway officials decided to tear up the portion of this line west of Stonewall, and to construct a new, more direct line to Portage la Prairie.[41] The new route entered the study area only in the extreme south-west corner where the line swung north to avoid the Assiniboine River and to cut across the narrowest part of Long Lake. Apparently both lines were in operation throughout 1881, as mail was still being distributed from Ossawa and Meadow Lea, two stations on the old line, until well into 1882.[42]

The presence of a good postal system could be attributed partly to the advantageous location near Winnipeg and partly to local initiative in getting new post offices opened. Service first began in 1872, but the demand for local post offices had led to the opening of many more by 1881 (map 9). During 1881, mail routes were being changed to fit in with the new pattern of mail service made possible by the railway. The railway could deliver mail more quickly and efficiently, so new routes fanned out from points along the old railway. (Reorientation toward the new southern route had not yet begun.) Where settlers lived at a great distance from the nearest post office, they usually

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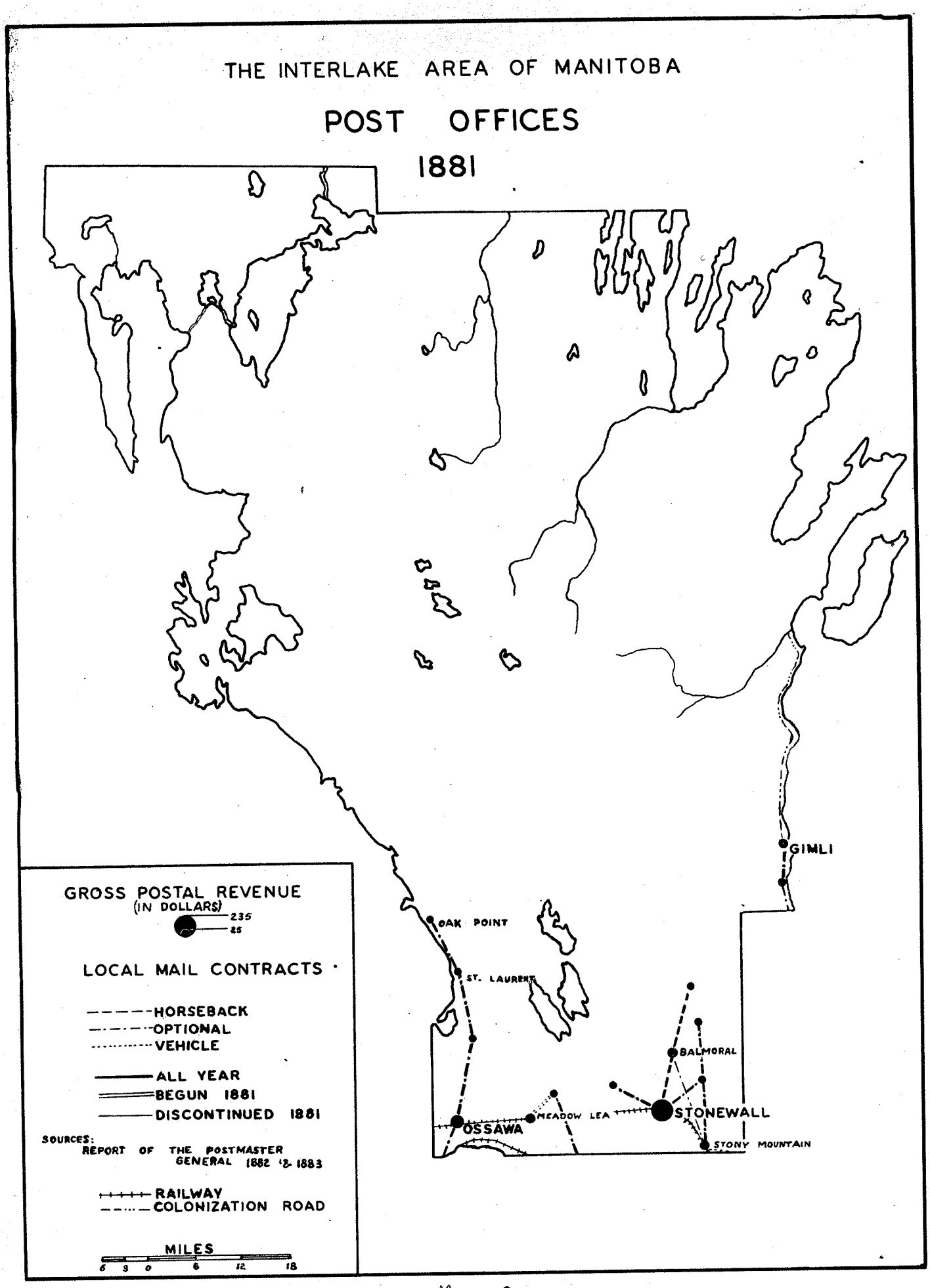
[41]Harold A. Innes, A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway (London: King & Co., 1923), p. 103.

[42]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Postmaster General", Sessional Papers: 1883, Paper no. 3, p. 119.


THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
POST OFFICES
1881
GIMLI
OAK POINT
ST. LAURENT
BALMORAL
STONEWALL
MEADOW LEA
OSSAWA
STONY MOUNTAIN
GROSS POSTAL REVENUE
(IN DOLLARS)
235
25
LOCAL MAIL CONTRACTS
HORSEBACK
OPTIONAL
VEHICLE
ALL YEAR
BEGUN 1881
DISCONTINUED 1881
SOURCES:
REPORT OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL 1882 & 1883
RAILWAY
COLONIZATION ROAD
MILES
6 3 0 6 12 18

Map 9

co-operated by bringing one another's mail to a common point in the settlement, saving the others the long trip to the post office.[43]

Other trails as well as those used for mail delivery were in common use. The best roads led north and west from Stonewall along the sand and gravel beach ridges where superior drainage made the roads passable in even the wettest weather. The roads leading to Winnipeg from Stonewall and Stony Mountain had to cross the low-lying clay plain between and were dry-weather roads only. They were subject to inundation during the wet years, and the clay soil, when wet, formed a gumbo that brought wheeled traffic virtually to a halt in wet weather.[44] This had been of grave importance to the Rockwood area during the early 1870's when no rail service had yet been established, and the unusually wet years often made it difficult to communicate with Winnipeg in the summer. In 1881 a longer dry season made the roads passable most of the year, and a regular train service, fairly dependable even in wet weather, made the road to Winnipeg much less essential to the settlers of the area. Some effort was being made to open roads along the road allowances around each section of land, but such roads usually remained of secondary importance, and main roads still cut across country following the beach ridges and other natural features. The municipal governments had begun work on road building,[45] but this was mostly in the nature of filling in holes in the roads already in

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[43] R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 5 above), p. 12.

[44] Ibid., p. 39.

[45] The Winnipeg Free Press, July 3, 1880.

existence.

The Icelandic Reserve. Developments on the Icelandic reserve were on a much smaller scale, primarily due to the smaller number of settlers.

A "colonization road" (map 9) connected the Icelandic settlements with Selkirk, a large town about 20 miles east of Stonewall and the main distributing center for the reserve. The trail followed beach ridges wherever possible, but frequently dipped through low areas where the ridges were discontinuous. After 1877 these low areas, most numerous south of the study area, were subject to inundation by high water from Lake Winnipeg. As a result, the trail was often impassable, particularly in the spring and early summer.

This drawback was largely overcome by the use of steamboats on Lake Winnipeg and the Red River. The fish and lumber from areas bordering Lake Winnipeg made up most of the traffic for these boats and made their operation profitable. The Icelanders had a long history as a sea-going race, and though other boats from Winnipeg and Selkirk were plying the lake as well, it is not surprising to learn that the Icelanders were building and operating a number of boats of their own.[46] The boat traffic in summer was of much greater importance to the Icelanders than the land transportation which replaced it in the winter.

The post offices were both small, and for no known reason, were both at the lightly-populated southern end of the reserve. It may be

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[46]N.W. Kristjanson (see footnote no. 15 above), chapter 7, p. 1.

that they had been opened when the southern end was more heavily populated (before the exodus), and that no adjustment had yet been made. The distance to the Icelandic River may have been another factor retarding the opening of a post office there.

Remainder of the Interlake. The greater part of the Interlake had undergone no change since 1871. Canoes and horses were still the main means of transportation, and there was no sign of any impending change. Except for the opening of post offices at Oak Point and St. Laurent, and perhaps the purchase of a few buggies, the Métis and Indian areas showed no evidence of having begun to adopt the new means of communication in use by the British settlers and the Icelanders. The Métis, located nearer the new settlers in the southern Interlake, were more influenced by the changes than were the Indians.

III. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The economic structure of 1871 had been greatly altered by 1881. Though the primitive economy of the Métis and Indians was still the predominant one over the greater part of the Interlake, production from the relatively small area of predominantly Ontario settlement was much greater. The latter group, who had begun making changes a decade earlier, had revolutionized the economy of the Interlake by expanding their agriculture and their quarrying operations and by introducing the first factories. Only the Icelanders had undertaken anything similar, but developments there lagged far behind.

Rockwood and Woodlands. Most of the inhabitants of these two

municipalities were engaged in agricultural activities. The greatest number attempted some form of mixed farming, usually with the accent on cattle-raising, but some undertook the raising of cattle to the exclusion of grain growing.

The best areas for grain growing were on the slopes of the Rockwood ridge and the "Big Ridge" in Woodlands. Rich soils, good drainage, land largely free of stones, and much open grassland which could be easily plowed into fields encouraged grain growing. It is not surprising then that these were the areas where grain was the most important in the mixed farming economy. A report by the post-masters of the various districts in Rockwood, though not to be regarded as very accurate, indicates the greater importance of grain below the crest of the ridge.[47] An official report for Woodlands municipality in 1880 shows the same thing for that municipality.[48] However, in both areas, the data suggest that even there cattle were more important in the farm economy. This conclusion is backed up by the 1879 report that very little grain was for sale in Woodlands.[49] Table 4 shows the acreage of improved land and the yield of a few crops for the municipalities as a whole, but no data are available on the number of animals on the farms. The large amount of oats raised reflects the importance

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[47]North-West Free Press and Standard, September 23, 1881.

[48]Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Rapport du Ministre d'Agriculture de la Province de Manitoba Pour l'Annee 1880 (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1881), p. 88.

[49]The Winnipeg Weekly Times, November 28, 1879.

of this grain as feed for cattle and horses. Probably some of the oats and a large part of the barley and wheat were raised for sale. The potato and root crops took up only very small acreages, but yields

TABLE 4

SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1881*

	Acres Improved	Hay (tons)	Wheat (bu.)	Barley (bu.)	Oats (bu.)	Roots (bu.)	Potatoes (bu.)
Rockwood	6,972	7,487	28,897	6,398	59,272	9,700	23,684
Woodlands**	3,283	2,082	9,913	2,371	25,718	3,800	12,042

*Canada, Department of Agriculture, Census of Canada: 1880-81, Vol. 3.

**Includes more than the municipality (see p. 36).

per acre were very high. These were usually the first crops planted after homesteading, partly because of the high yield per acre, but more so because of their importance as subsistence food crops.

Some indication of the relative number of cattle in the two municipalities is given by the much larger tonnage of hay cut in Rockwood (table 4) and by the fact that almost one-third of all improved land in Rockwood was in pasture, whereas in Woodlands there was none.[50] However, one must keep in mind the different methods of handling the cattle in the municipalities. Woodlands had much larger areas of unoccupied land as well as larger farm holdings, and it is probable that there was felt to be no need to use improved land for pasture.

[50] Census (see footnote no. 3 above), Vol. III.

This would back up Proctor's report that a number of Englishmen had undertaken "ranching" enterprises near Shoal Lake,[51] but the 1880 agricultural report gave no indication of the existence of such ranches.[52] A Woodlands resident claimed that very little stable feeding was done in that municipality,[53] suggesting that a large number of cattle could be raised even on the small amount of hay cut. In Rockwood, a resident reported:

> All cattle are stabled in winter and do well on native hay, if well attended, without grain. Stall feeding has been tried too, but to a very limited extent, as cattle come in from the prairie in the fall in such excellent condition.[54]

This would suggest that more hay would be required in Rockwood for the same number of cattle. However, as the "Woodlands" of the table includes rather more than the municipality, it seems probable that the number of cattle in Woodlands municipality did not exceed the number in Rockwood.

The extent of the integration of crop-growing and cattle-raising is suggested by the following statements from local residents of the two municipalities.

In Woodlands:

> Cattle have always been allowed the run of the straw stacks, so that the straw soon becomes manure, which is applied to the land.[55]

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[51] Madeline L. Proctor (see footnote no. 13 above), p. 130.

[52] (see footnote no. 47 above).

[53] Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Report of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics for the Province of Manitoba for 1882, p. 36.

[54] Ibid., p. 33.

[55] Ibid., p. 36.

and in Rockwood:

> Oats and barley straw is generally fed to cattle. Wheat straw is used for bedding. None is burnt.[56]

The intensive use of manure for fertilizer was something these farmers were accustomed to in Ontario, and it is not surprising that they continued the practice in Manitoba. Probably the straw was more thoroughly utilized in this area than in the province as a whole because of the higher ratio of animals to acreage cultivated here.

In all but the "ranching" areas of Woodlands where cattle only were raised, the farmers seem to have planned to make grain more important later on. Most farmers kept several cattle for milking, but this was primarily to offset the small acreage in grain. The absence of creameries forced the farmers to convert the milk and cream into cheese and butter, the product being packed in tubs for sale in Winnipeg and Stonewall.[57] A few of the more progressive farmers, apparently intending to continue raising cattle for some time, had already bought purebred cattle, particularly in Rockwood, but such men were exceptions.[58]

Cattle and grain, however, brought in insufficient money to the settlers, and they early turned to other sources of revenue. As early as 1872, settlers had begun to sell wood in Winnipeg,[59] and in 1879 a local "census" revealed that in township 13-2E alone, 892 cords of

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[56] Ibid., p. 33.

[57] Madeline L. Proctor (see footnote no. 13 above), p. 118.

[58] R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 5 above), p. 30.

[59] E.R.R. Mills (see footnote no. 5 above), p. 21.

wood had been sold in that one year.[60] Though the number may be inaccurate, the figure does show that the sale of wood was an important source of winter income for the farmers. Much of it was sold in Winnipeg, but probably an even greater amount was sold to the local quarries.

Most farmers raised a few poultry, one or two pigs, and sometimes a few sheep. Vegetables were important, but for the most part were raised only for home use. The farmers often sold direct to consumers such products as eggs, meat, poultry, potatoes, and even such articles as mitts made from homespun wool. These goods were taken to Winnipeg or to Portage la Prairie or the Hudson Bay Company post at Oak Point where they were sold for money to buy food and supplies.[61]

Wild game, fish, and wild fruits of all kinds made up an important part of the pioneer diet, and though these sources of food were especially important during the first years of settlement, they retained some significance in 1881.[62]

As was the case with Ontario settlers elsewhere in the province,[63] those of the Interlake early turned to the use of barbed wire and machinery. Mowers were replacing scythes, an occasional threshing machine was to be found (each machine usually threshed the crop of a number of settlers), and "reaping machines" for cutting and bundling grain were

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[60] The Winnipeg Free Press, March 22, 1879.

[61] Madeline L. Proctor (see footnote no. 13 above), pp. 61, 68; R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 5 above), pp. 37, 39, 111, 138.

[62] Ibid.

[63] W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 181.

quite common, with 16 in township 13-2E by 1880.[64] Horses were already replacing oxen as the main source of power on the farms.[65] In the first years of settlement, the oxen had the advantages of being better suited to the heavy work of breaking the prairie sod and of not needing daily rations of oats. However, the ox was relatively slow for other farm activities, and as more land was cleared and oats became more plentiful, the farmers began changing to the faster, more efficient horse.

Rockwood and Woodlands - non-agricultural activities. The most important of these activities was quarrying and lime preparation. The Stony Mountain quarries had increased in importance throughout the decade following 1871, and they may still have been the most important producers in the Interlake. Its early importance stemmed from natural advantages summed up thus by Macoun:

> Stony Mountain, as its name implies, is largely composed of rock. It is a whitish limestone, lying in horizontal beds of varying thickness, very easily worked and said to be uninjured by frost. As the quarries are only six(teen) miles from Winnipeg, it is of inestimable value to that city.[66]

This stone was used mostly for the production of lime, but in the 1870's many government buildings in Winnipeg were built from stone blocks quarried at Stony Mountain.[67] However, by 1881, most of the building

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[64]The North-West Free Press and Standard, November 27, 1880; Madeline L. Proctor (see footnote no. 13 above), p. 75.

[65]Data are incomplete, but the Department of Agriculture report (see footnote no. 48 above) shows more horses than oxen in Woodlands by 1880.

[66]John Macoun, Manitoba and the Great North-West, (Guelph: World Publishing Company, 1882), p. 52.

[67]The Winnipeg Free Press, February 7, 1874.

stone was coming from Stonewall a few miles farther north. The railway that made it easier to ship stone from Stony Mountain to Winnipeg also made it possible for Stonewall to become a competitor for these Winnipeg markets, as the greater distance was no longer so important a factor.

The Stonewall quarries were based on the various Silurian dolomite beds of the erosional remnant on which the town had been built. Much of the stone was of a high grade suitable for building purposes, but lime and rubble were also produced. The coming of the railway did not immediately bring a boom to the industry in Stonewall, however, as the stone at first had to be hauled by horse to the station. In early 1881, to overcome this difficulty, a spur line was built into the quarries, and the business really began to boom.[68] Its importance (absolute or relative) cannot be ascertained, but it must have been quite important as by 1883 it had almost completely replaced Stony Mountain.

Bricks were made locally for the building of the Stony Mountain penitentiary in 1874,[69] but there is no evidence that any bricks were being produced in 1881.

There were two grist mills in Rockwood--one at Stonewall built in 1877,[70] and one at Balmoral built three years later.[71] These industries were extremely important to these struggling frontier communities.

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[68] The Winnipeg Free Press, March 25, 1881.

[69] E.R.R. Mills (see footnote no. 5 above), p. 52.

[70] R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 5 above), p. 144.

[71] The Stonewall Argus, January 12, 1884.

Settlers had little to sell and only a limited amount of cash, and these mills made it possible for them to have their own grain ground into flour much more cheaply than they could buy flour. Newspaper accounts indicate that the mills were kept very busy, but no production figures are available. The Balmoral mill served most of northern Rockwood municipality, and the Stonewall mill served the southern part of the municipality and the eastern part of Woodlands. Plans were made in Woodlands to attract a grist mill by offering a bonus to be paid by the municipality, but the municipal council decided they did not have the authority to do so, and the plan fell through.[72]

There were a number of blacksmith shops, both in the towns and in the country, and Stonewall supported a bakery.[73] However, these industries and the grist mills were more important as services than as industries, for they served only a local market and were of considerable importance in attracting trade to the various centers.

The Icelandic Reserve. The Icelandic settlers also brought a new way of life to the Interlake, but the accent was quite different. They depended mostly on fishing, and farming was of about the same importance as shipping, ship-building or forestry.

The fishing industry was important in all parts of the reserve, though on Hecla Island it was even more essential to the economy than elsewhere. The Icelanders had difficulty finding good fishing grounds

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[72]Madeline L. Proctor (see footnote no. 13 above), p. 94.

[73]The Winnipeg Free Press, March 25, 1881.

for the first two or three years, but as early as 1878 fishing was the main source of food for the whole colony.[74] By that time, too, fish were being sold in Winnipeg or exchanged for flour brought in by the "Manitoba" farmers (probably those farmers living south toward Selkirk, just east of the study area).[75] No data are available on such sales, but these were still important markets and probably brought in a large part of the income for the reserve as a whole. The fishing industry was one with which the Icelanders were already familiar when they arrived in Canada, as it had been a major industry in Iceland. The difficulties encountered in agriculture were probably making fishing of increasing relative importance, as fishing had proven so successful after the first few years.

Another industry that was carried on at least to some extent throughout the entire settled area was agriculture, mostly cattle raising. Government officials had originally assumed the Icelanders would take up mixed farming, and they even made plans to "erect a saw and grist mill for the use of the colony,"[76] though these plans never came to fruition. The Icelanders did in fact struggle for some years trying to grow grain, but with little success. Lack of knowledge of grain-growing methods coupled with annual flooding of the low-lying lands along the lake where they planted most of their grain brought their efforts to naught. The

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[74] The Winnipeg Free Press, January 29, 1878.

[75] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Agriculture", Sessional Papers: 1879, Paper no. 9, p. 51.

[76] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1875, Paper no. 8, p. 166.

reports of the Icelandic agent from 1875 to 1882 show fewer and fewer attempts at grain-growing and more and more of the field area devoted to hay and potatoes--crops long important in Iceland. By 1882 virtually no grain was being raised. Each farm had from one to ten acres of cleared land, most of which was in grass with only a small area left for a garden plot.[77] Sheep, long important in Iceland's economy, did not become important on the reserve until 1880. In 1879 there were only 25 sheep,[78] but by 1882 it was reported that the Icelanders seemed to want particularly to raise sheep.[79] Cattle were important from the first, but the floods of 1879 and 1880 destroyed much hay and prevented the settlers from putting up sufficient winter feed for the animals.[80] However, the Icelanders favoured cattle raising, and in 1881 cattle were the most important element in the farm economy.

In the Icelandic River area the most important activity was shipbuilding, though only one or two ships were built during the year.[81] A number of flat boats were also built. The flat boats were piled with lumber and towed to Selkirk from where the lumber was taken by rail to

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[77]Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Report of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics for the Province of Manitoba for 1883, p. 168.

[78]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Agriculture", Sessional Papers: 1880, Paper no. 10, p. 175.

[79]Report of the Department of Agriculture, etc.,(see footnote no. 77 above).

[80]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Agriculture", Sessional Papers: 1880-81, Paper no. 12, p. 60.

[81]Report of the Department of Agriculture, etc., (see footnote no. 77 above); The Winnipeg Free Press, January 3, 1880; and N.W. Kristjanson (see footnote no. 15 above), chapter 14, p. 66.

Winnipeg for sale.[82] Ship-building and shipping were not only the main source of revenue at Icelandic River, they also seem to have been the reason for the continued existence of the settlement there.

Associated with the above industries were the sawmills which supplied lumber for building and for sale. (Lumber made up the bulk of the cargo on Lake Winnipeg.) The sawmill at Icelandic River and another on the east side of Lake Winnipeg were owned and operated by local Icelanders and served to augment the income from other sources.[83] The main market was in Winnipeg, but the ship-building industry also absorbed a great quantity of the lumber produced.

On Big Island was a mill owned by Shore & Co. of Winnipeg. It, too, shipped lumber to Winnipeg, but there is no evidence that it was shipped in the Icelanders' boats. Most of the workers were from southern Manitoba, largely because of the difficulties that had been encountered with the Icelanders. In 1879, the first year of the sawmill's operations, the Icelanders that did work in the mill complained that the company did not pay them properly and that the company had taken logs which the Icelanders had felled for their own homes.[84] By 1881 a few Icelanders had begun to forgive earlier differences because of an immediate need for work.

Though the most important activity in the Icelandic reserve was fishing, the most distinctive were ship-building, shipping and forestry.

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[82] W.L. Morton (see footnote no. 63 above), p. 173.

[83] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Agriculture", Sessional Papers: 1883, paper no. 14, p. 183.

[84] The Winnipeg Free Press, February 15, 1879.

The latter three were not carried on in any other part of the Interlake.

Remainder of the Interlake. The other inhabitants of the Interlake, mostly scattered along the shore of Lake Manitoba, followed a primitive way of life based mostly on fishing, hunting, and herding, with very little farming.

The Métis of Oak Point and St. Laurent still lived mostly by fishing. According to the postmaster there, the residents of Oak Point depended exclusively on fishing and hunting.[85] The salt works had been closed and the fur trade was declining in importance, and the residents did not seem to wish to take up farming. At St. Laurent farming and cattle raising were of some importance, according to the postmaster there, but nowhere in the municipality was farming carried on very vigorously. The slightly greater accent on farming at St. Laurent may have reflected the influence of the Roman Catholic mission there. No data are available for 1881, but the following table shows some statistics for the municipality (townships 16 and 17 west of Shoal Lake) in 1880 and 1882:

	Acres Cultivated	Cattle including oxen	Pigs	Horses	Sheep
1880	34	146	30	49	1
1882	50	156	22	63	none[86]

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[85] North-West Free Press and Standard, September 23, 1881.

[86] Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Report of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics for the Province of Manitoba for the year 1880, p. 88; Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Report of the Department of Agriculture and Statistics for the Province of Manitoba for 1882, p. 62.

No data are available on fishing and hunting activities.

No definite information is available on the economic activities carried on north of township 17, but old residents of the area think that in 1881 fishing and cattle raising were probably the main activities.

The Indians of the reserves made attempts at agriculture, but the reserves were largely on low-lying areas, and in these wet years much of the land was flooded and unsuitable for cropping. Most were driven to seek out the few areas of dry land on the reserve, but the St. Martin band were flooded out of their homes and moved outside the reserve to find dry land for "farming".[87] The best farms were still those around the Fairford mission, but crops seem to have been mostly potatoes and vegetables. At the Fisher River reserve, where the area had been allocated specifically for farming and where the soil was good and dry land available, the Indians were progressing quite well. The Indians had not been there long enough to undertake large-scale farming enterprises, but they had good gardens, and the agent reported these in good condition.[88] As at Fairford, the accent on agriculture probably reflected the presence of the church mission on the reserve. Cattle were more important than crops on all reserves.

Despite the apparent satisfaction that the Indian agents expressed concerning the agricultural activities of the Indians, the Indians raised little more than potatoes and vegetables, and the agents were

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[87]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1882, Paper no. 6, pp. 64-73.

[88]Ibid.

forced to admit that the Indians mostly continued to "subsist by hunting and fishing."[89]

Summary. The economy, like the population structure, had undergone the greatest changes nearest Winnipeg. There the newly-arrived settlers from Ontario had, in less than a decade, transformed a previously unused area into a hive of activity. A thin strip along the shore of Lake Winnipeg had also been transformed, but not to the same extent. The new influences which wrought these changes had penetrated into only a very small part of the Interlake, and, though the transformation there had been great, it had scarcely affected the Indians and Métis who continued the way of life they had always known.

IV. SERVICE CENTERS

In 1881 most services were to be found in Rockwood and Woodlands, although there were also a few in other settled areas. Services were usually found grouped together in "centers", most of which were small and of limited influence. However, there was one large and important center which served much of the settled areas. In addition, there were a few services in strictly rural areas.

Stonewall. This town, located on a limestone erosional remnant in township 13-1E, was typical of the "boom" towns that the railway was producing throughout the Canadian West. In May, 1880, its business

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[89]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1880, Paper no. 4, p. 65.

section consisted of a store, a grist mill, and a blacksmith shop, but by March, 1881 it had "two blacksmith shops, two general stores, a clothing store, boot and shoe store, bakeshop, photo gallery, drug store, hotel, many new homes, and a 20,000 bushel elevator."[90] An unknown number of other new businesses went into operation during 1881 as well. There were also many homes built by the end of 1881, so the population must have been growing and doubtless exceeded 100.

There were many reasons for this rapid growth, but the arrival of S.J. Jackson seems to have been the most important. He bought land in town and then persuaded the railway to build through the town and open a station. He had a genius for promoting the sale of land and seems to have brought in several businessmen. Because the rapid growth of the town would aid his land sales, he also invested in many of the new businesses that were being built.[91] Other people also profited from land sales around the town, but Jackson was the original promoter who virtually made the town.

Even Jackson's skills could not have created such a boom if the town had not had many other advantages. The quarries provided employment for many of the townspeople who were arriving, and the money this brought in meant more business for the Stonewall stores. The position of the town on the portion of the railway nearest the bulk of Rockwood's population along the fertile central ridge and the many trails leading along this ridge north from Stonewall made it the service center for

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[90] The Winnipeg Free Press, March 25, 1881.

[91] R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 5 above), p. 142.

almost all of Rockwood's population. The same factors made it the main distribution center for mail (map 9). The grist mill in the town also attracted trade from most of eastern Woodlands. (Settlers in the western portion of Woodlands went to Portage la Prairie for the same service.) Once Stonewall reached a certain size, its services began to attract business for one another. Farmers coming to the drug store, for instance, would also probably go to the large specialized stores where more variety was offered than in the small general stores elsewhere in the Interlake. This same factor of size attracted new businesses because of the advantage of being near other services. Once Jackson had started the town's "boom", inertia built it up and prevented other centers from growing to a competitive size. The postal revenue map does not show fully Stonewall's position of predominance, largely because the postal figures are based on the period from June, 1880 to June, 1881--a period when Stonewall was still just becoming a "boom" town. The revenue for the period from June, 1881 to June, 1882 had risen to $528.62 (more than double the $235.20 shown on the map). This is more indicative of Stonewall's importance in 1881.

As was typical of early towns of the West, town lots were quite large. This made it possible for most of the residents to have large gardens or to pasture cattle in town. One resident even had a large orchard in town.[92] This gave the town as a whole a rustic air, and only the presence of stores and the proximity of the houses to one another distinguished it from some rural areas.

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[92] R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 5 above), p. 151; Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1883.

Balmoral. This town, just north of Stonewall, owed its existence to local initiative and the presence of the grist mill, which was apparently built in hopes that a railway would pass through the town.[93] Failure to attract the railway and competition from Stonewall prevented the town growing to any size, even though the grist mill had a large hinterland to the north.[94] It is not known what other services were offered nor what the population was.

Stony Mountain. This town, located on the settlers' main trail to the north, was early used as a stopping place, and in the mid-1870's a store and hotel were built there.[95] Despite this early start, the possibility of employment in the quarries, a well-drained site, and the presence of a railway, Stony Mountain remained small. It lacked someone of Jackson's abilities to promote the town, and it was in an unfortunate situation. The railway did much to bring Stony Mountain even more into Winnipeg's hinterland, and it allowed Stonewall to offer closer rail service for the settlers along the Rockwood Ridge. This and Stonewall's greater number of services cut off Stony Mountain's hinterland to the north. On the east most of the land was uninhabited bog, and on both south and east speculators held most of the land. With its hinterland thus limited, Stony Mountain was of little importance as a service center. The penitentiary and the quarries were the main reasons for its continued existence. Population figures are not available.

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[93] North-West Free Press, January 21, 1881.

[94] R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 5 above), p. 117.

[95] Ibid., p. 30; The Winnipeg Free Press, October 6, 1877.

Other service centers in Rockwood and Woodlands. The railway was a great centralizing factor, and new serviceswere being established in centers that were along the railway or that expected the railway soon. Some services also migrated to the railway centers--for example, at Meadow Lea the church and blacksmith shop moved to the station site.[96] The new postal routes, reorganized because of the railway, also made the railway a center for mail distribution. Those areas with no hope of a railway in the near future received no new services except post offices and schools. Though only one real railway town had developed, the effect of the railway on the location of service centers forecast the time when railway towns would be almost the only service centers.

In Woodlands no real town had developed, partly because of a more sparse and scattered population. The area also lacked a nodal point for transportation routes, and plans to move the railway must have prevented building on the old line, while the new line had not yet attracted any services. The lack of permanent settlers and the disruption of the transportation systems did much to retard the development of towns in Woodlands.

In these two municipalities a great many services had been present almost from the start of settlement. Blacksmiths were to be found in all areas--shoeing horses and keeping machinery and tools in working order. Stores had sprung up to supply the needs of the farmers. The idea of the importance of schools, free to all, had been brought from Ontario, and schools had been built in most districts. Where no

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[96]Madeline Proctor (see footnote no. 13 above), pp. 58, 99, 148.

church existed, services were sometimes held in the school, and the dances and "socials" that relieved the monotony of pioneer life were generally held there also.

The settlers were staunchly religious and frequently churches were among the first services offered. Most were Methodists, Anglican, or Presbyterian, though there was one Baptist church located in Stonewall. Lacking a church of their own faith, people would often go to churches of another denomination, and in Stony Mountain Methodists, Anglicans, and Presbyterians took turns using the same church.[97]

Icelandic Reserve. In the Icelandic reserve, stores, churches, a newspaper, a school, and even a form of government were set up in the early years, but with the disintegration of the colony, the school, the newspaper, and the government ceased to function,[98] and it is probable that a similar fate befell some of the stores. The churches had formed the center for the communities within the colony, and despite the religious difference that was instrumental in destroying the colony, the Lutheran church retained much of its importance after the exodus. The greatest factor leading to centrality was the presence of employment in the ship-building yard and sawmill of Icelandic River, and employment, rather than services offered, was of the greatest importance

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[97]R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 5 above), p. 291.

[98]This is abbreviated from a discussion covering several pages in each of: Agantyr Amason (see footnote no. 17 above); N.W. Kristjanson (see footnote no. 15 above); and Olaf Sigurdson, Icelandic Settlement in Manitoba and other Points in America (Master's thesis for the University of Manitoba, 1929).

to the few Icelanders still remaining in 1881.

Remainder of the Interlake. Beyond the area discussed almost no change had occurred in service centers since 1871. There is no proof that all the stores in existence in 1871 were operating in St. Laurent and Oak Point, but there is no reason to believe they had closed. Oak Point's hinterland included the settled area north of the settlement, but it is unlikely that the Protestants there patronized the Catholic mission at St. Laurent, and they had probably built their own church. At Fisher River a Methodist church mission and school served the Indians of the new reserve,[99] but this seems to have been the only change in the Indian areas.

This pattern of service centers, established by 1881, was to survive almost intact for two decades. Only in Woodlands, where the new railway would bring new centers into being, was there to be any appreciable change in the pattern--though the number of services offered underwent many changes.

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[99]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1882, Paper no. 6, pp. 112-113.

CHAPTER IV

1891

The "boom" condition which existed in Rockwood and Woodlands in 1881 continued until 1883 when the boom burst. New settlement practically ceased, Stonewall went into a period of decline, and in some sections depopulation was serious. The start of construction of a new railway in 1885 brought a number of new settlers at the same time that settlers were returning to the Icelandic reserve. By 1887 the influx of settlers had practically stopped, and the Interlake settled down to a period of consolidation of the area already occupied.

I. POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT

The population of the Interlake in 1891 was over 8,961[1]--more than twice the 1881 population. The parts of the Interlake which had been settled by 1881 were all more densely populated (map 10), and Rockwood municipality, the Icelandic reserve, and the area north-west of Shoal Lake showed the greatest population increases. The most densely populated areas were still the two Métis settlements, followed by part of Rockwood, the lake shore in the Icelandic reserve, and some of the

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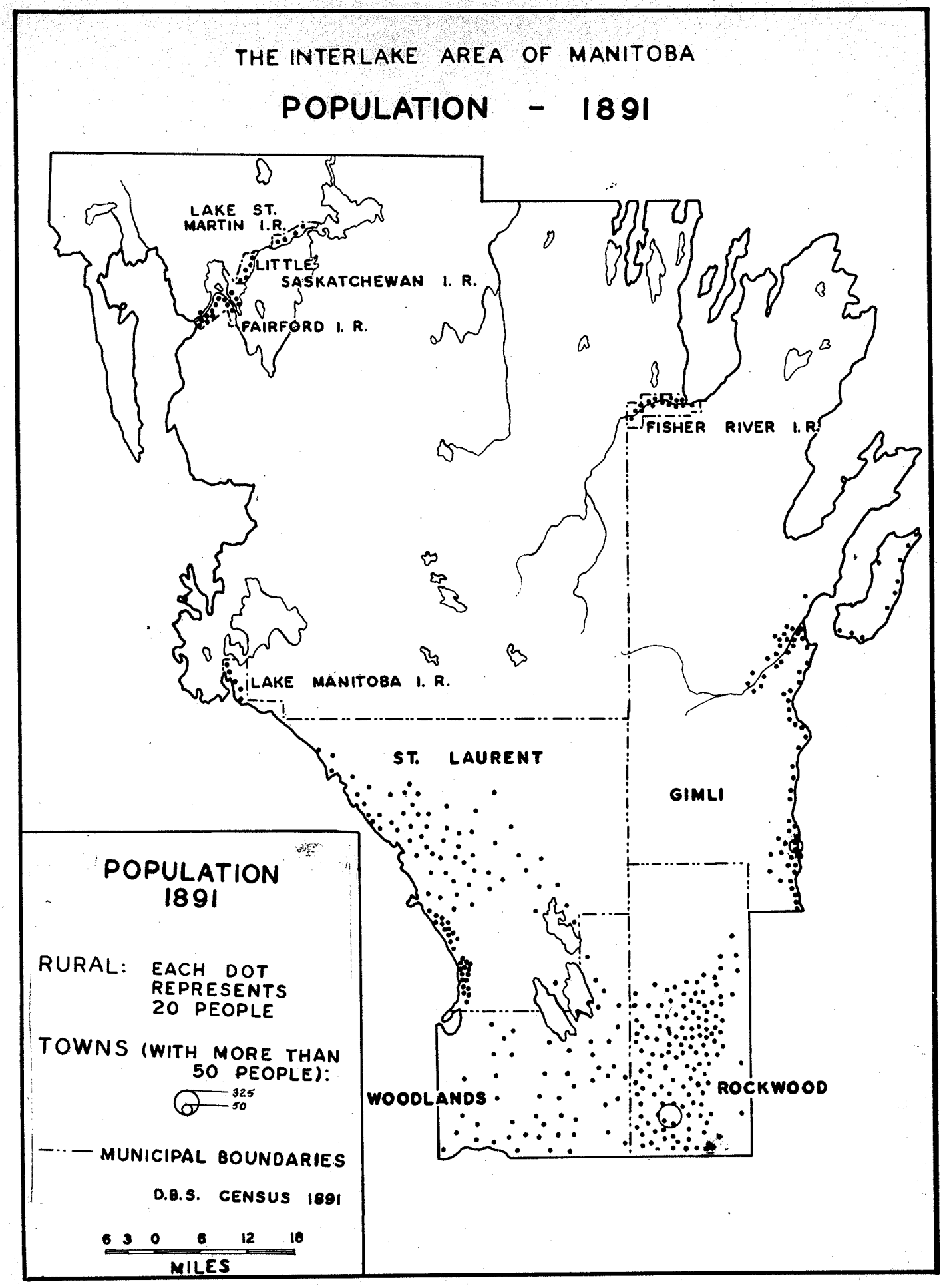
[1]Canada, Department of Agriculture, Census of Canada: 1890-91, Vol. 1. This figure does not include the population of the Fisher River Indian Reserve. Unless otherwise stated, all population data are from this source.


THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
POPULATION - 1891
LAKE ST. MARTIN I.R.
LITTLE SASKATCHEWAN I. R.
FAIRFORD I. R.
FISHER RIVER I. R.
LAKE MANITOBA I. R.
ST. LAURENT
GIMLI
WOODLANDS
ROCKWOOD
POPULATION 1891
RURAL: EACH DOT REPRESENTS 20 PEOPLE
TOWNS (WITH MORE THAN 50 PEOPLE):
325
50
MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES
D.B.S. CENSUS 1891
6 3 0 6 12 18
MILES

Map 10

Indian reserves. Woodlands municipality and the area immediately around Shoal Lake remained quite sparsely populated. The settled area had expanded northward, but well over two-thirds of the Interlake still remained virtually uninhabited.

The population was clustered in three main areas, and within these areas other groupings occurred. The three main areas were (1) the "Ontario" municipalities of Rockwood and Woodlands; (2) the Lake Winnipeg shore area; and (3) the Lake Manitoba area (north of Woodlands). On Lake Winnipeg the main group was the Icelanders, but there were a few non-Icelandic whites and an Indian reserve. On Lake Manitoba were the Métis settlements, an area of mixed settlement north of that, and the Indian reserves.

Rockwood. Rockwood's population had nearly doubled, and it was still the most populous municipality. Population growth had been fairly steady, from 1,575 in 1881 to 2,264 in 1886 to 2,901 in 1891. The population density was still greatest along the sides of the central ridge where the richest soils are, but the fastest growth had been in the areas of poorer soils--areas largely unoccupied in 1881.[2]

Considerable new land had been homesteaded in townships 15- and 16-1E, and a few new homesteads had been taken up elsewhere throughout the settled area (map 1). Probably one-third of the population increase was due to this arrival of new homesteaders, as the greatest increases

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[2]See map 10. The population density shown on this map is based on data from the census, distributed according to the location of home-owners as shown in Rockwood Municipality's Tax Assessment Roll: 1891, (on file in the municipal office).

were in townships 15- and 16-1E where more of the new homesteads were located. The population increases in townships 17-2E and 3E were also due mostly to new homesteading. Elsewhere the effect of homesteading was probably not very great. Most homesteads were taken out before 1883 (while the land "boom" was still on) or after 1888. The new settlers seem to have been mostly of British origin.[3]

Although there is much evidence that a number of settlers bought land in Rockwood during the decade, it is impossible to determine how many. The municipal tax assessment roll for 1891 showed that much of the land that had been granted as military grants and half-breed script was occupied by resident farmers in 1891. As most of this land had been owned by speculators in 1883,[4] it must have been purchased by bona fide farmers in the interim. Settlers who could afford to buy land often did so to avoid the necessity of taking up land on the frontiers of settlement or of accepting land passed over by others because of its poor potential. Such settlers generally brought capital into the area and set up a very comfortable establishment at once. A number of factors combined to bring some of these settlers into Rockwood. The main factor was the drop in land prices following the end of the "boom" in 1883.[5] The high prices of the "boom" had made it more profitable

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[3]Township Registers (on file at the Lands Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba) give homesteaders' names and the date of homestead entries. Ethnic origin is inferred from these names.

[4]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1883, (on file in the municipal office).

[5]The Western World, (Winnipeg), March, 1890.

to resell the property than to attempt to farm it. Rockwood's combination of woods, prairie, slightly rolling land, good soil, and proximity to Winnipeg made it more attractive than many other areas of Manitoba. In addition, a number of sections that had previously appeared unsatisfactory for settlement were now available. A series of dry years throughout the decade, and particularly from 1883 to 1886, had considerably lowered the water table on the lower slopes of the ridge, and settlers were able to occupy land closer to the bog area of range 3E.

Another factor in population growth may have been growth of the service centers. This was very rapid to 1883 or 1884 during the boom, but, thereafter, there was a rapid decline. By 1891 the population was fairly steady, but there is no way to measure the change.[6]

A fourth factor affecting population change was probably change in family size, but this cannot be measured. The number of families had changed from 313 in 1881 to 535 in 1891,[7] an increase reflecting the importance of the three factors already discussed.

In spite of this great growth in population, much vacant land still remained in the municipality, even within the settled area. No school lands had yet been bought, apparently because they had not yet

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[6]Data are not available on the 1881 population, and the only available 1891 population figure is for Stonewall, which had a population of 326. (Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1891).

[7]Census (see footnote no. 1 above).

been offered for sale (many were sold during 1892 and 1893).[8] A few speculators still held land in townships 13 and 14.[9] The Canadian Pacific Railway had been granted about 30 odd-numbered sections--mostly in townships 15 and 16 of ranges 1E and 3E. None of these appear to have been sold by 1891.[10] A few quarter-sections that had been homesteaded had also been abandoned. In general, however, most of the land in the settled areas had been occupied.

To the east of the settled area the bog of range 3E was still largely unoccupied, as only land near the edges of the bog had dried off to any extent during the decade. Most of the land was held by speculators, the Canadian Pacific Railway, or the province. The federal-provincial agreement that had led to attempts at draining as early as 1880 had in 1884 brought about the transfer of over 11 sections of land to the province as "swamp lands". The province had made attempts to sell this land, but less than one section had been sold by 1891; the rest was still held by the province.[11]

On the north-east (township 17-3E), settlement seems to have been limited mostly by distance from Winnipeg. The soils in the township were good, and though drainage was only fair, this should have presented no obstacle in the dry years before 1891. Only a small number of settlers had begun to penetrate this far north (map 1).

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[8] Township Registers, (see footnote no. 3 above).

[9] Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Rolls: 1891.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Township Registers (see footnote no. 3 above).

In north-west Rockwood much more land was unoccupied. The main factors limiting settlement were the stony, infertile, poorly-drained soils, the heavy forest, and the distance from Winnipeg.

The pattern of settlement and population distribution was basically unchanged from 1881. The main difference in the settlements was the changes in homes. Over one-half of the buildings had four rooms or more, and over one-quarter had six or more rooms.[12] Most of the buildings were of frame construction, apparently because a lumber mill operating in the municipality made lumber much cheaper and because the settlers were more well-established and able to afford better homes. Log homes had mostly been converted to use as barns or sheds, and few remained in use as houses.[13] Most of the new buildings were built on foundations made of field stones cemented together with lime and gravel.[14] One source states that every farm in the municipality had a stone cellar for keeping dairy products fresh,[15] but this seems unlikely in view of the large number of new arrivals and the fact that there were still 137 one and two-room houses in use.[16] There were 24 brick houses and 48 stone houses in the municipality,[17] as well as a brick church and a

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[12]Census (see footnote no. 1 above).

[13]R.B. Quickfall, Rockwood Echoes (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1960), p. 311.

[14]Ibid., p. 147; The Nor-West Farmer, May, 1893.

[15]The New West, p. 63.

[16]Census (see footnote no. 1 above).

[17]Ibid.

school, municipal office and churches of stone.[18] The use of brick and stone reflected the prosperity of the settlers as well as the presence of stone quarries and a brick factory. In general, Rockwood had the largest and best buildings in the Interlake.

Woodlands. The population of this municipality had increased considerably over the 1881 population,[19] and the 1891 population totaled 1,032. The population was generally sparse and scattered, with slightly heavier population densities in the south and east (map 10). Population growth had occurred mostly before 1883 and between 1885 and 1887, but depopulation had taken place in other years. The 1886 population (1,098) was greater than the 1891 population.

South of the "Big Ridge" population changes had been slight. Much of the land, particularly in township 13-1W, was still held by speculators. With the drop in land prices following the collapse of boom in 1883, it became possible for bona fide farmers to buy land. In Woodlands much land south of the ridge was bought for farms during 1885 and 1886 when a railway (map 11) was under construction from Winnipeg west of Shoal Lake to cross Lake Manitoba at the Narrows.[20] Probably some of these farmers moved out again after 1886 when it became apparent the line was not going to be put into operation. Natural increase may also have been a factor in population change.

North of the "Big Ridge" population changes had been more erratic,

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[18] R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 13 above), pp. 290,

[19] Exact population figures for 1881 are not available (see p. 36).

[20] The Nor-West Farmer, November, 1886.

and many more factors affected the location of settlers.

Most of the even-numbered sectionswere taken up before the end of the "boom" in 1883, mostly by "mere adventurers, who knew nothing of farming, and never meant to farm", but who planned to do only "as much superficial cultivation as would entitle them to patents on their lands".[21] Many left in 1884 when the "boom" burst, and a large number didn't stay even long enough to get their patents. No doubt the start of construction on the railway west of Shoal Lake encouraged a great many of the settlers to remain for a longer period, but it seems many of them then left later in the decade. (The number of homesteads taken up about a decade later indicates the number of quarter-sections originally homesteaded here and later abandoned before obtaining patents.) A major factor in land abandonment must also have been the extreme unsuitability of the area for farming. The number leaving after 1886 must have been very large, as they more than counterbalanced the number taking up new homesteads during the same period (map 1). In spite of the number of homesteaders who left during the decade, homesteading had considerably expanded the populated area of the municipality, particularly east of Shoal Lake (map 10).

The scattered nature of the population north of the ridge was not due solely to land abandonment. Most of the odd-numbered sections had been granted to the Canadian Pacific Railway (map 1) and were still unsold. Here also much land had been given to the provincial government

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[21] The Western World (Winnipeg), March, 1890.

and was not available for homesteading. A new federal-provincial agreement had been reached on swamp lands in 1886. A team of federal surveyors was examining land in Manitoba, and any land designated by them as swamp land was to be turned over to the province. In 1888 the first of these lands were allocated in the Interlake, amounting to a total of nine sections of land in township 15, ranges 1 to 4W and in township 14-3W.[22] None of this land had been sold by 1891, and there is no evidence that any of the Hudson Bay or school lands had been sold.

The only parts of the municipality where no land had been alienated were in the western half of township 15-4W and in the north-eastern part of townships 16-1E and 17-1E (map 1). In the former area the land was too marshy for settlement, and five sections had been allocated to the province as "swamp lands". Factors restricting settlement in the area east of Shoal Lake were the same as those affecting north-western Rockwood.

As in 1881, the pattern of settlement and the type of buildings in use were very similar in Rockwood and Woodlands. The main difference was the lack of stone and brick buildings in Woodlands--there was only one building of each material.[23] Woodlands remained much more lightly populated and seemed unlikely to catch up.

Icelandic Reserve. The rate of population increase in Rockwood and Woodlands was more than equalled in the Icelandic reserve where the

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[22]Township Registers (see footnote no. 3 above).

[23]Census (see footnote no. 1 above).

1891 population may have been as much as 1,641,[24] about six times the 1881 population. A small part of the population was non-Icelandic (52 of a total of 889 in 1886). Most of the people still lived in the compact lake-front and river-lot settlement, and almost all were within a mile of the lake or the Icelandic River. Only in the Gimli area had there been any penetration inland, and even there it was slight (map 1). The overall dimensions of the area where population had occurred were little different from 1881.

The compact linear distribution of population reflected the continued use of the "long" quarter-sections, and almost all land was occupied in this form. The reasons for choosing this form of land holding were the same as in 1881.

Only west of Gimli was the use of the regular square quarter-section common. On the ill-drained meadow lands there, hay was abundant, and the Icelanders could get feed for their cattle. Actually, most of the settlers owning land in this area lived in Gimli townsite, so even here there was little disruption of the general settlement pattern.

Hecla Island, surveyed in "long" quarter-sections by the surveyors during 1887 and 1888, was still very lightly populated. Most of the earlier settlement remained abandoned due to the isolation of the area and the lack of agricultural possibilities.[25] A few settlers

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[24]This is the population shown for "Gimli" in the 1891 census, but the Icelandic agent reported only 1,405 Icelanders on the reserve in 1892 who had been there in 1891 (table 8). The difference cannot readily be explained, unless it is assumed that the census "Gimli" includes more than just the Icelandic reserve.

[25]Field Book No. 4682, 1887 (originals of the surveyors' field notes on file at the Surveys Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba).

remained scattered along the south shore, and a number were located on the north-east part of the island, near the island's post office.

Throughout the Icelandic settlement, physical environment seems to have had little effect on the choice of land. Extremely swampy areas were avoided because it was virtually impossible to build a house there, but otherwise almost the entire shoreline was lined with houses. Free access to the lake and proximity to the main body of settlement seem to have been the most important factors considered in choosing home sites.

The settlers who had arrived after 1881 were mostly either settlers who had fled the area earlier or new immigrants from Iceland, but a few also came via the United States. The return of those who had left began about 1883 and continued throughout the decade. A series of dry years throughout most of the decade had greatly reduced the level of the lake and made the area once more attractive for settlement.[26] Besides, after the "boom" broke in 1883, it became increasingly hard for those living in Winnipeg to find work. This tide of returning settlers was augmented by new settlers arriving from Iceland. Those coming to the reserve were generally the poorest of the immigrants, and they chose the Lake Winnipeg area because there was wood available for housing and fuel and because fish could readily be caught for food.[27]

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[26] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1891, Paper no. 6, p. 148.

[27] The Western World (Winnipeg), January, 1891.

The richest of the settlers arriving in the area were those returning from the United States. Most brought cattle, sheep, and horses with them (they had been engaged in stock-farming rather than fishing in the United States), and many of them had fair-sized herds. The first group of these settlers arrived in Manitoba in 1890,[28] and more came in 1891,[29] but there is no evidence concerning the number who came to the Interlake settlements.

No data are available on the non-Icelandic settlers within the reserve area in 1891, but they probably numbered between 50 and 100.[30] They were an unimportant minority.

The Icelandic reserve settlement, which had seemed on the verge of total extinction in 1881, was again growing quite steadily. The 50 miles of shoreline dotted by deserted shacks in 1881 was now lined with occupied homes, mostly of frame construction using locally cut timber.

Fisher River Indian Reserve. The Indians on this reserve had increased in number by almost 100 to 323.[31] This may have reflected a

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[28]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1891, Paper no. 6, pp. 88, 152.

[29]The Western World (Winnipeg), January, 1891.

[30]In 1886 there were 13 half-breeds, 38 British, 2 Scandinavians, and one Frenchman (Canada, Department of Agriculture, Census of Manitoba, 1885-86).

[31]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1893, Paper no. 14, p. 316.

further influx of Indians into the reserve after 1881, as it seems to have been too great an increase to attribute to natural increase. These Indians remained isolated and were of little significance to the Interlake as a whole.

Area west of the principal meridian and north of Woodlands Municipality. The third populated area was along Lake Manitoba. Though some people lived as far north as Lake St. Martin, most of the population was in the expanded municipality of St. Laurent (map 10). Probably the greatest element of similarity was in house types. Almost all were of log construction similar to those common throughout the Interlake in 1881. The Indians and Métis remained content with these inferior buildings, and most other people in the area had not yet had time to build anything better.

The number of Métis cannot be determined exactly, but there were probably about six hundred.[32] Most of them still lived in log homes in the crowded lake-lot settlements, and these two linear settlements were the most compact settlements in the whole Interlake.

French settlers were arriving (and, to some extent, leaving) throughout the decade. In 1882 a duke and a count arrived from France, bringing a number of other Frenchmen with them.[33] The duke settled

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[32]The 1886 census (see footnote no. 30 above) shows 414 Métis living in townships 16 and 17 west of Shoal Lake (the old St. Laurent Municipality) and 130 north of that, making a total of 544.

[33]Donatien Frémont, Les Francais dans l'Ouest Canadien (Winnipeg: Les Editions de la Liberté, 1959), pp. 11-13.

just north of St. Laurent, and apparently the count lived north of Oak Point.[34] These two members of the French aristocracy were not only community leaders, they also set an example that helped to change the way of life of the Métis. Other Frenchmen arrived during the decade, but the only reference in the contemporary source material was to a group who arrived in 1890.[35] One source states that a large number had arrived from Eastern Canada,[36] but there were only 70 French Canadians in the whole Interlake, and only 49 in St. Laurent,[37] so either the number arriving was not very great, or some had left by 1891. The 1886 census shows 74 French in St. Laurent and Posen, but as a number of French settlers arrived after that, it seems likely that this is a very conservative figure.

Few French took up homesteads,[38] but at least a few bought land in township 17-4W previously held by speculators.[39] The land chosen was generally grassland with thin soils over sandy and gravelly subsoil--land ill-suited to agriculture and capable of supporting limited

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[34]St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1891. This roll refers only to townships 16 and 17 and does not show any land owned by the count.

[35]The Western World (Winnipeg), July, 1890.

[36]Marcel Giraud, Le Métis Canadien: Son Role dans l'Histoire des Provinces de l'Ouest (Paris, 1945), p. 1182.

[37]Census (see footnote no. 1 above).

[38]Township Registers (see footnote no. 3 above).

[39]St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1891.

numbers of grazing animals. The choice of land seems to have been because of the presence of the Métis--a group kindred in language and religion--though the presence of the Catholic church may well have been important, too.

British half-breeds north of Oak Point probably numbered only about one hundred.[40] For the most part, they were living near the lake shore (in townships 18, 19, and 20) among the British, French and Icelanders.

In townships 19 and 20 along the lake shore were a few Scottish settlers; inland was a sizeable settlement of other British settlers--mostly from Ontario. Though some had been present in 1881, most had come in the period 1884 to 1887 when construction was beginning on the railway that was to pass to the west of Shoal Lake. The new settlers had chosen land as near as possible to the proposed route of the new railway, with little thought given to the suitability of the land for farming. Most of the land chosen was grassland, suitable for grazing and easy to break for farming, but the soil was so thin and poor as to make the land ill-fitted for grain growing. Most of townships 16 and 17 were bypassed because the land was held by speculators, and land of the same quality could be had further north for a homestead fee of a mere ten dollars. It was felt that when the railway was completed, the longer distance to market would not be such an important factor. The exact number of settlers of British origin is not known with any degree of accuracy as these settlers were coming (and, often, leaving)

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[40] Census: 1886 (see footnote no. 30 above) shows 81.

throughout the decade.

The only completely new group in the area was made up on Icelanders. They numbered about two hundred,[41] and were mostly found in townships 19-5W, 20-5W and 19-3W. Though they were mostly settled east of the other groups in the area, they had no reserved areas and, to some extent, mixed with the other ethnic groups.

Icelandic settlement began in 1887--most of the settlers came from Winnipeg where they had been unable to get work. O. Sigurdson, who studied the early Icelandic settlements in America, give the following as reasons for the choice of this area:

> At this time the Hudson Bay Railway was making preparations for the construction of a railway from Winnipeg into this district. This summer the land was dry. The soil appeared fertile with a good growth of grass. . . The belief that here stock-raising on a large scale, later to be replaced by grain growing, would be profitable . . . was with many a leading factor in selecting this district as a site for their new homes.[42]

It would appear that the large areas of low-lying grassland in the area was a major reason for choosing the area for settlement. This was true to the extent that no settlement occurred in the forested areas, and almost all settlers had taken up land on the open meadow lands. The swamps and marshes along the lakes were also avoided.

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[41]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1891, Paper no. 6, p. 148, shows 155 in 1890; Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1893, Paper no. 13, p. 116, shows 238 in 1892.

[42]Olaf Sigurdson, Icelandic Settlements in America (Master's thesis for the University of Manitoba, 1929), p. 79.

Apparently the belief in the agricultural potential of the area was quite widespread, for many of the Icelanders, returning from the United States in 1890 and 1891, chose this area for its agricultural potential.

In 1890, the Icelanders in an area known as Siberia (townships 20-3W and 4W) were forced to move. Heavy rains throughout the summer had flooded their hay lands to such an extent that no hay could be cut, so the entire colony moved to a new site near the shores of Shoal Lake. (These settlers did not register their new homesteads until 1892, so their homesteads are shown on map 1 as having been taken up between 1892 and 1896.) The new site was chosen because of the good grass along the lake shore and because it was closer to the Winnipeg market.[43] The land chosen included ridges well back from the lake shore where a scattered growth of trees provided some protection for homesites and where drainage was quite good, but most of the land was lake meadow along the shore. In addition to the land actually homesteaded, large areas of unoccupied grassland that could be used for hay and grazing was to be found nearby. The fact that the lake could be used for fishing may also have influenced the choice of this land.

An extremely small group of settlers (perhaps only two) was located at the Narrows, west of Dog Lake on Lake Manitoba. Two Icelanders first arrived at the Narrows in 1887 for summer fishing, and two years later they returned to take up permanent residence.[44]

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[43] Lundar Diamond Jubilee (Lundar, 1948), p. 28; N.W. Kristjanson, The Icelanders in Manitoba (Manuscript in the provincial archives, Winnipeg), chapter 15, p. 22.

[44] N.W. Kristjanson (see footnote 43 above), chapter 15, p. 30.

Others may have joined them by 1891. The choice of the area as a settlement site was mostly due to the fishing potential of the area, but extensive open meadow lands with a few wooded ridges interspersed also made ideal conditions for stock-raising, and the lake provided excellent transportation.

Indians. North of St. Laurent municipality, the Indians made up by far the largest part of the population. They still lived on the same four reserves as in 1881 and, as the following table shows, were generally decreasing in number:

Reserve	1891 Population	Population Change 1881-1891
Lake Manitoba	107	-63
Fairford	171	-43
Little Saskatchewan	193	+11
Lake St. Martin	81	+14
Total	462[45]	-81

The decrease in population cannot be explained satisfactorily, though it may have reflected difficulties encountered by the Indians in their attempts to adjust to a changing environment.

There were probably some half-breeds near the Indian reserves and some British in the Hudson Bay post, the missions, and the schools,

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[45]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1893, Paper no. 14, p. 316.

but they were few in number.[46]

The area along Lake Manitoba contained some areas of extremely heavy population, large areas where the population was sparse, and still larger areas where there was no population. The Métis settlements, and to a lesser extent the Indian reserves, were among the most heavily-populated areas in the entire Interlake (map 10). In the settled areas the odd-numbered sections were not open for homesteading, so population density was restricted. As well, some of the even-numbered sections in settled areas were unoccupied. Most of this was just because of the swampy nature of some of the land, but between 1886 and 1891, settlers began to realize that the proposed railway was not going to be completed, and some land abandonment took place in better areas. This was particularly the case with land which had been taken up by settlers coming from other parts of Canada, and this appears to have been why townships 17-2W and 17-3W were so sparsely settled (map 1). Settlement was limited to the area where meadow lands predominated and where trees were found only on the higher ridges. The forested area to the north remained virtually deserted except for the Indian reserves, partly because of the heavy forest cover, and partly because of the distance from Winnipeg. East of the Oak Point and St. Laurent settlements most of the land was still controlled by speculators, and the

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[46]The 1886 census (footnote no. 30 above) lists 71 British and 81 half-breeds for "Fairford" which included a huge area north of the study area as well as the area under discussion. (The 1886 Indian population for Fairford was given as 877, about 300 more than the population on the reserves in the study area).

high prices asked by these speculators and the unsuitability of the land for farming, kept the area deserted (map 10). Most of township 18-5W, about 14 sections in townships 19-4W, 18-4W, 18-3W, and 18-2W, and about 11 sections in 16-2W, 17-2W, and 17-3W, were set aside in 1888 as "swamp land".[47] This land was under provincial control and was not open for homesteading, but the settlers had already bypassed it. By 1891, none of it had been sold. There were a few other unoccupied quarter-sections within the settled area.

The area along Lake Manitoba had had its settlement "boom" and burst, and by 1891 its population was quite stable. The new settlers outnumbered the Indians and Métis, but only one group, the Icelanders, were still arriving in any number.

Summary. The physical separation of the various ethnic groups in the Interlake, although still pronounced, had begun to break down. British settlers made up the bulk of the population of Rockwood and Woodlands, the Icelandic Reserve was still theoretically closed to non-Icelandic people, the Métis still clung to their insular lake lot settlements, and the Indians remained practically isolated on their reserves. However, in the area north and north-east of Oak Point, French, British, Icelandic and half-breed settlers were settled in the same general area. They still tended to form distinct ethnic communities within the area, but the juxtaposition of the ethnic groups permitted more intercourse between the groups, and the first

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[47] Township Registers (see footnote no. 3 above).

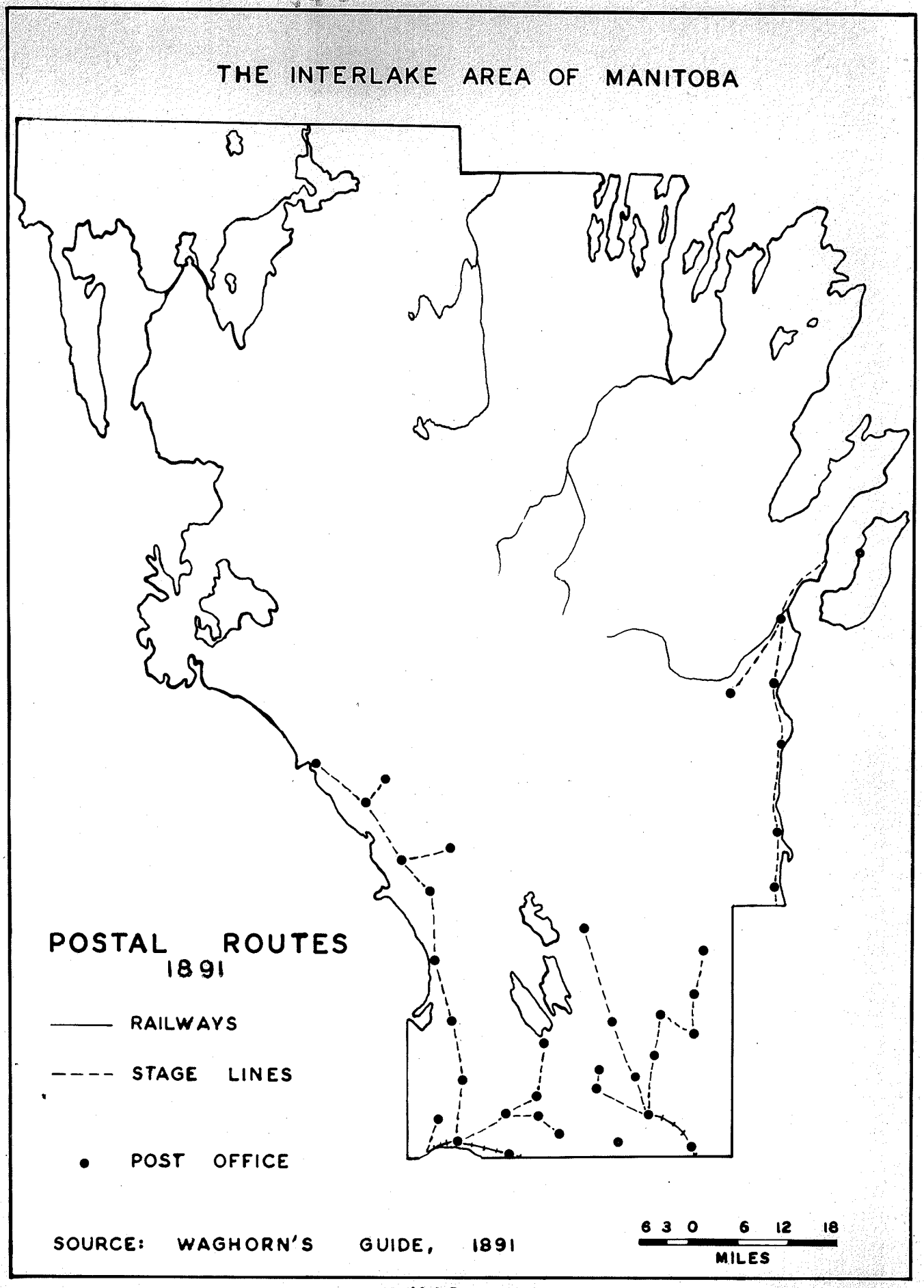
assault on ethnic barriers in the Interlake was being made. The geographical mixing of different ethnic groups was a natural result of the expansion of settlement, but only in this one part of the Interlake had there been the right combination of factors to attract such a mixed group of settlers.

II. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

The basic pattern of transportation and communication had remained unchanged since 1881, but many minor changes had occurred.

The main mail routes were still located in the south, but a few new post offices had been opened further north, and many of the mail routes in the south had been changed (map 11). A new mail route connected all the centers in the Icelandic Reserve, and another extended northward from Oak Point to the growing settlements there. In Rockwood there were very few changes in the postal routes, but in Woodlands almost all routes started in Raeburn on the new transcontinental railway and radiated outward.

A few new roads had come into use, and many of the old ones had been somewhat improved. Municipal road building was still being done by the rather inefficient system of statute labour which required that each land owner do a certain amount of labour on roads in lieu of paying taxes. Most of the work done was in the nature of filling in low-lying, swampy areas to make them passable in wet weather. Gimli municipality, for instance, still had only 120 miles of road, most of which was part of the main road connecting the settlements with Selkirk, but even this


THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
POSTAL ROUTES
1891
RAILWAYS
STAGE LINES
POST OFFICE
SOURCE: WAGHORN'S GUIDE, 1891
6 3 0 6 12 18
MILES

MAP II

main trail was mostly flooded in the spring.[48] The roads in St. Laurent municipality were also quite poor, though the main trail from Raeburn through Oak Point was in quite good condition, as most of it followed well-drained ridges. In Woodlands and Rockwood, roads were slightly better, partly because the municipal system had been in effect there for a longer period of time. The better roads generally followed the ridges, but there were also a number of roads following the road allowances around each section of land. The best road in the Interlake was the so-called Warren Road, which was in fact the abandoned roadbed of the old C.P.R. main line west of Stonewall.[49] Most other roads were little more than slightly improved trails. The use of horses and oxen for transportation made it unnecessary to make many improvements, as in many instances settlers simply cut across the open prairie.

Steamboats had become more important during the decade, to some extent due to the increased population along Lake Winnipeg. There the Icelanders had continued to build boats until about 1885, after which they had them built in Selkirk. Steamers other than those owned by the Icelanders were also plying the lake, but for the most part, the Icelandic vessels served the reserve area, and the other vessels took cargoes to and from points outside the study area. Steamboats had also

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[48]Minutes of a meeting of the council of the municipality of Gimli in 1891 (on file in the Gimli municipal office).

[49]R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 13 above), p. 148.

begun operating on Lake Manitoba,[50] and there, too, they served other areas as well as the study area. The Fairford area was very dependent on the steamboats as they were used to transport lumber from sawmills located there.

Only the extreme southern portion of the Interlake was served by railways. The line to Stonewall no longer extended beyond that point, and the main line of the C.P.R. passed through only the small area around Long Lake. Trails and postal routes radiated out from Stonewall and Raeburn, the most important railway stations in the area. The railway, begun in 1885, had been completed only as far as Shoal Lake, but was of no importance as it was never used, and by 1891, all hope for finishing it had been abandoned.

Largely because of the general slowing down of settlement during the decade, changes in transportation and communication were taking place slowly. The collapse of the "boom" in 1883 had been instrumental in slowing down all developments. By 1891 improvements were being made mostly at the local level, as represented by the improvement of roads undertaken by the municipalities, but even these developments were of only minor significance.

III. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The collapse of the boom in 1883 brought most economic improvements to a standstill; there were a few new advances made late in the

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[50]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1893, Paper no. 14, p. 56.

decade. Most changes occurred in agriculture, but there were also a few new industries begun for handling agricultural produce.

Rockwood agriculture. As in the previous decade, the most advanced part of Rockwood appears to have been the eastern slope of the central ridge, and the southern and western slopes were almost as well-developed (table 5). The areas of poor soils above the ridge and the bog area of range 3-E were still much less developed.

The production of grain for sale had been the original objective of most farmers of the area, and by 1891 there were indications that this was being achieved. The best indicator of this is the increased importance of wheat relative to oats (table 6). The former was raised almost entirely for sale, whereas oats was more important as a feed grain. Settlers in Tp. 13-1E were talking of going out of cattle altogether,[51] and a contemporary reported that "Grain growing is ubdoubtedly the stronghold of Rockwood's popularity."[52]

However, in spite of this trend toward grain growing, cattle were still a major element in all parts of the municipality (table 5), and almost every farm had some. The relative importance of cattle varied with the physical environment. In general, the areas of poorer soil had more cattle and less cultivated land. On the slopes of the central

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[51]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Agriculture", Sessional Papers: 1891, Paper no. 6, p. 113.

[52]Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Report of the Minister of Agriculture for the Province of Manitoba for the Year 1884, p. 313.

TABLE 5

ROCKWOOD MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1891*

Township	Acres Culti-vated	Horses	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
13-1E	2,666	166	32	629	-	97
13-2E	2,070	144	20	705	10	62
13-3E (part)	-	-	-	-	-	-
14-1E	2,700	175	42	506	-	67
14-2E	2,560	139	34	268	192	52
14-3E (part)	3	2	-	7	-	-
15-1E	1,970	96	65	402	28	63
15-2E	3,915	260	94	982	99	131
15-3E (part)	37	6	2	42	-	3
16-1E	146	8	20	82	-	9
16-2E	2,497	122	33	721	49	120
16-3E (part)	128	16	6	86	-	7
17-1E	-	-	-	-	-	-
17-2E	52	10	9	95	-	4
17-3E (part)	60	12	4	44	-	-
Total	18,804	1,158	361	4,569	378	615

*Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1891.

TABLE 6

SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR THE INTERLAKE: 1891*

	Fairford & Posen	Gimli	Rock-wood	Wood-lands	St. Laurent
Milk cows	236	917	2,278	1,428	1,569
Other cattle	483	1,566	4,005	2,671	2,521
Sheep	17	1,910	432	234	243
Pigs	30	12	806	522	285
Hens	107	766	8,802	1,403	1,791
Other fowl	2	2	722	548	191
Cattle killed or sold	20	311	1,163	574	815
Pigs killed or sold	16	-	1,032	379	331
Sheep killed or sold	-	463	214	52	30
Pounds of wool	68	8,784	2,196	979	1,080
Wheat (acres)	-	62	9,049	2,141	19
Barley (acres)	3	10	1,654	593	23
Oats (acres)	-	5	5,245	2,257	20
Potatoes (acres)	13	90	255	104	172
Turnips (acres)	-	3	58	20	24
Hay (tons)	2,264	7,033	11,415	10,542	16,077
Homemade butter (lbs.)	7,300	38,109	191,570	83,643	58,621
Homemade cheese (lbs.)	-	-	510	265	2,545

*Canada, Department of Agriculture, Census of Canada: 1890-91, Vol. IV.

ridge, a contemporary noted the following distribution:

> At the foot of the eastern and western slopes hay of the best quality is produced while along the sides of the ridge the far-famed No. 1 hard wheat is a staple product.[53]

This reflects the fact that the slopes of the ridge, though possessing soils of approximately the same agricultural value as those of the lower slopes, had far superior drainage and no fear of flooding. The lower slopes suffered from occasional summer flooding after the crops had sprouted and, more frequently, from spring flooding before the crops were planted. This made it impossible to get on the land until much later in the spring, and late-seeded crops often suffered from fall frosts as the wheat used required a long growing season. The flooding also made these lower slopes less suitable for building sites, and generally the buildings were higher up the slope. The cattle were generally kept near the buildings, and the low-lying land was used almost exclusively for hay.

The eastern limit of cultivation had been changing during the decade, and more land on the lower slopes was being used. The series of dry years, almost unbroken since 1881, had encouraged the farmers to expand eastward. In 1891 these farmers suffered when a series of unusually heavy spring rains caused flooding of the grain fields,[54] but the floods actually had some value, as they produced an unusually

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[53] The Western World (Winnipeg), March, 1890.

[54] Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Report on Crops and Livestock in Manitoba (Bulletin 29), July 1, 1891.

heavy hay crop. This was of the greatest importance to the farmers on these lower slopes, for although they were breaking more land, they still depended mostly on cattle. For example, Mr. Wood, who lived at the eastern base of the slope, had 125 acres cultivated and 125 head of cattle. The statistics for range 3E (table 5) show that most of the lowest land had, in fact, not been brought into intensive use by 1891.

Although most of the settlers in Rockwood had come with very limited means, there were a few well-to-do settlers as well. The latter bought land and hired others to work it for them. They could thus get land cleared and broken very quickly; one had 140 acres broken in 1890, and another had 160 acres broken in 1891.[55] Men of means such as this, though rare, were of great importance to the area. Not only did they set examples in large-scale farm management, but they also offered a source of income for smaller farmers who wished part-time employment to supplement their farm income. Full-time workers were hard to find, as most residents preferred to farm land of their own--something they could do very easily because of the availability of free land. Thus the needy and the well-to-do settlers were to some extent mutually dependent.

In the decade following 1881 a greater appearance of permanency had settled on the farms of the municipality. Not only were larger areas under cultivation and more cattle to be found on each farm, but

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[55]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Agriculture", Sessional Papers: 1891, Paper no. 6, p. 113.

the farms were more diversified and oxen were little used (table 5). Sheep, pigs, and poultry were ubiquitous; the pigs in particular were used for home meat production.[56] Almost every farmer had a garden and an orchard of small fruits; some even kept bees.[57] The number of purebred herds was on the increase.[58] This was mostly due to the foresight of the settlers themselves, as usually only the most progressive had purebred stock, but it was also encouraged by the municipality. One of the most substantial bonuses given during the decade was for the purchase of a purebred Percheron Stallion in Chicago,[59] but bonuses were also given for purchasing purebred bulls.

In most instances cattle on the farms were kept for milking; most of the other cattle (table 6) were younger stock. Most of the milk and cream from the southern part of Rockwood was sent to the new creamery at Stonewall or the new cheese factory at Stony Mountain.[60] However, many of the settlers were at such great distances from these centers that it was extremely awkward to take the milk and cream in regularly, so much home-made butter and some home-made cheese were still being produced (table 6). Probably some of this was produced

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[56]Table 6 shows more killed during the year than the number on hand.

[57]The Western World (Winnipeg), March, 1890; The New West (Winnipeg: Canadian Historical Publishing Co., 1888), p. 63, states that in Stonewall "Bee culture is becoming a favourite occupation among the residents".

[58]The Western World, March, 1890.

[59]The Stonewall News, February 16, 1884.

[60]The Western World (Winnipeg), March, 1890.

in the southern part of the municipality as well.

Woodlands' Agriculture. Woodlands' agriculture lagged far behind that of Rockwood. There a much smaller acreage was cultivated, and there were fewer farm animals (table 6). Even on the good soils south of the Big Ridge the number of acres cultivated per township was much smaller than that in Rockwood (table 7), mostly because so much land was still held by speculators. Most of the wheat in the municipality was grown on the good soils south of the Big Ridge, as also was some of the oats. North of the ridge almost the only grain grown was oats for use as feed. The thin, infertile soils there seemed to be discouraging even the growing of oats, and no township had over 100 acres under cultivation (table 7). This same factor seems to have limited the carrying capacity of the land, for the number of animals per township was smaller north of the ridge. The large amount of unoccupied and abandoned land was used by resident farmers for hay.[61]

In the portion of Woodlands around Shoal Lake, cattle were of greater importance than elsewhere (table 7). The distance from markets and the railway made it difficult to undertake commercial production of anything that could not be driven to market. Each settler here generally owned a large herd and had chosen the area because of the large acreage of hay land available. The land was predominantly open meadow land and there was little competition for the hay.

Most cattle in Woodlands were raised for milk production.[62]

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[61] The Nor-West Farmer, November, 1886.

[62] The Western World (Winnipeg), March, 1890.

TABLE 7

WOODLANDS MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1891*

Township	Acres Culti-vated	Horses	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
13-1W	105	15	4	97	95	43
13-2W	1,469	125	10	504	99	52
13-3W	640	66	20	347	5	21
13-4W	310	114	5	210	40	51
14-1W	982	121	26	274	-	49
14-2W	590	77	2	229	2	20
14-3W	50	4	10	74	5	7
14-4W	-	3	4	41	-	4
15-1W	82	31	15	220	60	34
15-2W	44	15	9	100	2	4
15-3W	24	16	17	236	25	-
15-4W	40	38	-	14	-	21
16-1W	27	33	10	226	15	18
17-1W	5	15	6	134	6	10
17-2W (part)	-	-	-	74	-	-
Total	4,368	673	138	2,780	354	334

*Woodlands Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1891.

Cheese factories handled most of the produce; one factory was at Meadow Lea,[63] the other at Marquette.[64] These served only the southern part of the municipality, and in fact the one at Marquette also served an area south of the municipality. Elsewhere in the municipality home-made butter and cheese were produced. Other farm animals were common, but none were very important (table 6).

Rockwood and Woodlands--non-agricultural activities. Farm income was still supplemented by various means, but most particularly by the sale of wood to Winnipeg for the local quarries. Only two industries--the cheese factories--were located in Woodlands; all others were in Rockwood.

The quarries still in operation were all located in Stonewall and Stony Mountain. At least three quarries and a kiln were located in Stonewall,[65] and at least two quarries and kilns were found in Stony Mountain.[66] The business depended on the fluctuating Winnipeg market, and the quarries generally operated only when there were contracts to be filled. By this time there was a small local market for building stone and lime, but it was not sufficient to keep the quarries open. There is no information available on 1891 operations.

A brick factory at Stony Mountain made use of the "good brick

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[63]Madeline L. Proctor, Woodlands Echoes (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1960), p. 96.

[64]Woodlands Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1891.

[65]The New West (see footnote no. 57 above).

[66]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1891.

clay found in abundance in the vicinity."[67] Most of the bricks were shipped to Winnipeg for sale, as the local market was very small. It was operating in 1890,[68] so was probably still in operation in 1891.

A sawmill and a planing mill began operations in 1884. The sawmill, at Balmoral, produced only 395,000 ft. B.M. in 1891,[69] much of which must have been used locally. The remainder was probably sold in Winnipeg, but as timber was brought in about 70 miles from Grindstone Point on Lake Winnipeg, the owners must have found it difficult to compete in this market. The planing mill, at the railhead at Stonewall, finished the lumber for sale.[70]

The old industries (the grist mills) had undergone important changes. In 1886 both mills (one at Stonewall, the other at Balmoral) had been converted to steam. After trying unsuccessfully to attract outside investment in a roller mill to be bonused by the municipality, the municipal council had decided to bonus the two mills in the municipality so they could change over to steam and keep up to the demand.[71] In 1891 they were still very important.

Among the new industries were the creamery at Stonewall, the

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[67]The New West (see footnote no. 57 above).

[68]The Western World (Winnipeg), March, 1890; Edward Roper, By Track and Trail: A Journey Through Canada (London: Allen & Co., 1891), p. 50.

[69]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1892, Paper no. 13, p. 33.

[70]The Stonewall News, February 16, 1884.

[71]The Stonewall News discusses this in several issues during 1886.

cheese factory at Stony Mountain, establishments in Stonewall for making bellows, wagons, harness, men's clothing, and dresses, and a shoe-making shop in Balmoral.[72] These industries, with the possible exception of the bellows factory, were more important as services than as industries.

The Icelandic reserve. Though only a few miles to the north-east of Rockwood, the Icelandic reserve had a completely different economy. Fishing remained the leading industry, followed by agriculture (mostly animal husbandry), sawmilling, and transport services. No new industries had developed, and ship-building was no longer carried on.

Fishing was the most widespread as well as the most important industry. As shown below, most of the fish were for home use, although all of the most valuable fish, the whitefish, were sold (mostly in Selkirk):

	Cwt. sold	Cwt. for home use
Whitefish	820	0
Other species	795	3,033[73]

Although fishing was carried on in all parts of the reserve, there were apparently only 116 men actually engaged in fishing.[74] Fish sheds, to keep fish cold in summer while awaiting use or shipment

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[72]The Western World (Winnipeg), March, 1890.

[73]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries", Sessional Papers: 1892, Paper no. 11A, p. 158.

[74]Ibid.

to market, were to be found on Hecla Island and Icelandic River[75] and perhaps elsewhere as well. The people of Gimli were most dependent on fishing as they had almost no other source of livelihood.

Agriculture on the reserve was little more than caring for a few animals--mainly sheep and cattle (table 8). These animals had been very important in Iceland, and the tradition seems merely to have been carried on in the Interlake. This was also reflected in the lack of

TABLE 8

SOME STATISTICS FOR THE ICELANDIC RESERVE IN 1892*

	Population	Acreage Broken	Cattle	Oxen	Horses	Sheep	Pigs
Hecla Island	180	70	183	27	2	264	1
Icelandic River	287	118	554	90	4	764	-
Geysir	190	85	400	60	3	324	27
Hnausa	142	42	264	43	3	278	-
Arnes	148	54	288	31	1	256	-
Gimli townsite	131	4	86	26	5	81	-
Gimli area	169	69	323	54	-	299	-
Husavick	158	35	311	35	-	202	-
Total	1,405	477	2,409	366	18	2,468	28

*Data for settlers who arrived during 1892 have not been included; Canada, Parliament, "Annual Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1893, Paper no. 13, p. 114.

pigs in the reserve area; pigs had never been important in Iceland. The few pigs on the reserve were in the northern area where the settlers had

[75]Surveyors maps, 1888 (on file in the Surveys Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba).

come from North Dakota, so it is possible that pigs were introduced to the reserve from the United States. The acreage cultivated was very small, and of this about the same amount was used for roots and vegetables as for grain (table 6). Wheat was the main crop, apparently because the grain was grown mostly for human consumption, and wheat was the best grain for bread. Only in the north was there any quantity of land under cultivation (table 8), but no area averaged more than four acres per settler, an extremely small acreage in comparison with the southern Interlake. The large numbers of oxen were obviously not used for farming, but may have been important for winter transportation. Horses were rare partly because of their need of grain for feed. The sale of wool (table 6) was probably the only important source of farm revenue.

The Icelanders owned two large sawmills, one at Icelandic River and the other across Lake Winnipeg at Bad Throat River (outside the study area). Some 516,000 ft. B.M. of lumber was produced in the reserve area, and most of the lumber was sold in Selkirk or in Winnipeg.[76] These mills had competitive advantages in a plentiful timber supply near at hand and good transportation facilities to Winnipeg.

Another industry was the operation of steamboats on the lake. The ships were no longer built at Icelandic River, but there were even more being operated by the Icelanders than in 1881. Most of the cargo shipped from the reserve was fish, lumber, and cattle. This industry

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[76]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1892, Paper no. 13, p. 33.

was the only one of any importance on the reserve that had not been carried on in Iceland.

St. Laurent Municipality. The economic activities carried on in St. Laurent Municipality had changed little during the decade, though farming had increased slightly in relative importance at the expense of hunting and fishing. However, fishing was still the major activity, and farming, actually animal husbandry, was still of secondary importance. The literature does not mention hunting, which was probably of very little importance.

St. Laurent was still the shipping point for all the fish caught in the northern part of Lake Manitoba, as well as being an important fishing center itself. Fish were shipped from there overland to Winnipeg, the principal market.[77] Probably most of the fish sold from the Lake Manitoba area (table 9) passed through St. Laurent. In the immediate area both the Métis of the Oak Point and St. Laurent settlements and the Icelanders in the northern part of the municipality were actively engaged in fishing, and most of the fish caught in the general area (St. Laurent area--table 9) were caught by these two groups. This area was unusual in that large amounts of whitefish were used for home consumption and large amounts of other species were sold. The catch from Shoal Lake was all for home use, so maybe the Icelanders who fished there sold their Lake Manitoba catch to the fish buyers in St. Laurent. It is also possible that the estimates on home consumption are unrealistic.

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[77]The Manitoba Free Press, January 7, 1892; January 26, 1884.

TABLE 9

FISH CAUGHT IN THE LAKE MANITOBA AREA
IN THE YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER, 1891*
(in cwts.)

	Whitefish		Other species	
	Sold	For home use	Sold	For home use
St. Laurent Area**	369	200	2,100	400
Shoal Lake	0	0	0	1,072
The Narrows**	899	?	2,088	1,113***
Fairford Area**	500	1,730	30	6,224

*Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries", Sessional Papers: 1892, Paper no. 11A, pp. 156-157 (Figures on amount consumed at home are official estimates.)

**Includes land outside the study area.

***Includes whitefish.

Agricultural advances had been almost all in the realm of animal husbandry, and potatoes and vegetables were still by far the most important crops (table 6). Most of the animals in the Métis area were in the St. Laurent settlement or in the township immediately to the north of it as shown below:

	Horses	Oxen	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
St. Laurent settlement	126	0	486	8	19
Township 16-4W	3	2	26	0	3
Oak Point settlement	19	1	29	0	0
Township 17-4W	29	13	209	0	0
Total	177	16	750	8	22[78]

[78]St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1891.

This concentration is largely attributable to the presence of the French duke. Not only did he have 180 animals on his two and one-half sections of land,[79] but he was also responsible for the presence of two cheese factories. In 1883 he imported from eastern Canada the necessary machinery for the first factory and brought in the Compte de Leuse to run it for him. Sometime before 1890 the two noblemen fell into disagreement, and the Compte set up a rival cheese factory nearby.[80] These cheese factories were patronized by settlers farther north, but their greatest importance was for the St. Laurent settlement. The large quantities of home-made butter and cheese produced in the municipality (table 6) were probably produced by the settlers north of Oak Point. The Icelanders there had a slightly more diversified farm economy than did the Métis, but they too depended mostly on the raising of cattle. Data for 1891 are not available, but the table below shows agricultural statistics for the Icelandic settlement in 1890 and 1892:

Year	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Oxen	Cattle	Sheep	Poultry
1890	26	5	48	340	20	200[81]
1892	35	25	84	619	342	255[82]

The large increases in the number of animals was influenced by the arrival

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[79] Ibid.

[80] Donatien Frémont (see footnote no. 33 above).

[81] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1891, Paper no. 13, p. 148.

[82] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1893, Paper no. 13, p. 116.

of the Icelanders from North Dakota, as many of these settlers brought their livestock with them. The non-Icelandic settlers north of township 17 must have had over 2,000 cattle, over 200 pigs, and over 400 horses.[83] The general dependence on cattle is not surprising, for the municipality was too far from the railway for convenient shipment of grain, and it had abundant grasslands for grazing and hay production and soils ill-suited to grain-growing. Animals and animal products were the only source of farm income; crops were grown for farm use.

Remainder of the Interlake. Detailed information is not available for most of the remainder of the Interlake. The Icelanders at the Narrows raised some cattle on the meadowlands there, but depended mostly on fishing--though they were probably responsible for only a small part of the fish catch there (table 9).

There were three sawmills in this northern area--two at Fisher River and one at Fairford. The latter was the largest in the Interlake and produced 1,324,000 ft. B.M. of lumber and a quantity of railway ties. One of those at Fisher River appears to have been inoperative, but the other produced 800,000 ft. B.M. of lumber.[84] Both areas had the advantage of cheap labour supply from the nearby Indian reserves, a huge area of prime forest to draw on, and good transportation by boat to Westbourne and Selkirk, respectively, and thence by rail to markets in Winnipeg and southern Manitoba.

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[83]Compare figures for Icelanders and Métis with the total for the municipality (table 6).

[84]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1892, Paper no. 13, p. 33.

The Indians, for the most part, depended on hunting and fishing for their sustenance. Some got employment in forest industries, and large numbers carried on a subsistence form of agriculture.

The Indians near Dog Lake depended mostly on fishing--in both Lake Manitoba and Dog Lake--and probably a large part of the fish caught in the area of the Narrows were caught by these Indians. Most of the fish caught were for home use, but they probably sold a considerable quantity as well. Their only other source of income appears to have been the sale of furs. They had "a large and excellent herd of cattle"[85] which were grazed in the abundant meadowlands of the reserve, but this seems to have been the only agricultural enterprise.

The Indian agent stated that on the reserves around Lake St. Martin there were three classes of Indians--hunters, fishermen, and farmers.[86] The greatest source of income was the sale of furs which usually brought in nine to ten thousand dollars.[87] The sale of fish usually brought in over $3,500,[88] but in 1891 fish sales amounted to, at most, $1,030.[89] These small sales reflected a poor fishing season. However, the Indians consumed a much larger quantity of fish than they sold;

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[85]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1893, Paper no. 14, p. 56.

[86]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers; 1889, Paper no. 6, p. 158.

[87]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1891, Paper no. 18, p. 32.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries", Sessional Papers: 1892, Paper no. 11A, p. 156.

probably most of the fish caught in the Fairford area (table 9) were caught by these Indians. Almost the only fish sold were the most valuable species--the whitefish. Little money came from the agricultural enterprises, although apparently the Indians "carried on an extensive (illegal) traffic in cattle with traders until this irregularity was discovered and reported to the department".[90] On the Fairford reserve--the most agriculturally advanced of the three--there were 318 head of cattle, 400 tons of hay were cut, and 300 bushels of grain and 924 bushels of potatoes were harvested. On the other two reserves there were only 130 head of cattle, and only 870 bushels of potatoes were harvested.[91] The Indians of all three reserves, but particularly those in the Fairford band, found employment in the sawmills and associated activities.[92]

On the Fisher River reserve, where the Indians had come for the express purpose of farming, agriculture was of much more significance. Surveyors reported that the reserve included "good farming land" with "splendid hay flats" near the mouth of the river and that the Indians seemed "very comfortable" and had "several good fields of grain and many fine looking cattle".[93] No mention is made of any other activities, but probably employment in the sawmills nearby was their major source on income.

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[90] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1893, Paper no. 14, p. 56.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid; Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1891, Paper no. 18, p. 32.

[93] Canada, Parliament, "Summary Report: Geological Survey Department for the Year 1892", Sessional Papers: 1892, Paper no. 13A, p. 18.

The Indians in general lived much as they had the decade before, though the fur trade was declining and part-time employment in lumber mills was of increasing importance. The Indians' preference for their ancestral way of life was preventing them from adopting more than a semblance of the white man's economy, and economic changes were slight and occurred only very slowly.

Summary. Economic activities in the Interlake as a whole were still largely determined by the cultural heritage of the inhabitants. The British settlers of Woodlands and Rockwood, most of whom had come from Ontario, still depended on a mixed farming economy and had the best farms in the Interlake. They also had the only quarries and the most industries. The Icelanders were as dependent as ever on fishing and animal husbandry, and they continued their steamboat operations on Lake Winnipeg. The Indians and Métis were still mostly concerned with fishing and/or hunting, and agriculture remained of secondary importance. The arrival of French settlers in the St. Laurent area had made the Métis slightly more dependent on dairying, but mostly because of cultural influences derived from the newly-arrived French noblemen. Forestry was carried on to some extent by all ethnic groups regardless of cultural heritage, but in general the physical environment was a limiting factor rather than a determining factor.

IV. SERVICE CENTERS

A decade had made almost no change in the basic pattern of service centers in the Interlake. Stonewall was still the largest and most

important center. Other centers were all small and scattered, and few new centers had come into being in the decade. Most changes had taken place by 1883, and the growth of Stonewall until that time had remained very rapid. Raeburn and Marquette, on the main C.P.R. line, had also enjoyed a period of rapid growth. After 1883 the boom collapsed and many business places closed down. By 1891 the centers had become quite stable, and changes that did take place came about only very slowly. Population figures are available only for Stonewall.

Stonewall. Stonewall (population 324)[94] was by far the largest and most important center in the Interlake. It was the administrative center for the municipality and the county.[95] Its hinterland for such specialized services as its watch maker, its land registry office, its drug store, its furniture store, its hardware store, and its harness shop probably included most of the Interlake outside the Indian reserves and the Icelandic reserve.[96] Its railway station, the cheese factory, and three grain warehouses were the most important services and served all of northern Rockwood and eastern Woodlands. Some services served little more than the town itself (e.g., a bakery, two schools, two butcher shops, and a carpenter shop), but the existence of such services

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[94]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1891.

[95]Data on services offered in the centers in Rockwood municipality are from: Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1891; The Stonewall News, advertisements during 1891; and The Western World (Winnipeg) March, 1890.

[96]N.W. Kristjanson (see footnote no. 43 above), chapter 15, p. 17, states that the settlers north of Oak Point often got supplies in Stonewall.

reflects the size of the town itself. Other services included four churches (Church of England, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist), a newspaper, four general stores, two grocery stores, four implement stores, a lumber dealer, a tin shop, a blacksmith shop, a livery, a grist mill, a tailor shop, a dressmaking and millinery shop, a doctor's office, a normal school, and two hotels. The size of the hinterland for each service depended mostly on the amount of and the location of its competition. Competition for specialized services came from Selkirk to the east, Portage la Prairie to the west, and Winnipeg to the south. For the less specialized services, even the smaller centers offered competition.

Balmoral. Balmoral still lived in Stonewall's shadow, but it had grown slightly during the decade. Its position north of Stonewall gave it a distance advantage for getting the trade of northern Rockwood, and its grist mill, a shoemaker an implement dealer, and two doctors in Balmoral had almost no competition for this trade.[97] Other services included two general stores, three blacksmiths, a school, and two churches--Methodist and Presbyterian. The lack of a railway was the main deterrent to further development.

Stony Mountain. In spite of its position on the railway from Winnipeg to Stonewall, Stony Mountain had grown little since 1881. Its main disadvantage was its small hinterland resulting from its proximity to Stonewall and Winnipeg. Its services included a hotel, a general

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[97]See footnote no. 95 above.

store, a blacksmith shop, two schools, the creamery, three churches—Presbyterian, Church of England, and Roman Catholic.[98]

Raeburn and Marquette. The most compact centers in Woodlands, and the only two served by a railway, were Raeburn and Marquette. Raeburn, the more important of the two, was the distributing center for mail (map 11) and merchandise for the western part of Woodlands municipality and for St. Laurent and other points north along the trail to the Narrows. A hotel in Raeburn provided lodging for the traders and drivers who plied this route.[99] Marquette's main asset was its cheese factory. Data are not available on other services in these centers, but both remained very small. Growth was retarded by the lightly populated hinterland and location peripheral to the municipality, and both centers owed their importance to the presence of the railway.

Woodlands and Meadow Lea. Both Woodlands and Meadow Lea were scattered over an area greater than one square mile. Woodlands, centrally located in the municipality, had the municipal office and several stores, but its importance as a center was not great. Meadow Lea, after the loss of the railway in 1882, had added only one new service—the cheese factory. Both centers were of only local importance.

Smaller centers in Rockwood and Woodlands. There were other "centers" in both Woodlands and Rockwood which offered only one, two, or

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[98] Ibid.

[99] Madeline L. Proctor (see footnote no. 63 above), p. 192.

three services. Most had two or more of the following services: a school, a post office a church, a small store, a blacksmith shop. The schools and churches were still of great importance as community centers, especially in the more remote areas. Post offices and stores were frequently housed in the same building, and often the local store sold little more than tobacco and a few day-to-day necessities. Post offices were sometimes located in farm houses. These small "centers" remained an essential part of the farm community, but most purchases were made in the larger centers.

The Icelandic reserve. Gimli had regained its position as the leading service center in the Icelandic reserve while Icelandic River declined. In 1885 Gimli had been reduced to a town of only five families,[100] but in 1891 it had two stores, a church, and the municipal office.[101] This government function and its location at the southern end of the municipality on the main trail to the rest of the Icelandic reserve helped Gimli regain its importance. Icelandic River's decline was connected with the end of the ship-building industry, and there is evidence of only one store there in 1891. No other center was of more than local importance. Most of the Icelanders' trade was with Selkirk--a large town straight south on the main trail and the shipping routes to Winnipeg.

Remainder of the Interlake. Outside of Rockwood, Woodlands, and

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[100] N.W. Kristjanson (see footnote no. 43 above), chapter 7, part 2, p. 1.

[101] Data on services offered in the Icelandic reserve are from: Henderson's Directory, 1891; and Agantyr Arnason (see footnote no. above), p. 141.

the Icelandic reserve there were no service centers of any great importance. St. Laurent still had the Roman Catholic mission, the municipal office, several stores, and two cheese factories. However, these services were scattered throughout the settlement, and St. Laurent might better be regarded as a number of very small centers bound together by the long-lot system. Oak Point had lost its post office and its Hudson Bay Company store[102] and was of very little importance. There were a number of post offices (map 11) and probably a few stores, churches, and schools in the area north and east of Oak Point, but there was no administrative center around which a town could develop. The only centers in the Indian reserves were Fairford and Fisher River. The former still had the church mission and the Hudson Bay Company post, the latter had a church mission set up by the Methodist church.[103] Both served only the areas of the Indian reserves.

Summary. The stability of the population in the Interlake and the overexpansion of services during 1883 had produced a condition in which few new services were being established. This was the situation in 1891, and the status quo seemed destined to remain for some time. The few new services that were established after 1883 were to be found where the population was increasing—in the Icelandic reserve and in the area north of Oak Point. Stonewall's hold on the largest part of the Interlake seemed sufficiently firm to last indefinitely, and in fact the growth of

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[102]Brownless, Map of Manitoba (Manitoba Government, 1889).

[103]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1893, Paper no. 14, p. 316.

services in Stonewall (prior to 1883) had to some extent limited the Interlake's dependence on Winnipeg for specialized services. However, Winnipeg remained the all-embracing octopus with roads and railways reaching out like tenacles to draw as much trade as possible from the surrounding area. Winnipeg's position as the communications center of the West meant that the Interlake must always depend on it for goods brought in from other parts of Canada. Its larger choice of goods and services also preserved its position as the ultimate service center, for the Interlake as for all of Manitoba.

CHAPTER V

1901

The general stagnation evident in 1891 continued through the first half of the following decade and was considerably intensified by the depression of 1893 to 1896. The end of the depression in 1896 coincided with a change in immigration policy inaugurated by a newly-elected Liberal government. These two factors and the fact that free land was virtually no longer available in the United States combined to make the Canadian West the destination of great numbers of European immigrants, and the Interlake began to have new growth pains. The population growth and the construction of a few miles of railway in the Interlake combined to bring about the first important growth of service centers since 1883. New developments also took place in the economic sphere.

I. POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT

The population of the Interlake increased by slightly less than 50% during the decade following 1891, and the 1901 population totaled 11,770.[1] The most significant increases were in the municipality of Gimli, where the population almost doubled, and in Rockwood. About one-half of the increases in these municipalities was due to the influx of

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[1]Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada: 1901, Vol. I. All population figures used in this chapter are from the census unless otherwise stated.

Ukrainian settlers who took up land in the previously unoccupied area between the Icelanders along the shore of Lake Winnipeg and the British settlers in the southern three-quarters of Rockwood. This new settlement produced a continuous heavily-populated belt extending all along the eastern edge of the Interlake as far north as Hecla Island (map 12). The Icelanders had generally increased in number, while non-Icelandic groups along Lake Manitoba north of Oak Point had generally decreased. In Woodlands, St. Laurent municipality (once more cut down to include only townships 16 and 17 west of Shoal Lake), and the Indian reserves, population patterns were very similar to the 1891 patterns.

The Ukrainians.[2] The newest population element was the Ukrainians who had settled in northern Rockwood and in the south-central part of the old Icelandic reserve. The coming of the Ukrainians produced a significant change in the pattern of population density and introduced a radically different population element. They were frequently referred to as Galicians, Ruthenians, or Bukowinians, according to the province in Austria-Hungary from which they came. The census lists them as Russians or Austro-Hungarians, the term Ukrainian not being used because there is no country by that name. Almost all those listed in the census as Russians or Austro-Hungarians (table 10) were probably of the Slavic group herein referred to as Ukrainians, so the total Ukrainian population

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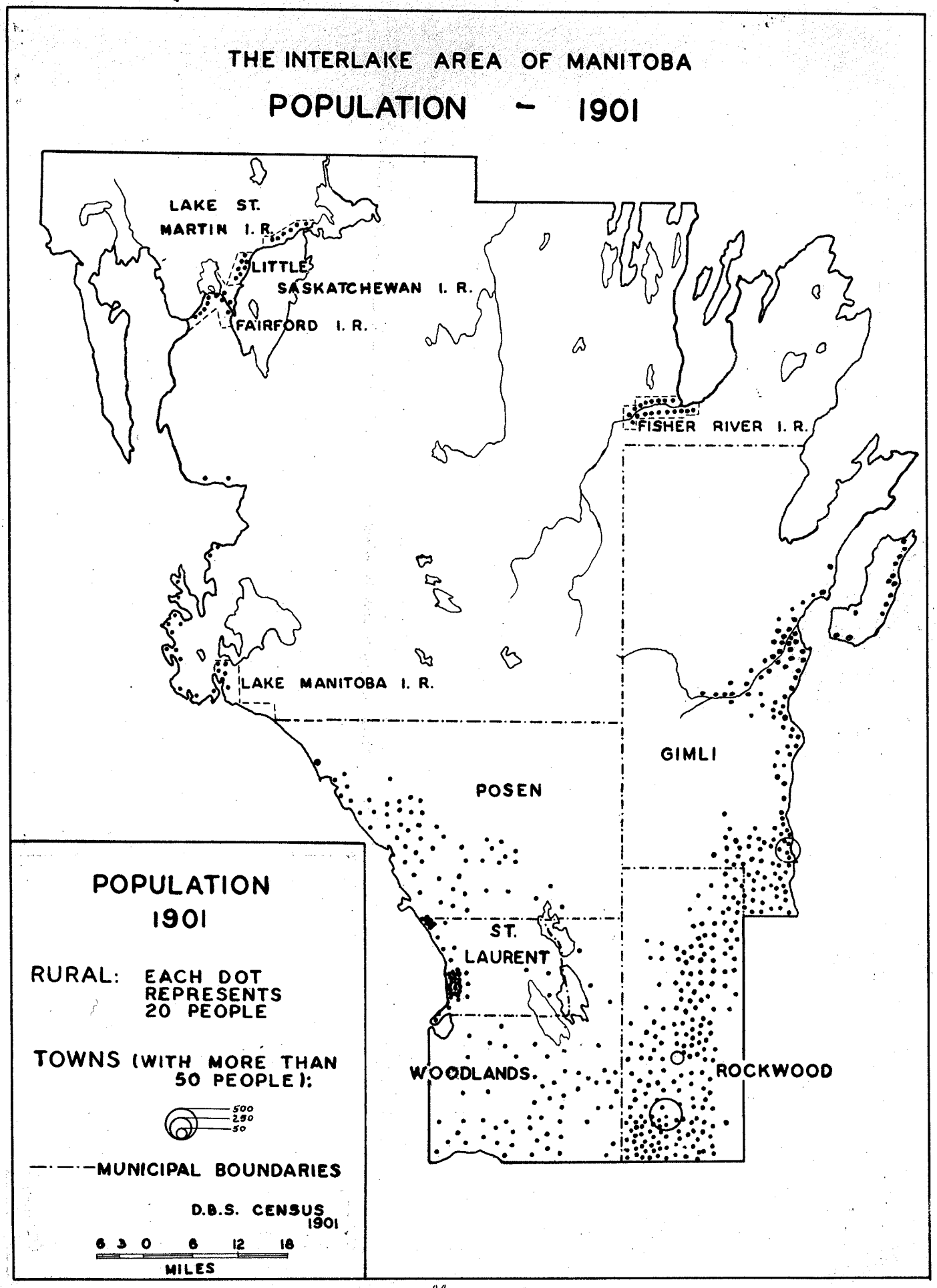
[2]In this thesis, the term Ukrainian is used to refer to all settlers of Slavic origin. Most of them were Ukrainians, but some of them may have been Poles or other Slavs. In general, all Slavs came from the same area in Europe, settled in the same area in the Interlake, and had very similar cultural backgrounds. In few instances is it possible to separate them statistically.


THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
POPULATION - 1901
LAKE ST. MARTIN I. R.
LITTLE SASKATCHEWAN I. R.
FAIRFORD I. R.
FISHER RIVER I. R.
LAKE MANITOBA I. R.
GIMLI
POSEN
ST. LAURENT
WOODLANDS
ROCKWOOD
POPULATION 1901
RURAL: EACH DOT REPRESENTS 20 PEOPLE
TOWNS (WITH MORE THAN 50 PEOPLE):
500
250
50
MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES
D.B.S. CENSUS 1901
6 3 0 6 12 18
MILES

Map 12

TABLE 10

ORIGINS OF THE PEOPLE: 1901*

	Rockwood	Woodlands	Gimli	St. Laurent	Posen**
British	3,155	1,044	30	88	377
French	69	44	2	49	17
German	161	8	36	1	-
Scandinavian	176	10	2,226	6	792
Russian	667	-	327	-	-
Austro-Hungarian	16	-	374	-	-
Half-breeds	61	93	12	623	351
Others	41	-	9	2	2
Total	4,343	1,199	3,008	769	1,539

*Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada: 1901, Vol. I.

**Includes area to the north of the municipality (see p. 145).

of the Interlake was probably in excess of 1,600. This corresponds rather well with the immigration agent's report of 605 on hand in 1898 and the arrival of 400, 218, and 485 respectively in the three following years.[3] (Some of those reported by the immigration agent may have been just outside the study area.) The Ukrainians had occupied most of the land in townships 17-2E, 17-3E, 18-2E, 18-3E, 19-3E, 19-4E, and 20-4E shown on map 1 as having been homesteaded between 1896 and 1901.[4]

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[3]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1899, Paper no. 13, p. 232; Sessional Papers: 1900, Paper no. 13, p. 113; Sessional Papers: 1901, Paper no. 25, p. 118; and Sessional Papers: 1902, Paper no. 25, p. 119.

[4]Township Registers (on file in the Lands Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba). These registers show the names of settlers and the date of settlement. The ethnic origin of each settler was determined from the name. Interviews and other evidence were used for corroboration.

In general, the area of Ukrainian settlement was relatively heavily populated (map 12). This was largely due to the fact that the Ukrainians had been allowed to homestead both the odd and even-numbered sections. In Rockwood this seems to have been the result of a special government policy allowing them to form compact settlements. (In township 17-2E, the east half was settled by Ukrainians and all sections were occupied, and the west half was settled by other settlers and only the even-numbered sections were occupied.) In the old Icelandic reserve the privilege of settling odd and even-numbered sections had always been extended to the Icelanders, and the privilege seems merely to have been extended to the Ukrainians. Only in township 18-2E did they occupy just the even-numbered sections (map 1). The main reasons the Ukrainian area remained slightly less densely populated than Rockwood were the lack of towns and the numerous areas within each township where land remained unoccupied. The Ukrainians who would make a trip to a new land were also probably quite young and may have had smaller families than the Rockwood settlers.

C.H. Young[5] found that one of the major factors influencing Ukrainians in their choice of land was the presence of forests. This was mostly attributed to the supposed similarity of such lands to their homelands in the Carpathians of central Europe. Coming as they did from a semi-feudal society where the peasant had to be largely self-sufficient, they placed much emphasis on the need of wood for fuel and building

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[5]Charles H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians (Toronto: Nelson, 1931). This book contains a detailed account of the factors affecting Ukrainian settlement throughout the Canadian West as a whole, but no special reference is made to the Interlake.

purposes. Besides, few had money to buy material for houses, and such purchases were made more difficult by the fact that few, if any, could speak English. This language barrier may have prevented them from learning of the advantages and availability of prairie land further west. However, a few Ukrainians who did settle on prairie lands in Saskatchewan later moved into wooded areas, so it appears that the main factor was a preference for wooded land. However, in the Interlake the Ukrainians seemed to have been satisfied as long as there was forest nearby. Although most chose land that was moderately to heavily forested, a few were to be found in what was basically a grassland area.

Of equal or perhaps even greater significance in the choice of land within the settled area was the presence of transportation facilities and service centers. The greatest concentrations of settlers were (1) immediately west of Gimli and the Icelandic settlements south of Gimli, (2) in township 17 immediately north of the old settled portion of Rockwood, and (3) along the main trail between the Rockwood settlement and Gimli townsite. All of these areas had good transportation to service centers. Where later settlers were forced to take up land at a greater distance, settlement generally followed main trails through the forest. The soil type seems to have been of little significance, as land with all kinds of soils was taken up, and the areas by-passed in general had the same soils as the areas that were occupied.

The Ukrainian movement into the Interlake was a part of a much larger movement. The Canadian West, so long ignored by most settlers, had become the destination of many of the new settlers who in previous decades would have gone to the United States. About 1890 the free land in the

United States had been practically all taken up, so those seeking free land were forced to turn to Canada. Settlers were few until after 1896, largely because of the depression (1893-1896). In 1896 Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior under the new Liberal government, set to work advertising the Canadian West throughout Europe and making it easier for settlers to obtain homesteads when they did get to Canada. Many thousands of new settlers began pouring into the Canadian West, among them the Ukrainians. Most of the Ukrainians settled elsewhere in Manitoba or farther west, but a number chose the Interlake. Their satisfaction with the area seems to have been an important factor in attracting more Ukrainians there. Other ethnic groups coming to the Canadian West in this period generally settled on the prairie lands still available west of the Manitoba boundary, and few of them came to the Interlake.

The Ukrainian settlements had a dispersed pattern, as the Ukrainians settled on regular square quarter-sections and could not build their homes in close proximity to one another. There was only a slight tendency to group the houses along main trails. The settlements differed from those farther south in that most of the buildings were built in the forest and each house had a small field cleared nearby. A more striking difference was to be seen in their houses. These were built of logs of a construction similar to that originally used in the other settlements, though perhaps more carefully made because the Ukrainians regarded these log houses as permanent homes. This idea was also reflected in the care they took in finishing their houses. Being familiar with the use of clay in house construction, they knew how to protect it from rain and make the walls smooth and permanent. To attain the former, they thatched the roofs

very carefully, leaving a great deal of overhang which often reached right to the ground. To finish the walls, the Ukrainians first nailed a latticework of small willow branches to the logs, both inside and outside, and then applied a mixture of wet clay and dried grass to fill in the cracks and cover the latticework. The willows held the clay in place and kept it from cracking, and the resulting walls were smooth, permanent and wind-proof. Usually a coat of white-wash was applied to the walls to give them a finished appearance.

Though the Ukrainians lived between the Icelanders along Lake Winnipeg and the British settlers of Rockwood, they had little in common with either of them. They were peasant farmers whose aim was self-sufficiency rather than the accumulation of capital. Coming as they did from an overcrowded land where they owned almost no land, they regarded 160 acres as almost a regal estate, and they formed an unusual attachment to the land that was to keep them on their farms in spite of countless difficulties. Their clothing, customs, language, and religion set them apart from the other ethnic groups of the Interlake, and they were regarded almost with disdain by these other groups. However, their hard work and determination won the admiration of the few who came to know them in these early years. They represented the advance guard of an entirely different cultural entity that was to have a lasting effect on the Interlake as a whole.

Swedish settlement. Another group settlement, made up of Swedes from Winnipeg, also began in northern Rockwood during the latter part of the decade. Probably most of the 176 Scandinavians that the census shows

in Rockwood in 1901 (table 10) were in this settlement, although in the early 1890's a few Scandinavians had settled farther south in the predominantly British area.[6] All the settlers in township 17-1E (population 82) and a few others in the nearby parts of townships 17-2E and 16-1E were Swedish and had arrived after 1897. The colony was made up of unemployed carpenters from Winnipeg who had been unable to find sufficient work in the city.[7] They had come to find cheaper living conditions, constant employment, and a place to retire. Probably the fact that the homesteading fee was only ten dollars was also an important incentive. As they were carpenters, and perhaps also because they were accustomed to building log homes in Sweden, their homes were carefully constructed and well finished. Most of the homes were of log because this building material was free, but the care that went into the construction of the houses suggests that the Swedes regarded them as permanent homes.

The main reason for the choice of this particular area for the settlement seems to have been a desire for a separate colony. They were first shown better land farther east, but refused it,[8] apparently because of the other ethnic groups already settled in the area. The first arrivals chose land around a small lake in township 17-1E called Crescent Lake, and later arrivals took up land near Morris Lake, farther north in the same township. In general their properties did not extend to the shores

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[6] Township Registers (see footnote no. 4 above).

[7] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1899, Paper no. 13, p. 214.

[8] Ibid.

of the lakes, so it is unlikely that the presence of the lakes was a factor in the choice of the area. They had come to raise cattle, so they probably attached some importance to the large area of meadow land found on most of the homesteads. The presence of forest for fuel and housing material was probably a factor as well. They seem to have attached little or no importance to the value of the land for grain-growing, as the soil on the land chosen was mostly either peaty or very stony. Some of the later arrivals may have been influenced by the fact that an "immigration road" was being built through the settlement, but as the road was not begun until 1901, it could have been of only minor significance.

This Swedish group was small, isolated, and growing slowly, and the Swedes seemed destined to remain a very small minority in the municipality.

Remainder of Rockwood. The arrival of the Swedes and Ukrainians accounted for only a part of the population increase in Rockwood. The total number of Swedes and Ukrainians was at most 759; the total population increase was 1,445.[9]

Part of this growth was in service centers. The population of these centers in 1902 was 627,[10] an increase of perhaps 250 over the 1891 population. In addition, there were a number of other people living just beyond the town limits of Stonewall who earned their living in the town proper or in the quarries. (This to some extent accounts for the unusually large rural population in township 13-1E.) The increase

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[9]Census (see footnote no. 1 above).

[10]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1902.

attributable to service center growth, directly or indirectly, was probably about 300.

Homesteading accounted for little if any increase. Most of the new homesteads were in township 16-1E, but the population for the township was only 53. The small population in this township where almost all the land had been alienated (map 1) suggests that a number of settlers had left the area once they had obtained clear title to their land. The high incidence of this in township 16-1E reflects the unsuitability of the land for farming.

Probably little land was purchased from speculators by bona fide farmers. Much of the best land formerly held by speculators had already been bought, and farmers willing to farm on poorer land could get it free by homesteading. Speculators had bought up some of the land previously held by the Canadian Pacific Railway, but as most of it was inferior land, farmers were unwilling to buy it. Three and one-quarter sections of school lands had been sold, mostly to resident farmers.[11] Most of the Hudson Bay Company land in the heavily populated part of the municipality had also been bought up by resident farmers.[12] Efforts to drain the bog in range 3E had been renewed, and a group of new settlers planned to use the drained area for raising livestock.[13] However, the low-lying nature of the area seems to have discouraged the construction of buildings, as it was virtually unpopulated in 1901 (map 12). Four and one-half sections

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[11]Township Registers (see footnote no. 4 above) show sales of school lands and "swamp lands".

[12]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Rolls: 1902.

[13]The Stonewall Argus, August 2, 1900.

of "swamp land" in the bog area had been sold to speculators,[14] who probably felt that the draining of the area would raise the value of the land.

In the long-settled parts of Rockwood where most of the land was already owned by farmers, land was changing hands. Many of the early settlers who had no sons to whom to give their farms were retiring and selling out to a new group of settlers.[15] These new settlers appear generally to have been from Ontario or the United States and to have brought livestock and capital. They also set to work at once breaking new land.[16] Though they were few in number, these settlers were quite important. They generally bought only the best land and set a very high standard of farming. Because they were few in number, they affected population growth only slightly.

Probably an important factor in the growth of population was natural increase reflected in changing family size, but this cannot be measured satisfactorily.[17] The pattern of settlement and house types remained virtually unchanged from 1891.

Gimli Municipality--non-Ukrainian population. Gimli municipality as a whole almost doubled in population, from perhaps 1,641 in 1891[18]

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[14] Township Registers (see footnote no. 11 above).

[15] The Stonewall Argus, November 28, 1901.

[16] Ibid., September 6, 1901.

[17] The 1901 data on family size include the Ukrainians and Swedes, both of whom have been considered separately.

[18] This figure is uncertain (see p. 90).

to 3,008 in 1901,[19] an increase of 1,367. The coming of the Ukrainians accounted for an increase of about 700 and other non-Icelandic people accounted for very little if any change (from 52 in 1886 to 89 in 1901). The Icelanders increased by over 650 to 2,226 ("Scandinavians" in table 10). The non-Ukrainian population of the municipality was strung out along the lake shore and the Icelandic River, and there had been only a very slight tendency to move inland. (Maps 1 and 12 show this clearly north of Gimli where there was no Ukrainian settlement.)

Population increases were greatest on the mainland north of township 21, where the population had increased by about 500 to 1,289 in 1901. Most of the growth had been along the Icelandic River and along the lake shore north of the river. A few settlers on the river had occupied land in the form of "long" quarter-sections running back from the river, especially in township 22-2E where the land along the river was surveyed in this form in 1901.[20] Most homesteads were on regular square quarter-sections and most were in township 22-3E where settlement had spread well back from the river and covered most of the township (map 1). Other homesteads were on the lake shore in townships 24 and 25 (not shown on map 1 as they were later abandoned). Most of the land homesteaded was poorly drained and heavily wooded, though the soils were generally very fertile and free of stones. However, these physical factors appear to have had little influence on the choice of land, and as in previous

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[19] Census (see footnote no. 1 above).

[20] These were not registered until 1903 (map 1), but Field Book No. 6826 (original of the surveyor's field notes on file in the Surveys Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba) shows 19 of these "long" quarter-sections occupied in 1901.

decades, the deciding factor in land choice was proximity to the lake or the river.

On the mainland south of township 22 the non-Ukrainian population increased about 200 to 1,018 in 1901. A few new homesteads were taken up in townships 18, 20 and 21 along the lake shore where it was still possible to find land along the lake (map 1). West of Gimli little land was taken up, largely because the Ukrainians had occupied most of it. New settlement probably accounted for about one-half of the population increase, and the growth of Gimli probably accounted for most of the remainder. The township in which Gimli was located appears to have increased its population a great deal, and as there were only 15 new homesteads in the township, most of the increase must have been in the town.[21]

On Hecla Island there were 224 people--a very slight increase. A number of homesteads were taken up on the island during the decade (probably a great many more than are shown on map 1), but this was counterbalanced by land abandonment. During the last years of the decade flooding on the island (and perhaps on the mainland) was severe enough to cause many Icelanders to abandon their homesteads. Most of them were given new homesteads in the Shoal Lake area.[22]

Most of the Icelandic settlers arriving in the municipality during the decade came directly from Iceland, and only a small number came from North Dakota.[23] Immigration from Iceland, which was not great in 1891,

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[21]Data for 1891 are not dependable. See p. 90.

[22]Agantyr Arnason, Icelandic Settlements in America (Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1929), p. 174.

[23]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1901, Paper no. 25, p. 123.

had practically ceased by 1896. Reports of the difficulties encountered in Canada discouraged intending settlers from coming, and at the same time improved conditions in Iceland made it possible for the Icelanders to support themselves there. Not until a bad harvest in Iceland in 1899 threatened the Icelanders with starvation was the number wanting to come to Canada once more significant. The same year a great reduction in fares made it easier for them to get to Canada, and large numbers began to arrive.[24] Conditions remained much the same until 1901, and the tide of Icelandic immigrants was still flowing strongly. Those arriving in the Icelandic Reserve were generally the poorest of the immigrants, and the reserve area was especially attractive to those wishing to engage in fishing. Lack of available land along the shore seems to have been responsible for a number of settlers choosing to settle in Gimli townsite.

Many of the new arrivals built log shacks, but virtually all who had been in the area for some time had frame houses built from lumber produced locally.[25]

Icelanders outside Gimli Municipality. The Icelandic population outside the reserve was mostly in two areas--(1) around Shoal Lake and west to Lake Manitoba (Posen Municipality)[26] and (2) west of Dog Lake.

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Canada, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1896, Paper no. 13, part III, p. 113.

[26] The municipality is shown on map 12, but the term "Posen" as used in the census also includes the area to the north, west of the principal meridian.

From roughly 200 people in 1891 the population had increased to 798 in 1901 and was still growing rapidly.

The population increase was most rapid west of Dog Lake where almost all of the 326 people--about 300 of whom had moved in since 1891--were of Icelandic origin. The settlement had grown from the nucleus that had formed at the Narrows prior to 1891. Arnason states that most of the settlers were "attracted by reports that which alleged that the land was suited both for cultivation and pasturage, and that the waters of the lake teemed with fish."[27] Though these reports distorted the area's suitability for farming, the land was ideal for cattle raising. Because of the importance of the lake for fishing and transportation, the population was strung out along the lake shore, as in Gimli municipality. However, the "long" quarter-sections were not used, perhaps because so many of the settlers came from Posen municipality[28] and were accustomed to the square quarter-section. Only the even-numbered sections were open for homesteading, so population density was much less that in Gimli.

In Posen municipality the Icelanders occupied the same general area as in 1891, though more had settled near the lake. Almost all the new homesteads in the municipality (map 1) were taken up by Icelanders. As was the case in Gimli, most settlers had arrived before 1892 or after 1898.[29] In general, new settlement filled in the vacant parts of the previously settled areas. On the eastern edge of the settled area, the

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[27]Agantyr Arnason (see footnote no. 22 above), p. 174.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Township Registers (see footnote no. 4 above).

Icelanders were the only ethnic group present, but further west they often occupied part of the same section as settlers of different ethnic origins. This was the area of the greatest mixing with other ethnic groups, but even here the Icelanders preserved a separate culture. Homes in the area had improved little since 1891.

Non-Icelandic settlers in "Posen". In the area north of township 17 and west of the principal meridian (referred to as "Posen" in the census) the non-Icelandic population was only 747 (table 10). The total population increase in the area was about five hundred, but as the Icelanders had increased by close to 600, the other groups as a whole must have decreased in number. It is probable that some of the settlers of British origin had become discouraged by the failure to get a railway and by the depression of 1893 to 1896 and had left during the decade. Few non-Icelandic settlers arrived during the decade and the distribution of those remaining was approximately the same as in 1891.

In only one part of Posen was there any evidence of renewed settlement by settlers other than Icelanders. In township 18-1W several homesteads entries were filed in 1901 (map 1) by settlers of French and Scandinavian origin.[30] The census shows no people in the township, so apparently none of them had actually taken up residence by 1901. However, these settlers were the advance guard of a new wave of settlement that would soon fill the township and overflow beyond.

The isolation of the area north of township 17 had kept it relatively

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[30] Ibid.

free of speculators, and few, if any, of the Hudson Bay lands, school lands, or swamp lands had been sold.

St. Laurent. In St. Laurent municipality the number of half-breeds had risen to 623, and the total population to 769 (table 10). Most of the increase was natural, and the population distribution was little changed from 1891 (map 12). The population had increased in Oak Point and St. Laurent settlements (particularly the latter), whereas in the eastern part of the municipality there was a slight decrease in population. It appears that only the Metis had increased in number. Most of the land in the municipality was still held by speculators.[31]

Woodlands. In Woodlands the population increase was slight--from 1,032 in 1891 to 1,199 in 1901. In general there was a decrease in population north of the Big Ridge, and an increase to the south. The population in the north in 1901 was extremely sparse, and in the south it was only moderately dense (map 12).

The depopulation north of the ridge may be attributed to the fact that the poor, thin soils were incapable of supporting a heavy population, and the land owners in the area were finding it impossible to make a living on the 160 acres of land they had received as homesteads. In township 15-3W a great fire in 1896 burned off most of the thin topsoil, leaving only the gravelly subsoil and making the area even less capable of supporting a heavy population.[32] The lack of a railway may also have

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[31]St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1901.

[32]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1916, Paper no. 25B, p. 69.

discouraged people from staying. Some of the deserted land fell into the hands of speculators,[33] but the amount of land homesteaded after 1901 (map 1) suggests that much of the land was never patented and reverted to the federal government. Speculators had gained control of many of the lands formerly held by the C.P.R.[34]

South of the Big Ridge the deep, fertile, clay soils were attracting new farmers. By 1901 a considerable amount of the land previously held by speculators was occupied by resident farmers,[35] and during the year more farmers were buying up such lands.[36] This process of occupying land previously held by speculators had been virtually arrested during the depression from 1893 to 1896 (when population movements in the West as a whole were at a minimum), but in 1901 the process was accelerating once more. There was still much good land available in Woodlands (for example, township 13-1W was still virtually unoccupied), and it seems that the main reason the land was not being bought more quickly was the high price being asked for it.

Indians. In the Indian reserves the population had generally increased--mostly because of natural increase. This table shows the disparity of growth rates:

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[33]The Winnipeg Free Press, January 3, 1901.

[34]Woodlands Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1901.

[35]Ibid.

[36]The Stonewall Argus, November 28, 1901.

Reserve	1901 Population	Population Change 1891 to 1901
Lake Manitoba	104	- 3
Fairford	192	+21
Little Saskatchewan	112	- 9
Lake St. Martin	132	+52
Fisher River	369[37]	?

No new Indians were moving to the reserves, so it appears that there must have been some inter-reserve movement. Settlement within the reserves was still generally linear, and most of the Indians still lived in log houses.[38] The Indians remained as isolated as ever.

Summary. The most important development of the decade was the arrival in the Interlake of the first peoples from east Europe. These Ukrainians were already an important minority, and the rate of settlement suggested they would become much more important, both absolutely and relatively. The only other group to arrive in any number were the Icelanders, but considerably fewer of them had come during the decade, and they had merely expanded old settlements.

II. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Although transportation improved only slightly before 1897, more improvements came in the last years of the decade. There appears to have been a causal relationship between this development and the increase

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[37]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1902, Paper no. 27, p. 91.

[38]Ibid., p. 90.

in population that was taking place, although the relationship is not clear, for in some instances transportation improvements lagged far behind settlement; whereas in others they came with or even preceded settlement.

The impetus for improvement in transportation came from four main sources. The federal government gave aid to the railway and surveyed a "colonization road", the province gave grants to the municipalities for grading and corduroying roads, the municipalities themselves were undertaking projects to build and improve roads, and the settlers, individually or in groups, were opening new trails through the forests or across the prairie to their homesteads.

The best transportation network was still to be found in Rockwood. In 1898 the railway to Stonewall was extended north about 20 miles, and by 1901 it was extended another mile and one-half to Teulon,[39] giving rail service to almost all of the municipality. The municipal council was expending much effort on road building, but most of the "roads" were still at best graded or partly-graded trails. Some roads near Stonewall were being gravelled,[40] but in general little effort was being made to surface roads. The abandoned C.P.R. railway bed west of Stonewall was still known as "the gravel" because it was still the best in the area. The federal government had ordered the surveying of a "colonization road from Teulon northerly along the Limestone ridge for a distance of

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[39]M.L. Bladen, "Construction of Railways in Canada: Part II; from 1885 to 1931", University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics, Vol. VII, 1934, p. 61.

[40]The Stonewall Argus, November 28, 1901.

about 60 miles",[41] and by June of 1891 a "goodly sized gang" was at work on it in northern Rockwood.[42] Most of the trails in the northern part of the municipality were just those cut through the bush by the settlers, and, as little improvement had been made on them, they were still very poor.[43]

In Woodlands there had been much less new development. There were no new railways, and the best road was the "gravel" coming from Stonewall. The municipality had improved some roads, but because the population was so sparse, it was very difficult to supply good roads to all areas.

In the Icelandic reserve the main transportation center was Gimli. Several roads "diverged from the town and led to settlements in the western country".[44] The trail from Teulon to Gimli had become a main artery, partly because of the large number of settlers along it and partly because of the importance of the railway at Teulon. Trade from Gimli began to pass through Teulon rather than through Selkirk--for example, cattle were driven overland from Gimli to Teulon and then sent by rail to Winnipeg.[45] However, "many" freighters were still engaged in carrying the fish catch which was first brought to Gimli and then

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[41]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Surveyor General", Sessional Papers: 1902, Paper no. 25, p. 27.

[42]The Stonewall Argus, June 13, 1901.

[43]Ibid., May 30, 1901.

[44]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1904, Paper no. 25, part III, p. 101.

[45]The Stonewall Argus, April 18, 1901.

freighted over the trail to Selkirk.[46] These trails were most important in the winter as few improvements had been made on them. "During the summer months almost every steamer and schooner on the lake called at its (Gimli's) wharf. This proved most convenient, especially in the spring when, owing to the thaw, the roads were at times difficult to travel over."[47]

Most of the trails in the area north of Rockwood and Woodlands followed limestone or gravel ridges, dipping through swamps only when necessary.[48] Because of the swampy nature of such a large part of this northern area, only on the ridges, especially where rock or gravel was near the surface, were the roads good in all weather. Fortunately, these ridges were scattered liberally throughout the area, and more or less all-weather roads connected the settlements and Indian reserves with one another.

A surveyor north of Oak Point in 1897 where the ridges were less pronounced and less continuous, stated that two of the principal difficulties in settling the area were the "great distance from the railway and the bad state of the roads."[49] He also felt that regular steamship service on the lakes would encourage settlement. Apparently this meant that the steamers on the lake, used mostly for hauling lime and gypsum, were not providing regular service or were not serving the settlers.

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[46]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1904, Paper no. 25, p. 101.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Surveyor General", Sessional Papers: 1902, Paper no. 25, p. 28.

[49]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1899, Paper no. 13, p. 398.

No new means of transportation had developed in the decade, and the horse was still the most important single source of motive power. Local transportation was almost entirely dependent on horses in all areas, and in the more isolated areas for long distance travel. Even where the railway was available horses were still being used for trips to Winnipeg.[50]

Mail routes had been considerably expanded, and many new post offices had been opened (map 13). Almost all the mail was being taken in regular stage coaches which also provided regular and dependable transportation for the settlers in areas not served by railways.

The changes in transportation that had taken place durimg the decade may be regarded as quantitative rather than qualitative. Most changes dealt with the expansion of transportation systems already in operation, and only limited effort was being made to improve the existing system. The relative importance of water transportation was decreasing as new settlement spread into the interior areas of the Interlake and roads were built to serve the new communities. The pressure of new settlement was the most important force effecting transportation changes.

III. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The relative stability of the economic pattern evident in 1891 did not change until the end of the 1893-96 depression. Thereafter, economic expansion began to gain momentum, and by 1901 a few new

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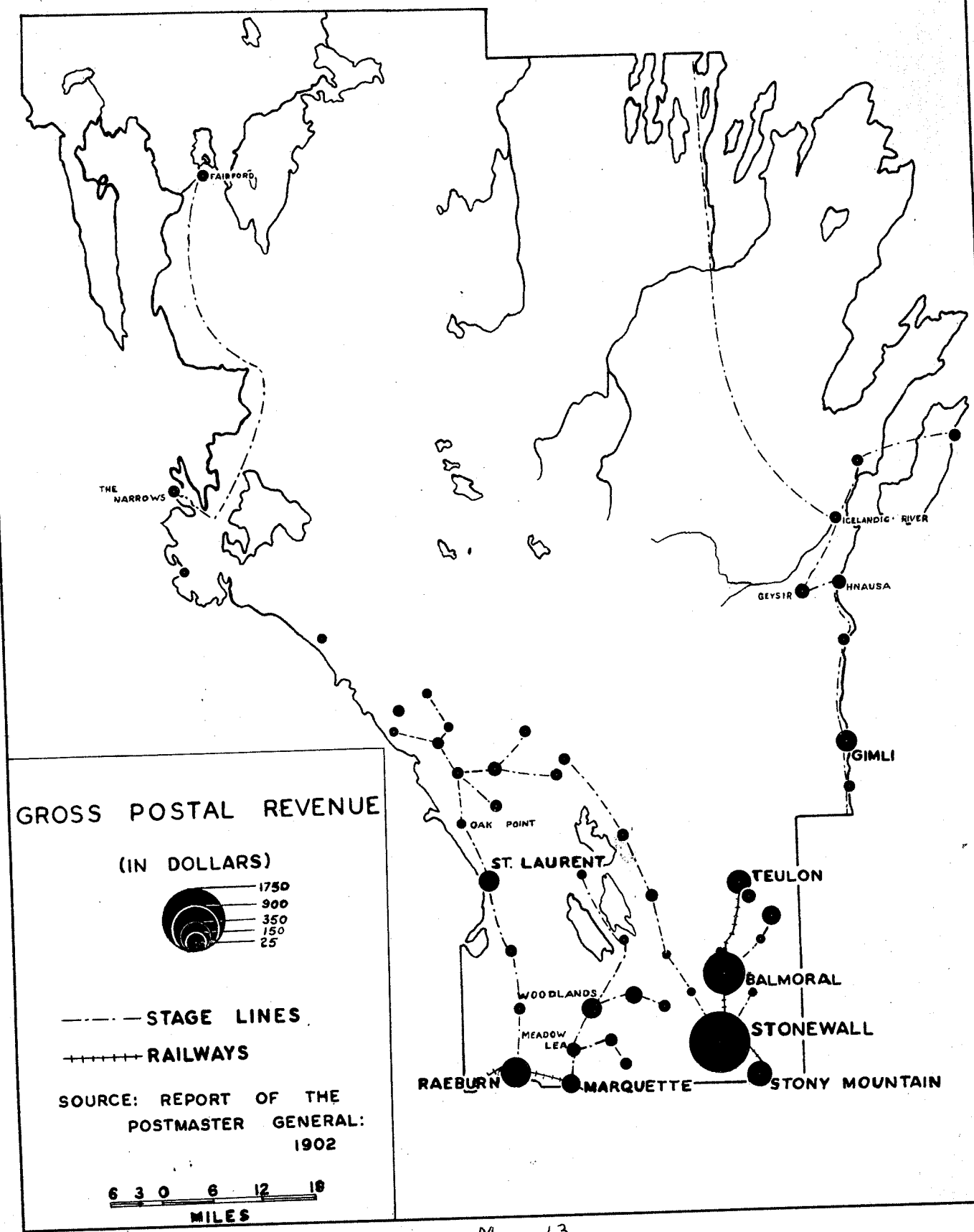
[50] The Stonewall Argus, February 1, 1900.

THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
POSTAL REVENUE - 1901



Map 13

enterprises were being brought into operation.

Rockwood (excluding the Swedish and Ukrainian areas). The part of Rockwood municipality south of township 17 was still the most economically advanced area in the Interlake. As in earlier decades, this area had the most advanced farming, the largest number of manufacturing industries, and the most important quarries.

The greatest cultivated acreage was still on the slopes of the central ridge (table 11), the most suitable area for agriculture. Total acreage under cultivation had increased considerably since 1891, partly because of new settlement and partly because established settlers were cultivating more land. Grain prices had risen after 1896, and the farmers wanted to profit from the resultant prosperity. The new settlers were mostly from the United States where they had been engaged in large-scale farming. Most brought with them capital and machinery, and soon after their arrival they had large acreages under cultivation.[51]

The large acreage under cultivation was possible because of modernization in the form of an increased use of machinery. Each farmer had several plows, a binder, a mower, a rake, one or more sets of harrows, a seeder or press drill, and a fanning mill.[52] A few farmers had threshing machines, but as each machine was used to thresh grain on several farms, it was not necessary that each farmer have one. Crushers, circular saws, cultivators, rollers, potato scufflers, and

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[51] The Stonewall Argus, April 12, 1900; August 2, 1900; and September 6, 1901.

[52] Based on auction sale advertisements in The Stonewall Argus during 1901.

TABLE 11

MUNICIPALITY OF ROCKWOOD
AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1902*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Oxen	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
13-1E	4,725	376	2	1,282	15	328
13-2E	3,350	292	10	1,052	-	146
13-3E (part)	320	311	-	59	4	39
14-1E	7,290	340	10	871	-	335
14-2E	2,750	245	-	876	4	209
14-3E (part)	-	-	-	-	-	-
15-1E	2,735	125	1	488	-	135
15-2E	5,870	329	10	1,292	8	328
15-3E (part)	-	15	2	105	-	8
16-1E	125	21	5	62	-	21
16-2E	3,315	111	2	747	34	156
16-3E (part)	280	108	2	493	9	80
17-1E	20	14	3	80	8	1
17-2E	12	6	73	248	-	16
17-3E (part)	530	43	27	220	4	32
18-1E	-	-	2	2	-	2
18-2E	-	-	16	61	-	-
18-3E (part)	-	-	30	133	-	5
Total	31,427	2,336	195	8,071	86	1,841

*Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1902.

straw cutters appear to have been rare. Most of the machinery depended on horses for motive power, as oxen were very rare (table 11), and steam power was used mostly for theshing.

In spite of the fact that grain growing had increased in importance, Rockwood was still a mixed farming area. The number of animals increased even in the southern grain-growing areas (table 11). Almost every farmer had at least one or two cattle; most had larger herds. Most farmers had a few pigs and a small flock of poultry, but sheep were rare. The quality of farm animals also appears to have improved since 1891.[53] The farmers had been increasing the number of cattle on the farms because they realized that "cattle gave the best returns of any department of their work."[54] Dairying seems to have remained more important than beef production[55] even though the creameries in the municipality had closed down. The establishment of daily train service to Winnipeg made it possible to send milk and cream regularly to the Winnipeg creameries, and every morning the station platforms along the Teulon railway were piled high with cream cans for delivery to Winnipeg.[56]

With the increased accent on cattle raising, hay land took on a new importance. This also was a time when prosperity and new settlement

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[53]The Stonewall Argus made many more references in 1901 than in 1891 to people with purebred pigs and cattle.

[54]The Stonewall Argus, January 3, 1901.

[55]The Stonewall Argus makes almost no references to beef cattle, but mentions dairy cattle quite frequently.

[56]The Stonewall Argus, January 31, 1901; and February 21, 1901.

were making the value of land rise, and speculation once more increased. These factors brought about a changed attitude to hay lands:

> Hay lands are changing hands more rapidly than usual this year, and our own farmers are beginning to realize that the permit system is an uncertain way of securing hay. They are studying the problem of securing hay land of their own.[57]

This had limited influence in 1901, but would lead to the buying up of the bog area of range 3E during the next decade.

The prosperity of the farmers of Rockwood and the increasing value of land was reflected in the small amount of land offered for tax sale in the municipality. In 1901 only about 3 sections of land in the whole municipality were offered for tax sale, and most of that was in the form of woodlots.[58] Apparently the woodlots had been denuded of most of their marketable trees, and were no longer valuable as a source of wood. Because the lots were small, often at some distance from the owner's farm, covered with second growth trees and shrubs, and generally on areas of very poor, stony soil, they were not considered valuable for farming. As a result, the taxes on them were not paid, and the municipality put them up for sale to obtain the tax money.

Perhaps because of the prosperity of the farmers in Rockwood and because dairying kept them busy all year round, the farmers do not appear to have depended to any great extent on supplementary farm income. There is no evidence that the British settlers sold any amount of cord wood to Winnipeg as fuel, though doubtless in the less prosperous and

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[57] Ibid., July 24, 1901.

[58] Ibid., November 14, 1901.

more heavily-wooded western portion of the municipality this supplement to farm income remained important. The general decline in this industry may reflect the fact that large areas had already been cut over, and the best wood was gone.

Associated with farming were the agricultural industries getting their raw materials from the farms. Both Rockwood's creameries had closed, and it appears that Balmoral's grist mill was also closed[59] apparently due to improved transportation and increased prosperity. Stonewall's grist mill had managed to survive the changing times, but appears to have done little business. Elevators had to some extent replaced the grist mills. In Balmoral a new 25,000 bushel elevator had been constructed (a product of the railway extension), and in Stonewall there were a total of four elevators.[60] Grain-crushing mills had been set up in Teulon and Stonewall[61]--reflecting the increased use of grain for animal feed.

The brick yards at Stony Mountain were still operating,[62] but apparently on a very reduced scale. Rockwood's quarrying industry, though apparently reviving from setbacks due to decreased demand during the 1893-96 recession, was still beset by the problem of a fluctuating market. In January of 1901 the prospects for the year

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[59] The Stonewall Argus, March 21, 1901, reports that a Ukrainian took his grain to Stonewall to be ground. It is unlikely he would have gone so far if the Balmoral mill were still in operation.

[60] Henderson's Directory, January 1901; and December, 1901.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

were described as good,[63] but no other information is available about operations. On section 28-15-2E, gravel-digging had been carried on while the railway was in construction,[64] but there is no evidence that it was of any importance in 1901.

In Stonewall the same array of small businesses still operated, and in Teulon a saddler and a blacksmith had opened shops.[65] However, these plants were small and had little effect on the economy. They were more important in attracting trade to the service centers.

Although a variety of economic activities were still undertaken in Rockwood, the relative importance of farming was increasing, and the relative importance of manufacturing was decreasing--a trend that was to continue at least until 1921.

Woodlands. Woodlands municipality remained similar to Rockwood only south of the Big Ridge. North of the ridge cattle raising was almost the only economic activity. Non-agricultural activities remained relatively unimportant.

South of the Big Ridge, Woodlands presented an under-developed form of Rockwood's economy. There were fewer animals and fewer acres cultivated, largely because so much of the land was unoccupied. However, the relative importance of animals and crops seems to have

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[63] The Stonewall Argus, January 24, 1901.

[64] R.B. Quickfall, Rockwood Echoes (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1960), pp. 133,225.

[65] Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1902.

been roughly the same as in Rockwood (table 12) except that Woodlands had a few large flocks of sheep. The machinery in use on the farms was also very similar to that in use in Rockwood.[66]

North of the Big Ridge in Woodlands there was virtually no land under cultivation, and almost the only animals were cattle and horses (table 12). Without grain for feed, it was difficult to raise other animals, and the thin soils could not grow much grain. Many fields under cultivation in 1891 had been allowed to revert to grass and shrubs, and the general low value attached to the land is shown by the fact that 21 sections--roughly 4% of the land in the municipality--was offered for tax sale in 1901.[67] Most farmers had a mower, a rake, and a cream separator, but few had any implements for grain growing.[68] The importance of horses for herding and transportation is reflected in the large number still in use (table 12).

A second cheese factory at Meadow Lea,[69] and a creamery at Raeburn[70] brought to four the number of commercial establishments in the municipality processing dairy products. However, most farmers still made butter on their farms, at least for home use.[71]

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[66]See footnote no. 52 above.

[67]The Stonewall Argus, June 6, 1901.

[68]See footnote no. 52 above.

[69]Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture for the Province of Manitoba for 1902.

[70]Woodlands Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1901.

[71]Almost every auction sale in the municipality advertised in The Stonewall News during the year offered a churn for sale.

TABLE 12

WOODLANDS MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1901*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
13-1W	1,102	93	302	150	84
13-2W	2,105	171	660	58	115
13-3W	1,535	130	715	19	78
13-4W	2,445	134	464	9	43
14-1W	40	15	92	-	4
14-2W	854	101	650	3	60
14-3W	-	28	170	-	2
14-4W	-	17	192	8	1
15-1W	-	10	81	-	1
15-2W	-	22	163	1	8
15-3W	-	32	134	-	5
15-4W	-	31	251	-	2
16-1W	-	34	327	130	10
17-1W	-	12	165	-	12
17-2W	-	2	6	-	-
Total	8,081	832	4,372	378	425

*Woodlands Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1901.

Wheat growing had become sufficiently important in southern Woodlands to encourage the municipal council to bonus the grist mill they had once considered almost two decades earlier. Unfortunately, this grist mill, located at Marquette, did such poor work that it was little patronized, so it was of minor importance.[72]

Two other activities were important locally. Along the Big Ridge, in sections 2 and 11 in township 14-3W, some of the sand and gravel laid down by Lake Agassiz was being used by the C.P.R. A spur track led from the gravel pits south to the main line where most of the gravel was used.[73] On Shoal Lake an old sporting and picnicking ground had been commercialized on a small scale. A summer resort had been opened and was apparently being well patronized.[74]

Swedish Area. The Swedes of northern Rockwood got all their farm income from cattle, and almost no land was cultivated (table 11, Tp. 17-1E). The main reason for this seems to have been that the men were carpenters who worked in Winnipeg whenever work was available. As a result, they had little time for, or interest in, the farm. In addition, the women were frequently left alone to look after the farm, and they were better able to tend cattle than to sow grain. However, as work in Winnipeg actually made up a larger part of income than farming, even the number of cattle was very small.

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[72]Madeline L. Proctor, Woodlands Echoes (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1960), p. 95.

[73]Madeline L. Proctor (see footnote no 72 above), p. 23.

[74]The Stonewall Argus, August 1, 1901.

Ukrainian Area. The Ukrainians of Rockwood and Gimli were much more progressive farmers than the Swedes, but they too had to depend on sources of income other than the farm. In the winter most hauled wood to Teulon for sale in Winnipeg,[75] at harvest time large numbers went south to join the threshing gangs, some found other employment. Unfortunately, they could speak very little if any English, and, as a result, others sometimes refused to hire them or took advantage of them by paying low wages or refusing to pay any at all.[76]

Ukrainian farming methods had been established by centuries of peasant agriculture, and transplanting the people to a new land changed their methods little. Most still tilled their fields with wooden plows pulled by one or two oxen, winning a living from the soil only by hard toil. In this new land it was necessary to clear the land before agriculture was possible, but the Ukrainians had attacked the job manfully. None had been in the area more than 5 or 6 years (many much less), but in the south they already had large acreages cultivated. (tables 11 and 13, especially Tps. 19-3E, 18-2E, 18-3E, and 17-3E). In the south most had from 5 to 20 acres under cultivation, but in the north, where settlement had been more recent, only "small clearings" had been made in the forest.[77] Most of the farmers had had to clear the forest

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[75] The Stonewall Argus, March 1, 1900.

[76] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1900, Paper no. 13, part II, p. 113; R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 64 above), p. 244; and The Stonewall Argus contains references to this in several issues.

[77] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1903, Paper no. 25, part 1, p. 14; Sessional Papers: 1904, Paper no. 25, part III, p. 28. See tables 11 and 13, especially Tps. 19-3E, 18-2E, 18-3E, 17-3E.

TABLE 13

GIMLI MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1901*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Oxen	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
18-3E (part)	95	12	35	195	81	0
18-4E	139	31	60	539	214	8
19-2E	9	0	4	28	0	0
19-3E	139	6	48	188	100	1
19-4E	135	37	37	327	283	19
20-3E	0	0	0	5	0	0
20-4E	345	10	14	161	136	0
21-4E	1,163	21	42	468	349	2
22-1E	0	0	2	11	6	0
22-2E	0	19	20	236	56	2
22-3E	631	28	108	734	373	0
22-4E	482	17	54	341	257	4
23-2E	0	0	0	10	6	0
23-3E	12	1	10	69	49	0
23-4E	944	39	92	842	526	3
23-5E	27	2	1	17	8	0
24-4E	86	2	23	159	47	7
24-5E	27	1	1	25	19	3
24-6E	164	1	8	117	78	0
25-5E	0	0	2	11	7	0
25-6E	214	7	17	110	170	4
Total	4,612	234	578	4,603	2,765	53

*Gimli Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1901.

and break the land, but a few had chosen land where a large amount of open land greatly eased this task. Grain was not grown to any great extent except on farms where there were large fields under cultivation. The first crop grown consisted of potatoes and vegetables,[78] both of which remained important crops. Almost every farmer had at least one or two cattle, one or more pigs, and some chickens; some even had a few sheep. They were typical of pioneer farmers in the forest belt in that they practised a semi-subsistence form of mixed farming with an accent on cattle.

That there were exceptions to the general rule is shown by the fact that one Ukrainian farmer, apparently richer than most, had purchased a farm on which improvements had already been made and by 1901 was raising a considerable amount of wheat.[79]

Icelanders of the Icelandic reserve. The Icelanders' economy had changed little during the decade. Fishing was still the main occupation, farming--still mostly animal husbandry--had improved little, and other activities were of secondary importance.

Fisheries statistics are not available for the Icelandic reserve, but for Lake Winnipeg as a whole the catch had increased from about 2,500 tons to about 3,500 tons.[80] Fewer fish were eaten at home.[81]

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[78]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1900, Paper no. 13, part II, p. 113.

[79]The Stonewall News, March 21, 1901.

[80]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries", Sessional Papers: 1902, Paper no. 22, pp. 165-166.

[81]Ibid. Total home consumption for the Lake Winnipeg area was 2,768 cwt's, less than for the Icelandic area alone in 1891.

Whitefish were still the main commercial species, and the winter catch remained more important than the summer catch. Increased production had led to the expansion of the trade to Winnipeg, and, near the end of the decade, to the United States.[82] There were at least 9 icehouses in the municipality to handle the summer catch.[83]

Animal husbandry was still the most important part of Icelandic farming. The number of animals had increased by over one-third,[84] roughly the same as the rate of population increase. Only horses had increased at a much faster rate (to over ten times as many in 1901), probably because of their importance in transporting fish. To aid in the disposal of dairy products two creameries had been established in Gimli in 1898,[85] the same year a railway reached Winnipeg Beach about ten miles to the south.

So little grain was raised in the municipality that many freighters were forced to bring in grain from Teulon or Balmoral.[86] Cultivated acreages remained small, though there had been significant increases (table 13). St. Cyr, a surveyor in the area, blamed the small production on the small acreage cleared and on the difficulty of draining

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[82]N.W. Kristjanson, The Icelanders in Manitoba (Manuscript in the Manitoba provincial Archives), chapter 14, p. 63.

[83]Gimli Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1901.

[84]See table 13. All but Tp. 19-3E and parts of 19-4E and 20-4E may be regarded as purely Icelandic areas.

[85]Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Crop Reports, March, 1899.

[86]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1904, Paper no. 25, part III, p. 101.

land.[87] Probably of equal or greater importance were the earlier unsuccessful attempts at grain growing, the fact that the Icelanders were unfamiliar with grain growing, and the success of the fishing industry which made farming only a part-time occupation. The increased grain production was partly because of the increased demand that the fish freighters made for grain. Along the Icelandic River it was also partly because settlers had less clearing to do to prepare fields, and because the settlers were from North Dakota and had had some farming experience.

The sawmilling industry had become much less important to the Icelanders. The sawmills on Hecla Island and Bad Throat River were gone, and though there was a new mill at Icelandic River, it turned out only 389,305 ft. B.M. of lumber.[88] Another mill at Washow Bay, not owned by the Icelanders, produced 207,075 ft. B.M. of lumber.[89] A third mill, at Arnes, was apparently either inoperative in 1901 or producing only on a very small scale.[90] The general decrease in the importance of sawmilling on the reserve was due partly to the exhaustion of much of the best timber along the coast, partly to the increased emphasis on fishing, and partly to increased competition from mills outside the Interlake.

No data are available on the other economic activities. The steamer traffic on Lake Winnipeg still employed many Icelanders, but

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[87] Ibid.

[88] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1902, Paper no. 25, 1902, part I, pp. 98-99.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Gimli Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1901. It is not listed by the Department of the Interior.

competition from the railway at Winnipeg Beach and from steamers owned by other groups may have decreased the importance of the Icelandic steamers. The creameries and similar industries were more important as services.

St. Laurent Municipality. The economy of the Métis area was virtually unchanged since 1891. There were only slight changes in agriculture. Cattle were still the mainstay of the agricultural economy (table 14) and the two cheese factories still handled most of the dairy produce. Most cultivated land was still used for potatoes and vegetables. Fishing remained important, but no separate statistics are available for the St. Laurent area. A new fish house had been erected on section 30-15-4W (actually in Woodlands), and several Métis squatters who depended on fishing for a living had moved in nearby.[91] The British in

TABLE 14

ST. LAURENT MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1901*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
16-2W	-	26	200	2	16
16-4W	-	23	135	8	45
St. Laurent	381	155	458	10	76
17-4W	84	192	129	19	15
Oak Point	45	36	135	8	11
Total	510	432	1,057	47	163

*St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

[91] Woodlands Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1901; Madeline L. Proctor, Woodlands Echoes (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1960), p. 140.

township 16-2W depended almost exclusively on cattle.

Area of white settlement north of St. Laurent municipality. The economy of this area was still similar to that of the Métis area. Cattle were still found in almost all settled areas, and usually only small parcels of land had been fenced off for fields and gardens.[92] Cattle buyers from Clarkleigh and Oak Point travelled through the area buying cattle for sale in Winnipeg.[93] Some milk and cream were still taken to the cheese factories at St. Laurent, and a creamery was opened at Lundar in 1901 and provided an even closer market.[94] Although some farmers did attempt to grow grain,[95] they were few, and as more of the land fell into the hands of Icelanders, cattle became increasingly important.

Fishing was still very important, particularly among the Icelanders and the half-breeds. The Icelanders at the Narrows were the most actively engaged in commercial fishing, as the excellent fishing grounds there seem to have attracted only those Icelanders interested in fishing. Very few whitefish were being caught--they had apparently been almost fished out--and the statistics for the Lake Manitoba area as a whole indicate that production had dropped slightly, but a larger percentage (about the

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[92]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Surveyor General", Sessional Papers: 1906-07, Paper no. 25B, p. 42.

[93]Lundar Diamond Jubilee (Lundar: 1948), p. 109.

[94]N.W. Kristjanson (see footnote no 82 above), chapter 15, p. 18; (Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Crop Reports, 1902 was the first official report, but this may be because it went into operation late in 1901.)

[95]The Stonewall Argus, February 28, 1901. An auction sale in Tp. 18-4W offered for sale plows, harrows, seeders, and a binder in addition to a rake and a mower.

same actual quantity) was being sold.[96]

The Icelanders at the Narrows carried on another important industry. Ridges of thin-bedded, pure Devonian dolomite of the Winnipegosan formation thrust themselves up fifty feet or more above the flat, swampy land bordering the lake.[97] On the western slope of one of these ridges nearest the lake, a group of enterprising Icelanders had constructed and were running two kilns. Poplar for fuel was in plentiful supply on the ridges. Wood and dolomite were hand loaded from a ramp into the top of the kilns, and a second ramp led from the bottom of the kilns to the lake shore, where the lime was loaded on scows to be taken down the lake to the railway at Westbourne for distribution.[98] This industry, though small, was important to the Icelanders as the first really new enterprise they had undertaken for almost two decades. The idea appears to have come from the United States, where many of the settlers had originally settled, and was probably undertaken to help make up for the decline in the fish catch which had occurred late in the decade. Its importance, however, was only local.

Mineral exploitation had also begun in township 32-9W. Gypsum, in easily fractured beds, lay near the surface under only two or three

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[96]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries", Sessional Papers: 1902, Paper no. 22, pp. 165-66.

[97]M.F. Goudge, Limestones of Canada: Their Occurrence and Characteristics: Part IV: Western Canada (Queen's Printer, 1944), p. 62.

[98]Material regarding the quarry and kilns was gained from interviews, but the kilns themselves are still standing. Most of the early residents interviewed agreed on all points, though one thought that a small-gauge tramway had also been built on the ramps by 1901. Others claimed it had not been built until later.

feet of overburden. A Winnipeg company began mining the gypsum by open-pit methods, using horses and scrapers. The ore was drawn by horse over a poor bush road twelve miles to the lake at Portage Bay. There a $15,000 plant had been erected to "crush and calcine" the rock. The Plaster of Paris produced was loaded on a company steamboat at a wharf beside the plant and was carried down the lake to the railway at Westbourne and Delta. From there it was sent to Winnipeg and distributed throughout much of western Canada. In 1901, eight hundred tons, worth $13 a ton, was produced.[99] Most of the employees came from the Stonewall quarries, though some Indians were also employed.

Indians. The Indians of the Interlake for the most part continued to engage in the same activities as in 1891. The most advanced agriculturally were those at Fisher River, but even there, according to the Indian agent, other activities were more important:

> The Indians subsist by working in Robinson's (saw)mill, close by, by fishing for pickerel and gold-eyes in the bay, and hunting fur and game.[100]

Though some of the Indians on the reserves near Lake Manitoba were raising cattle successfully, none had yet been able to grow grain "with any degree of success".[101] An Indian agent, referring to other activities on the reserves in the western Interlake reported in 1901:

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[99] L.H. Cole, The Gypsum Industry of Canada (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1930) pp. 81-85; and Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1902, Paper no. 25, part I, p. 32.

[100] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1902, Paper no. 27, p. 78.

[101] Ibid., p. 89.

> In fact, the Indians on the northern reserves earn a lot of money every winter at fishing. Nearly all of them earn more or less at hunting, trapping, digging senega root and picking berries. Quite a number work as boatmen on the lakes and during the harvest and threshing they can all get work.[102]

Though the sawmill at Fairford had been shut down, the gypsum mill to some extent replaced it as a place of employment.

Summary. Three developments of note were going on in 1901. Rockwood was beginning to shift away from local industry and was engaging in more intensive agriculture. The influx of new settlers was expanding the agricultural area and bringing new industries to the northern area. The first mining developments were being undertaken on Lake Manitoba, presaging the time when mining developments would be largely responsible for bringing the life-giving railway to the area. However, mixed farming, though at several levels of development, remained the keynote of the Interlake economy, and only along the lake shores was it of secondary importance.

IV. SERVICE CENTERS

As a whole, the pattern of Interlake service centers was little changed from 1891. The influx of new settlers into most parts of the Interlake had brought an increase in the services offered, and had brought into being a great many rural service "centers" where only one, two, or three services were offered. Stonewall was still the most important center, and Rockwood as a whole had the largest number of important centers.

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[102] Ibid., p. 90.

Rockwood's dominance was still unchallenged. The dense population, the early start, and the railway connections gave it advantages no other area could match. The farm population (both in Rockwood and beyond its boundaries) had at last increased to the point where the existing services no longer seemed adequate. The new services, instead of establishing themselves in the newly settled areas, were prone to start in centers where other services were nearby to help attract more business. As a result, many new businesses were opening and many old businesses expanding in Stonewall, Balmoral, and Teulon.[103]

Stonewall. Stonewall's supremacy had been established the previous decade, and by 1901 no other center had reached the size Stonewall was in 1891. It was still growing, mostly because--as the largest center in the Interlake--it had the greatest power to attract new services, particularly specialized services. The town's population had risen to about 475,[104] and at least 57 services were offered. The postal revenue (map 13) gives a good indication of the relative importance of Stonewall in the Interlake. It was still the cultural, administrative, and economic center for the municipality, though it had lost its advantageous railhead position. New services included a grain crusher, three new hardware stores, new warehouses, and such important new services as two banks, two barbers, two visiting dentists, and a detachment of provincial police was located there, but apparently the normal school, the harness

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[103] The Stonewall Argus during 1901 contains many references to new stores and additions to old ones.

[104] Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1902 shows a population of 486.

shop, the bellows factory, the furniture store, and the cheese factory were no longer in operation.[105] By 1901 the business men had organized a board of trade,[106] and plans were even being made to attract an agricultural college.[107] Even the loss of its railhead position had not limited Stonewall's hinterland, and the town was still growing.

Other centers in Rockwood municipality. After waiting almost twenty years, Balmoral had finally received railway connections with Winnipeg. However, in spite of the town's position in a heavily populated and prosperous farming area, it had experienced no real boom. Its grist mill had closed, and apparently the only new services were an elevator, a harness shop, and an insurance agency.[108] Most new services were located in the much larger town of Stonewall or in the new railhead town of Teulon. Balmoral's trade had grown considerably, though perhaps not as much as the postal revenue (map 13) would indicate. Teulon and Stonewall effectively limited its hinterland both north and south. The population in 1902 was 65.[109]

About ten miles north of Balmoral was Rockwood's newest town, Teulon. At the head of the railway from Stonewall, it got a "large

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[105]Data on services offered in the Rockwood centers are based on: Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1902; The Stonewall Argus, advertisements during 1901; and Waghorn's Guide, January, 1901.

[106]The Stonewall Argus, February 7, 1901.

[107]Ibid., August 29, 1901.

[108]See footnote no. 105 above.

[109]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1902.

trade" from Gimli and the "north colony".[110] With such advantages, it attracted many of the new services which the increased population was making necessary. By 1902 it had five stores, a grain warehouse, a church, a blacksmith, a saddler, and a boarding house. Its population was still small (only 31 in 1902), as only the businessmen themselves lived in the town.[111] It was the fastest-growing service center in the municipality.

Stony Mountain had stagnated, largely because of its position between Stonewall and Winnipeg. In 1902 there were only 45 people in the center, and no new services were offered.[112] The postal revenue (map 13) indicates the small amount of business done.

The small rural post offices remained important, but were decreasing in relative importance as the towns grew. Schools and churches still served as community centers in the rural areas, but they too were decreasing in importance. The large centers were gradually absorbing and replacing them. In the Ukrainian portion of Rockwood, as in the Ukrainian area as a whole, there was no real center. There is no evidence they had yet built any churches; post offices were almost non-existent, and schools were few. The Ukrainians depended mostly on Gimli and Teulon for services.

Gimli Municipality. The town of Gimli had continued to grow in size and importance and was much the most important center in Gimli

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[110] Winnipeg Free Press, February 21, 1901.

[111] Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1902; also see footnote no. 105 above.

[112] Ibid.

municipality (map 13). It had a Farmer's Institute, municipal and lands titles office, a garrison of provincial police, a newspaper, two creameries, a blacksmith, a tinsmith, at least three stores, a church, a school, and two or more hotels.[113] These services made it the administrative, cultural, and commercial center for the municipality. It was also located in the most densely populated part of the municipality and was the only Icelandic town in a position to get the Ukrainian trade. Its location at the hub of roads radiating south, west, and north made it "the distributing point for the large settlements of Icelanders and Galicians who (had) taken homesteads in the neighbouring country".[114] As there were still many farmers and fishermen in the village as well as the new businessmen, the population must have been over two hundred. However, population data are not available for any centers in the municipality.

None of the other centers were of much importance (map 13). There were two stores at Hecla Island, two stores at Arnes, and a farmers' institute at Icelandic River,[115] and probably there were other services as well.

Woodlands Municipality. Woodlands municipality still lacked a real center. Raeburn had become much the most important center because

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[113]Data on centers in Gimli municipality are from: Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1904, Paper no. 25, part III p. 101 ; Gimli Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1902; Waghorn's Guide, January, 1901, December, 1901; and Henderson's Directory, 1901.

[114]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1904, Paper no. 25, part III, p. 101.

[115]See footnote no. 113 above.

of the railway which made it the distributing point for goods for the growing population north of Oak Point (map 13). The new creamery also helped it attract more local trade, and it had at least one store.[116]

Marquette had a new grist mill, a cheese factory, and at least three stores and served as the distributing point for much of the municipality, but it was still not an important center (map 13). Its peripheral position, its lightly populated hinterland, and its proximity to Raeburn retarded its development.

Woodlands appeared to lack only a railway to make it a real center for the minicipality. Its central location which had attracted the municipal office and the agricultural society made it the ideal place for other services to gather. However, the lack of a unifying bond such as the railway kept the services scattered, and services located in rural areas nearby saw no advantage in moving to a center without a railway. There is no evidence of any new services being offered, though the postal revenue (map 13) indicates an increase in business.

In spite of the addition of a second cheese factory, Meadow Lea was less important than Woodlands as a service center. Its greatest importance was as a community center. Other community centers in Woodlands were even less important.

St. Laurent Municipality. St. Laurent municipality was dominated by the town of the same name, as shown by the postal revenue (map 13).

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[116]Data on stores in the municipality are from: Woodlands Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1901; Waghorn's Guide, January, 1901, December, 1901; and Henderson's Directory, 1901.

St. Laurent had five stores scattered along the main trail through the settlement,[117] but these stores served little more than the Métis portion of the municipality. The church made it the religious center for the Catholics of the area, the municipal office made it the administrative center for the whole municipality, and the cheese factories brought in some trade from outside the municipality. It was still not a unified "center". Apparently the only other store in the municipality in 1901 was located on section 16 of township 17-4W--about half-way between the two lake-lot settlements of Oak Point and St. Laurent.

Remainder of the Interlake. North of St. Laurent and outside the the Indian reserves, post offices were ubiquitous, but numbers were small (map 13). Other services were similarly scattered; no real center existed. The lack of an administrative center (Posen municipality was in the hands of receivers) around which other services could gather militated against the growth of a town. Clarkleigh, the main transportation center, had the disadvantage of being a non-Icelandic center in a municipality that was mainly Icelandic. Lundar, with its creamery, had the greatest potential for attracting other services, but the creamery had just been built .

All the Indian reserves except the Lake St. Martin reserve offered new services, but none had a really important center. The greatest change had occurred on the Fisher River reserve where two traders had

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[117] Data on services offered in the municipality are from: St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1901; Waghorn's Guide, January, 1901, December, 1901; and Henderson's Directory, 1901.

established stores, a new church had been opened, a bath house had been built, and there was a detachment of provincial police.[118] At Fairford, in addition to the Hudson Bay post and the mission, there was a second store, a second Anglican church, a Baptist church, and the only post office on any of the reserves. On the Little Saskatchewan reserve there was an Anglican church, and on the Lake Manitoba reserve a Roman Catholic church. Only Fairford and Fisher River showed signs of becoming important centers in the future.

Summary. The expansion of population in the Interlake had produced some growth of service centers, and the process was still going on. There had been little change in the relative importance of centers, and the only new center was Teulon. The magnetic effect of railway service had attracted the services to Teulon, presaging the time when the rise and fall of towns would be almost entirely dependent on the whim of the railway builders and the only important centers would be railway towns.

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[118]Data on services offered on the Indian reserves are from: Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1902, Paper no. 27, pp. 78, 91; Henderson's Directory, 1901; and Waghorn's Guide, January 1901, December, 1901.

CHAPTER VI

1911

The new surge of immigration that had begun before 1901 reached the proportions of a deluge shortly afterward. Soon the prairie and the semi-open park belt of Western Canada had no more free land available, and new settlers wishing free land were forced to look to the forest lands to the north. This development was of great significance to the Interlake area because its relative proximity to Winnipeg made it the destination of large numbers of the new settlers. The rush for land that ensued brought about a greater mixing of ethnic groups than had previously occurred.

The magic touch of new settlement sent new railways fingering into the Interlake, and this in turn enlarged the settled area still further. The railway stations served as focal points which attracted established services from the surrounding rural areas as well as new services. The predominance of these railway "towns" was being established, and failure to attract a railway was catastrophic to old service centers.

An increased population and a vastly improved transportation system were producing many changes. In the farm economy of the previously isolated areas the changes had scarcely begun to show, but exploitation of the forest went on apace, and the key to the economy of these new forested farm lands was forest exploitation.

I. POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT

The wooded areas, which in 1901 felt the first solid impact of settlement with the coming of the first Ukrainians,[1] had by 1911 undergone a multinational invasion of settlers rushing to seize land in the Interlake--one of the few remaining areas where a man could own a farm for a cash outlay of ten dollars. The influx showed no sign of abating. Prior to 1908 homesteading had been restricted to the even-numbered sections (except in the Ukrainian and Icelandic settlements on Lake Winnipeg), and settlement was generally quite scattered. In 1908 the odd-numbered sections were opened for homesteading, and much more compact settlements were formed. In many instances the settlers arriving after 1908 to take up these odd-numbered sections were of a different ethnic origin than the group that had originally settled the area, and a greater mixing of the ethnic groups resulted. At first the settlers arriving in the wooded areas were only the very poor and the new immigrants from continental Europe, whereas the British and American settlers avoided such areas.[2] However, as the decade advanced, land became increasingly scarce throughout Western Canada, and an increasing number of British and American settlers began taking up wooded land to avoid having to pay exhorbitant prices for other land. Though these

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[1]In this thesis, the term Ukrainian is used to refer to all settlers of Slavic origin. Most of them were Ukrainians, but some were also Poles, and there may have been other Slavs. In general, these Slavic peoples came from the same area in Europe, settled in the same area in the Interlake, and had similar cultural backgrounds. In few instances it is possible to separate them statistically.

[2]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1904, Paper no. 25, part I, p. 30.

were the main factors bringing settlers into the Interlake, another factor of not inconsiderable importance was the construction of four railways into the area. Though this construction was to some extent dependent on the settlement that had already taken place, the railways in turn offered transportation for new settlers arriving later.

The population in 1911 totaled well over 22,000,[3] an increase of close to 100% over the 1901 population. The population pattern was still basically the same as in 1901, except for the northward expansion of the populated area, especially along Lake Manitoba and in the central part of the Interlake along the principal meridian (map 14). The population was still heaviest in a north-south strip including Rockwood and the Icelandic and Ukrainian settlements along Lake Winnipeg. The population of Woodlands and St. Laurent was virtually unchanged, and to the north the population still spread out along Lake Manitoba (though the area occupied had greatly increased), and except at St. Laurent and Oak Point, there were no areas of dense settlement. A new area of settlement stretched north of township 17 for more than fifty miles along the principal meridian, but was in general sparsely populated.

Rockwood and the Lake Winnipeg area. This, the most densely populated area, included Rockwood Municipality, townships 18 to 25 in ranges 2E to 6E, and part of township 23-1E. It was mostly settled by five ethnic groups, each located in a more or less distinct area. The most numerous group were the Ukrainians who were mostly settled in

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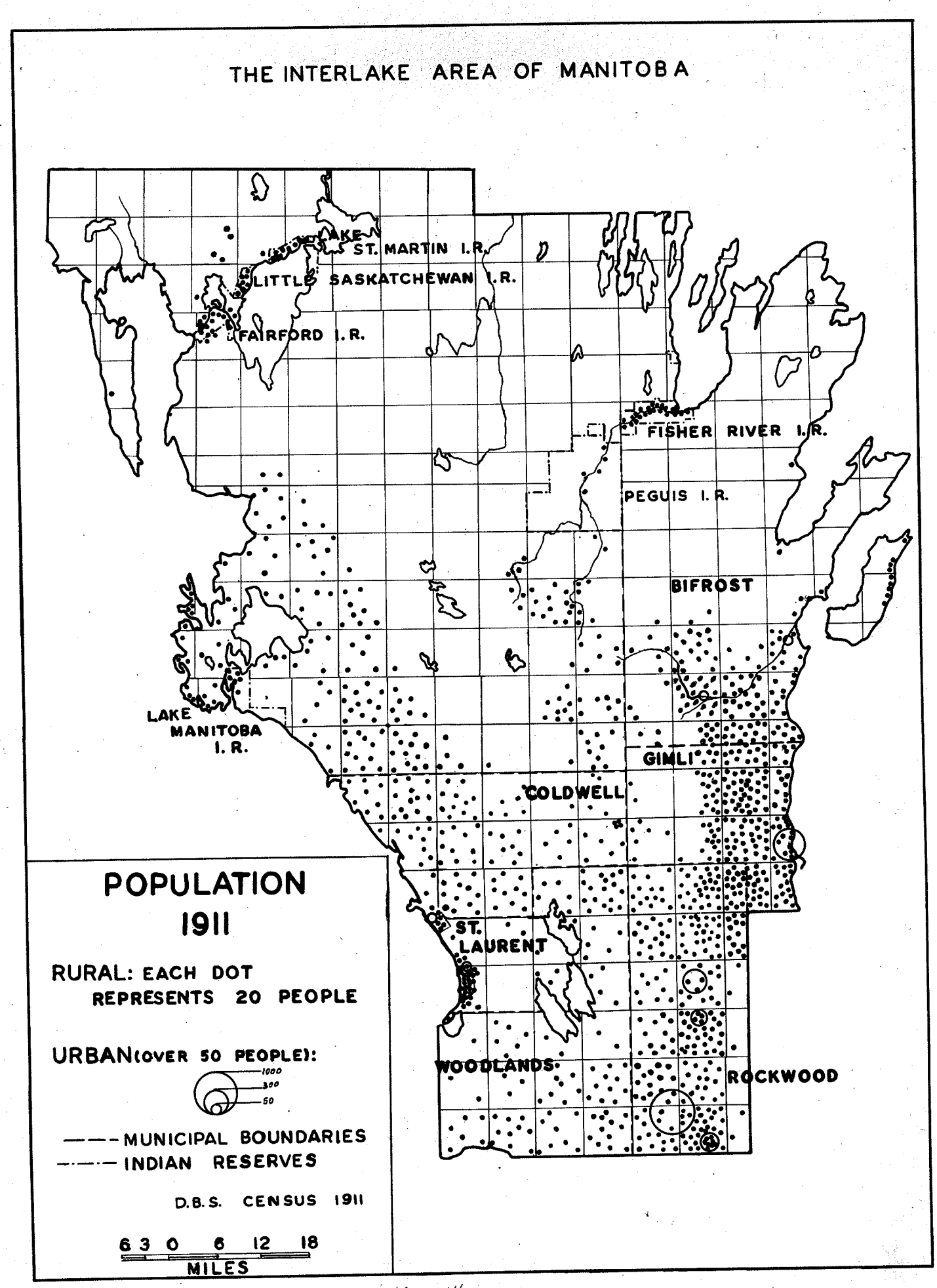
[3]Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada: 1911, Vol. I. (The exact population of the Peguis Indian reserve cannot be ascertained.) Unless otherwise stated, all population data used in this chapter are from this source.


THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
LAKE ST. MARTIN I.R.
LITTLE SASKATCHEWAN I.R.
FAIRFORD I.R.
FISHER RIVER I.R.
PEGUIS I.R.
BIFROST
LAKE MANITOBA I.R.
GIMLI
COLDWELL
ST. LAURENT
WOODLANDS
ROCKWOOD
POPULATION 1911
RURAL: EACH DOT REPRESENTS 20 PEOPLE
URBAN (OVER 50 PEOPLE):
1000
300
50
MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES
INDIAN RESERVES
D.B.S. CENSUS 1911
6 3 0 6 12 18
MILES

Map 14

townships 17 to 21 in ranges 2E and 3E and in a small area north of the Icelandic River. Next to them, and to some extent interspersed with them, a few German settlers had begun a small settlement centering on the eastern part of range 3E in townships 20 and 21. On the lake shore and along the Icelandic River the Icelanders owned most of the land, and a few had even begun to take up land back from the river to the north. A few settlers with other ethnic backgrounds appear to have been intermixed with these three groups, but they were of no real significance. In the northwestern part of Rockwood, the Swedish group were still the main ethnic group in a very small area. In Rockwood, south of the Swedish and Ukrainian areas, settlers of British origin were still the predominant group.

The Ukrainians[4] probably numbered several thousand. The area in which they were settled was the most densely populated rural area in the Interlake, with an average population density probably exceeding 16 persons per square mile. This heavy density was mostly due to the large number of farms, which in turn was partly due to the fact that both odd and even-numbered sections were occupied (in general, only the school sections and the Hudson Bay lands were unoccupied) and to the fact that almost no Ukrainian had a farm larger than 160 acres, and a few had even taken homesteads of 80 acres. The fact that the families were generally quite large also helps explain the heavy population, and growth in family size was an important factor in population growth in

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[4]See footnote no. 1 above. The ethnic origins of the population in 1911 are not given on a sufficiently detailed scale to be of any value for this study.

those townships where most of the land had been taken up by 1901. A much larger part of the population increase, however, was due to the huge influx of new Ukrainian settlers.

The area occupied included that occupied in 1901, but settlement had spread north as far as the Icelandic settlement on the Icelandic River and stretched from the Icelandic and German settlements on the shore of Lake Winnipeg west to include the eastern half of range 2E.[5] There was an abrupt end to settlement in township 2E in a straight line stretching for twenty miles in a north-south direction and west of which only 11 quarter-sections had been homesteaded (map 1). Apparently this line marked the western edge of the land designated for Ukrainian settlement, as it does not represent a natural boundary of any sort. With the virtual filling of this area by 1909, Ukrainian settlement spread north of the Icelandic River settlement, and Ukrainians had taken up almost two-thirds of the land in townships 23-2E and 23-3E (most of the land shown in map 1 as being taken up in these townships between 1906 and 1911), and all the land occupied by 1911 in townships 24-2E and 24-3E. The area occupied by the Ukrainians was in two solid blocks with very few instances of Ukrainian settlers being isolated among the Icelanders or other ethnic groups. This probably reflected (1) their feeling that they were unwanted foreigners, (2) their inability to speak the language of their neighbours, and (3) their desire to be with others of the same

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[5]The location of the different ethnic groups in the Interlake in 1911 is based almost entirely on a study of the names of the homesteaders as recorded in the Township Registers (on file in the Lands Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba) and on interviews with early residents still living in the area.

culture. It probably also reflected a government policy which aimed at keeping the cultural group together to make the period of adjustment less trying. (These people were generally aided by immigration agents in choosing their land, probably because of their inability to speak English and their unfamiliarity with the land.)

The land occupied was in general quite similar to that taken up before 1901. Almost without exception it was wooded with spruce, poplar, and aspen except in the low-lying, swampy areas. Most of the land south of the Icelandic River was moderately to very stony, and the soil was not very fertile, largely because of the calcareous till close to the surface. There were some areas of fertile lacustrine soils developed on a thin layer of clay over till and a few small areas of peat bogs and of sandy soils developed on old beach ridges. North of the Icelandic River most of the soils were fertile, ill-drained lacustrine soils, though on the northern fringe of settlement the soils were almost identical to the stony soils south of the Icelandic River. The choice of land--in an area generally shunned by other settlers, in a great variety of natural environments (many of which were obviously very poor for farming), and bypassing almost no land--reflects the Ukrainians' lack of knowledge of their adopted country and their willingness to accept any gift of 160 acres of land almost unquestioningly provided they could settle near others of their own cultural background.

Most of the Ukrainian settlement had occurred prior to 1906; after that time Ukrainian immigration began to slacken. The exodus

from Galicia and Buckowinia had been so great that those remaining had bought all the land they could afford, and buyers for the land were increasingly difficult to find. As a result, most settlers after that date came to join relatives already in Canada and only when those relatives could send the money for the passage.[6] A greater number also came to Canada without their families, and sent for their families only after they had earned enough money to support them. These settlers usually did not take up land at once, so that when they did select land, they had had time to look around, and they generally avoided the poor swampy areas and rock ridges that newly-arrived Ukrainians accepted. As a result, fewer Ukrainians were coming to the Interlake. By 1911 new settlement was occurring only on the northern fringe of the settlement, and, to a very small extent, in the western part of range 2E. The population growth rate was phenomenal after 1906 even in townships where the land was all taken up by that year (map 15). This growth can be attributed only to natural increase and the arrival of families that the settlers had left in Europe while they established new homes in Canada.

The most distinctive element of the Ukrainian settlement was still to be found in its house construction. Most other European groups used similar thatched roofs, but among other ethnic groups a

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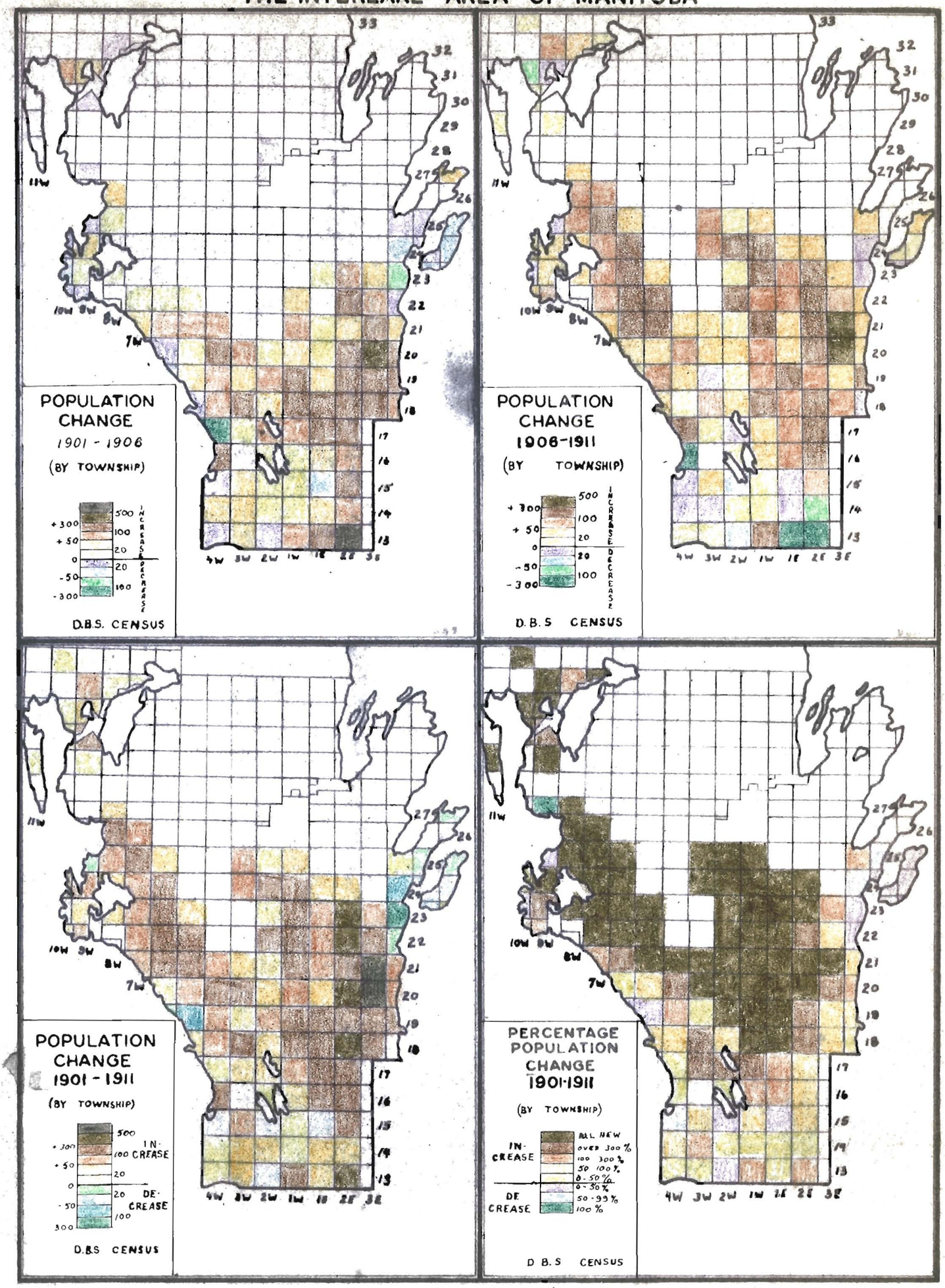
[6]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1905, Paper no. 25, p. 70; Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1906, Paper no. 25, p. 99.

THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA



Map 15

number of the settlers had used lumber or slabs in roof construction. Virtually every Ukrainian house had a thatched roof. In the nearly-settled forest area, most non-Ukrainian homes were of log construction, but were of very rough construction as they were intended for temporary use. A number of the German settlers and a few others had used a lath construction of willow branches to make smooth clay walls on the inside of the house, but only the Ukrainians used it consistently. Other settlers also whitewashed their newly-constructed clay houses, but the Ukrainians were more diligent in maintaining the whitewash. The Ukrainian homes often looked as though they had been transplanted from the Ukraine.

Immediately east of the Ukrainians, in township 20 and 21 in the eastern part of range 3E, was a colony of about 45 German settlers who had arrived between 1902 and 1909.[7] Because of the position of the settlement between the Icelanders on the east and the Ukrainians on the west, there was no more land available in the area after 1909, so the colony stopped expanding. The population was probably between two and three hundred.

The choice of land seems to have been mostly determined by availability and by proximity to other German settlers and bore no apparent relation to the natural environment. Land chosen included a cross-section of the soils in the area and was generally moderately to heavily wooded. Drainage varied from poor to very good; some areas were very stony while others were stone-free. Virtually no difference

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[7]Township Registers (see footnote no. 5 above).

could be detected between the area chosen by the Germans and that chosen by the Ukrainians. An explanation for the choice of land so close to the Ukrainian settlement may lie in the fact that the German settlers came from an area of central Europe not far from the homeland of the Ukrainians.

These German settlers also had something in common with the Icelanders to the east. Although many of them settled on the usual square quarter-sections, about 25 of them were living on "long" quarter-sections one mile long by one-quarter mile wide. The land was not surveyed in this form, and the homesteads were not oriented according to the physical environment. The main purpose in taking up these "long" quarter-sections was to make it possible for the settlers to live near one another.[8] In each section where land was taken up in this form, at least part of it was occupied by 1906; after that land was taken up in the form of square quarter-sections.

East and north of the German settlement, stretching along the lake shore from township 17 to township 25, inland along the Icelandic River, and along the shore of Hecla Island, was the Icelandic settlement. The population had probably increased by several hundred, as there were a number of new homesteads along the Icelandic River as far inland as township 23-1E.[9] All the long quarter-sections, or river lots, in township 22-2E had been taken up by 1903 (map 1); all other

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[8]Information obtained by Ed Guertin from interviews in the area.

[9]<u>Township Registers</u> (see footnote no. 5 above).

land taken up was in the form of square quarter-sections. North and west of township 22-2E all the land homesteaded before 1906 was occupied by Icelanders; after 1908 the intervening odd-numbered sections in the same area were also homesteaded by Icelanders. Some homesteads south of the Icelandic River were also taken up by Icelanders. The chief determining factor in the choice of land was still proximity to the river and to other Icelandic settlers, and most of the land was imperfectly-drained, lacustrine soil. In the area north and west of the river lots the Icelanders appear to have preferred areas with fewer trees and abundant grasslands. This can best be explained by the fact that many of the Icelandic settlers arriving during the decade came from the United States or from Western Canada and were more concerned with cattle-raising than with fishing.

Few Icelanders had taken up new homesteads south along the lake shore; most of the land inland from the earlier Icelandic settlements had been taken up by the Ukrainians. Population increase was greatest in the township which included Gimli (map 15), but this increase was largely due to town growth and to Gimli's increased importance as a resort.

Land abandonment had taken place in two parts of the Icelandic area--from township 22-4E north along the lake shore and on Hecla Island. This depopulation mostly occurred before 1906 (map 15), and was really a continuation of the trend begun in 1901. The population decrease in township 23-4E was at least partly attributable to a decline in Riverton's importance and a subsequent loss of population. By 1911 the exodus had stopped and there was even some population growth.

By 1911 expansion of the area of Icelandic settlement had practically ceased, and population growth had become very slow. The Icelanders remained a very important force in the eastern Interlake, but they were steadily becoming relatively less numerous than the Ukrainians, and their sphere of influence was being limited to a very narrow strip along Lake Winnipeg and the Icelandic River.

The group of Swedish carpenters in the north-western part of Rockwood had been joined by more Swedish settlers, and the settlement had spread north and west, even outside the municipality. Most of the new settlement was in township 17-1E (exclusively Swedish except in the north-east portion where Ukrainians had taken up most of the land), but some Swedes also took up land in townships 16-1E and 18-1E. The choice of land seems to have been based on a desire to maintain a purely Swedish colony, though the fact that Ukrainians had taken up most of the available land to the north and east also limited expansion in those directions. The land settled and the nature of the colony were basically unchanged from 1901.

In these areas of predominantly Ukrainian, Icelandic and Swedish settlement, very little land had been occupied other than that homesteaded. None of the school land had been purchased, and there is no evidence that any of the Hudson Bay Company lands had been bought. In 1904 about 15 sections of land were allocated to the provincial government as "swamp lands" in the area, and in 1907 another 2 sections were added.[10] Of this land about 6½ sections had been sold, mostly to

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[10] Township Registers (see footnote no. 5 above) give the date of sale and the name of the purchaser of swamp lands and school lands.

Winnipeg companies. The largest area of such lands still unsold were in the western half of township 21-2E--an extremely swampy area. Most of the Swedes and Ukrainians had no capital and could ill afford to buy land so soon after taking up their homesteads.

In Rockwood south of township 17 the population had grown rapidly during the first half of the decade, but the growth rate was considerably lower after 1906, and in the southern townships the population had actually decreased (map 15). Except in township 16-1E, where a number of British settlers had taken up homesteads, almost none of the population increase could be attributed to homesteading. The growth of towns accounted for an increase of approximately 1,050, and the great fluctuation in population in township 13-2E was due to the presence of the penitentiary there. Probably little if any of the population increase was due to buying of land from speculators; they owned little land except in range 3E--still virtually deserted in 1901--and in township 15-1E. In 15-1E most land purchased was bought by resident farmers wishing to enlarge their holdings--the thin and infertile soils were suited only to large-scale cattle raising which required large land holdings. Some resident farmers were even buying out their neighbours, with the result that depopulation was taking place.

Very little land was left in the control of non-resident owners in southern Rockwood, and almost none was in the hands of the government. Most of the C.P.R., school, and Hudson Bay Company lands had been sold, except in the areas of poor soil. In range 3E much of the land was owned by resident farmers, though the owners lived higher up

on the slopes of the central ridge. Only one section of provincial "swamp land" remained unsold.[11] In southern Rockwood there could be no more expansion of the area occupied, and future population growth would be in the area already settled.

Woodlands and the Lake Manitoba area. The second area where population changes were really just a continuation of the trend begun by 1901 included Woodlands municipality and all the settled area north along Lake Manitoba (map 14). In the newly-settled area north of Coldwell municipality (and including a small part of township 20 in the municipality) there were settlers of many ethnic groups, most of whom had settled in more or less separate communities. Within the previously-settled area there was some mixing of ethnic groups; after 1908 the odd-numbered sections were opened for homesteading, and many of these sections were occupied by a different ethnic group than had originally settled the area. Settlements were generally quite similar in the appearance of the buildings, though there were more frame houses and lumber-covered log houses in the long-settled areas of the south and more crude log houses--sometimes with thatched roofs--in the northern part of the area where settlement was more recent.

One of the new groups in the area was French. These French settlers occupied an area of about 45 square miles--mostly in township 21-4W, but spilling over into the surrounding townships as well.[12]

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Township Registers (see footnote no. 5 above).

Although 55 quarter-sections had been homesteaded in township 21-4W (map 1), the population of the township was only 85, so many of the French settlers must have come without their families. The settlement was fairly homogeneous, and the land chosen was ridge and swale land covered with mixed grass and forest--land similar to that of their homeland in Savoy in south-eastern France.[13] The choice of this area may also have reflected their professed desire to undertake mixed farming and perhaps a desire to be close to the Catholic Métis settlement and church at St. Laurent. (The church was important in encouraging them to come.)[14] The railway was probably a secondary factor.

Another small group was made up of Scandinavians (mostly Swedes), most of whom were settled in the Nord district, an area of about 40 square miles centering on the north-east corner of township 22-6W. The population was probably about three hundred (this was a heavily populated area), but as other ethnic groups were to some extent mixed with them, it is impossible to determine their number accurately. The area chosen was very similar to that chosen by the French in Tp. 21-4W and by the Swedes in Rockwood--an area of aspen-cloaked ridges alternating with grassy swales. Most of the soils were stony and infertile and in general ill-suited to grain-growing. As in Rockwood, the Swedes chose such an area partly because they planned to raise

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[13]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1914, Paper no. 25B, p. 192; Donatien Frémont, Les Francais dans l'Ouest Canadien (Winnipeg: Les Editions de la Liberté, 1959), p. 20.

[14]Ibid.

cattle. However, better land was no longer generally available. Anticipation of railway service may also have been a factor in the choice of the area.

Between the Scandinavian and French settlements--including almost all the remainder of the newly-occupied area south of township 23 (map 1) and extending south into the area where settlement had begun by 1901--was an area of British settlement. Most of the settlers came from southern Manitoba, but a few came directly from Britain. The land was very similar to that occupied by the French and Swedes nearby, and apparently the main factor in the choice of land was proximity to the proposed railway. Settlers arriving before 1910 took up land as near Lake Manitoba as possible as it was believed the railway would cross the lake at the Narrows. However, as only alternate sections were open for settlement until 1908, the settlement had actually spread some distance inland from the lake. In 1910 and 1911, when construction began on the railway some distance inland, settlers took up land farther from the lake. These settlers came to escape debts, to get out of the city, or just to take advantage of the offer of free land. Most had little money to invest in their new farms, though a few brought animals and machinery with them.

Most of the settlers north and east of Dog Lake (maps 1 and 14) were of German origin. The first settlers settled near the lake along the main road leading north to Fairford, in the belief that the railway would follow the same route. Later, when it was discovered the railway was going further east, settlement spread in that direction. The first settlers had come from Niverville in southern Manitoba, where

their farming experience had taught them the importance of choosing land that could be easily cleared, so they chose land that was lightly wooded--land that has proven to be some of the best farming land in the area. Many of the later settlers--from the Russian Ukraine--came to be near the earlier German settlers and took up stonier, more heavily-wooded land.

In the same general area there were a few Jewish families, mostly in townships 23-6W and 24-6W. As the settlement started in 1911, there were few families. They were "Winnipeg Jews who had formerly farmed in the Jewish farm settlements of the Ukraine."[15] They had borrowed money from a Jewish syndicate in Winnipeg to buy machinery and supplies. The land they chose was mostly very stony and relatively infertile and included some heavily-wooded land. They did not occupy a distinct area, but were to some extent mixed with other ethnic groups in the area.

Other minority groups included a few British and Scandinavian settlers north of the Jewish settlement and on the eastern edge of the German settlement. There were one or two Dutch, Russian, and Belgian settlers in the German settlement. Further south in township 22-6W the early settlers were reputedly "almost all of Swiss origin",[16] but they must have been few in number, as no early resident interviewed

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[15]Louis Rosenberg, Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of the Jews in Canada (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1939), p. 224.

[16]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1909, Paper no. 25B, p. 74.

knew anything about them. Probably other minorities were also present.

Few changes had occurred in the Indian reserves around Lake St. Martin and Dog Lake. The 1911 population of the four reserves totaled 623,[17] an increase of 83 during the decade.

In the area north of Lake St. Martin, most of the homesteads (map 1) were taken out by Ukrainian settlers,[18] but the Ukrainian population was probably less than one hundred.[19] This Ukrainian settlement was most unusual in that it was in an area chosen by the settlers themselves, rather than by the immigration agent. They were Ukrainians who had arrived in Canada with little or no money and had worked out for a few years before settling down. They had worked on the building of the railway to Gypsumville during the years 1910 and 1911, and had been attracted by the land in this area. The land chosen was certainly some of the best around, as it was the only sizeable area of lacustrine soil for miles. The deep, rich soil was its main advantage, but the Ukrainians also looked upon the heavy forest in the area as a source of wood for fuel and building. The fact that it was on the newly-completed railway was a very significant factor, for not only did it bring them to the area, but it promised transportation for the future. The light population was due to the fact that most settlers had not

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[17]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 27, p. 117.

[18]See footnote no 1 and no. 5 above.

[19]The total population was only 142, and there were a number of non-Ukrainians in the area.

yet brought their families.

Other settlers in the area north of the Indian reserves were half-breeds and workers brought in by the Hudson Bay Company or the gypsum mine. A considerable part of the population in the area must have been made up of workers in the gypsum mine.

The Icelandic settlement west of Dog Lake had spread north along the shore of Lake Manitoba, but had decreased in population. Many settlers abandoned their land in 1902 when the lake reached an unusually high level and flooded them out,[20] but some had returned by 1906, so map 15 does not show the full extent of the exodus. A few Icelanders came into the area after 1906 (not all shown on map 1), but the distance of the area from the proposed new railway militated against heavy settlement.

Many Icelanders leaving the Dog Lake area settled further south along Lake Manitoba. Some chose land in the areas where the Icelanders already formed a majority, but many bought land previously homesteaded by half-breed and British settlers. Most chose land near the lake shore where they could carry on their fishing activities and where grass was available for cattle feed. For example, township 18-4W, originally settled by British and half-breed settlers, was predominantly Icelandic by 1907,[21] as was the old Métis settlement of Oak Point by 1911.[22]

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[20] N.W. Kristjanson, The Icelanders in Manitoba, (Manuscript in the Manitoba provincial archives), chapter 15.

[21] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1909, Paper no. 25B, p. 73.

[22] St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911 lists mostly Icelandic names in Oak Point.

In the whole area north of Oak Point where settlement had begun by 1901, Icelanders were the predominant ethnic group. Most new homesteads were in townships 18 and 19 in ranges 3W, 4W and 5W, but there were some in the surrounding areas as well. Where Icelandic settlement opened up a new area the settlement was purely Icelandic, but much of the land was occupied after 1908, and the land chosen was to some extent the odd-numbered sections in areas where another ethnic group had earlier taken up the even-numbered sections. The land chosen was the same as that previously occupied by the Icelanders--mostly semi-open, poorly-drained land with scattered well-drained, poplar-clad ridges. The basis for choosing land was still its suitability for cattle raising and its proximity to the lake. The arrival of the railway at Oak Point in 1905 and hopes for a further extension of it had encouraged more Icelanders to come to the area and in general population growth had been fairly steady (map 15).

There were still a number of non-Icelandic settlers in this predominantly Icelandic area, and the non-Icelandic population had probably fluctuated considerably. Many had sold their land to Icelanders and moved out, but at the same time other non-Icelandic settlers were taking up new homesteads. The non-Icelandic population was decreasing relative to the Icelandic population.

Most land purchased in the area had earlier been classified as "swamp land". Under the federal-provincial agreement the province had received two more sections of such land in this area in 1904, eight and one-quarter sections in 1907, and one quarter-section in 1910, the last year in which swamp lands were awarded in the Interlake. None of these

"swamp lands" were north of township 20. By 1911 the province had sold eight sections of this newly-acquired land and over 25 sections of the swamp land acquired in 1888 and 1892. Twenty sections of the latter were in townships 18-4W and 5W--nine sections in a block on the lake shore having been sold to the Oak Point Shooting Club in 1906. Most of the swamp lands were sold to settlers and speculators of British origin.[23]

Other unoccupied lands in the area not held by the federal government included school lands, Hudson Bay Company lands, and railway lands. None of the school lands had been sold, and it appears that very little of the other lands were sold. The railway lands, which include almost all the land in the area shown on map 1 as "owned by private companies"--except sections 8 and 26 which were owned by the Hudson Bay Company--belonged to the Canadian Northern Railway and had been allocated to the company before 1908.

South of this predominantly Icelandic area were the old Métis settlements. The number of Métis had probably remained constant, as decreases in Oak Point (pre-1906, map 15) were offset by increases in St. Laurent.

Population increases elsewhere in St. Laurent municipality can be attributed to the buying and homesteading of land by French and British settlers. Almost all the free land and much of the swamp land (6 sections were actually bought) was taken up even though most of the land had thin, infertile soils. Apparently the settlers were utilizing

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[23]See footnote no. 5 and no. 10 above.

the abundant grasslands for large-scale cattle raising.[24] Much of the municipality remained unoccupied because speculators were asking unreasonably high prices for it.

In Woodlands municipality (exclusive of that portion in township 18) population growth prior to 1906 was quite general, though slight, but thereafter, most growth was in the townships in range 1W. For the whole decade the greatest increase was in township 13-1W, and only three townships decreased in population (map 15). The most important factor in population growth seems to have been the movement towards the new railways, both of which passed through township 13-1W (map 16). Most of the new homesteads taken out during the decade were in townships 15-1W, 15-2W, and 15-3W, and in the townships east of Shoal Lake. These seem to have had little influence on population growth (one of these townships actually decreased in population) except perhaps in townships 16-1W and 17-1W. In township 13-1W the new settlers were mostly Americans from the Mid-West--similar to those who had arrived by 1901. Such settlers were mostly settling in Alberta and Saskatchewan during this period, but a few had bought land in Woodlands where soils were good and transportation well-developed.

Woodlands still remained very lightly populated, and much of the land was still not owned by farmers, even though the decade had witnessed the purchasing of most of the available "swamp land" in the municipality and the homesteading of almost all the available free land.

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[24]St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911 lists these people as "ranchers".

Many of the homesteads were taken up by people who were not really farmers and who were finding themselves too busy at other things to farm. Many of these sold the land, rented it out, or did not even remain long enough to get a patent on the land.[25] A few settlers left to homestead in other areas, but this was only of minor significance. Too much of the land was tied up by non-resident owners--speculators, the C.P.R., the Hudson Bay Company--and the poor quality of the land discouraged settlers from investing money in the area. Even the school sections had remained untouched; none had been sold in the whole municipality.[26] The farmers all needed more land, but they preferred to rent it.

Central Interlake north of township 17. North of Rockwood and Woodlands municipalities, and between the settlements bordering Lakes Manitoba and Winnipeg, there was a new area of settlement (map 1). It was neither so large nor so densely populated as the other settled areas, but its major importance to the Interlake as a whole lay in the fact that it was the first settlement north of township 17 that had no connection with the lakes. Thus the long ignored interior of the Interlake was at last to be opened up. Many ethnic groups were to be found in the area, but settlements and building types were generally the same as those in the pioneer areas to the west and north. The Indian population on the Fisher River reserve and on the newly-formed Peguis reserve extended

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[25]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1911, Paper no. 25, part I, p. 37.

[26]Township Registers (see footnote no. 10 above).

the populated area to Lake Winnipeg.

The largest settlement and the one closest to older settlements extended from township 18 to 21 in range 2W to townships 18 and 19 in range 1E. The population in this area was a mixture of mostly British, French, and Scandinavian. The British were ubiquitous, but generally made up less than 60% of the population in any township.[27] The French were mainly concentrated in township 18-1W and made up a very small part of the total population. The Scandinavians (mostly Swedes) in townships 18-1E and 18-1W may be considered an extension of the Swedish settlement in Rockwood municipality, but in this northern area they were usually living on alternate sections with British or French settlers. A few other Scandinavians were found further north as well. Much of the land in the area centering on the north-east corner of township 19-1W was owned by Jewish settlers, but the Jews all lived on the north-west quarter of 36-19-1W. Most of townships 18-1E and 19-1E were part of the Ukrainian[28] settlement already discussed, and much of townships 18-2W and 19-2W were included in the Icelandic settlement of Posen municipality.

Factors influencing settlement were both physical and cultural. Near Shoal Lake where the Icelanders were the most important element, the land was mostly open grassland suitable for cattle raising, and soils were thin, gravelly, and infertile. Elsewhere the soils were slightly deeper and more fertile, but much stonier. Most of the land settled was

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[27]See footnote no. 5 above.

[28]See footnote no. 1 above. Some residents think there were a few Czech and Hungarian settlers in township 19-1E.

fairly lightly wooded or covered with shrubs. In some areas the bedrock was quite close to the surface, although generally such areas were avoided. According to the early residents still living in the area, the main inducement to settle in the area was the fact that the land was well-drained and relatively free from trees--factors of considerable importance to those wishing to grow grain. The first settlers here and in the whole region to the north were encouraged to come because of the presence of the colonization road which had been completed north to township 25. Later settlers were also encouraged by the promise of a railway; by 1911 it had reached Inwood. These factors, however, were also operative immediately to the south in lightly-populated township 17-1W, except that there the land was very poorly drained. The drainage factor seems to explain the much heavier population in the more isolated area from township 18 north.

The heavy concentration of people in section 36-19-1W was due to the presence of a Jewish colony. In 1903 the north-west quarter of that section was divided into 19 lots, each of approximately eight and one-half acres,[29] and was named Bender Hamlet after the man responsible for its founding. P.R.A. Belanger, a surveyor who visited it in 1910, gave the following description:

> All the houses, numbering about 19, are built in a row east and west along the road allowance on the north boundary of this quarter section, on lots averaging one hundred and forty feet wide by half a mile long. This arrangement has the advantage of keeping the colony together and forms the whole village into one family. A practically inexhaustible well has been dug beside the public road for the use of the whole colony, and it is of great benefit to the

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[29] Townsite and Settlement Register (Lands Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba).

public who travel across this dry piece of country.

> I understand that all these settlers have homesteads in the neighbourhood of the village. One of them keeps a steam gang-plough for the use of the whole colony, and as he is a blacksmith by trade, he is in a position to repair his machine which is often wrecked on their stony land.[30]

Later in the same passage he also suggests that good well water was hard to find in the area, a factor that may have been important in the location of the settlement on that particular section of land. The fact that it was located on the colonization road was also important, as the colony also catered to travellers. The choice of such a rocky area must already have been rued, but it reflects their ignorance of Canada. They came from Russia where they had lived on communal farms,[31] and the system was transferred to Canada. The village street plan was also brought from Russia to "alleviate the tedium and loneliness of farm life."[32] The village "street" was the one-half mile portion of the colonization road running along the road allowance north of the colony. Financial backing for the undertaking was arranged by a Jew named Baron Hertz, who appears to have been quite interested in the colony. This hamlet was to be the only such attempt at co-operative farming to be undertaken in the entire Interlake, at least until 1921.

The next settlement to the north was a relatively pure Ukrainian settlement which included most of townships 21 to 23 in range 1W. and

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[30]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 25B, p. 59.

[31]William John Russell, Geography or Roads West of Lake Winnipeg: Interlake Area (Master's thesis, McGill University, 1951), p. 141.

[32]Arthur A. Chiel, The Jews in Manitoba (University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 55.

townships 21 to 24 in range 1E.[33] Townships 23-1E also contained a number of Icelanders--an extension of the main Icelandic settlement to the east--and township 24-1E contained a number of English-speaking settlers. The Ukrainians began arriving in 1903, but most of them came after the main Ukrainian settlement to the east was filled up in 1906. This was to some extent a continuation of the settlement to the east, for much the same factors were bringing the people into the area, and the land chosen was virtually identical. Only the earliest arrivals differed in that they had chosen this area when it was isolated from the main settlement by ten miles of very swampy land. The explanation for this early settlement seems to be that this central area had the advantage of the colonization road, an advantage that was overcome later in the decade when the railway was built to Arborg. Although its population was small, this new Ukrainian settlement was important because here the Ukrainians formed a less solid block of settlement, and there was greater intermixing with other ethnic groups.

North-west of the Ukrainian settlement, and occupying most of townships 24 in ranges 1 and 2 west, was a French settlement. Settlement had begun in 1908, so the settlement was quite compact as all sections were open for homesteading. Interviews with French settlers still living in the area indicate that these first settlers had come from river lot areas in southern Manitoba and had chosen this area because it offered river frontage. However, as there was only a limited amount of river frontage available, most of it was taken up the first year, and later

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[33]See footnotes no. 1 and no. 5 above.

settlers spread out from this center. The fact that the soil here was some of the best in the whole Interlake does not seem to have been a major factor in beginning the settlement, but doubtless it was more important in bringing in settlers after the river frontage had all been taken up. The soils were mostly of alluvial or lacustrine origin, so were generally stone-free and fertile. Although some of the land was covered with prairie grasses, most of it was wooded with spruce and poplar, some of which had been burned over, and most of which had been logged. The lack of stones and the high fertility of the area combined with the presence of the colonization road and anticipation of a railway to make this a very desirable spot for a settlement. Although the settlers seem to have chosen land rather indiscriminately as long as it was near the river, the settlement stretched north only to township 25 where the Fisher River cut through a limestone ridge and where only very thin soil covered the bedrock. These French settlers were few in number, and the French population could not have exceeded three or four hundred.

Beyond the French settlement were a few scattered British and half-breed settlers. In the north part of township 24-1E were several settlers who had come from southern Manitoba and who tested the soil by digging down with shovels to assure themselves that the soil was deep, fertile, relatively stone-free, and well-drained.[34] The land chosen is at present regarded as some of the best in the Interlake. Its chief advantage over the nearby land chosen by the Icelanders and French is its superior drainage.

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[34]Personal communication from Karl Thompson, Arborg, Manitoba.

In township 25-1W there were a few British and French settlers, but most of the settlers appear to have been half-breeds who had been living on or near the reserve but who were now taking advantage of the opportunity to get free land. The land chosen was mostly lacustrine and alluvial plain near the river--similar to that chosen by the French to the south.

West of this along the west branch of the Fisher River was a similar settlement with a larger percentage of settlers from southern Manitoba. These British settlers were mostly in townships 24-3W and 25-3W, but some were in range 2W as well.[35] The soils were similar to those in the area settled by the French to the east, though there were larger areas of poorly-drained grassland soils. Most of the settlers were from southern Manitoba, and a great many came from Woodlands. These settlers brought with them cattle and equipment, and probably chose this land because of the fertility of the soil and because the land was lightly wooded and could be very easily broken. The settlers came after 1909 when the land along the east branch of the river had already been taken by the French and seem to have taken up land to the west to avoid mixing with the French. The settlers spent only part of the year on the land[36] (just enough to fulfil the homestead requirements), probably because the lack of a railway and the distance from the colonization road made the settlement very isolated. This and their failure to bring families with them explain the light population in these townships (map 14).

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[35] Township Registers (see footnote no. 5 above).

[36] The Stonewall Gazette, March 22, 1911.

Most of the land in the lacustrine plain along the two branches of the Fisher River had been occupied, but a few areas had been avoided. The main unoccupied area (map 1) was underlain by limestone bedrock very near the surface or was too swampy for settlement. In the area of poorer soil south of the Fisher River plain, the land was much less completely taken up. A total of about 10 sections was reserved as swamp land south of township 21 during the years 1903, 1905, and 1907,[37] but this had no effect on settlement as so much other land was still available. The main factors delaying more complete occupancy were the unsuitability of the land for farming and the lack of transportation.

Immediately north of this area of white settlement along the principal meridian were the Fisher River and Peguis Indian reserves which extended the populated area as far as Fisher Bay. The Fisher River Indians numbered 455--an increase of 78 during the decade.[38] The population change was entirely due to natural increase, although during the year the reserve was expanded to include a small area north of the Peguis reserve in township 28-1W (map 14). The Peguis reserve was not set aside until 1908. It covered an area of about 100 square miles along the Fisher River, divided so that each family head would have "16 acres or a multiple of that quantity in proportion to the number of his family under 21 years" and an opportunity to buy at auction part of the remainder of the reserve after all families were settled.[39] The population cannot

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[37] Township Registers (see footnote no. 10 above).

[38] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 27, p. 117.

[39] Ibid., p. 84.

be accurately ascertained, although it is known that "some 40 families had arrived by early 1911 and that more were expected.[40] These Indians had surrendered their reserve east of Selkirk, but had not yet all moved to this new reserve. The total population of the old and the new reserves was 1,201,[41] but the new reserve probably contained fewer than 400 Indians as the 1916 population was only 495.[42] These Indians had been engaged in farming in the Selkirk area and planned to continue the practice on the fertile lacustrine land they had received in exchange.

Summary. The direction and location of Interlake settlement was being determined primarily by transportation routes. Railways to Gypsumville and Arborg, the colonization road and proposed railway to the Fisher River, and steamboat service on Lake Winnipeg provided the arteries bringing in settlers and keeping them supplied. The large areas of unoccupied land were generally far from transportation routes, or, as was the case along the Gypsumville railway, transportation facilities had become available so recently that settlement had not yet caught up. The railway had become the prime factor in Interlake settlement, and those areas that remained more than 15 miles from a railway were destined to remain largely uninhabited. The main population groups were the British, the Ukrainians, and the Icelanders, but the fastest growing groups were the Germans and the Ukrainians. The main trend in settlement was toward communities made up of several ethnic groups.

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[40] Ibid., p. 116. [41] Ibid., p. 20.

[42] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1917, Paper no. 27, p. 16.

II. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

The decade's main developments in transportation and communication were the building of new railways, the construction of new roads and the improvement of the old ones, and the use of automobiles and telephones.

Rockwood and Woodlands. The greatest improvements had taken place in Rockwood and Woodlands, but Rockwood remained much the more advanced of the two. In these two municipalities all the new developments had had some effect.

Woodlands was particularly affected by the construction of new railways. In 1903 a railway from Winnipeg to Oak Point cut across the municipality from the south-east to the north-west[43] (map 16). Although no evidence was found to support the supposition, it seems probable that the main incentive to this construction was a provincial bonus. At any rate, a second railway, built by the same company in 1911[44] and approximating the eastern boundary of the municipality, received a provincial bonus of $13,000 a mile.[45] Both of these were apparently built more to serve the settlers further north than to serve Woodlands. This second railway cut through the extreme south-west corner of Rockwood, and in the north of Rockwood the railway to Teulon was extended north (in

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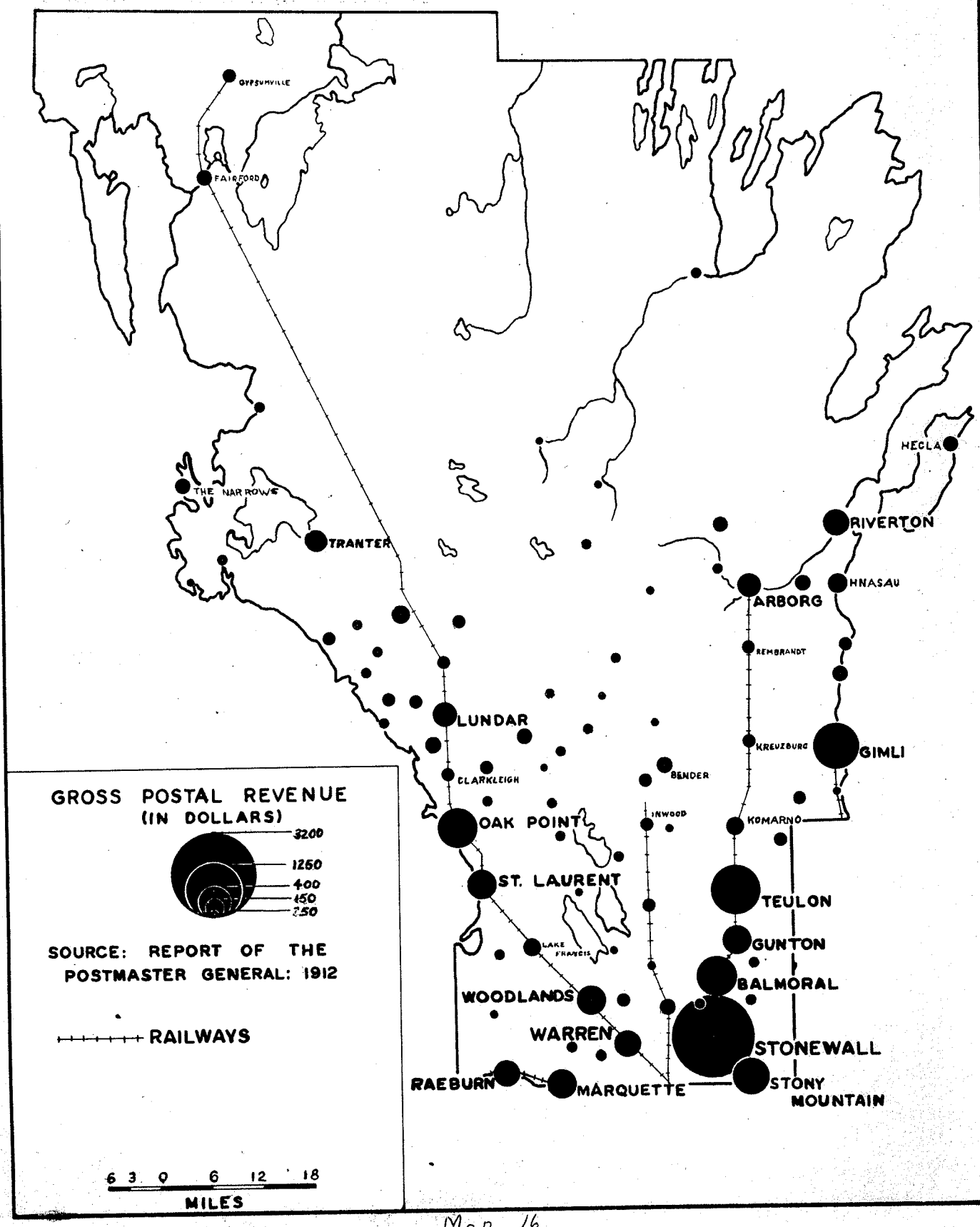
[43]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1904, Paper no. 25, p. 30.

[44]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1914, Paper no. 25B, p. 62.

[45]G.R. Stevens, Canadian National Railways: Volume II: Toward the Inevitable (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1960), pp. 62-3.

THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA

POSTAL REVENUE - 1911



Map 16

1907 or 1908), but neither of these railways was of great significance to Rockwood. However, in Woodlands the new railways were largely responsible for a reorientation of service centers and transportation facilities in general. They also supplied most of Woodlands with its first convenient railway connections with Winnipeg.

Of much greater importance to Rockwood was the increased frequency of service on the old railway to Teulon. Part of this was a fairly irregular service serving the quarries at Stonewall and Gunton, but of equal importance was a regular service to Winnipeg in the morning and return in the evening. This service made it possible for residents of the towns of southern Rockwood to commute to Winnipeg for work or classes.[46] It was also possible to go to Winnipeg for the evening only and return by the late train.

A much more important innovation in these municipalities was the use of the automobile. They appear to have been found only in Rockwood and Woodlands, and apparently the greatest number were in Stonewall. In this town there were enough automobile owners to form an auto club,[47] and enough autos for non-owners to suggest that autos should be taxed.[48] That the number of auto owners was increasing is shown by the fact that at least two new autos were bought in Stonewall during the first four months of 1911 alone.[49] The cost factor probably explains why autos were found only in these two southern municipalities where the most prosperous residents were to be found and more particularly in Stonewall where rich

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[46]The Stonewall Gazette, January 11, 1911.

[47]Ibid., March 15, 1911. [48]Ibid., April 12, 1911.

[49]Ibid., May 10, 1911.

merchants were most numerous. Another factor of importance may have been the greater influence of Winnipeg auto owners in these parts of the Interlake closest to Winnipeg. This was particularly true in Stonewall, which had already become a popular resort for city autoists.[50] The condition of the roads may also have been a factor, as Rockwood and Woodlands had the best roads in the Interlake. However, few roads were actually suited to auto travel, so this was probably not a very important factor.

Although few roads had been constructed with auto travel in mind, there was at least one mile of improved road immediately north of Stonewall of a radical new design that appears to have been ideally suited for autos. Mr. Foreston, who was in charge of building the road, reported:

> When we had things in shape for roadmaking, I used coarse stones, putting them on four inches to one foot deep to level up. Then I put on about two inches of fine stone, just enough to smooth off well. The top dressing consisted of about an inch or two of dust from the quarries. The base was made wide enough to stretch about one foot on either side of the wheels of a wagon and when finished the roadway was well rounded up to run the water off.[51]

This road was far superior to any that had previously been made, but the cost--$600 a mile--was so great that it appears to have prevented further application of the method.

As it was, road-building expenses in these two southern municipalities were second only to expenses for schools. (The increased expenses for road-building were partly due to the abolition of statute

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[50] Ibid., March 15, 1911.

[51] The Farmer's Advocate and Home Journal (Winnipeg), October 27, 1909, p. 1430.

labour of the roads.) In order, road-building expenses were for brushing, grading, removing stones, building bridges and culverts and making tile, and hauling gravel.[52] Thus, though grading of roads was common, few of them were gravelled. More money was spent on removing stones and brushing--two types of road work that must have been more important in the less-developed areas of the west and north. In spite of this, the roads in northern Rockwood remained so poor that the councils were constantly being petitioned for more and better roads.[53] In Woodlands, in addition to building new roads, the council had closed off much of the old "colonization road" leading to St. Laurent and was building a new road parallel to and just to the south of the railway.[54] Doubtless this reflected the fact that new centers had sprung up along the railway and it was considered necessary to build the road so it would pass through these new centers. In general, however, Woodlands lagged behind Rockwood in building and upkeep of roads.

In both municipalities the telephone had become popular during the decade, but apparently only a limited number of dwellings were equipped with one. The first telephone appeared in Stonewall about 1904,[55] and by 1908 there were enough telephones to merit installing an exchange.[56]

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[52]Based on the monthly statements of the municipal councils as published in The Stonewall Gazette.

[53]Ibid.

[54]The Stonewall Gazette, June 14, 1911.

[55]R.B. Quickfall, Rockwood Echoes (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1960), p. 61.

[56]Ibid., p. 52.

The next year an exchange was installed at Teulon,[57] and in 1911 another at Woodlands.[58] There is no evidence of telephone exchanges in any other Interlake centers nor of any telephones north of Rockwood and Woodlands. Probably there were more telephones to be found in the towns, but many farmers also had telephones.[59] The fact that this development was limited to the two southern municipalities in the Interlake reflects the greater development and higher standard of living in these municipalities, but was probably dependent also on the fact that they were so close to Winnipeg, the communications center for the whole province.

Lake Manitoba Area. The most important development in this area was the construction of the railway from Winnipeg to Gypsumville (map 16). The terminus of this railway was originally at Oak Point, and not until 1910 was the railway extended.[60] The original plan had envisioned a crossing of the Narrows of Lake Manitoba, but a number of factors, chief of which seems to have been the presence of the gypsum mine at Gypsumville, brought about a change of plans and the building of the railway to Gypsumville. Increased settlement in the area and the granting of a provincial bonus were the main factors causing the renewal of construction. In 1911 the main sources of revenue for the line were the fisheries and

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[57] Ibid., p. 234.

[58] Madeline L. Proctor, Woodlands Echoes (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1960), p. 61.

[59] The Stonewall Gazette, September 29, 1911.

[60] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 25B, p. 60.

the gypsum mine,[61] but the railway was of great importance in opening the area for settlement, and it provided a focus for settlement, new roads and trails, and service centers.

Many new trails were being cut out of the forest and graded across the swamps to give the homesteaders access to the new service centers springing up along the railways.[62] These roads, however, were generally just good-weather roads, and even the main road in the area was often impassable in summer for all but the lightest vehicles, "there being no bridges and the road in many places passing through the lake and over swamps which need(ed) to be graded."[63]

There is no evidence that the steamers were still running on Lake Manitoba, and residents claim that during the year they were started down the Fairford River toward Lake Winnipeg for use there.

Area along the principal meridian. The newly-settled area along the principal meridian had better roads than the Lake Manitoba area, but the railway was just entering the former area north of Woodlands.[64] The colonization road, which had been begun by 1901, had been completed as far as the Peguis Indian reserve, and was supplemented by many other roads along the elevated, well-drained area of bedrock, stony ridges, and

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1914, Paper no. 25B, p. 68.

[63] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1910, Paper no. 25B, p. 85.

[64] The railway had been extended at least as far north as Inwood in 1911. Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1914, Paper no. 25B, p. 62.

old beach ridges of sand and gravel. Unfortunately, in spite of these advantages, even these roads were in need of improvement before they could withstand heavy traffic,[65] particularly where the roads dipped through the low-lying, swampy places between the ridges. The railway could be expected to bring a reorientation of routes as it progressed northward into this area, and the colonization road could be expected to decrease in importance.

Icelandic and Ukrainian area. In the area east of the principal meridian two new railways had been constructed, but roads were still few, and lake transportation remained important. The railway extension from Teulon reached Arborg in 1910,[66] and though it followed settlement, it was of great importance to the settlers as a means of shipping forest products to Winnipeg. It served a heavily-populated area, but doubtless a provincial bonus was the main factor bringing about the construction. This railway was of more importance than the second railway which was extended from Winnipeg Beach to Gimli in 1906,[67] and which served only a small part of the study area.

North of Gimli along the lake shore water transportation remained dominant. The "flotilla" of steamboats plying Lake Winnipeg had changed their headquarters to Riverton,[68] but they served a more limited part of

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[65]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1913, Paper no. 25B, p. 60.

[66]M.L. Bladen, "The Construction of Railways in Canada: Part II: From 1885 to 1931", University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics, Vol. VII (1934), p. 61.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 25B, p. 61.

the Interlake and were of greater importance to mining communities on the east side of Lake Winnipeg.

Apparently little had been done to improve the condition of the roads. Doubtless the preoccupation with lake travel and the lake shore location of most Icelandic settlers were the main factors retarding road improvement.

Summary. Rockwood and Woodlands not only maintained their lead in transportation and communications developments, they even extended their lead. They had the only autos and the only telephones in the Interlake, and they also had the best roads and the best railway connections. Outside of these municipalities roads were mostly suited only for travel in winter or in good weather, railway service was more infrequent, and the horse remained the main motive power for most forms of transportation. Of the greatest significance to these northern areas was the construction of new railways.

III. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

A decade of expansion into the forested, rock-strewn lands of the northern Interlake had changed the economic accent of the region. Expansion during the decade had been so great that the newly-settled area was actually greater in extent than the area where settlers had been present for ten years or more, and huge areas had been settled less than five years. In these areas the settlers were still engaged in pioneer agriculture, and pioneer farming was the key note of the economy. The population boom had been accompanied by a railway-building boom, and these new railways opened the Winnipeg cordwood market to the settlers

of the northern Interlake. Fishing, lumbering, farming, quarrying, and other activities in the north also profited by the expansion of the railways, but not to the same extent. The greatest advances in farming were in the southern Interlake, and Rockwood and Woodlands still made up the most economically advanced part of the Interlake.

Agriculture in Woodlands and southern Rockwood. Farming was still the most important activity in Woodlands and southern Rockwood, and the most important change on the farms was the increase in the acreage under cultivation. This increase was largely due to (1) the use of new machinery and techniques, (2) the continued rise in grain prices that made grain farming more profitable, and (3) the increased amount of land held by resident farmers (in Woodlands south of the Big Ridge). The acreages cultivated per township was generally about 50% greater than in 1901 (tables 15 & 16), though there was considerable variation. For example, the cultivated acreage in township 14-1W increased from 40 acres in 1901 to 4,375 in 1911, whereas in many townships north of the Big Ridge in Woodlands the acreage cultivated had decreased. The greatest acreage cultivated per township was still on the western slope of the Rockwood ridge, though there was almost as much on the eastern slope. Woodlands still had far less land cultivated than did Rockwood. The only area where oxen were used to any extent was the newly-settled northern part of Woodlands municipality. This part of the municipality (especially township 18) had a strong accent on grain growing even though the land was poor. This reflected the desire of these settlers to sustain themselves on just their 160 acre homesteads--something that could be done only through grain growing. Apparently the land was easy to clear and

TABLE 15

ROCKWOOD MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1911*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
13-1E	7,262	301	8	646	15	370
13-2E	2,900	293	5	915	25	301
13-3E (part)	660	35	0	134	0	32
14-1E	10,045	378	8	830	6	226
14-2E	5,640	278	4	950	73	357
14-3E (part)	5	5	0	7	0	0
15-1E	4,055	164	16	511	0	191
15-2E	5,177	291	15	1,003	16	283
15-3E (part)	22	5	0	11	0	0
16-1E	608	38	20	162	0	84
16-2E	5,271	232	4	778	40	159
16-3E (part)	342	24	0	77	0	15
17-1E	645	24	89	303	4	70
17-2E	705	37	134	416	0	170
17-3E (part)	1,093	63	47	250	0	148
18-1E	457	7	104	261	1	119
18-2E	322	61	194	442	0	130
18-3E (part)	265	10	98	217	0	95
Total	45,454	2,186	745	8,013	180	2,750

*Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

TABLE 16

WOODLANDS MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1911*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
13-1W	4,165	292	7	525	0	148
13-2W	2,910	155	0	437	0	124
13-3W	2,208	180	0	512	0	86
13-4W	2,662	162	4	363	0	61
14-1W	4,375	203	7	548	0	68
14-2W	1,206	103	4	697	81	65
14-3W	30	55	2	259	0	22
14-4W	0	43	4	220	0	6
15-1W	0	29	2	176	0	27
15-2W	38	35	2	196	0	18
15-3W	364	89	6	499	0	65
15-4W	22	55	0	321	0	4
16-1W	0	75	2	330	0	13
17-1W	304	25	38	130	0	26
17-2W (part)	6	4	8	23	0	4
18-1W	1,901	84	57	151	15	62
18-2W	272	62	14	278	10	7
Total	20,463	1,651	157	5,665	106	806

*Woodlands Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

break, and the yields were good on newly-broken land. The crops grown in Rockwood and Woodlands had changed little; wheat and oats were still much the most important, barley of only secondary importance.[69]

Changes in the machinery used were mostly qualitative changes; in general the same types of machines were used as in 1901.[70] An exception to this was the increased use of steam engines and threshing machines. The wheat boom in the settled area and the large new area being brought under cultivation by new settlement made horses scarce and expensive, and this encouraged the buying of "steam plows".[71] The actual number of horses remained fairly constant (tables 15 & 16), but the need increased.

In spite of the increase in grain acreage, mixed farming was still the main form of agriculture and animals were plentiful. The cattle in the two municipalities were still mostly dairy cattle and were most numerous in the more intensively cultivated areas. North of the Big Ridge in Woodlands grain farming remained of only very slight importance, and cattle were almost the only source of income. In general, the townships nearer the railways had more cattle, and the number had also increased most there. This reflects the importance of the extension of the Winnipeg milk shed to include much of these two municipalities. In both, cartloads of milk and cream were being shipped daily to the city

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[69]The nearest year for which information was available was 1913. Manitoba, Department of the Interior, Cereal Map of Manitoba for Crop 1913 (on file in the Provincial Library, Legislative Buildings, Winnipeg).

[70]Based on auction sale advertisements in The Stonewall Gazette during 1911.

[71]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1911, Paper no. 25, part II, p. 96.

by train.[72] Pigs were still numerous, but sheep were extremely rare. Most farmers still had fruit trees and a garden,[73] and some near Stonewall still kept bees.[74]

The farmers of these two municipalities were still intent on improving their farming techniques and the quality of their farms. In Stonewall a university professor was brought out to give a short course on farming,[75] and a Mr. Stratton put up money for a contest to encourage "better farming techniques and better kept farms".[76] More farmers were switching to purebred animals.[77] This effort to achieve perfection had been noticeable from the early days of settlement, especially in Rockwood, and was helping Rockwood to maintain its position as the agricultural leader of the Interlake.

The demand for land and the resultant high cost of land in Rockwood made the farmers once more look for more land to the east. Efforts at drainage were also renewed in Woodlands, but in both municipalities the drained land seems to have been used primarily for the production of hay.[78] Almost no animals were kept on the low-lying land in townships

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[72] The Stonewall Gazette, May 3, 1911.

[73] Farmers' Advocate and Home Journal (Winnipeg), August 18, 1909, p. 1142.

[74] The Stonewall Gazette, May 3, 1911.

[75] Ibid., January 5, 1911.

[76] Farmers' Advocate and Home Journal (Winnipeg), August 18, 1909, p. 1142.

[77] The Stonewall Argus makes many references to this subject during 1911.

[78] M.L. Proctor (see footnote no. 58 above), p. 24; The Stonewall Gazette, April 12, 1911.

13 to 16-3E (table 15), and it is doubtful if drainage actually made much new land available for use.

Non-agricultural activities in Rockwood and Woodlands. Many farms in northern and western Rockwood still produced forest products, mostly in the form of cordwood. Most cordwood was used to supply the quarries, though some was also sold in the towns.[79] It is unlikely that any was sold to Winnipeg from southern Rockwood, as both tamarack and poplar were being used for fuel in the towns, and the tamarack used came only from the northern part of the municipality and beyond. Tamarack was also frequently sold for posts, though some farmers also bought cedar posts brought in from outside the Interlake.[80] It is likely that forest products were of even less importance than in 1901.

Industries using agricultural products had almost disappeared in the municipalities by 1911. The railways which made it possible to ship cream to Winnipeg also brought about the closing of the local creameries and cheese factories. The cheese factories of Meadow Lea closed in 1903 and 1910, the one at Marquette closed during 1911,[81] and there is no evidence that the Raeburn creamery was still operating. All milk and cream had to be sent to creameries in the city or elsewhere outside the Interlake. The local flour mills were still operating, but their business had declined greatly.

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[79] The Stonewall Gazette, February 5, 1911; March 1, 1911; November 24, 1911.

[80] Ibid., January 11, 1911.

[81] Province of Manitoba, Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture (1904 to 1911 inclusive); Province of Manitoba, Manitoba Crop Reports (1902 to 1904, 1911).

The most important non-agricultural activity was limestone quarrying and the production of lime. The building boom in Winnipeg had had repercussions in Rockwood, as both lime and limestone were important in the building trade. The total production of lime for all of Manitoba was valued at $140,000; production of limestone was $315,000.[82] A large percentage of the province's lime probably came from Rockwood, but as much more valuable building stone was found at Garson, probably only a small part of the limestone (mostly in the form of rubble and crushed stone) came from Rockwood. Production was carried on at Stony Mountain, Stonewall, and Gunton.

Gunton appears to have been the most important of the three proudcing areas, and three quarries were in operation. Two quarries produced rubble and crushed stone; the third produced lime in set kilns.[83] The owner, Mr. Gunn, had paid the C.P.R. to build a railway spur to the quarries, and when they were operating to capacity several trains a day were needed to handle the output,[84] and a "large number of men" were employed.[85] The choice of the quarry site had been greatly influenced by the relatively short distance to Winnipeg, the proximity of the railway, and the presence of flat-lying beds of Silurian dolomite with only two or three feet of overburden to be removed.[86] These factors would

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[82]Canada, Department of Mines, Annual Report of Mineral Production in Canada: 1911, pp. 296, 306.

[83]M.F. Goudge, Limestones of Canada: Part V: Western Canada (Queen's Printer, 1944), p. 41.

[84]R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 55 above), pp. 22, 132, 225-226.

[85]The Stonewall Gazette, March 15, 1911.

[86]M.F. Goudge, (see footnote no. 65 above), p. 41.

probably have been of little importance without the initiative of Mr. Gunn who owned not only the quarries but almost all the town as well,[87] and who started the Gunton industry.

At Stonewall, two Winnipeg companies had taken over two of the quarries, and the third was locally owned. One of the Winnipeg-owned quarries was not operating during 1911, but the other was operating in February (the only time for which information is available) and expected to continue all year.[88] The locally-owned quarry was being run "for lime-burning only".[89] At Stony Mountain, the City of Winnipeg had bought one quarry and kiln in 1905,[90] and the other two appear to have been locally owned. There is no proof that any of these quarries were actually in operation in 1911, though Stony Mountain's population had increased almost threefold since 1901, and almost all the heads of families were listed as quarrymen.[91] Ordinarily the quarries in all three towns were an important source of income.

The production of gravel had been quite important during the decade but was on the decline by 1911. The Big Ridge in Woodlands was the most important source, but other gravel ridges were also used, particularly if they were near the railway or of an unusually large size. Most gravel had been used for railway construction, but by 1911 only one railway was

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[87]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

[88]The Stonewall Gazette, February 5, 1911.

[89]Ibid., April 12, 1911.

[90]E.R.R. Mills, The Story of Stony Mountain and District (Winnipeg: de Montfort, 1960), p. 68

[91]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

still incomplete. In 1911 the municipalities were still using gravel for roads and farmers were using it for making concrete.

The only other mineral used commercially to any extent was the brick clay found near Balmoral. The Balmoral Brick Company, according to the local paper, was making brick "second to none in the province", and sales were increasing annually.[92] Though local demand was probably small, the building boom in Winnipeg was expanding the market there.

Other industries were even less important. The planing mill was still in operation in Stonewall, finishing lumber from the sawmills at Teulon and north of Komarno. A baking powder factory and a pump-making establishment were also to be found in Stonewall,[93] though they may not have been in operation. There were also a number of service industries (see below under "Service Centers").

Icelandic settlement on Lake Winnipeg. The Icelandic settlement on Lake Winnipeg had maintained its economic individuality by its continued dependence on fishing and steamboating for a large part of total income. Farming was still basically animal husbandry, and cultivation was undertaken "only to provide garden material for their own necessities."[94] Other activities included forestry and quarrying.

The value of fish caught by the Icelanders cannot be ascertained, but the quantity of fish caught on the whole of Lake Winnipeg had

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[92]The Stonewall Gazette, December 8, 1911.

[93]Town of Stonewall, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

[94]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1910, Paper no. 25B, p. 277.

increased by about 70% to 5,800 tons,[95] and probably the Icelandic catch had increased proportionately. Summer fishing had increased in importance to the extent that it was equally as important as winter fishing. In the Icelandic area the number of fish houses to handle this summer catch had increased to at least 12.[96]

Agriculture had undergone little change in the decade since 1901. Animal husbandry was still by far the most important aspect of Icelandic farming, though there had been a slight increase in the acreage under cultivation (table 17, townships in range 4E; table 18, except townships 21-3E, 24-2E, 24-3E, and all in range 1E). The most intensive farming was taking place along the Icelandic River where many of the settlers had come from North Dakota and where distance from the lake made fishing difficult. P.R.A. Belanger, a surveyor in the area in 1911, reported that the Icelanders along the Icelandic River were increasing the cultivated acreage every year, but were being hampered by the heavy forest cover.[97] However, most of the land under cultivation appears to have been used for grass, forage crops, and potatoes and vegetables.[98] The

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[95]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 22, p. 286.

[96]Gimli Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911; Bifrost Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

[97]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1911, Paper no. 25B, p. 16.

[98]In township 23-3E, for example, the municipal tax assessment roll shows 1,885 acres cultivated, but the Cereal Map of Manitoba Crop 1913 (Canada, Department of the Interior) shows less than 500 acres each of oats and barley, a "very small acreage" of wheat, and no flax for a total of perhaps 1,000 acres. Also, the tax assessment roll for 1901 shows 631 acres cultivated, but the 1906 census shows only 233 acres of field crops. If the cultivated acreage was in fact increasing steadily, the cultivated acreage must have been about 1,000 acres by 1906. The remainder of the acreage must have been used for something else, as the practice of summer fallowing was not common there.

TABLE 17

GIMLI MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1911*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
18-3E (part)	412	14	80	175	10	74
18-4E	297	39	60	444	109	40
19-1E	226	6	32	80	2	13
19-2E	130	20	84	231	0	58
19-3E	680	25	136	480	35	120
19-4E	300	53	26	345	199	85
20-1E	15	0	0	0	0	0
20-2E	3	3	6	24	0	3
20-3E	101	0	41	74	0	19
20-4E	40	2	2	4	0	3
Total	2,204	162	467	1,557	355	415

*Gimli Minicipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

TABLE 18

BIFROST MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1911*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
21-1E	12	0	11	40	0	2
21-2E	55	3	40	108	0	26
21-3E	167	2	130	240	0	60
21-4E	772	20	27	249	100	24
22-1E	29	5	18	131	36	3
22-2E	1,094	52	113	940	261	100
22-3E	1,885	98	220	1,240	387	67
22-4E	431	23	21	150	50	0
23-1E	191	14	55	306	56	4
23-2E	573	35	104	567	127	42
23-3E	310	21	65	304	37	10
23-4E	1,366	41	111	744	168	8
23-5E	15	2	0	8	0	0
23-6E	20	2	4	14	4	0
24-1E	76	9	5	33	0	0
24-2E	0	0	11	10	0	5
24-3E	0	0	12	12	0	0
24-4E	50	0	10	44	11	0
24-5E	45	2	8	85	15	0
24-6E	455	3	17	155	84	1
25-6E	280	3	17	103	56	8
Total	7,726	335	1,199	5,483	1,392	440

*Bifrost Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

importance of dairy cattle is reflected in the presence of three creameries--one at Hnausa, one at Riverton, and one just outside Arborg.[99] Sheep had decreased slightly in numbers--because of the problem of wolves--and pigs had increased. However, the conservatism of the Icelanders tended to make changes take place only very slowly.

The demand for building materials in Winnipeg had brought a new industry to the Icelandic area on Lake Winnipeg. In 1911 a surveyor reported:

> On the east side of (Hecla) island, in section 27, a large gang of men are employed in a limestone quarry which is well equipped with modern machinery, and large quantities of stone for building purposes are conveyed on barges to Winnipeg. Many quarry claims are staked out in sections 13 and 24 where it is intended to operate another quarry.[100]

The importance of this stone for building may have stemmed from its resemblance to the Tyndall limestone. However, it was inferior in colour and in thickness of beds and was used mostly for the production of rubble.[101] The thin overburden (about two feet) made it easy to reach the beds. Production was not great, but the industry must have been important to the people of Hecla Island who had always depended heavily on fishing for their livelihood.

Forest industries remained important. There were eight sawmills in Bifrost and three in Gimli, only five of which were in the area settled by the Icelanders.[102] Only nine sawmills were registered with

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[99]Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Crop Reports, 1911.

[100]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1914, Paper no. 25B, p. 62.

[101]M.F. Goudge (see footnote no. 83 above) p. 43.

[102]Tax Assessment Rolls (see footnote no. 96 above).

the federal government, and only four reported any production in 1911. Their combined output of 396,000 ft. B.M. of lumber[103] was a decrease from 1901 production, but it is probable that more was produced. The mills were generally close to the railways, so the lumber could be sold in nearby towns or in Winnipeg. The railways also made it possible to sell cordwood in Winnipeg, but the Icelanders do not appear to have engaged in this activity to any extent. As it was generally a part-time winter occupation elsewhere, it is likely that the Icelanders' preoccupation with the winter fisheries was the main impediment to cordwood cutting. The sawmills generally employed those Icelanders interested in forest work.

No information is available on the importance of other activities in the Icelandic area. The steamboats still plied Lake Winnipeg, and the competition from the railways was probably counterbalanced by the increased fish catch, by the new business from the quarry on Hecla Island, and by other new enterprises undertaken on the lake. A Dominion fish hatchery had been established at Gull Harbour, Gimli and Gull Harbour were becoming increasingly important as summer resorts,[104] and there were numerous service industries in the towns (discussed below under "Service Centers"). Tradition was still the main determining factor in the Icelandic economy, and changes were taking place only very slowly.

Ukrainian area east of the principal meridian. In the area of

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[103]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 25, pp. 87-92.

[104]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1914, Paper no. 25B, p. 63.

Ukrainian settlement, farming was still very much at a subsistence level. The greatest improvements had been made in the southern part of the Ukrainian area where the Ukrainians had been on the land for the greatest length of time (table 15, townships 17 and 18 in ranges 1 and 2E). Cultivated acreages and the number of cattle and pigs were generally less further north (table 17, ranges 1E to 3E; table 18, townships 21-3E, 24-2E, 24-3E, and all townships in ranges 1E). Oxen remained important in Ukrainian farming, although the number of horses on the farms was increasing. Oats was the main crop,[105] reflecting its importance as animal feed. The slow development of the Ukrainian area could be attributed mostly to the problems involved in clearing the forest and to their lack of money for purchasing machinery and horses. Because of the low income from their farms, most of the Ukrainians were engaged in non-farm activities. The most important of these supplementary activities was the cutting of cordwood for sale in Winnipeg,[106] an activity made possible by the heavy forests of the area and the railway connections with Winnipeg.

Remainder of the Interlake. Outside the municipalities of Rockwood, Woodlands, Gimli, and Bifrost, agriculture was still in a pioneer stage of development, and cattle were much more important than grain. There were a few non-agricultural activities--mostly of only local importance.

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[105]See footnote no. 69 above.

[106]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1914, Paper no. 25B, p. 62.

Cattle were generally the mainstay of the farm economy. Most farmers were attempting to reduce their dependence on cattle and increase the acreage under cultivation, but some settlers--particularly the Métis, the Icelanders, and Indians--were content to raise cattle almost to the exclusion of crops. Most Indians had only a garden and perhaps a very small plot of grain, but each family often had "from 6 to 30 head of range cattle",[107] and the Indians of the Fisher River reserve reputedly had "many large herds of cattle and horses".[108] Of the Indians, only those on the Peguis reserve carried on grain growing to any extent, but even there cattle were still more important. The Métis and Icelanders of St. Laurent had increased the cultivated acreage little (table 19),

TABLE 19

ST. LAURENT MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1911*

Township	Horses	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
16-2W	26	2	172	9	11
16-4W	33	0	143	0	9
St. Laurent	173	0	598	0	69
17-2W (part)	28	2	135	2	10
17-3W	20	2	167	0	14
17-4W	49	2	327	2	20
Oak Point	39	6	164	0	22
Total	368	14	1,706	13	155

*St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

[107] Ibid., p. 192.

[108] Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 27, p. 116.

and, though no data are available, it seems the same was true for much of the rest of the area. In these cattle-raising areas, particularly near Lake Manitoba, the opening of the odd-numbered sections for homesteading created problems. The settlers had long depended on these sections for hay, particularly in poor years, but with the increased pressure on land there was a shortage of hay in wet years when swamps were flooded.[109] Some swamp drainage had been undertaken,[110] but the results were inadequate.

Grain farming was generally of almost negligible importance in spite of the general tendency to bring more land under cultivation as soon as possible. By 1913 no township had more than 500 acres of any one crop; only two (townships 21-6W and 19-1W) had more than "a very small acreage" in two crops, and only five others had more than "a very small acreage" in even one crop.[111] Oats was generally the main crop, particularly in the Icelandic areas, though barley and wheat were both equally as important west of Eriksdale in the area of primarily British settlement. In general, almost as much land was planted in potatoes and garden crops as in any one grain crop.

Probably of major importance in explaining the small amount of crop production was the lack of a railway and the consequent need of other sources of income. A surveyor reported that the farmers in the

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[109]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1911, Paper no. 25B, p. 219.

[110]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1907-08, Paper no. 25B, p. 246.

[111]See footnote no. 96 above.

area near the principal meridian "contented themselves with clearing the land, putting up buildings and attending to a garden and a few cattle, which latter represent their saving when they hire out, as most of them do, for part of the year."[112] Many hired out to other farmers or to lumber or mining companies, many living in wooded areas served by a railway were engaged in cutting cordwood for sale in Winnipeg, and some were engaged in fishing. The Indians' main occupations were "hunting, trapping, fishing, lumbering, and stock-raising"[113]--that is, their agricultural activities were the least important.

The most important non-agricultural industry was gypsum production. The Gypsumville quarry had expanded production to 43,000 tons worth $372,000, more than the total value of lime or limestone for all of Manitoba.[114] In 1906 the mill at Portage Bay had burned and a new one had been built in Winnipeg and bought gypsum quarried at the Gypsumville quarries. Because of the use of the most modern equipment, including a steam shovel to load the railway dump cars, the increased output created little direct employment for the area, though it offered a market for cordwood.[115]

Fishing was a much more widespread activity, and it brought in

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[112]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1914, Paper no. 25B, p. 104.

[113]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 27, p. 98.

[114]Canada, Department of Mines, Annual Report of Mineral Production in Canada: 1911, p. 212.

[115]H.L. Cole, The Gypsum Industry in Canada (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1913), pp. 81-85.

almost as much revenue as the gypsum mine (table 20--only a small part of the catch for the Lake Manitoba area was from outside the study area).

TABLE 20

1911 FISHERIES PRODUCTION
LAKE MANITOBA, LAKE ST. MARTIN, DOG LAKE, AND SHOAL LAKE*

	All Species Sold		All Species for Home Use	
	Weight (cwts)	Value	Weight (cwts)	Value
Lake Manitoba	69,657	$278,810	11,800	$31,400
Lake St. Martin	325	2,164	2,050	6,100
Dog Lake	2,604	12,234	1,275	3,750
Shoal Lake	0	0	730	2,190
Total	72,586	$293,208	15,855	$73,440

*Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 22, p. 287.

All the fishing on these lakes was done in the winter, as there was a closed season in the summer.[116] This meant that almost everyone engaged in the fishing industry in these lakes was doing so only seasonally. Most of the commercial fishing was being done by Icelanders, half-breeds, and Indians. The figures for Lake St. Martin, where Indians did almost all the fishing, indicate that the Indians still ate much of their catch. The expansion of the fishing industry appears to have been to some extent due to the coming of the railway, as in 1911 there were six fish buyers

[116]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 22, p. xxxiv.

competing for fish and the price was better than usual.[117] According to the Indian agent, the Indians realized "some $25,000" for the sale of fish,[118] so a considerable portion of the fish caught on Lake Manitoba must have been caught by the Indians. The fishing in Shoal Lake had practically stopped because alkalinity of the lake had become too great as the lake dried up, and the fish were unable to survive.[119] The catch on the Fisher River Indian reserve was apparently still quite important. Five sawmills (in townships 23-2W, 23-4W, 23-6W, 22-10W, and 26-8W) produced only 417,600 ft. B.M. of lumber,[120] but there may have been others in operation. Much of the best saw timber near the settled areas had already been used up.

The quarrying of limestone may also have been of some importance. The quarry at The Narrows had shut down with the coming of the railway to the east, but a new quarry and kiln had been opened at Oak Point. The main factor in the location of the quarry seems to have been that Oak Point was the railhead from 1905 to 1910. The quarry was located in high-calcium limestone of the Elm Point formation which lay under only a few feet of overburden, but the lime was only moderately good.[121] There is no

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[117]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 27, p. 112.

[118]Ibid., p. 108.

[119]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1914, Paper no. 25B, p. 72.

[120]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of the Interior", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 25, part I, pp. 87-92.

[121]M.F. Goudge (see footnote no 83 above), p. 62; Canada, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Devonian Geology, p. 16.

proof that the quarry and kiln were actually in operation in 1911.

There were few other economic activities. The railway to Oak Point made it possible to ship cream directly to Winnipeg.[122] In 1900, as a result, one of Oak Point's cheese factories was moved to St. Pierre,[123] and the other operated until part way through 1911, but closed sometime during the year and was not functioning in 1912. The creamery at Lundar was still in operation.[124] There were a few service industries.

Summary. The most important economic activities were still the mixed farming enterprises of Rockwood and Woodlands, but a much larger number of people were engaged in pioneer or part-time farming elsewhere in the Interlake. Fishing remained important near both Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipeg, but quarrying had become a much more important activity. The main trend in forest exploitation was toward the production of more cordwood and less lumber. The number of new farms being torn from the heart of the forest was increasing the trend toward pioneer farming and part-time forest production. Only in the southern Interlake was this factor not operative.

IV. SERVICE CENTERS

Service centers in the Interlake had grown considerably in size and number during the decade, but the basic service center pattern was

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[122]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1907-08, Paper no. 25B, p. 104.

[123]Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture for 1906.

[124]Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Crop Report, 1911.

little altered. The largest centers were still all in Rockwood, and medium-sized centers were found in Woodlands, in St. Laurent municipality, and in the southern part of the Icelandic area on Lake Winnipeg (map 16). The greatest changes were in the north where new settlement and new railways had produced a multitude of new centers--all small. The new centers emerging on the railway lines were still in a nascent state and were little more important than many of the rural centers. Most of the growth in service centers could be attributed to the spread of settlement and to the general prosperity that was affecting Canada as a whole.

Stonewall. Stonewall, with a population of 1,005,[125] was still the largest center in the Interlake and had become the Interlake's first incorporated town. New services offered included a second newspaper, a veterinary, a photo gallery, a pool room, a restaurant, a second bake shop, a laundry, a plumber, a second lumber yard, a shoemaker, a harness maker, and a pump maker.[126] A few businesses appear to have closed during the decade (e.g., one barber and all but one hardware), but most of those who remained had rebuilt and/or enlarged their businesses. Stonewall was still the administrative, cultural, and economic center for most or all of Rockwood and a large area to the west. Its hinterland had been reduced on the west by the construction of the Winnipeg-Oak Point

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[125]See footnote no. 3 above.

[126]Data on services offered in Rockwood municipality are from: Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911; advertisements in The Stonewall Argus and The Stonewall Gazette during 1911; Waghorn's Guide, January, 1911.

railway and on the north by the growth of Teulon as a competitor, but decreases in the size of the hinterland were counterbalanced by population growth. This reduction in the size of the hinterland appears to have affected Stonewall's growth, as most growth had taken place before 1906, and in the second half of the decade Stonewall may actually have decreased in population.[127] This was partly due to the building of the railway through Woodlands which cut off much of Stonewall's hinterland to the west, but it also reflected the growth of Teulon as a competitor in the north. This arrested growth rate may have alarmed the citizens of the town to the extent that they set out to make the town a more attractive place to live. For example, by 1909 the town council was offering prizes for the best-kept places in town,[128] and by 1911 only milk from tested cows could be sold in town.[129] These developments may have been brought about by a new self-consciousness that came as a result of the size of the town, but the fact that they coincided with the declining growth rate suggests there was some causal relation.

Teulon. The second town in size and importance was Teulon. It had remained the railhead on the railway from Stonewall until about 1909 when the railway was pushed on northward. Even after the railway was extended through the Ukrainian area to the north, Teulon retained much

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[127]No separate data are given in the 1906 census for the town, but a comparison of figures for the town and the township in the two years shows an over-all decrease of 106. However, this may have been the result of rural depopulation.

[128]Farmers' Advocate and Home Journal, August 18, 1909, p. 1142.

[129]The Stonewall Gazette, February 22, 1911.

of the Ukrainian trade, partly because Teulon's large size gave it a trade advantage and partly because the town had some Ukrainian-owned stores and a Greek Orthodox church. The new railway to Inwood had not yet produced any service centers of a size to limit Teulon's hinterland on the west to any extent, and to the north-east the hinterland extended at least half way to Gimli.

Teulon had grown to a town of 260,[130] and services offered included eight stores, a blacksmith, a hotel, a livery, and three churches. There were also many specialized services such as a tinsmith, a butcher, an implement dealer, a bank, a hospital, a jail, and a rink. These specialized services were mostly responsible for Teulon's large hinterland, as they were services that were generally not available further north.

Stony Mountain. Stony Mountain had almost as many residents as Teulon, but was not comparable as a service center. It had a population of 192 (more than three times the 1901 population), but most of the wage earners were quarrymen.[131] As a service center it had probably decreased in importance as Stonewall and Winnipeg both extended their influence. Services offered were few, and the large postal revenue (map 16) reflected the large population rather than a large amount of trade.

Gunton. The third most populous center was a completely new one called Gunton. It had a population of 110, but, as in Stony Mountain,

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[130] Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

[131] Ibid.

most of the heads of family were quarrymen.[132] Apparently the only services were two stores, a blacksmith shop, and a hotel which served little more than the town itself and the area immediate to it. It could not compete with Balmoral and Stonewall to the south or Teulon to the north, and without the quarries it probably would not have come into existence.

Balmoral. The least important of the five larger Rockwood centers was Balmoral. It had decreased in population to 49,[133] and apparently the only services were three stores, two blacksmiths, a livery stable, two churches, and an elevator.[134] It was one of only two railway towns in which postal revenue decreased between 1901 and 1911. The improvement of transportation made it easier for farmers to travel the greater distance to Stonewall or Teulon, and Balmoral became more a center for day-to-day shopping. The presence of the elevator did little to slow Balmoral's decline. The brick yard was located a mile and one-half south of town,[135] so it did nothing to boost the town's growth.

Ukrainian centers. In the Ukrainian area of northern Rockwood and north along the railway from Teulon to Arborg there were five small service centers whose stores (owned by Ukrainians) served the day-to-day needs of most of the Ukrainian settlers in the area. The postal revenue

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[132] Ibid.

[133] Ibid.

[134] See footnote no. 125 above.

[135] R.B. Quickfall (see footnote no. 55 above), p. 118.

(map 16) gives a false impression of the importance of these towns as service centers, for many of the Ukrainians were illiterate and made almost no use of the postal system. Komarno had two stores and a population of 37, Malonton (the other Ukrainian center in Rockwood) had five stores and only 14 people,[136] Kreuzburg had two stores, Silver had one,[137] and early settlers claim there was also at least one store in Rembrandt. With this number of stores and a large heavily-populated hinterland, the towns must have accounted for much more business than the postal revenue suggests.

All the business from the Ukrainian area, however, did not go to these Ukrainian centers and to Teulon. Many of the Ukrainians (and virtually all the Icelanders in the old reserve area) did the major portion of their shopping in the Icelandic centers located along the shore of Lake Winnipeg and along the Icelandic River. The most important center was Gimli, but both Riverton and Arborg had special functions as service centers.

Gimli. Gimli was much larger and more important than in 1901. Its rapid growth after the arrival of the railway in 1906 led to its incorporation as a village, and by 1911 its population was 496. Its administrative hinterland had been limited by the formation of Bifrost Municipality to the north, and its economic hinterland had been limited by the railway to Arborg and the service centers that had sprung up

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[136]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

[137]Gimli Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911. (Populations were not computed from this roll.)

along it. However, the arrival of the railway from the south made it the railhead for the lake-shore portion of the old Icelandic reserve, and steamboat traffic for the north often loaded at Gimli. A new fish-packing plant had been erected in the town,[138] and Gimli remained the main center for shipping fish south. Most of Gimli's new importance arose from its sudden popularity as a summer beach resort. The fine sand beaches had been difficult for summer vacationers from Winnipeg to reach until the railway arrived, but immediately thereafter Winnipegers began buying lots in Gimli.[139] Many of these lots had buildings on them, but the relatively low assessment[140] suggests that the buildings were summer cottages. The larger number of people in the town in the summer tourist season made it possible for a larger number of services to operate in the town. Most of the new services catered to the summer vacationers, but served the surrounding area as well. No information was found on the number or type of services offered.

Riverton. Riverton's importance was less as a service center for the immediate area than as an entrepôt for settlements to the north along Lake Winnipeg. Much of its importance as an entrepôt stemmed from the fact that it was the center for the Icelandic steamboating enterprises. It had fish-packing plants to handle the catch, it was important as a sawmilling center, and its creamery attracted farm trade, though apparently

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[138]Village of Gimli, Tax Assessment Roll; 1911.

[139]Townsite and Settlement Register (on file at the Lands Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba).

[140]Village of Gimli, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

there were only three stores.[141] Its population was probably small. Its main disadvantage was its lack of railway connections; this shortcoming made merchants unwilling to open new stores in the town. The growing size of Gimli to the south and Arborg to the west limited Riverton's hinterland, and though the rural population was increasing the number depending on Riverton for services was decreasing.

Arborg. Situated at the terminus of the railway north from Teulon, Arborg was a much more important center than Riverton for serving the local community, and it was growing rapidly. Though its railway had arrived only in 1910, by 1911 there were six stores, a doctor, a druggist, a butcher shop, a livery, two sawmills, a creamery, and 60 people in town.[142] Its hinterland included all the settled area to the north and the settlements to the west along the Fisher River. The postal revenue (map 16) probably does not fully illustrate Arborg's importance as a service center in 1911, perhaps because the large number of Ukrainians patronizing the stores of the town did not use the postal service to any extent. It appears to have been the fastest growing center in the whole Interlake.

There were no other important centers in the Icelandic area or in the Ukrainian area north of the Icelandic River. Hecla's postal revenue reflected the presence of new industry there; Hnausa had a creamery and a fish shed. Each also had a store, and there were a few other stores

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[141]Bifrost Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911; Waghorn's Guide, January, 1911. Population figures are not available.

[142]Bifrost Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

in the area, but the stores were only of very local importance and served only day-to-day needs of the people. For more important purchases the settlers usually went either to Gimli or to Arborg.

Woodlands Municipality. In Woodlands municipality there were four centers of almost equal importance. Raeburn and Marquette on the trans-continental railway were declining relative to Woodlands and Warren on the new railway. Other centers were much smaller than these four. Population figures are not available for any of the Woodlands centers.

The town of Woodlands had the largest postal revenue of the four (map 16) and was probably the most important. Its main advantage was its central position in the municipality and the presence of the municipal offices. It is not known what other services were offered, but it was reported that the town was growing "very fast" and that "several new buildings" had been built by April.[143] Two factors limiting its growth were the sparse population in its hinterland (a cattle-raising area) and the growth of Warren to the south-east.

Warren was a by-product of the railway. It had sprung up only after the railway had passed through the area, but by 1911 seemed to be growing at least as fast as Woodlands. The area where it was located had been only lightly populated in earlier decades, but the growth of the town had been concomitant with the growth of the rural population. The number of services is not known, but Warren's most important service was its elevator--the only one in the municipality. The proximity of

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[143] The Stonewall Gazette, April 26, 1911.

[144] The Stonewall Argus, April 12, 1911.

Woodlands and Stonewall greatly limited Warren's hinterland.

Marquette had retained its importance despite competition from the new railway towns to the north. The grist mill (though little patronized) and the creamery, together with other services, had helped the town survive even though the size of its hinterland was somewhat reduced. However, as the creamery (the most important service) closed during 1911, the town was still declining in importance.

Raeburn was declining rapidly before 1911. It was one of the two railway towns in the Interlake where postal revenue decreased during the decade. The town had always depended for most of its revenue on freighting to the Métis area and beyond along Lake Manitoba, but the railway to Oak Point cut off this business and made Raeburn just a local service center. As such it had competition from Marquette and Woodlands, and as it had fewer services to offer, it was unable to compete successfully and was declining in relative importance.

Elsewhere in Woodlands the railways were bringing more changes. Rural centers such as Meadow Lea had lost almost all their business and some of their services to the railway towns. Lake Francis was moved to the railway, but there appears to have been nothing more than a store and a post office there. In the eastern part of the municipality along the new railway to Inwood the railway stations were nuclei for new centers not yet born. The small postal revenue is indicative of their slight importance.[145]

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[145]The post offices are shown on the railway in map 16, but they may still have been located in the rural areas.

Oak Point. The most important service center west of the principal meridian was Oak Point. It had at least three stores, a butcher, a pool hall, a doctor, a hotel, and a boarding house.[146] Its position at railhead from 1903 to 1910 had made it the main distributing center for the area to the north and had attracted the services. It is hard to ascertain the extent of its hinterland in 1911, as the extension of the railway to the north was producing new service centers which were limiting Oak Point's hinterland to a considerable extent. Its large postal revenue in 1911 (map 16) suggests that competition had not yet seriously limited its hinterland. However, it had passed the peak of its development and some of the Icelanders owning stores there moved to Lundar during 1911 or were planning to do so.

St. Laurent. St. Laurent's relative importance as a service center had decreased considerably during the decade. It still had five stores, two butchers, a blacksmith, and a hotel,[147] but its small postal revenue indicates the limited amount of business which the town did. The rise of Oak Point had cut off St. Laurent's hinterland to the north, and there was no enlargement of the hinterland in other directions. The closing of the cheese factories was also detrimental to the town, as farmers sending milk to Winnipeg could go to any station on the railway. As well, fish were no longer shipped out in large quantity through the

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[146] St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1911.

[147] Ibid.

town. In summer it was "much patronized by the people of Winnipeg as a summer resort",[148] and this new source of revenue helped prevent the town declining even more. Although the railway had helped limit St. Laurent's hinterland by aiding the growth of rival centers, it had partially compensated by making possible this new source of income.

Remainder of the Interlake. North of Oak Point the railway had provided the nuclei for new service centers which were only beginning to evolve in 1911. The map of postal revenue does not show the importance of these centers, as stores generally moved to the new town sites on the railway before the rural post offices did. The most important of the new centers was Lundar, the administrative center for the municipality of Coldwell. The Lundar creamery also attracted much business, making the town a very attractive site for those wishing to construct stores in the area. The number of services offered in any of these towns cannot be definitely ascertained, as early residents do not agree on whether individual services were set up in 1911 or in 1912. However, most agree that there were very few services offered in any of the centers. A surveyor described Gypsumville in 1911 as "only a small village composed of a first-class general store . . . a boarding house and a few houses, all owned by the gypsum company who use them for their employees."[149] In the rural areas at a distance from the Gypsumville railway there were numerous post offices (map 16) and stores and some churches, but even Tranter could

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[148]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1907-08, Paper no. 25B, p. 97.

[149]Ibid., p. 62.

not be regarded as a real service center. Bender Hamlet was perhaps the most important as a service center with "a good store, a post office and a boarding house."[150]

Summary. The major elements of the pattern of service centers had changed little from 1901 to 1911, but there was already evidence of the major reorientation that had barely begun to take place. The most important changes--the growth of Warren, Woodlands, Oak Point, Teulon, Arborg, and Gimli--were linked up with changes in the rail network, and the germs of many new railway towns were in evidence by 1911. This trend toward greater growth of service centers was evident in all but the most southern part of the Interlake where Stonewall, Raeburn, Marquette, Balmoral, and Oak Point had already reached a growth plateau. However, in 1911 the dominance of the Rockwood centers remained very pronounced.

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[150]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1912, Paper no. 25B, p. 59.

CHAPTER VII

1921

Until 1914 new railways were being built, all production was spiralling upward, and the mad scramble for land continued. However, with the start of World War I, immigration slowed to a trickle, and by 1916 settlement had virtually ceased. Labour became scarce and farms were sometines abandoned as the war took more and more of the young men. Goods and machinery were often in short supply. Farm, fish, and forest production fell off slightly, and many quarries closed down, but the inflationary wartime prices kept the economy from collapsing.

At the end of the war, prices did not drop immediately, and the returning soldiers began taking up much of the available land. A return to "boom" conditions seemed imminent until the 1919 recession deflated prices and brought a decline in production and renewed land abandonment.

I. POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT

The Interlake "melting pot" into which a myriad of races had been thrust, almost at random, had by 1921 been filled to perhaps the greatest extent it would ever be filled. Settlement had continued unabated (and almost unaltered as to ethnic origin of the settlers) until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The war made it more difficult for immigrants to come to Canada; by 1916 the flow of immigrants had been virtually cut off, and settlement in the Interlake had completely ceased. This also was a period of land abandonment, as farmers

left the land to serve in the army or to find work in the city where workers were in short supply. Prior to 1916 new settlement had filled in the area as far north as Gypsumville, and much of the land on the remote edges of earlier settlements had been taken up (map 1). Settlement had even stretched north beyond the Peguis Indian reserve. The area occupied remained relatively unchanged from 1915 to 1918, but in 1918 a Soldier Settlement Board was set up to help find land for the returning soldiers, and civilians were no longer permitted to file on homesteads. During the period between 1918 and 1920 an unknown number of soldiers, mostly of British origin, were settled on the land in the Interlake--many of them on land previously unoccupied, but some on land deserted by earlier settlers or on land sold to the Board by an earlier settler. By 1921 large numbers of these soldier settlers (as well as many settlers who had come prior to 1916) were abandoning the land. The process of abandonment had actually been going on to some extent throughout the whole decade, but it was becoming more pronounced as the decade advanced. Another process that had been gaining force throughout the decade was the growth of population in the service centers, a process that was becoming more noticeable because of the contrast with the population decreases in the rural areas.

The total population of the Interlake in 1921 was just under 42,000;[1] an increase of approximately 90% over the 1911 population.

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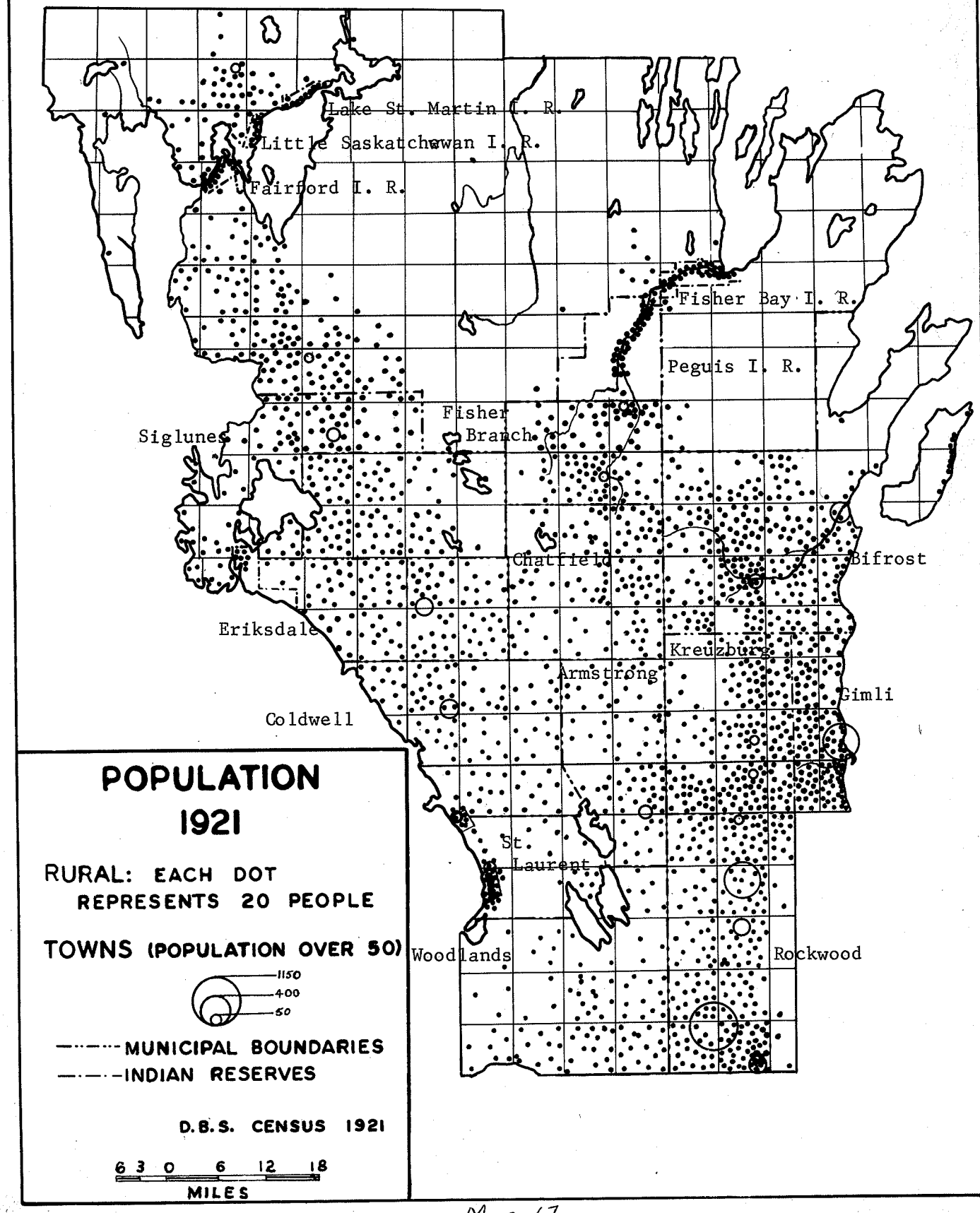
[1]Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada: 1921, Vol. I. Unless otherwise stated, all population data in this chapter are from this source. Ethnic origins are given on a municipal basis, and the location of the ethnic groups within the municipalities is based on the names of settlers as shown in the Township Registers (Lands Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba) and on information gained from interviews and secondary sources.

Most of the new population was concentrated in the northern Interlake--much of it in areas that were completely unoccupied in 1911 (map 18). The population was most heavily concentrated just inland from Lake Winnipeg (the Ukrainian settlement), but many other areas were also quite heavily populated, including Rockwood municipality, the Fisher River plain, and a strip about 40 miles long passing just east of Dog Lake (map 17). Densities decreased toward the northern fringe of settlement and toward the almost empty area of northern Woodlands and eastern St. Laurent municipalities. In general, a linear distribution of population densities was evident. The densest settlement was along the railways (shown on map 20), and the population was generally sparser at greater distances from the railways. As the railway ran roughly north-south, the orientation of the densely populated strips was also north-south.

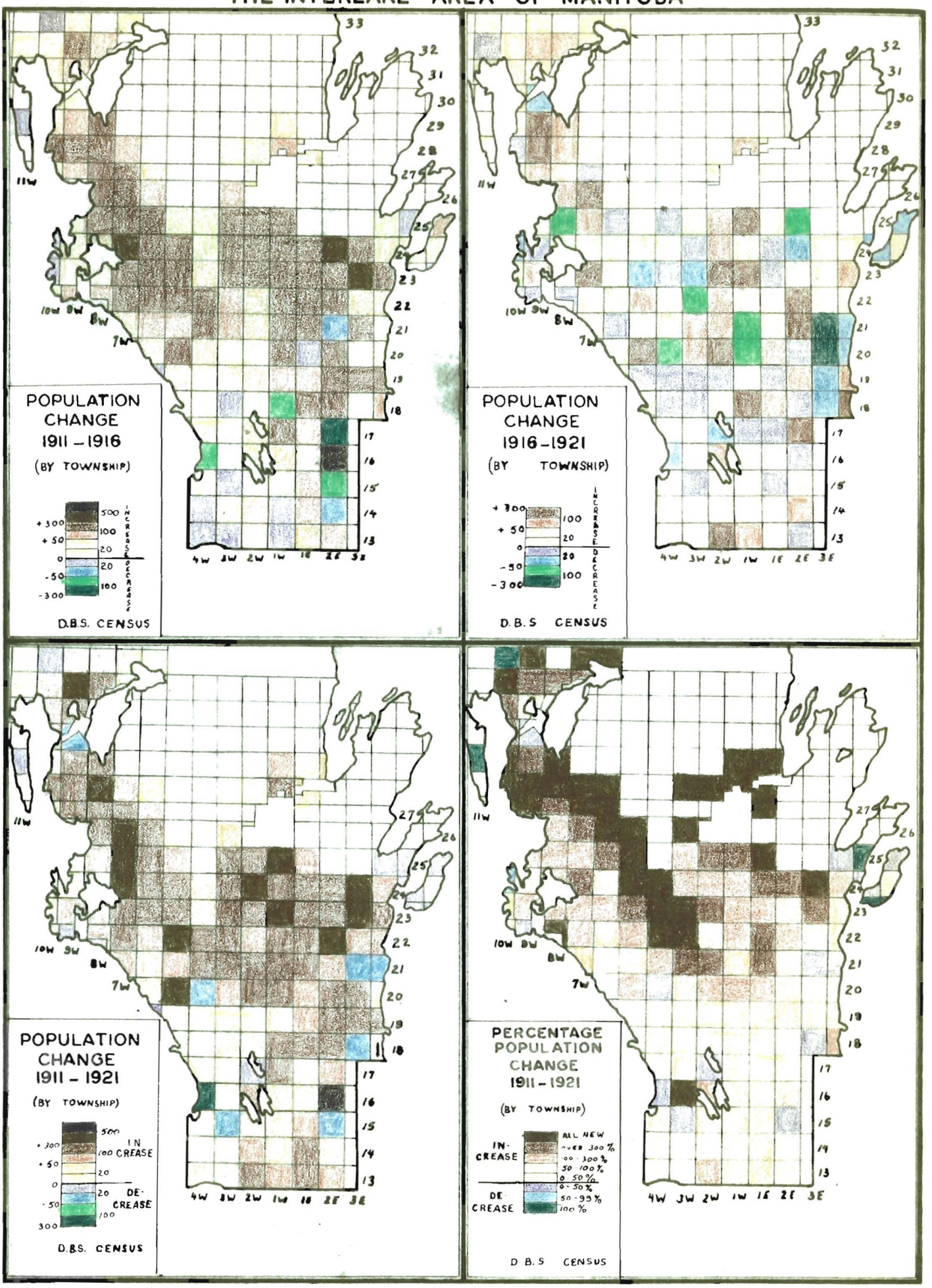
It is impossible to determine the exact extent of occupied land in the Interlake in 1921. Although most of the land shown as patented (map 1) was occupied, many such quarter-sections--particularly in St. Laurent and Woodlands municipality but to a lesser extent elsewhere, were in fact unoccupied. Of the land shown as "applied for but not patented", probably close to three-quarters was in fact unoccupied. In townships 25-4W (where there were 91 unpatented and 9 patented quarter-sections), 33-10W (35 unpatented and 1 patented quarter-sections), and 25-3E (9 unpatented and 19 patented quarter-sections) there were no inhabitants. These lands were on the remoter edges of settlement, so it might be expected that land abandonment might be more common there than in the more heavily settled areas and on the land closer to the railways.

THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA



Map 17

THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA



Map 18

In the municipalities of Coldwell, Chatfield, and Bifrost, land abandonment increased with distance from the main population centers.[2] In these municipalities it appeared that between one-quarter and one-half of the unpatented lands were occupied and that almost all of the patented lands were occupied. That other patented lands must have been abandoned is shown by the fact that in some townships, where almost all the land was patented, the population decreased between 1916 and 1921 (map 18). Even this map does not show the full extent of land abandonment, as many townships did not reach peak populations until some time after 1916 and, in others, land abandonment had begun before 1916.

This land abandonment (some actual, some only apparent) was due to many factors. Many of the unpatented lands, were, in fact, never even seen by the intending settler. As soldiers could fill the homestead residence requirements by overseas service, many took advantage of what amounted to a free gift of land. Some of them never intended to settle on the land, but felt they might be able to sell the land when they returned from the war. Others, on returning from overseas, did, in fact, visit the land they had filed homestead claims on, but were soon convinced that the land was valueless, so did not stay. Some never returned from the war. In these cases, land abandonment was only apparent. Some quarter-sections had been homesteaded prior to 1916 by city dwellers who had fled to the land to avoid taking part in the war, and when the war was over, they returned to the city. Others had taken up the land only

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[2]This is an estimate based on: Coldwell Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921; Chatfield Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921; Bifrost Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921. These rolls (on file in the local municipal offices) are the only 1921 rolls still extant for the northern municipalities.

to obtain the timber on it, and as soon as that was gone the settlers left, too. Some came to escape taxes, debts, or the high cost of living, but had little real interest in farming. The recession (beginning in 1919) brought falling prices for grain and cattle at a time when many farmers had invested in new machinery and improvements and were unable to make the payments. Thus, many who had come to the Interlake with serious intentions of farming found themselves forced to give up. However, probably the greatest single cause of land abandonment was the unsuitability of the land and the fact that settlers were generally ignorant of its limitations until they had fallen so far in debt and become so discouraged that they were forced off the farm. An early surveyor working along Lake Manitoba in 1920 stated:

> The area as a whole is more suited to stock-raising and dairying than to any other brand of agriculture. Many abandonned homesteads were found, the majority of which would never have been taken up had information such as is made available by classification surveys been at the disposal of the settlers.[3]

Ignorance of conditions was not restricted to the individual settler but extended to government agencies as well. The Soldier Settlement Board placed an unknown number of settlers on these stony, swampy, forest and shrub-covered lands at a time when other settlers were abandoning the land. These soldier settlers were, for the most part, given lands on the fringes of settlement. Some of the land had never before been homesteaded, but some farms had already been proven sub-marginal by earlier settlers. In addition, the soldiers were burdened with a heavy

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[3]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1922, Paper no. 25A, p. 24.

debt at a time when farm prices were dropping, making it even more difficult to repay their loans. These factors, together with their lack of knowledge of farm management and consequent low income, forced them to live in penury. Soon disillusionment led most to abandon their land. However, the number that had left by 1921 cannot be ascertained.

Very little of the abandoned land seems to have fallen into the hands of speculators. This was partly due to the isolated location of much of the land and to the decline in land values about the time settlers began to move out, and partly due to the fact that much was not available for sale because it was not patented. Most land seems either to have gone to the municipalities (for failure to pay taxes) or to have been returned to federal control. Only patented land could be taken by the municipality for non-payment of taxes, but the municipalities did not really want the land. In Kreuzberg, for example, the municipality was unable to sell its land, so began suing for the taxes instead of attempting tax sales.[4]

Speculators still controlled much land in the southern townships, particularly in Woodlands and St. Laurent, and they appear to have controlled some land in almost all areas. (In fact, some of the farmers who had stayed to patent their lands had done so only so they could sell them later for a profit, and such farmers might be regarded as speculators.) Speculators also bought up almost all the available "swamp lands" (only 7 quarter-sections remained unsold in 1921), much of the railway land, and some of the Hudson Bay Company land in the more

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[4]The Stonewall Argus, April 13, 1921.

heavily populated areas. Many school lands were also sold, but they appear to have been sold mostly to resident farmers.[5]

Ukrainians[6] east of range 4W. The most heavily populated area (map 17) was still that east of the principal meridian settled by Ukrainians. The area of predominantly Ukrainian settlement had spread out so that in 1921 it included, as well as the area occupied in 1911, almost all the new municipality of Kreuzburg and the larger part of the new municipality of Chatfield (map 19). Ukrainians also made up a minority in the municipality of Fisher Branch, and they had expanded the area occupied in the municipality of Rockwood. A few had even penetrated into the area north of the Peguis Indian reserve. The Ukrainian population cannot be accurately ascertained for this area because some were still listed as Austrians, but it is estimated that the Slavic group as a whole totaled about nine thousand. The new land occupied was mostly on the fringes of the area settled by 1911, and in general, the Ukrainian settlement was still fairly homogeneous. Most of the new land occupied was almost the same as the land occupied before 1911--forested except in the low-lying areas, with stony and infertile soils. The heaviest population was in the townships settled before

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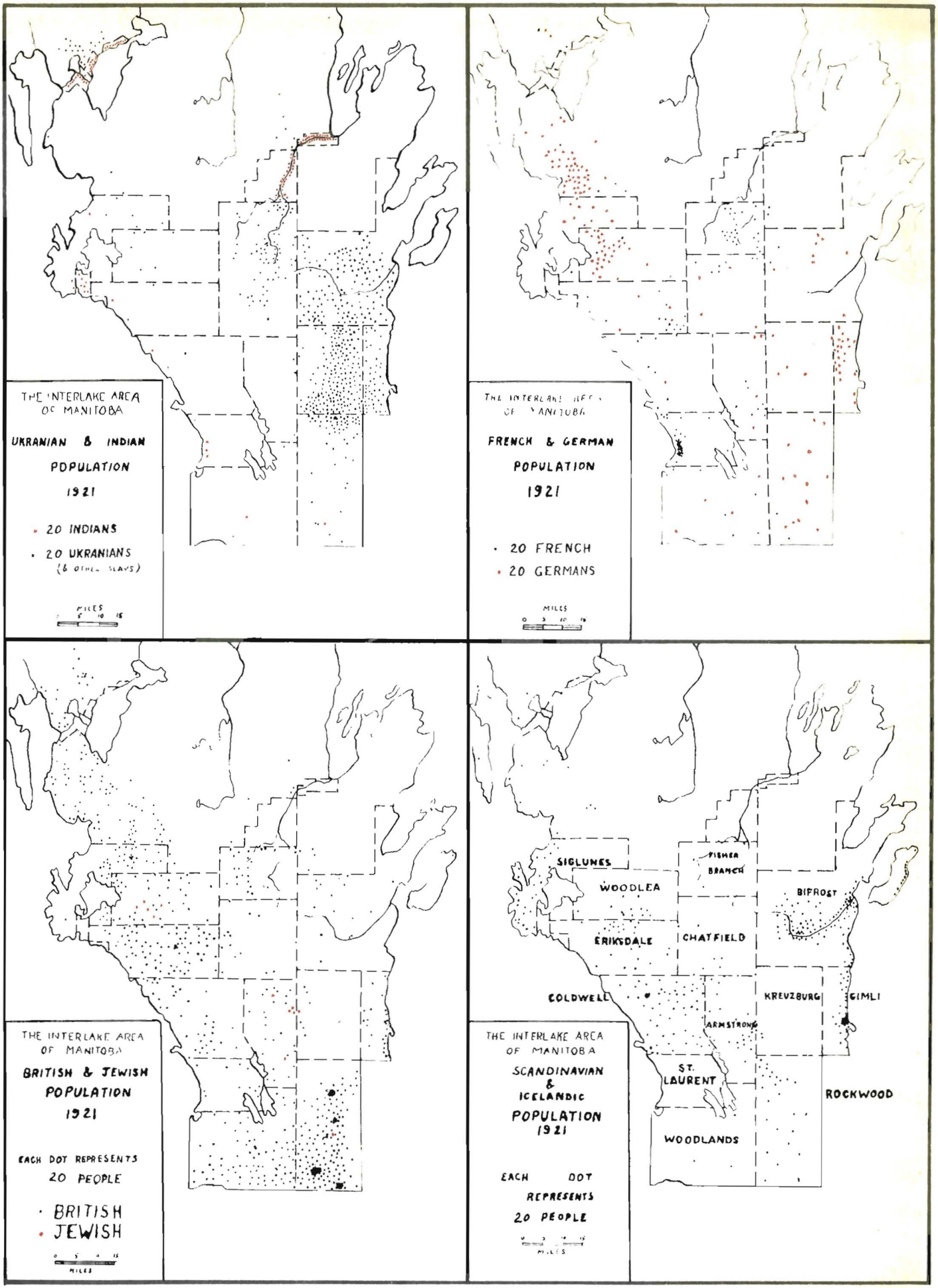
[5]The Township Registers (Lands Branch, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Province of Manitoba) show to whom the swamp lands and school lands were sold. Other material on non-resident ownership is based on the available municipal Tax Assessment Rolls and on a map (Manitoba: Map Showing Disposition of Lands: 1921, on file in the Manitoba Provincial Archives). These sources are in some instances at variance with one another, but they generally show the same areas as being owned by non-residents.

[6]In this thesis, the term Ukrainian has been used to include all Slavic peoples. In 1921 this included 1,940 Poles, 213 Russians, and some other Slavs. (Census--see footnote no. 1 above).


THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
UKRANIAN & INDIAN POPULATION 1921
20 INDIANS
20 UKRANIANS (& OTHER SLAVS)
MILES
THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
FRENCH & GERMAN POPULATION 1921
20 FRENCH
20 GERMANS
MILES
THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
BRITISH & JEWISH POPULATION 1921
EACH DOT REPRESENTS 20 PEOPLE
BRITISH
JEWISH
MILES
SIGLUNES
FISHER BRANCH
WOODLEA
BIFROST
ERIKSDALE
CHATFIELD
COLDWELL
KREUZBURG
GIMLI
ARMSTRONG
ST. LAURENT
ROCKWOOD
WOODLANDS
THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
SCANDINAVIAN & ICELANDIC POPULATION 1921
EACH DOT REPRESENTS 20 PEOPLE
MILES

Map 19

1906, but the greatest increases (map 18) had generally taken place in the townships where the greatest amount of new settlement had occurred. This indicates the importance of new settlement in population growth, but the large population increases in townships where little or no new land was settled indicates that natural increase was also extremely important. There are indications that Ukrainians had begun buying out settlers of other ethnic origins, but this phenomenon appears to have been of limited importance. As Ukrainian immigration had been cut off by the war and had not been renewed to any extent by 1921, most of the land bought after 1916 was bought by farmers already in the area. Only in the southern part of the Ukrainian area had the farmers been on their farms long enough to have earned money for buying more land.

The Ukrainian houses remained the most distinctive element of their settlements. A large percentage of the houses were the same carefully-built log homes with thatched roofs. Most non-Ukrainian settlers who had been in the area for more than ten or fifteen years had constructed frame homes, and most of those that still used their log homes had covered them with lumber to give them a finished appearance, though a few used log houses of the crude, unfinished style common to most pioneer forest settlements. There were virtually no thatched roofs in the non-Ukrainian settlements. The careful construction of the Ukrainian log houses, the long familiarity with living in clay buildings, and the Ukrainian tendency to maintain many of their traditions seem to have been the main factors influencing the continued use of the original log buildings. A few Ukrainians had begun to follow their neighbours in the use of lumber or, more generally, wood slabs for roof

construction, and there were some who had begun using lumber extensively. In general, the trend to the use of lumber or slabs was greatest in areas where other ethnic groups were in the neighbourhood, and many Ukrainians who continued living in their original log houses used lumber or slabs in the construction of most new buildings.

German settlements east of the principal meridian. In the townships previously settled by Germans--mostly in townships 20 and 21 in the east part of range 3E and the west quarter of range 4E--the population had continued to rise until 1916, after which it decreased rather rapidly (map 18). Interviews indicate that most of those leaving left because of sympathy with Germany in the war, though doubtless the fact that they had settled marginal to sub-marginal land made it easier for them to decide to leave.

A second German settlement had been started in township 25 and the northern half of township 24 in ranges 2E and 3E. These settlers, arriving from 1912 to 1914,[7] took up land on the northern fringe of settlement, mostly along an extremely stony but well-drained ridge which extended some distance into township 25. The choice of this tract of land seems to have been largely due to the fact that these settlers came from the same area in Europe as did the Ukrainians and had attempted to find land near them. No estimate can be made of the number that arrived, as all those that had settled in 25-3E appear to have left by 1916, and those in 25-2E and a number from 24-2E and

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[7]Township Registers (see footnote no. 1 above). These registers also give the date of settlement.

24-3E had left by 1921 (map 18). There is little doubt that an important factor in the exodus was the extreme unsuitability of the area for farming, but it seems probable that these settlers, too, had sympathies with Germany in the war. The number of Germans in the two settlements was about 700 (map 19).

Icelanders east of the principal meridian. In the Icelandic area along Lake Winnipeg there appear to have been almost no new homesteads taken out in the period following 1911, and the population remained just under 3,000 (map 19). The greatest population increases were in the three major service centers--Gimli, Riverton, and Arborg--with only very limited increases elsewhere (map 18). The fact that even the new, reduced Gimli municipality (map 17) contained only a small minority (actually less than one-quarter) of Icelanders indicates the extent to which this once purely Icelandic lake shore was being peopled by other ethnic groups. The town of Gimli and the lake shore in township 18-4E appear to have received a large influx of non-Icelandic people during the decade, probably because of the importance of the area for summer resorts. Only in Riverton and Arborg were the Icelanders increasing in number.

The Fisher River plain. The population of the Fisher River plain--an area encompassing the newly-formed municipality of Fisher Branch and part of the new municipality of Chatfield, the Peguis and Fisher River Indian reserves, and an area north and west of these reserves--included a number of ethnic groups, most of which were not in a clearly-defined area (map 19).

South and west of the Peguis Indian reserve were three main ethnic groups--French, English, and Ukrainians. The French and British had occupied little new land except on the western fringes of the plain where a number of British settlers had taken up land. The Ukrainians had taken up fewer homesteads[8] but were much more numerous than either of the other ethnic groups. The Ukrainians had generally homesteaded the stony, swampy, and thin-soiled areas left by other settlers, and these areas of poor soil were generally more heavily populated than were the areas of good soil settled by the French and British. The poorest land, where rock outcropped near the surface, was unalienated in 1921 (map 1). After 1916 the main population growth was in and around the two main services centers located in townships 24-2W and 25-1E (map 18).

The two Indian reserves, the Peguis and the Fisher River reserves, contained over 1,000 people. The population of the former had reached 519 by 1916 (the last date for which populations for the Indian reserves are available), and in the latter the population had reached 493 by 1916 (an increase of 38).[9] The growth rate on the latter reserve seems to have been approximately the same as in earlier decades, and if this growth rate remained constant, the 1921 populations must have been about 550 on the Peguis reserve and about 525 on the Fisher River reserve.

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[8]See footnote no. 1 above.

[9]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1917, Paper no. 27, pp. 16-17.

North of the Indian reserves were a number of British, German, Ukrainians, and, perhaps, half-breed settlers.[10] Where lacustrine soils were available, the settlers had homesteaded the land, but many of them had taken up stony, infertile land as well. The large areas of peat bog and stony ridges and the position of the area, isolated from other white settlement and far from a railway, were the main factors militating against a larger population. There were many "unpatented" quarter-sections in the area (map 1), and land abandonment was already serious by 1921 (map 18).

Area north of Siglunes Municipality. Further west and north, in the area bordering Lake Manitoba and north of Siglunes municipality, the population had grown rapidly until 1916, after which growth practically stopped. For the most part it was an area of new settlement, most of which took place before 1916 (map 1). This was an area where there were many homesteads "applied for but not patented", so it is difficult to determine the location of all settlers present in 1921. Here also a certain amount of soldier settlement had occurred in the years following the war. In the northern and eastern part of this area, particularly where the forest was heavy and distance to the railway great, settlers had come, remained only long enough to remove the best timber, and then had abandoned the land. This was also an area where many soldiers took out land while they were still in the army, and many of these soldiers either never came to the area at all or came only long enough to find

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[10]See footnote no. 1 above. The ethnic origin of the population north of the municipalities (map 19) is based entirely on this source and on interviews as census data are not available.

out that the land was too stony for agriculture. Of the people remaining in the area in 1921, the main groups appear to have been the ubiquitous British and Scandinavians, the Ukrainians north of Lake St. Martin, the Germans near Watchorn Bay,[11] and the Indians on the reserves (map 19). The Germans, probably numbering between four and five hundred, were a part of the German colony begun in the area in the previous decade. There were very few new homesteads during the decade, and none whatever after 1914.[12] However, there is no evidence of land abandonment or strong pro-German sentiment among this group, and the population seems to have continued to increase throughout the decade (map 18). The same held true for the remainder of this German settlement to the south in Siglunes municipality where it had expanded little except in township 23-7W.

The Ukrainian[13] settlement was likewise centered on a settlement begun before 1911. The Ukrainians had taken up almost all the land in the southern two-thirds of township 32-9W and in the southern half of 32-8W. The influx of new Ukrainian settlers had practically ceased by 1915, and population increase after that was due almost entirely to natural increase. Although most of the homesteads were taken out before 1911, the population rose very rapidly during the period 1911 to 1916. Apparently many of those who had filed on their land prior to 1911 took up permanent residence after that date, and those who had wives and

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Township Registers (see footnote no. 7 above).

[13] In this thesis the term "Ukrainian" has been used to include all Slavic people.

families brought them out. New land occupied appears to have been on the same lacustrine plain on which settlement had occurred prior to 1911.

The "Scandinavians" (including Icelanders) were found scattered throughout the area. The Icelanders chose land near the lake shore because the large areas of open grassland promised abundant cattle feed and because of the importance of fishing to the Icelanders' way of life. The Swedes and Norwegians were mostly settled inland, with the greatest concentration on the eastern fringe of settlement (in a strip that extended south into Siglunes and Woodlea municipalities). These settlers had come to this area with the idea that it would be good stock-raising country, so when they chose land they looked for large patches of open grassland--found only in low-lying, swampy areas. Their attempt to find land suited to cattle-raising tended to scatter the Scandinavians, and as a result there was no real Scandinavian settlement. Most of the Scandinavian settlers took up land before 1915.

The British settlers were the most numerous and the most widely distributed group north of Siglunes municipality (map 19). Except in the Ukrainian and German areas, where British settlers probably made up less than 10% of the total, the majority of settlers were of British origin. However, there appears to have been no purely British settlement. Some British settlers chose forested land; some preferred open hay land. Most were forced to accept stony, infertile soils, but at the southern end of Lake St. Martin, and immediately east of Gypsumville, some found fertile, stone-free lacustrine soils where grain growing could be carried on successfully. Many arrived late (after 1919) and were forced to accept land on the outskirts of the settled area. Many of the British

settlers were soldier settlers, and large numbers of them knew little or nothing about farming.

On the Indian reserves around Lake St. Martin the population had increased by only 86 by 1916, making a total population of 548 Indians on the three reserves.[14] The population had generally increased at about the same rate in earlier decades, and as there is no evidence to indicate a change in the pattern, it seems probable that the rate of increase remained about the same until 1921. If so, the population must have been over 600 by 1921.

Settlers of other ethnic origins were most certainly present north of Siglunes municipality, but the lack of statistics makes it impossible to determine their number or importance. The Jews, though probably fewer than fifty in number,[15] had stores in almost every service center. There were also French and Belgian settlers, and probably others.

Siglunes and Woodlea municipalities. In Siglunes and Woodlea municipalities the most important ethnic groups were the British, the Scandinavians (Icelanders and others), the Germans, and the Jews. The portion of these municipalities east of Dog Lake may well have contained the greatest number of ethnic groups of any part of the Interlake. Because it was settled so late, there was little scope for choice of land, and settlers merely took up what land they could get, and no ethnically

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[14]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Indian Affairs", Sessional Papers: 1917, Paper no. 27, pp. 16-17.

[15]The 1921 census (see footnote no. 1 above) shows only 69 Jews for all of Division 16 which includes a huge area beyond the Interlake study area.

pure settlements were formed. Even the relatively pure German settlement had a number of non-German settlers. Many settlers were part of such a small ethnic group that they could not form an ethnic settlement. Almost all European nationalities were present, but the Slavic settlers were the most numerous of the smaller groups (map 19).

The purest ethnic settlement in either municipality was the Icelandic settlement in Siglunes west of Dog Lake. Virtually all the "Scandinavians" there (map 19) were Icelanders.[16] This was the settlement begun there decades earlier, and the area had been almost completely avoided by other settlers because of the distance from the railway. The population had remained almost unchanged during the decade, as decreases in some townships were balanced by increases in others. A few new homesteads had been taken up during the decade (map 1). This and natural increase account for the population growth. The main decrease was near the Narrows, perhaps because of its greatly decreased importance as a transportation center. Because of its isolation and its almost purely Icelandic character, the settlement remained a separate community both culturally and economically.

The Scandinavian settlement of Woodlea municipality was a part of the Nord settlement established the previous decade, and it extended into Eriksdale municipality where the larger part of the settlement was located. Many new homesteads were taken out until 1914, approximately doubling the number taken out by 1911. Most of the new homesteads were on quarter-sections by-passed by settlers until 1911, but the settlement

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[16]See footnote no. 1 above.

had also extended well north into township 23-6W. Most of the new homesteads were in Woodlea municipality. The land chosen was almost identical to that chosen by the earlier Nord settlers, as no better soil was available in the area. This settlement included both Norwegians and Swedes, but there were few non-Scandinavian settlers. A few other Norwegian and Swedish settlers, most of whom arrived in 1914 or later, were to be found scattered further north in Woodlea and Siglunes. Their main reason for choosing land away from the main Scandinavian settlement seems to have been the lack of available land near Nord.

Although the Jews in the two municipalities numbered only 114, of whom probably 40 or more lived in the service centers, there were still a number farming south-east of Camper. The settlement was small, but it had probably been larger a year or two earlier, as by 1920 the Jews had begun to abandon the land. The settlement had continued to grow until 1914 from its humble start in 1911, but few new settlers arrived after 1914. Most of the settlers were to be found in townships 23 and 24-6W--a stony and only moderately fertile area. The nature of the land occupied was a factor in the land abandonment, as also was the drop in the price of cattle after 1919.[17] However, the greatest factor seems to have been a fire in the summer of 1920 which destroyed many of their homes and other buildings and added the final note in their disenchantment with farming life.

The British and Germans in these municipalities were part of the same group found north of the municipalities and have already been

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[17]Louis Rosenberg, Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of the Jews in Canada (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1939), p. 224.

discussed in some detail. The smaller ethnic groups were of no real significance.

Lake Manitoba Indian reserve. The Indian reserve south of Lake Manitoba had a population of 136 in 1921, an increase of only 9 during the decade.[18] The population on this reserve had remained more constant than the population of any of the other Interlake reserves.

Eriksdale municipality. Well over half of the population of Eriksdale municipality was of British origin (map 19), and it was these settlers that gave the municipality its distinctive flavour. They occupied almost the entire municipality with the exception of the Nord area--occupied by the Scandinavians--and a smaller area in the south-east occupied by French settlers. Ethnic minorities less numerous than these three were entirely swallowed by the British majority and appear to have left no trace of any cultural or economic effect on the area.

Although most of the land west of the railway line had been occupied by 1911, the population continued to grow quite rapidly until 1916, after which it began to decrease in some townships (map 18). There were many reasons for the continued population growth. The few homesteads that were taken up until 1915 were a minor factor. In the eastern part of the municipality where population growth continued in the second half of the decade, many soldier settlers had arrived after the war. Natural increase was probably the main factor, as many of the settlers had arrived as young men a decade earlier and had raised families

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[18]This is the only Interlake reserve for which the census gives separate data.

in the interim. A certain amount of land abandonment and movement into Eriksdale accounts for much of the depopulation after 1916. The British settlers who arrived after 1911 were mostly east of the railway where they had to accept land with either extremely stony soils or less stony soils with large areas of peat swamp. They were much less prosperous than those west of the railway, and a much larger number knew nothing whatever about farming. They were really part of the settlement that extended north from there through Woodlea and Siglunes municipalities and beyond. The British settlers, energetic and familiar with farming in Manitoba, were among the most prosperous in the northern Interlake, but even they felt the burden of interest due on large investments at a time when farm prices were dropping.

In the south-east corner of Eriksdale municipality, extending south into Coldwell municipality, was the French settlement. Although only a limited number of new homesteads were taken up, the French population increased throughout the decade (e.g., in township 21-4W, the center of the French settlement, the population increased by 227 during the decade). These peasants from southern France seemed quite content with the area--infertile and stony though it was. Coming as they did from a land-poor peasant area in southern France, they seemed to look on any land as an improvement over their lot in France, and few of them had left the area.

Coldwell and western St. Laurent municipalities. Outside the French area in the north-east and a British settlement in the north-west (an extension of the Eriksdale settlement), Coldwell municipality was predominantly Icelandic (map 19). The total number of Icelanders in the

settlement probably numbered at least 1,500, as the settlement extended beyond Coldwell municipality into St. Laurent, Armstrong, and Chatfield municipalities as well. Population growth in the Icelandic area was generally slight, with a large population increase only in the township in which Lundar was located (map 18). A limited amount of land abandonment had taken place, as shown by the slight population decreases in some townships. Almost no new homesteads were taken up (map 1). There were a few non-Icelandic settlers in the predominantly Icelandic settlement, but the non-Icelandic people seem to have been decreasing in number.

The Métis of St. Laurent municipality had increased only slightly in number and totaled 678 or less.[19] A few Métis were also to be found immediately to the north in Coldwell municipality, and they probably brought the total to about 725. Most of the population decrease in the two settlements of Oak Point and St. Laurent (map 18) was due to the departure of Icelandic and British merchants and traders who had arrived when Oak Point was the railhead serving the whole area to the north. The Métis remained a minor force in the complex of the Interlake.

Armstrong and southern Chatfield municipalities. Just west of the principal meridian in Armstrong municipality and the southern part of Chatfield municipality was an area settled by a mixture of French, British, Scandinavian, and Jewish settlers (map 19). The British and Scandinavians were scattered throughout the area; the French were mixed

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[19]Shown as French and Indians on map 19.

with them only in the southern half of the municipality. The Coldwell Icelandic settlement extended into the western part of Armstrong and Chatfield municipalities, and the Ukrainian settlement extended into the municipalities from the east. Prior to 1916, population increases north of township 18 were mostly due to the occupation of new homesteads (map 1). The increases in range 2W after 1916 were mostly due to the arrival of soldier settlers after 1918. Depopulation after 1916 was greatest in township 20-1W where the extremely shallow, stony, and infertile soils made farming almost impossible. The population fluctuations in townships 17-1W and 18-1W seem to have been more apparent than real.[20] The only ethnically pure settlement was the Jewish settlement in township 19-1W; elsewhere settlers of different ethnic origins occupied neighbouring quarter-sections.

The Jewish settlement at Bender Hamlet furnished an excellent example of the importance of the railway to settlement in the area. The hamlet, which in 1911 was a thriving community, continued to grow until about 1914. This site had been chosen for the hamlet because of its location on the colonization road and because it was assumed the railway would follow the same route. The Jews were not doing well at farming, and they had set up a number of services in the town to provide an alternate source of income. In 1913 or 1914 it was discovered that the railway would not pass through the hamlet, and the Jews, discouraged by the unsuitability of the area for farming and by falling farm prices,

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[20]The town of Inwood was located partly in each township, and the entire population of the town appears to have been counted in with township 17-1W in 1916 and with township 18-1W in 1921.

began to abandon the colony.[21] By 1921 only 98 Jews remained in all of Armstrong, and many of those were in the service centers. Probably fewer than 70 remained in the hamlet, and they too were considering leaving. Thus the only attempt at co-operative village agriculture in the Interlake collapsed--at least partly for want of a railway.

Rockwood, Woodlands, and eastern St. Laurent municipalities. The Scandinavian settlement in the north-western part of Rockwood had decreased somewhat in population. Only two or three new homesteads were taken out, all in the early part of the decade, and natural increase was not sufficient to balance land abandonment in the second half of the decade. The population of the settlement was probably about 300 Scandinavians and most of the reminder of the 539 in Rockwood were found mixed with other ethnic groups elsewhere in the municipality.

In Rockwood south of township 17, in Woodlands, and in the eastern half of St. Laurent municipality, the settlers of British origin made up over 75% of the population. Population growth was generally slight (map 18), and most of the growth may be attributed to natural increase. Exceptions to this were township 16-2E (where most of the growth occurred in the town of Teulon), township 13-1E (where most of the growth occurred in Stonewall), and townships 13 and 14 in ranges 1W and 2W (where the main factor appears to have been the buying up of land from speculators). The population density in much of Rockwood and southern Woodlands was still among the greatest in the Interlake, but in the remainder of the municipalities, where the thin, infertile, gravelly and rocky soils

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[21]Louis Roseberg (see footnote no. 18 above), p. 224.

were suited only to cattle-raising, a large population could not be supported, and the population was very sparse. The swampy land of eastern Rockwood, though all alienated, was still virtually uninhabited because the land was too low to be suitable for building sites. Other ethnic groups were mixed with the British settlers, but they were quite scattered and no group made up more than 5% of the population. It was still the British, the most numerous group, that gave the area its distinctive flavour.

Summary. By 1921 settlement in the Interlake had spread over almost as large an area as it would ever cover, and the basic pattern of population distribution had been established. Almost all the good land (and hundreds of square miles of poor land) had been occupied, and little land--good or poor--remained unoccupied near the railways. The British and the Ukrainians were the most numerous ethnic groups, but there were also large numbers of Icelanders, French, and Germans, and numerous smaller groups. There had been considerable mixing of different ethnic groups, particularly in the most recently settled areas. Only the Ukrainian settlement in ranges 2E and 3E in Kreuzburg municipality, the Icelandic settlement west of Dog Lake, and the Indian reserves remained ethnically pure. The intermixing of numerous ethnic groups was making possible the freer flow of ideas among the groups and bringing a greater unity to the Interlake as a whole.

II. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

In 1921, as in 1911, the most important communications link was the railway. Several branch lines had been extended during the decade,

and by 1921 all settled portions of the Interlake except the area around the Narrows and the area north of the Peguis Indian reserve were within 15 miles of a railway. However, railway expansion had ceased in 1914, and thereafter road construction had become increasingly important. Concomitant with the expansion of the road network came an increase in the use of the automobile. Telephones had also become more widespread; lake traffic was declining in importance.

The extension of the old railways had been accomplished by 1914. That year the railway through Inwood reached Hodgson, the railway to Gimli was extended to Riverton,[22] and a spur was built from the Gypsumville line west to Steep Rock to carry the lime and limestone produced there.[23] In 1913 a similar spur had been built east from the Gypsumville line four miles to Spear Hill to transport the lime produced there.[24] The end of railway building was due to several things, but the most important factor seems to have been the general disillusionment concerning the necessity for so many railways, and a resultant refusal of the various governments to bonus further construction. This was to some extent tied in with the preoccupation of the country with the war in Europe and the shortage of men and supplies which the war effort entailed. The great decrease in immigration and homesteading also made

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[22]M.L. Bladen, "Construction of Railways in Canada: Part II: 1885 to 1931", University of Toronto Studies in Economics and History, Volume VII, 1934, p. 64.

[23]G.R. Stevens, Canadian National Railways: Volume II: Toward the Inevitable (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1962), p. 62.

[24]William John Russell, Geography or Roads West of Lake Winnipeg: Interlake Area (Master's thesis, McGill University, 1951), p. 125.

new railways seem less essential.

In Rockwood, an electric railway had been opened in 1914 connecting Winnipeg with Stonewall via Stony Mountain. As many as four runs were made every day, but the most important was the one to the city in the morning and back in the evening. This was the train used for commuting to work (or classes) in Winnipeg. In conjunction with this commuters' train, a daily bus service from Teulon to Stonewall in the morning and back in the evening made it possible for residents in any of the larger Rockwood towns to commute to Winnipeg.[25] Service was for passengers only.

All the railways in the Interlake appear to have been providing regular service during 1921. On most of the Interlake lines there were only three trains a week, but on the Gypsumville line, the electric railway, and the main line through Raeburn and Marquette, there was even more frequent service.

The importance of the railways is reflected in the linear grouping of service centers along the railways (map 20) and the pattern of roads radiating from these centers. The railways carried most of the goods brought into or shipped out of the Interlake and served as the primary mail transportation medium.

Roads and trails. Whereas most long-distance transportation depended on the railways, local transportation still depended on the roads and trails. In general, roads decreased in quality with distance from the railway, but by far the best road system was to be found in

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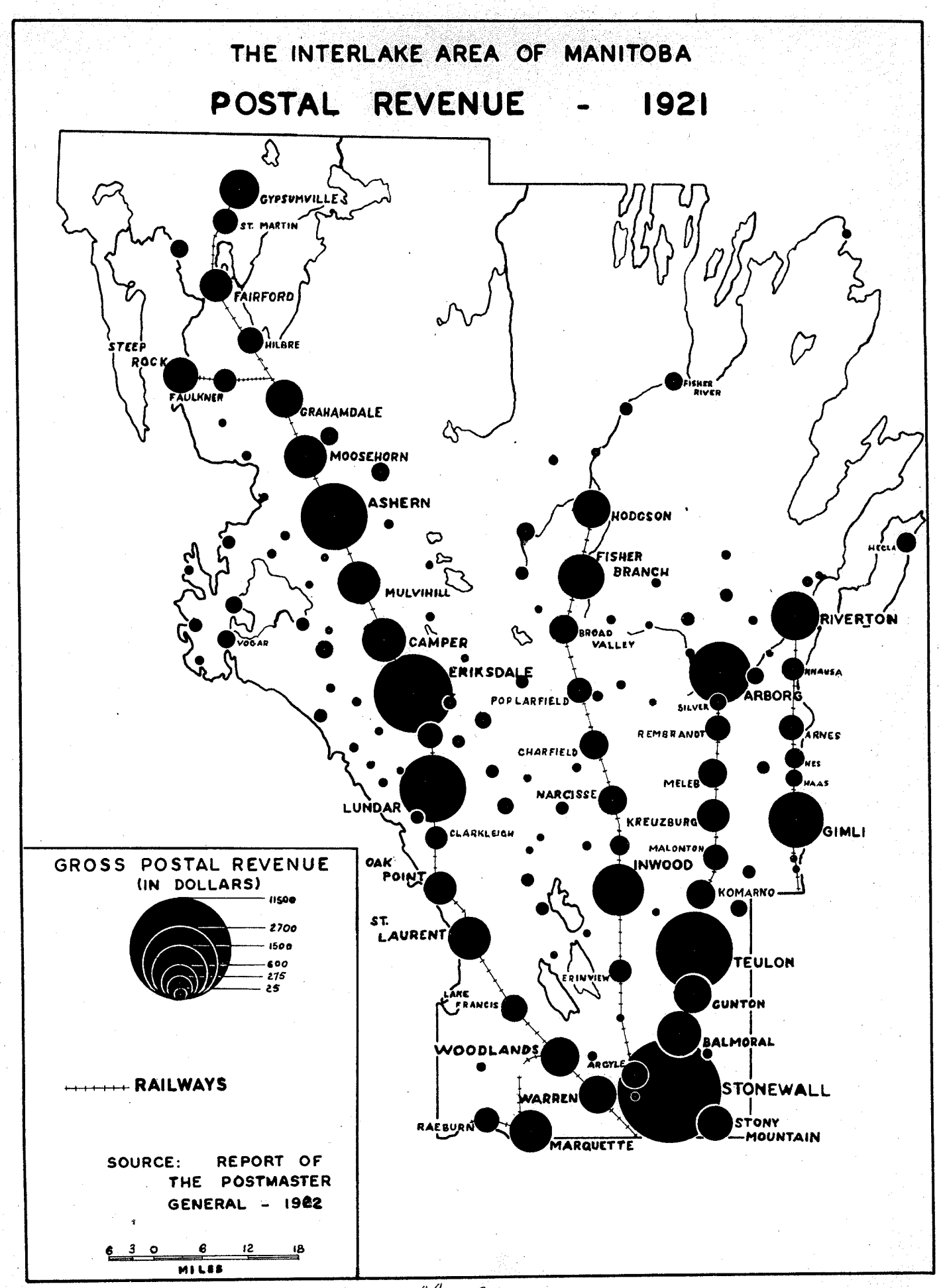
[25]The Stonewall Argus, May 11, 1921.


THE INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA
POSTAL REVENUE - 1921
GYPSUMVILLE
ST. MARTIN
FAIRFORD
HILBRE
STEEP ROCK
FAULKNER
GRAHAMDALE
MOOSEHORN
ASHERN
MULVIHILL
VOGAR
CAMPER
ERIKSDALE
LUNDAR
CLARKLEIGH
OAK POINT
ST. LAURENT
LAKE FRANCIS
WOODLANDS
RAEBURN
WARREN
MARQUETTE
ARGYLE
STONEWALL
STONY MOUNTAIN
BALMORAL
GUNTON
TEULON
ERINVIEW
KOMARNO
INWOOD
MALONTON
KREUZBURG
NARCISSE
CHARFIELD
MELEB
REMBRANDT
POPLARFIELD
SILVER
BROAD VALLEY
FISHER BRANCH
HODGSON
FISHER RIVER
HECLA
RIVERTON
ARBORG
NHAUSA
ARNES
WES
HAAS
GIMLI
GROSS POSTAL REVENUE
(IN DOLLARS)
11500
2700
1500
600
275
25
RAILWAYS
SOURCE: REPORT OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL - 1922
6 3 0 6 12 18
MILES

Map 20

Rockwood and Woodlands.

The roads in Rockwood were not only the best in the Interlake, but may have been some of the best in the province. The local paper claimed, "One must travel through other parts of the Province to appreciate Rockwood's good roads."[26] Rockwood had the natural advantage of a plentiful supply of gravel, and by 1921 a large percentage of the roads had been gravelled. Gravelling had proceeded as far north as townships 16 and 17-2E--the gravel used coming from four pits located in township 16-2E. It was also being carried on to a large extent in the western part of the municipality. In 1921 tenders were being called for grading to be done under the "Good Roads System"[27]--a provincial scheme to aid municipalities in improving their roads. Under this system Rockwood had graded about 150 miles of road and gravelled seventy-five,[28] but there is no indication of the total mileage of graded and gravelled roads in the municipality. The older roads were "dragged" to make them smooth for auto traffic, and tile culverts and lumber or cement bridges made it possible to cross the small streams of the area.[29] The main reasons for the improvements that had taken place in the roads were the encouragement of the provincial government and the need for better roads because of the increased use of automobiles.

The roads in Woodlands were still not as good as those in Rockwood,

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[26]Ibid., August 3, 1921.

[27]Ibid., January 19, 1921. (Many other issues contain references to road building in the municipality.)

[28]William John Russell (see footnote no. 24 above), pp. 167-176.

[29]The Stonewall Argus, January 26, 1921.

but locally they too were regarded as being very good[30] and seemed to be improving. Probably the main drawback was the much sparser population and hence the smaller tax base. Under the "Good Roads System" the municipality had graded 35 miles of road and gravelled more than twenty-five.[31] In addition, a wheel grader and tractor, a "road builder", and a number of large scrapers had been purchased for other road work,[32] and the municipality had improved many of its roads.

North of Rockwood and Woodlands, where there were fewer automobiles and settlement had taken place more recently, roads were much poorer. They were constructed primarily for horse traffic and few attempts had been made at gravelling them. In much of the most recently settled area even graded roads were rare. In this huge area the "Good Roads System" had brought in provincial aid for only about 300 miles of graded roads (over 200 miles of it in Woodlea) and 5 miles of gravel road.[33] Municipal councils were most concerned with improving roads where they crossed swamps and filling in the areas where roads were habitually waterlogged. The greatest improvement in roads was taking place in Woodlea municipality, but even there the roads were not good. In most of the remote parts of the municipalities, and in almost the whole of the unorganized area, roads were little more than trails cut through the bush.

Some areas had better roads because of local soil and drainage

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[30] The Stonewall Argus, August 3, 1921.

[31] W.J. Russell (see footnote no. 24 above), p. 125.

[32] Madeline L. Proctor, Woodlands Echoes (Steinbach: Derksen Printers, 1961), pp. 26-27.

[33] W.J. Russell (see footnote no. 24 above), pp. 167-176.

conditions. Where limestone or gravel ridges provided good drainage the roads were more or less all-weather roads. In such areas the roads generally followed the ridges rather than following the outline of the sections as they generally did elsewhere. However, because these ridges were generally discontinuous and generally ran in a north-west to south-east direction, the roads in places had to cross or go around the intervening swamps. The municipalities made the greatest efforts to improve the roads in these low areas.

The swamps that were barriers to transportation in summer often proved very useful in winter. Because they were flat and generally free of trees, they needed only a covering of ice and snow to make them into very serviceable winter roads. Their greatest importance for winter transportation was on the fringe of settlement and in the unoccupied areas to the north. Most of the pulp, cordwood, and saw timber hauled out of this unoccupied area in winter was brought out across the frozen swamps. In settled areas where the summer road followed a circuitous road around swamps, the winter road cut straight across. However, the overall importance of the swamps as roads was limited.

Automobiles. In general, automobiles were few or non-existent in the recently settled areas where roads were poorest and were most numerous in the south where settlers were well-established and roads were good. The number of garages--most numerous in Rockwood--is an indication of the number of automobiles. There were three garages in Teulon, two in Stonewall, one in each of Warren, Gunton, and Balmoral,[34]

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[34]Advertisements in The Stonewall Argus during 1921; Manitoba Government Telephones, Provincial Directory, September, 1921.

and probably no more than five or six in all the rest of the Interlake. Only in Rockwood were automobiles important enough to challenge the horse as a means of transportation. The changeover to the use of the automobile was being effected only very slowly, as the auto was still regarded as an unnecessary and dangerous toy by many of the settlers, and as only the rich could afford one. The lack of capital in the northern Interlake and the extremely poor roads found there would prevent the auto from replacing the horse for some years to come.

Other aspects. As railways and roads expanded, lake traffic shrank. Only on Lake Winnipeg were steamers still in operation, and there the railway had captured almost all business from Riverton south. The lake steamers were most important as a transportation link between the railway at Riverton and the points along the lake to the north and east where no railways had yet been built.

Post offices were ubiquitous throughout the settled area (map 20). The greater number of telephones in the south and east and the relative importance of the telephone in town and country are shown in the following table listing the number of telephones in each exchange:

	In town	Outside the town	Total
Stonewall	142	370	512
Teulon	66	115	181
Arborg	44	133	177
Gimli	32	46	78
Woodlands	1	57	58
Riverton	30	12	42

	In town	Outside the town	Total
Lundar	4	0	4
Inwood	3	0	3[35]

Summary. The best transportation network was still to be found in Rockwood, though only in the most remote areas had there been no improvement. Automobiles and telephones had become quite widespread, railways fanned out over all settled parts of the Interlake, and roads had been considerably improved. The end of railway building and the slow rate of road improvement ensured that the major transportation patterns would change little for a number of years and that Rockwood would have the best transportation system for years to come.

III. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

In the decade 1911 to 1921, economic changes in the Interlake had mostly been within the framework established by 1911. The penetration of the forested areas, coupled with the opening of a new market for pulpwood, brought about a "boom" in the pulpwood industry in the northern Interlake. In the long settled areas the cultivated acreage increased throughout the decade, and grain production rose accordingly. Expansion of settlement into the stony, forested lands of the north and the problems encountered in grain farming there forced a larger percentage of farmers to turn to cattle raising, and new creameries sprang up in the north-central and north-western Interlake. Production from the quarries continued to increase for several years after 1911 as new

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[35] Directory (see footnote no. 34 above).

quarries were opened, but by 1916 the demand for these products dropped so sharply that many quarries were closed, never to reopen. Other industries in the southern Interlake were also dying out as they were unable to compete with Winnipeg factories. By 1921 the Interlake economy had reached a stage of development that appeared unlikely to alter a great deal unless new factors came into play.

The changes in agriculture affected all settled parts of the Interlake--farming was still by far the most important activity--and all aspects of farm production had increased tremendously between 1911 and 1921. The increases had been greatest prior to 1916, when new settlers were pouring into the area, and during the war when farms were expanded to supply the demands of a country at war. After 1919 and the beginning of the recession, the rate of production increase fell rapidly, and in some areas where land abandonment was serious, production actually decreased. The greatest actual increases were in the well-established farming areas, particularly Rockwood and Woodlands, but the rate of increase was greatest in the more recently settled areas, as in many there had been no production in 1911.

In general, grain-growing was more important in the south, cattle raising in the north (tables 21 & 22). Where grain-growing was carried on commercially to any great extent, elevators had sprung up in the service centers. Elsewhere (i.e., in most of the Interlake) grain-growing was carried on as an adjunct to cattle raising, and a great deal of the grain was used for animal feed. In these areas the main source of agricultural income was the sale of animals and animal products. Where milk production was especially important creameries had sprung up,

TABLE 21

INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA*
USE OF FARM LAND IN 1921**

	Natural Pasture (000's acres)	Improved Land (000's acres)	% of Farm Land Improved	Wheat (acres)	Oats (acres)	Barley (acres)	Rye, Corn Flax (acres)	Improved Hay & Pasture	Potatoes & Root Crops (acres)
Armstrong	21	10	16.2	2,610	2,600	544	106	1,440	79
Bifrost	55	18	10.6	1,681	6,492	3,281	202	3,233	461
Chatfield	33	6	7.2	739	2,445	1,264	74	367	361
Coldwell	62	8	7.3	1,427	2,109	935	12	484	182
Eriksdale	47	20	16.7	5,666	7,652	1,681	32	1,219	271
Fisher Branch	31	12	14.1	2,020	4,542	1,860	42	664	237
Gimli	26	6	10.9	580	2,042	769	104	1,176	274
Kreuzburg	22	8	7.5	1,216	2,584	1,235	278	524	611
Rockwood	39	88	47.2	23,246	24,071	8,802	8,572	4,344	1,064
St. Laurent	10	2	10.7	67	322	120	0	123	52
Siglunes	56	8	10.4	2,091	3,545	838	93	174	171
Woodlands	47	50	44.9	16,316	12,595	6,306	1,614	2,345	212
Woodler	53	10	12.6	3,219	3,587	674	4	519	81

*Excludes area north of the municipalities.

**Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada: 1921, Vol. V.

TABLE 22

INTERLAKE AREA OF MANITOBA*
NUMBER OF CATTLE, SHEEP, AND PIGS IN 1920**

Municipality	Cattle (000's)	Sheep (000's)	Pigs (000's)
Armstrong	3.7	0.4	0.6
Bifrost	11.9	4.1	1.0
Coldwell	8.1	2.1	1.0
Eriksdale	4.9	0.3	0.9
Gimli	2.6	0.8	0.5
Kreuzburg	3.4	0.0	1.0
Rockwood	11.1	2.3	3.6
St. Laurent	2.9	0.1	0.4
Siglunes	3.3	0.9	0.1
Woodlands	6.3	1.4	1.2
Woodlea	3.1	0.1	0.5
Total	62.3	12.5	11.0

*Excludes Chatfield and Fisher Branch municipalities and the unorganized area north of the municipalities.

**Some of the Charts and Maps Accompanying the Progress Report of the Manitoba Agricultural Survey: 1921, pp. 44-46.

except in the southern Interlake where cream was shipped directly to Winnipeg. Pigs and poultry were ubiquitous; almost every farmer in the whole Interlake had a few, and none had exceptionally large numbers of them. Sheep were most common in the Icelandic areas (table 22) where most farmers had a few; elsewhere few were found, and where found they were mostly in fairly large flocks. The Interlake was still a mixed-farming area, with only a few areas where cattle raising was regarded by the farmers themselves as the basis of their farming activities.

In all areas, but most particularly outside Rockwood and Woodlands, farmers depended on non-agricultural employment to supplement their farm incomes.

Agriculture east of the principal meridian. The most advanced agricultural area in the Interlake was Rockwood. It led all other areas in cultivated acreage, in percentage of land cultivated, in production of wheat, oats, barley, rye, corn, potatoes, flax, and root crops (table 21) and was one of the leading areas in the raising of animals (table 22).

Rockwood had over 40% of the total cultivated acreage in the Interlake and the highest percentage of farm land cultivated (table 21). The townships on the south-western slope of the central ridge had the largest percentage of land cultivated in the municipality, those on the eastern slope also had large percentages cultivated, but the areas of poor soil in 16-1E and 17-1E and the poorly-drained areas of range 3E had very little land under cultivation (table 23).[36] The municipality

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[36]The figures from the different tables are not strictly comparable (e.g., compare totals of table 23 with tables 21 and 22).

TABLE 23

ROCKWOOD MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1921*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
13-1E	14,183	379	0	1,190	81	264
13-2E	6,291	373	0	1,192	272	465
13-3E (part)	1,095	68	0	177	0	7
14-1E	13,963	485	0	1,281	12	612
14-2E	7,072	312	0	1,344	859	346
14-3E (part)	160	6	0	86	0	2
15-1E	4,880	246	3	699	38	346
15-2E	7,539	482	0	1,404	220	539
15-3E (part)	119	8	0	13	0	21
16-1E	1,782	112	5	439	129	145
16-2E	8,569	325	0	989	290	281
16-3E (part)	1,410	49	0	224	0	48
17-1E	1,662	143	15	724	147	161
17-2E	1,480	135	78	642	9	167
17-3E (part)	2,096	128	11	375	12	161
Total	72,301	3,251	112	10,779	2,089	3,565

*Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

as a whole grew large quantities of oats, much of which was used for feed. Other crops included large acreages of flax and barley and small acreages of potatoes, rye, and corn. Vegetables were grown only for home use or for sale in the towns, and did not occupy a very prominent position in the farm economy. Some of the improved land was also in pasture and hay (table 21). However, Rockwood's most outstanding crop was its wheat. Though it had a smaller percentage of total cultivated land in wheat than some of the other municipalities, only Woodlands compared with it in total production and in the high grade of wheat produced. In both municipalities about one-third of the wheat produced was number one wheat, another third was number two.[37] (Other municipalities all produced less than 10% number one wheat.) Other municipalities also had some trouble with smut and frost, but the southern two were virtually free of this. Rockwood's greatest advantage in grain growing was the superior soil found in most of the municipality, but the length of the time it had been settled had also made possible greater improvements there than farther north. Wooded land was a limiting factor, for although much of Rockwood's forest had been cleared where the land was ideally suited to grain growing, a few areas of good soils were still heavily wooded. However, in most of Rockwood, the ambition of the British settlers in clearing the land when it was first settled now made large areas of land available for grain growing. The use of machinery also helped make it possible for this area to outproduce others; almost every farmer here had a complete set of implements and many had progressed to

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[37]Some of the Charts and Maps Accompanying the Progress Report of the Manitoba Agricultural Survey: 1921, pp. 22-26.

the use of steam engines for plowing, and they could attempt grain production on a much larger area than could those farmers in other municipalities where the use of machinery was not so general. In the forested part of the municipality, the Ukrainians were attempting to enlarge their farm clearings, but the process was slow, and the cultivated acreage remained relatively small. Only the Ukrainians were still using oxen in the municipality (table 23). The central area of Rockwood's grain production--the areas of lacustrine soil on the slopes of the central ridge--were the leading grain-producing areas of the Interlake and were a match for most other grain-producing areas in Manitoba.

Although the number of cattle in Rockwood had changed little for two decades, the municipality was still one of the most important in the Interlake for cattle, and the townships where the most grain was grown were still the most important for raising cattle (tables 22 & 23). As in previous decades, dairying appears to have been far more important than beef production, although Rockwood was also one of the most important areas in the Interlake for the sale of cattle.[38] The cream produced was still being sent to Winnipeg creameries. Rockwood was still the leading producer of pigs and one of the leaders in sheep-raising.

The area of Ukrainian settlement east of the principal meridian and north to the Icelandic River, though not all at the same stage of development, was an area of pioneer mixed farming. The farmers of the area generally had a few acres cultivated, several head of cattle, and a few pigs. Farming was at a higher stage of development in the

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[38] Ibid., p. 47.

southern and eastern portions of the Ukrainian settlement and graded toward its lowest stage of development in the north-western portion. Although no data are available for Kreuzburg municipality (the most exclusively Ukrainian area), a comparison of the statistics for townships 17-2E and 17-3E in Rockwood (table 23) and 18-3E to 21-3E in Gimli (table 24) with those for townships 21-1E to 21-3E in Bifrost (table 25) shows the gradation within the Ukrainian area. This gradation may be attributed to two factors: (1) the best soils were to be found in the south-east, and (2) the south-east was the first area settled by the Ukrainians, and most of the settlers had been there more than twenty years. As a result, these energetic people had had time to clear large areas for fields, and most had large herds of cattle and were quite prosperous. Most Ukrainians had small farms on which the most important grain was oats (Kreuzburg, table 21). The number of animals in Kreuzburg (table 22) suggests that the oats was mostly used for feed.

In Bifrost municipality (exclusive of the lake-shore portion), the economy was similarly based on cattle-raising, but grain-growing was becoming increasingly important. The cattle--most numerous in the Icelandic area (table 25, tps. 22-2E, 22-3E, and 23-2E)--were used mostly for milk production, though large numbers were also sold.[39] A creamery in Arborg processed dairy products,[40] but home production of butter was also important. Bifrost was the fourth most important grain-producing municipality in the Interlake, but most of the grain was oats

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[39] Ibid., p. 37.

[40] Manitoba, Department of Agriculture, Crop Report, 1921; Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1921.

TABLE 24

GIMLI MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1921*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
18-3E (part)	669	122	19	388	19	181
18-4E	405	146	0	460	165	88
19-3E (part)	890	168	10	487	215	159
19-4E	658	123	5	496	277	91
20-3E (part)	326	109	6	299	5	126
20-4E	160	57	16	172	188	42
21-3E (part)	94	25	18	90	0	45
21-4E	166	47	6	252	473	16
Total	3,368	797	80	2,644	1,342	748

*Gimli Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

TABLE 25

BIFROST MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1921*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Oxen	Other Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
21-1E (part)	211	34	43	323	39	68
21-2E (part)	137	25	18	187	0	30
21-3E (part)	338	51	30	421	14	56
21-4E (part)	320	39	0	228	402	18
22-1E	291	62	32	419	116	57
22-2E	1,846	153	22	738	282	147
22-3E	1,619	193	12	967	888	58
22-4E	527	51	2	370	344	33
23-1E	865	102	36	724	128	92
23-2E	1,954	227	37	987	286	139
23-3E	664	99	37	640	153	70
23-4E	97	149	8	888	779	27
23-6E	0	2	0	16	2	0
24-1E	1,232	108	4	313	162	105
24-2E	564	66	22	314	1	60
24-3E	529	77	52	457	0	99
24-4E	57	29	3	170	28	16
24-5E	17	6	4	90	63	4
24-6E	150	23	9	205	247	0
25-4E	0	7	0	46	3	0
25-6E	106	23	3	125	209	2
25-7E	0	0	0	4	10	0
Total	11,524	1,526	374	8,642	4,156	1,081

*Bifrost Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

and barley (table 21)--grains that could be used for feed. The British and Ukrainians raised most of the grain for sale, but the Icelanders also had large acreages cultivated (table 25) and had begun growing grain for sale. Enough was sold to warrant the opening of a small elevator in Arborg.[41] Other elements in the farm economy were the ubiquitous pigs (table 25) and chickens and the sheep raised by the Icelanders.

Along the lake-shore in Bifrost and Gimli municipalities, the Icelanders were still not very advanced in agricultural undertakings. Little grain was grown--mostly oats for use as feed--and much of the cultivated land was still used for hay and pasture (table 21). Cattle and sheep were still the main sources of farm income, but even these animals were not to be found in large numbers (tables 24 and 25, ranges 4E to 6E). There was no creamery and no elevator in the lake-shore area, a furthern indication of the low level of agricultural development. Many farms were smaller than 160 acres as the Icelanders were more concerned with fishing and did not feel the need for large farms.

Further north, the Fisher River Indians who had originally moved into the Interlake to practise agriculture and had been in the area for about 40 years, had made little agricultural progress. Cattle were much more important than grain, and cultivated land was largely devoted to growing potatoes and vegetables.

Agriculture west of the principal meridian. West of the principal meridian almost twice as much land had been occupied as in the area east

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[41] Some of the Charts, etc. (see footnote no. 37 above), p. 19.

of the meridian, but the acreage of improved land was about the same (table 21). Most of the land west of the principal meridian was used for mixed farming, with only a few areas where grain was raised to any real extent and several areas where cattle were almost the only source of income.

Of the municipalities west of the principal meridian, Woodlands was the leader in grain production (table 21) and one of the leaders in animal production (table 22). The municipality was still divisible into two distinct areas--the grain-growing area south of the Big Ridge and the cattle-raising area to the north.

South of the ridge, Woodlands had almost as much land under cultivation in each township and almost as many cattle per township as did the more advanced parts of Rockwood (table 26). In general, agricultural techniques were the same as those used in most of Rockwood, largely because both areas were very similar physically and had been occupied for decades by settlers of the same cultural background. Woodlands had not quite caught up because it had so long remained largely unoccupied, but the railways which had arrived the previous decade had made the land much more desirable for settlement, and the excellent soil was making grain-growing increasingly important.

North of the ridge cattle raising was still almost the only type of farming, and the number of cattle per township remained less than the number south of the ridge. The poor quality of the soil still seemed to be the main element preventing more intensive use, as the soil was unsuited to grain-growing and the cattle had to be raised on the open pasturelands. In most of the area cattle herds numbered 20 or more, and

TABLE 26

WOODLANDS MUNICIPALITY
AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1921*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
13-1W	11,065	462	815	0	269
13-2W	9,185	237	490	78	162
13-3W	4,790	314	802	33	157
13-4W	4,060	240	473	0	33
14-1W	6,952	370	965	653	195
14-2W	3,232	267	756	0	177
14-3W	191	22	125	0	9
14-4W	90	52	224	0	7
15-1W	112	50	166	0	13
15-2W	5	86	317	0	27
15-3W	303	110	580	2	33
15-4W	69	49	400	595	19
16-1W	150	108	480	17	103
Total	40,204	2,367	6,593	1,378	1,204

*Woodlands Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

some herds were quite large. The 595 sheep in township 15-4W were all in one flock.[43] Pigs were found in almost every farmyard, though only in small numbers. Almost the only crops were oats, potatoes and vegetables.

St. Laurent's farming activities were almost identical to those of northern Woodlands. Oats was the main crop, raised for feed for horses and cattle, but the acreage cultivated was very small (table 21). Most farm income came from cattle; dairy products were probably more important in the west where cream could more readily be shipped by rail to Winnipeg, whereas near Shoal Lake there was a greater accent on beef production. In the east the cattle were in large herds which roamed over large acreages of pastureland; in the Métis area each settler had fewer cattle. Other animals were of little importance (table 27).

Though most of Coldwell municipality had been settled for twenty or thirty years and none of it for less than ten, it was still one of the most backward areas for grain-growing. Only one municipality (Chatfield) had a smaller percentage of land under cultivation (table 21). The most intensively cultivated parts of Coldwell were the British area in the north-west and the French area in the north-east (table 28). However, even there cattle were very important. Most of the municipality had an extremely small acreage cultivated, as the Icelanders of the municipality grew only very small amounts of grain to feed their animals (oats was the main crop), and most of their farm life was based on the raising of sheep and cattle. Besides, the soil was better suited to

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[43] Woodlands Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

TABLE 27

ST. LAURENT MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1921*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
16-2W	59	64	569	16	167
16-3W	25	4	24	0	0
16-4W	22	36	126	0	41
St. Laurent	278	205	593	0	58
17-2W (part)	325	54	205	2	55
17-3W	34	23	88	0	13
17-4W	114	82	298	34	38
Oak Point	6	32	151	0	20
Total	863	500	2,054	52	392

*St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

TABLE 28

COLDWELL MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1921*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
18-2W (part)	33	42	209	32	13
18-3W	581	145	765	264	96
18-4W	498	153	632	46	56
18-5W	135	56	323	0	11
19-3W	578	113	667	210	64
19-4W	712	169	819	122	100
19-5W	236	172	865	325	100
19-6W	0	24	103	0	14
20-3W	452	137	430	199	79
20-4W	1,033	176	767	148	92
20-5W	732	144	587	175	100
20-6W	1,222	152	792	179	118
Total	6,212	1,483	6,959	1,700	743

*Coldwell Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

grass than to grain. Coldwell was the third most important municipality for raising both cattle and sheep, but the cattle far outnumbered the sheep and were much more important. Though large numbers of animals were shipped to market,[44] the production of dairy products was far more important. Cream was taken to the creamery in Lundar or, in the southern part of the municipality, was shipped directly to Winnipeg by rail.

In Armstrong there was a much greater stress on grain-growing, though cattle were also of considerable importance. The large amount of wheat grown (table 21) indicates that grain was being grown primarily for sale rather than for animal feed. The total acreage improved was not very great, but only Rockwood, Woodlands, and Eriksdale had a larger percentage of total farm land improved. The large percentage of land under cultivation seems to be due to the number of settlers of British or French origin who had come from the grain-growing areas of southern Manitoba and were determined to break as much land as possible as quickly as possible. They were aided in this endeavour by the fact that the land was generally covered with a light cover of trees, grass, and shrubs, making it easy to clear and break. They were further encouraged to continue their efforts by the fact that these shallow, stony soils proved very productive for the first few years of use, and even in 1921 were still producing good crops. Grain-growing was most important in township 18-1W where settlement had first begun. Of the many cattle in the municipality (table 22), a large percentage were owned by the Scandinavians (who tended to avoid grain-growing), though

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[44] Some of the Charts, etc. (see footnote no. 37 above), p. 47.

the other settlers also had small herds. Cattle were most important on the stonier land near Narcisse where grain could not be grown. Neither sheep nor pigs were very important. The mixed farming economy in the southern part of Armstrong was reflected by the fact that Inwood had both an elevator and a creamery. In the northern part of Armstrong cattle were far more important, and Narcisse had only a creamery.[45]

Eriksdale municipality had an economy very similar to that of Armstrong. The cultivated acreage was much greater, but the percentage of farm land cultivated was almost identical. Eriksdale also had a large part of the cultivated land in wheat, and grain was grown mostly for sale. As in Armstrong, the settlers had come from grain-growing areas in southern Manitoba, some of the land was treeless and required little effort to prepare for cultivation, and crops were generally quite good. The main drawbacks to further cultivation were the stoniness of the land and the need to clear heavy stands of poplar to bring more land into cultivation. East of the railway and north-west of the town of Eriksdale, cattle were more important than grain crops, but in the remainder of the municipality, grain-growing was the most important element in a mixed-farming economy. Eriksdale had both a creamery and an elevator to handle the produce from this mixed-farming area.

Chatfield municipality was the least developed of all municipalities for grain-growing (table 21) and had few farm animals other than cattle (table 29). The unsuitability of most of the land for grain farming, the short length of time the area had been settled, the heavy

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[45]See footnotes nos. 40 and 41 above.

TABLE 29

CHATFIELD MUNICIPALITY
SOME AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1921*

Township	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
21-1W	64	365	0	22
21-2W	92	336	0	56
21-3W	136	488	0	67
22-1W	88	600	0	3
22-2W	50	368	0	14
22-3W	63	307	16	40
23-1W	174	668	0	9
23-2W	65	207	0	9
23-3W	8	56	0	7
Total	740	3,395	16	235

*Chatfield Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

forest on the better land, and the poverty of most of the settlers all militated against land improvement. The settlers generally depended heavily on off-the-farm work and on the sale of pulpwood for their income, and the farm was regarded mostly as a home. The number of cattle was greatest in the earliest-settled townships--those in range 1W.

Fisher Branch municipality, immediately to the north, was quite important for grain production (table 21) and probably for cattle raising as well. The extremely fertile, stone-free soils, with large areas of grassland encouraged grain-growing, and most settlers had been in the area for ten years and had been able to bring large acreages under the plow. Cattle were more important in the areas of poorer soils. The importance of grain for sale is shown by the presence of an elevator at Fisher Branch, but the large acreage of oats suggests that much grain was raised for animal feed. The creamery at Fisher Branch[46] handled the dairy produce of the municipality, and its presence indicates that cattle were quite important in the farm economy.

Woodlea municipality and the part of Siglunes east of Shoal Lake were most important for cattle, but also had large acreages under cultivation (tables 21 & 22; table 30, ranges 6W, 7W and 8W). The heavy forest cover and the generally poor soils retarded clearing of the land, but grain-growing was, nonetheless, important. The large acreage of wheat (table 21) and the presence of elevators at Camper and Ashern suggest the importance of the sale of grain. Oats was grown to a large extent for feed. Dairy products were generally taken to Ashern or

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[46] Ibid.

TABLE 30

SIGLUNES MUNICIPALITY
AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR 1921*

Township	Acres Cultivated	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs
22-9W	126	69	530	191	42
22-10W (part)	99	43	298	124	15
23-8W	299	89	369	30	54
23-9W	233	89	416	86	6
23-10W (part)	134	45	316	105	12
24-8W	669	125	497	1	50
24-9W	192	103	628	134	35
24-10W (part)	45	49	332	274	8
25-6W (part)	90	55	95	9	59
25-7W	1,799	277	377	3	440
25-8W	435	214	706	54	127
25-9W	5	28	200	88	9
26-6W (part)	162	16	21	3	0
26-7W (part)	526	64	151	1	72
26-8W (part)	513	69	256	149	186
Total	5,327	1,335	5,192	1,252	1,115

*Siglunes Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

Eriksdale, though butter was also made on the farms. Pigs and sheep were not of great importance.

In Siglunes west of Dog Lake, farming was still mostly cattle raising (table 30, ranges 9W and 10W). Cultivated acreages were small, and the main crop was oats,[47] used for feed. The farm economy was virtually unchanged from 1911.

In the area north of the municipalities, most farms depended more on cattle than on grain. The problems of poor, stony soil, heavy forest cover, poor transportation, and lack of machinery all slowed down the rate of land-clearing, and to this was added the short length of time the area had been settled. Even the number of animals per farm was generally small, and off-the-farm work was of major importance. The importance of cattle is shown by the fact that this area shipped more cattle than did any of the municipalities.[48] Probably agriculture in general was little different from Chatfield's agriculture, and it was certainly still in the pioneer stage. The greatest development had been around Gypsumville and in the area along the railway immediately north of Siglunes municipality.

Forest exploitation. Only slightly less widespread than agriculture, forestry was the main industry on the fringes of the settled area and was important throughout the wooded portion of the Interlake. Lumber production and the cutting of cordwood for fuel remained important,

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[47]Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Topographical Surveys Branch", Sessional Papers: 1918, Paper no 25, p. 90.

[48]Some of the Charts, etc. (see footnote no 37 above), p. 47.

but the new pulpwood industry brought in much more money.

Pulp cutting was important in all the northern areas where spruce and balsam fir were to be found in quantity, but was most important in settled areas near the railways. In the areas where little cutting had taken place and where large trees were still to be found, lumbering was more important, but where trees were smaller or where the area had been previously logged over, pulp-cutting prevailed. The most important pulp towns were Riverton and all towns on the railways north of and including Eriksdale, Chatfield, and Kreuzburg. The main impetus behind this new industry was the building of railways into the northern spruce forests; the railways made it possible to transport the pulpwood to market in Minnesota's pulp and paper mills. The penetration of settlement into this forested area was another factor in the industry's growth. Because of the nature of the land, farming was very difficult, and as many settlers were not yet established on their farms, they turned to pulp-cutting as an alternate source of income. In some areas pulp-cutting was almost the only source of income. This was especially true in the areas of recent Ukrainian settlement and in the area north of Chatfield. In exceptional cases the land had been settled only for the wood available on it, and the settlers on such land made no attempt to improve their farms, but saved their money for the time when they should return to the city or to other parts of Manitoba. This phenomenon was most common on the fringes of settlement, especially around Gypsumville.

The growth of the pulp trade did not extinguish the old cordwood trade, and, because of better transportation and greater settlement in the north, even more cordwood was being sold than in 1911. Because poplar

could not be used for pulp, it was cut for cordwood fuel. Thus, on the margins of the forested area where poplar were the only trees, cordwood production was of great importance. Even in the more heavily wooded areas to the north where spruce for pulp was available, poplar was being cut for sale as fuel. In these wooded areas not all farmers had sufficient stands of spruce for pulp; others had already cut the spruce on their farms. These people generally turned to cutting cordwood for fuel instead. As with pulp-cutting, the cutting of cordwood provided a major source of income for many farmers on poor land and for others who had settled only recently. Little cordwood was cut in Woodlands, Rockwood, St. Laurent, or most of Coldwell, but some was cut in all areas where there was a combination of available poplar trees and a railway near at hand.

The third forest industry, sawmilling, had declined in importance because so much of the best timber had been cut. There may have been some in Bifrost, Chatfield, and/or Fisher Branch municipalities, but more were located north of the municipalities--generally beyond the fringe of settlement in areas where little lumbering had yet been carried on. Timber berths were all located well to the north of the settled area.[49] The high value of lumber made it profitable to ship out the lumber despite high transportation costs. Most lumbering was being carried on in isolated areas where transportation costs made pulp-cutting improfitable.

Fishing. The fishing industry remained important along both sides

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[49]Canada, Department of the Interior, Manitoba: Map Showing Distribution of Lands, 1921.

of the Interlake, but the Lake Manitoba fisheries had declined in importance considerably. The total quantity of fish sold from all of Lake Winnipeg was about 4,500 tons[50]--about the same as in 1911. The quantity sold from Lake Manitoba had fallen to 900 tons--about one-quarter the amount sold in 1911. Sales from Lake St. Martin had increased eightfold to 134 tons. The fishing boom on Lake Manitoba that the coming of the railway had encouraged had considerably depleted the number of fish in the lake, even though only winter fishing was allowed. Almost every town on the railway north of St. Laurent had been shipping fish, but in 1921 the most important towns were St. Laurent, Oak Point, Lundar, and Fairford. On Lake Winnipeg the main shipping point was Riverton where there were still 6 fish sheds operated by five different companies.[51] Gimli was also important and had a "fish plant"[52] for processing fish for sale. On Lake Winnipeg winter and summer fishing were still roughly equal in importance. On all lakes in the Interlake, fishing for home consumption was carried on, but the greatest amount so used was on Lake Manitoba. Most of the fishing was still carried on by the Icelanders, the Indians, and the Métis.

Stone products. Quarrying, which had been such a booming business in 1911, had practically ceased by 1921. With the start of the war in 1914, at least two of the huge new quarries at Gunton closed down never

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[50]Data on fish caught are from: Canada, Parliament, "Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries", Sessional Papers: 1922, Paper no. 17A, pp. 52-53. The Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipeg data include many fish caught outside the study area.

[51]Bifrost Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

[52]Village of Gimli, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

to reopen.[53] The quarries at Stonewall and Stony Mountain worked whenever there was a demand for their product, but as there was little demand for quarried stone, only lime was produced in any quantity. Competition from new quarries opened elsewhere during the decade considerably reduced the market for Rockwood lime.

At Steep Rock a quarry and crushers belonging to the Portland Cement Company produced crushed stone for a cement factory at Fort White. A branch line of the C.P.R. transported the crushed stone to the Gypsumville line and thence to the cement factory. Steep Rock was chosen for the location of the quarry largely because all the limestone was right at the surface or under a very shallow overburden, and because the Devonian limestone (of the Elm Point formation) found there had a very high lime content and no shale partings.[54] No figures are available on production, but as cement had become a major structural material for large buildings, it is probable that a great deal of limestone was needed.

At Spear Hill were quarries, a crusher, and kilns. Devonian limestone of the Elm Point formation which was found there was very similar to that found at Steep Rock, but the overburden was greater. A very pure lime (used for chemical production) was produced.[55] The business was owned by the Manitoba Gypsum Company that controlled the Gypsumville operation. This quarry may have been closed in 1921.

There is no evidence that the quarry and kiln at Oak Point was

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[53]M.F. Goudge, Limestones of Canada: Their Occurence and Characteristics: Part V: Western Canada (Queen's Printer, 1945), p. 41.

[54]Ibid., p. 64.

[55]Ibid., p. 58.

in operation in 1921, though it was still operating as late as 1924,[56] and if it was operating, production must have been small. Competition from other quarries closer to the city or where a better grade of lime could be produced had virtually excluded the Oak Point product from the market.

The gypsum mine at Gypsumville was still the only source of supply for the gypsum industry of Manitoba, so production was probably little changed from 1911. Though the second company, the Dominion Gypsum Company, had been dissolved and its plant dismantled in 1918, the Manitoba Gypsum Company had added a "modern plaster board plant" to the equipment already in existence,[57] and demand remained quite constant.

Other economic activities. Most other industries in the Interlake were at least to some extent service industries. The creameries were important both as local industries and as services. Some of the elevators in the northern area also served as grist mills. These services and associated activities are dealt with below (see "Service Centers").

Summary. By 1921 the economy of the Interlake was taking the shape it was to retain, with only minor alterations, for some decades. Agriculture consisted of cattle-raising with little grain-growing except in Rockwood and southern Woodlands where it was the main element in the farm economy. The contrast between the subsistence, pioneer agriculture of the northern Interlake and the efficient commercial production of

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[56] Ibid., p. 55.

[57] C.H. Cole, The Gypsum Industry of Canada (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1930), p. 49.

Rockwood and Woodlands was very pronounced. Forestry was spreading farther and farther north, and lumbering had moved almost out of the study area. Fishing was decreasing in relative importance. The main sources of minerals were Gypsumville, Steep Rock, and Spear Hill, and the quarries of Stonewall and Stony Mountain were secondary in importance. Creameries were following the frontiers of settlement northward, and most other small industries were declining in importance. By 1921, the limitations placed on economic development by the environment were becoming increasingly obvious.

IV. SERVICE CENTERS

From 1911 to at least 1914 service centers were experiencing a growth "boom" which was only slightly abated thereafter. The nuclei that were forming along the railways in 1911 had grown into important towns and villages, and the extension of new railway lines into other parts of the Interlake had brought new life to old towns and brought more new towns into existence. The growth of the railway towns forced most rural services to close or move into the towns, and those that remained in 1921 did little business. In general, rural services were located at least six miles from the railway towns and were usually a small post office, often in conjunction with a store, school, church, and/or community hall.

Stonewall. Rockwood still had the two largest service centers, and the largest of these was still Stonewall. Its population had

fluctuated from 1,005 in 1911 to 1,074 in 1916 to 1,112 in 1921,[58] and it was still on the growth plateau it had reached by 1911. New services seem to have been limited to a movie theatre, an oil delivery service, and two garages, and no evidence was found to show that the plumber, the photo gallery, the laundry, the undertaking parlour, and a few other services were still in operation.[59] Al though this does not necessarily mean that they were no longer present, it certainly makes it appear probable. New growth and the construction of new business places (mostly built of limestone blocks quarried locally) had given the downtown area a very distinctive appearance and had been brought on by the "boom" in the quarry business before 1915. The closing of most of the quarries during the war had dealt the town a hard blow, and its growth had stopped. By 1921 the townspeople seem to have accepted the fact that the town had reached its zenith, as there is no evidence of continued attempts to attract new business enterprises. Stonewall was still the largest of the Interlake service centers, but its hinterland had been seriously reduced by the growth of other specialized service centers, particularly Teulon. The only small centers on the Stonewall

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[58]Population data are from the census unless otherwise stated (see footnote no. 1 above).

[59]Information on services for the whole Interlake are based on: Manitoba Government Telephones, Provincial Directory, September, 1921; Agriculture Reports (see footnote no. 40 above); Some of the Charts and Maps, etc. (see footnote no. 37 above), pp. 19, 56; Waghorn's Guide, January, 1921, December, 1921. Information on services in Rockwood and Woodlands municipalities are also based on advertisements in The Stonewall Argus during 1921. Information on services in Rockwood Municipality are also based on Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

telephone exchange were Warren, Argyle, and Balmoral.[60]

Teulon. This town was second only to Stonewall in size and importance in the Interlake. New services offered included two elevators, a veterinary surgeon, three garages, an "oil house" (owned by Imperial Oil), a lumber yard, a new bank, two rural credit societies, a drugstore, a cafe, a confectionary, a hardware, a tailor, and a number of general stores.[61] The specialization of its stores gave it a hinterland extending perhaps to Arborg and probably to Inwood and Gimli, although for less highly specialized services these three centers offered stiff competition. The town had continued to grow in spite of the rise of the new towns to the north and west, largely because it had specialized services they did not offer. Its population was 661.

Gunton. The secondary centers in Rockwood municipality (Gunton, Balmoral, and Stony Mountain) had all decreased in relative importance, although postal revenue (map 20) indicates they had increased in actual importance. Gunton had continued its growth until the quarries closed in 1914, and thereafter it had declined. By 1921 its population was down to 140,[62] only slightly greater than its 1911 population. There is no evidence that the hotel was still operating, but the two general stores and the blacksmith were still there, and a lumber merchant, a

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[60]Manitoba Government Telephones, Provincial Directory, September, 1921.

[61]See footnote no. 59 above.

[62]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

garage, and an elevator had begun operations in the town.[63] The new services added during the decade, particularly the elevator, were most important in helping Gunton maintain its importance as a service center. Once the quarries closed, Gunton was no longer able to attract new services because of the competition from Teulon. Gunton's effective hinterland extended only a few miles in each direction, and even within this range only the short term needs of the settlers were supplied. The town itself was tributary to Teulon for most services.

With such a small hinterland and so few services, it may seem strange that the population of the town remained so large. The explanation seems to lie in the fact that many of the quarry workers had remained in town even after the quarries had closed.[64] There is no evidence to indicate that they found work elsewhere, but there is a possibility that they were retired or were waiting for the quarries to reopen. If the postal revenue is an indication of the amount of business done in the town, it seems that the town could not have provided a source of income to support so many people.

Balmoral. Balmoral had long lived in Stonewall's shadow, and it had long done little more than remain in existence. Now, although the population had decreased to 46 during the decade,[65] several new services had been added. These were a cafe, a lumber dealer, a veterinary, an

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[63]See footnote no. 59 above.

[64]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

[65]Ibid.

implement dealer, a garage, a bank, and a rural credit society.[66] The town had always been located in an important agricultural area, but the proximity of Stonewall had always prevented greater development of Balmoral. It seems that either some of these services must have been offered in 1911, or that in the exuberance of the pre-1914 prosperity it was believed that all these small elevator towns were destined to become important centers. The town's hinterland was unchanged from 1911.

Other Rockwood service centers. Stony Mountain had made the least progress of any center in Rockwood. Not only had its postal revenue increased only slightly (i.e., its business had increased very little), but its population had decreased to 160.[67] Apparently no new services had been opened during the decade, and the town's importance lay mostly in the presence of the quarries. As these had reduced operations after 1914, the town had suffered.

Komarno had four stores and a church and a population of 51.[68] Its hinterland was small, but it did more business than the postal revenue suggests. Most of the population of the hinterland was Ukrainian, and these people made little use of the postal service. It was, nonetheless, of only local importance.

Two other centers were Argyle and Grosse Isle. Both of these had sprung up along the Inwood railway and served only a small area. Argyle had a church, an elevator, a store, and a blacksmith shop, and its

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[66]See footnote no. 59 above.

[67]Rockwood Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

[68]Ibid. Also see footnote no. 59 above.

population was 16. Grosse Isle had a store, a blacksmith shop, and an elevator, and its population was 8.[69] The elevators were by far the most important services.

Woodlands municipality. The main trends in the municipality were the decline of Raeburn and the growth of Woodlands and Warren. Marquette remained important, and the new railway towns of Lake Francis, Erinview, and Ekhart were of some importance. There were few rural post offices (map 20), churches, and stores. Population figures are not available.

Warren was probably the most important center in the municipality. It was in the heart of the best agricultural land in the municipality, and, although its hinterland was small, it was a rich hinterland. For specialized services it was tributary to Winnipeg or Stonewall. Services offered included a bank, an elevator, a garage, a general store, a rural credit society, a butcher shop, and a livery.[70] The first two were by far the most important.

Woodlands was almost as important. It too had a bank, an elevator, and a butcher, but it also had at least two general stores, a lumber dealer, and a blacksmith, and it was the administrative center for the municipality. The advantages accruing to it because of its central position in the municipality were counterbalanced by the low agricultural potential of its hinterland which limited the amount of

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[69] Ibid.

[70] See footnote no. 59 above. Another source used for services offered in this municipality was Woodlands Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

business done in the town.

Marquette had the largest postal revenue of any of the centers in the municipality (map 20), but it appears to have been rather less important than Woodlands and Warren. There is documentary evidence of only one store and a blacksmith, and its grist mill and creamery were no longer operating.[71] Although it had a rich agricultural hinterland, its position peripheral to the municipality was still its main drawback.

Other centers were of limited importance. Raeburn's postal revenue (map 20) indicates it still served only its immediate vicinity, but no data are available on services offered. Lake Francis had at least one store, but it served only a small, poorly-developed hinterland. There were also stores in Erinview and Ekhart,[72] but they too suffered from the same drawbacks. There was no important center not located on a railway.

St. Laurent Municipality. The only important centers in the municipality were Oak Point and St. Laurent. The latter had increased in importance while Oak Point had declined.

St. Laurent had once more become the main center in the municipality. Services offered included seven stores, a blacksmith, the Roman Catholic church and school, the municipal office, and the only courthouse south of Eriksdale on the Gypsumville railway.[73] Probably the

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[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] See footnote no. 59 above. Another source used for this municipality was St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

main reasons for St. Laurent's increased importance as a service center were the decline of Oak Point and the increased importance of St. Laurent as a beach resort. There were several beaches within or immediately outside the limits of the lake lots on which there were well over two hundred lots owned by Winnipegers. Many of the lots had buildings on them--doubtless summer cottages.[74] The business from the summer tourist industry and the large population on the lake lots made up most of St. Laurent's trade.

Oak Point had continued to decline in relative and absolute importance as Lundar grew in importance and cut off its hinterland in that direction. A number of business establishments from Oak Point (mostly those owned by Icelanders) had been moved north to Lundar after the railway reached the latter. This loss of services together with the reduction in the size of Oak Point's hinterland had brought about Oak Point's decline. Only its continued importance as a summer resort prevented it from declining further. Its services included two stores, a hotel, and a lumber yard.[75]

Area north of St. Laurent Municipality. This area had, in the space of a decade, developed three service centers that challenged those of Rockwood in importance (map 20). Unfortunately, documentary information on services is limited, and most information was gained through interviews with residents who have lived in the area since 1921. As the information so gained was frequently contradictory, no detailed

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[74]St. Laurent Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

[75]See footnote no. 73 above.

discussion of services offered can be given for most of these centers. Population data are available only for Lundar and Ashern.

The largest and most important center in the area appears to have been Eriksdale (map 20). It had the advantage of a large hinterland, stretching twenty miles to the west and some distance to the east, where there was no competition. For some specialized services its hinterland also included the towns along the Hodgson railway to the east, Deerhorn to the south, and Mulvihill to the north. It also had the advantage of being located in, and the administrative center for, the most agriculturally advanced municipality north of Woodlands. Its services included a creamery, an elevator, a bank, a rural credit society, and a county courthouse.[76] The only competition it had for these services came from Lundar and Ashern and, in the case of its bank, from Mulvihill. Eriksdale also had a number of stores, some of them specialized, a hotel, and other services. Residents claim it was as populous as Lundar, so its population must have been in excess of 150.

Ashern was only slightly less important as a service center. It too had a bank, creamery, elevator, and courthouse, and as these were the furthest north of their kind in the Interlake,[77] the whole area to the north was to some extent tributary to Ashern. The elevator at Camper, nine miles to the south, somewhat limited Ashern's hinterland in that direction, and Moosehorn limited its hinterland for all but specialized services to the north. The main limitation on its hinterland was the

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[76]See footnote no. 59 above.

[77]Ibid.

short distance settlement extended to the east and west, though the less advanced state of agriculture in the area was also a drawback. Its small population (72 people)[78] reflected the short length of time the area had been settled and newness of the town itself.

Lundar was more populous (population 184)[79] than Ashern, but it was of approximately the same importance as a service center (map 20). Its services included a creamery, elevator, bank, rural credit society, four butchers, four stores, a shoemaker, a tinsmith, three doctors, a blacksmith, a miller (perhaps associated with the elevator), an implement dealer, and an "oil tank" selling gasoline.[80] It was basically an Icelandic town, serving the Icelandic population from Oak Point to Deerhorn. Its hinterland was slightly more limited than was Ashern's or Eriksdale's because of the lake a few miles to the west and competition from Inwood and Narcisse to the east. Its large population probably reflected the length of time the area had been settled (and thus the number of people retiring to the town) rather than its importance as a service center. Its importance as a retirement center is indicated by the large number of "farmers" living in the town. Most of these retired farmers were of Icelandic origin, and the fact that this was the only Icelandic center in the area was probably the main factor attracting them.

Secondary centers in the area were Camper, Mulvihill, Moosehorn,

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[78]Siglunes Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

[79]Coldwell Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

[80]Ibid. Also see footnote no. 59 above.

Grahamdale, Gypsumville, and Fairford. Each center had at least two or three stores and a boarding house in addition to a post office, a railway station, and a school.[81] An elevator at Camper and a bank at Mulvihill[82] served only local areas because of competition from the larger centers of Eriksdale and Ashern. Both Camper and Mulvihill were already suffering from this competition and were beginning to decline by 1921. Moosehorn was of about the same importance, but it was increasing in importance, in spite of its proximity to Ashern. Its main advantage seemed to be that it was basically a German town and so attracted much of the trade from the Germans to the west. It also had the advantage that there was no larger competing center to the north. Grahamdale, the next town to the north, had many of the same advantages, but its hinterland was more limited and it did not seem to be growing. Fairford served only the Indian reserves and a small agricultural hinterland immediately to the south, and it was most important as the main center for shipping fish. Gypsumville's importance stemmed from the presence of the gypsum mine, although it also had an important agricultural hinterland. All of these centers were more or less dependent on Ashern or Eriksdale for more specialized services.

The smaller centers on the railway had one or two stores, a school, a post office, and a railway station, and served only a very limited area.[83] Steep Rock, although it had a large postal revenue,

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[81]All local residents interviewed agreed there were at least this many services offered.

[82]Some of the Charts, etc. (see footnote no 37 above), pp. 19, 56.

[83]Based on interviews with early residents.

was actually of little importance as a service center. It was a company town with only one store, and its apparent importance came from the presence of the mine and mill. The other small railway centers were of equally limited importance, and depended on the location on the railway for their existence.

The centers not located on the railway were of negligible importance. There were many post offices (map 20) and schools, a few stores and churches, and an occasional community hall. In some isolated areas they were important as community centers, but only on a very local scale.

Central area along the principal meridian. Significant new developments in service centers had also taken place along the central railway leading to Hodgson. The two most important centers were Inwood and Fisher Branch, although Hodgson was of more than local importance. Other centers were in the hinterlands of these larger centers. Population data are not available for most of these centers.

Inwood had the largest postal revenue (map 20) and seems to have been the largest and most important center. There is documentary evidence that there was a creamery, an elevator, a rural credit society, a courthouse, a municipal office, and a general store,[84] but early residents agree there were a number of other services as well. The creamery brought in trade from a large area to the east and south and extending west as far as Shoal Lake. On the north this hinterland was limited by the competition from the creamery at Narcisse. The elevator served mostly an area to the north, as the elevators at Erinview and

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[84]See footnote no. 59 above.

Teulon provided competition to the south. Inwood's main advantages were its location in the most intensively cultivated area along the railway to Hodgson and the lack of competition from other large centers except Fisher Branch and Teulon. By 1921 it had grown large enough to attract new services locating in the area, and none of the nearby centers was liable to grow to a size to offer serious competition.

Fisher Branch may have been as large and important as Inwood, and early residents in the area generally agree it was even larger. The smaller postal revenue in Fisher Branch (map 20) may be due to the larger number of Ukrainians[85] in the hinterland, as the Ukrainians in general did not make much use of the postal service. Fisher Branch's elevator, creamery, and courthouse were the only ones within a radius of twenty miles,[86] and the hinterland for these services included all of Fisher Branch municipality as well as parts of the neighbouring municipalities. Most of its hinterland was a rich agricultural area with a fairly heavy population, and it was an important center for the shipping of pulpwood. The only competition it had for specialized services came from Hodgson, but this did not greatly limit its hinterland. Early residents agree there were several stores, a garage, and a livery, and some insist there were a number of other services as well. With all its natural advantages, it might have been expected that it would have grown more than it had. Probably the main factor retarding its growth was the arrival of the railway so late (in 1913 or 1914) at about the time the pre-war boom was collapsing. However, it appeared to be still growing in 1921.

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[85] See footnote no. 6 above.

[86] See footnote no. 59 above.

Hodgson, despite its railhead position, was of considerably less importance than was Fisher Branch. Its main disadvantages were competition with Fisher Branch to the south, the lack of settlement to the north, the poor agricultural area in which it was located, the late arrival of the railway (1914), and the lack of an elevator or creamery.[87] Its main hinterland was the immediate area and the Indian reserves to the north, and much of its apparent importance sprang from its position as the main shipping center for forest products from the large area to the north.

All the smaller centers along the railway north of Inwood, with the exception of Sandridge, were of about the same size and importance and had two or three stores, a school, and perhaps a few other services. Narcisse, with a rural credit society and a creamery in addition, had more services than any other center, but its location in an extremely poor agricultural area more than offset this advantage. Chatfield, Poplarfield, and Broad Valley owed their importance to their location in the forest belt, as they were all important centers for the shipping of forest products. There were 22 people in Chatfield and 14 in Broad Valley,[88] and, although no data are available for the other towns, they seem to have been of about the same size. Sandridge was rather smaller and had only one or two stores. Its hinterland was small and lightly populated.

The rural post offices (map 20), stores, and churches to be found in this area were mostly located west of the railway or north of Hodgson.

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[87] Ibid.

[88] Chatfield Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

With the possible exception of those at Fisher River, none of the rural services were of more than local importance.

Icelandic and Ukrainian area east of the principal meridian. This area had fallen behind in urban development, but it still had three centers of the same order as Lundar and Teulon. They may in fact have done more business than either of the latter two centers, as the Ukrainians made little use of the postal service, and the postal revenue (map 20) gives a very modest picture of the amount of business done. The towns were primarily Icelandic, but a few Ukrainian merchants were also to be found in each center.

The largest and most important of the three centers was Gimli. It had a population of 617 and had more services than either Riverton or Arborg. There were at least 11 "merchants", a livery, a courthouse, a number of fish sheds, two summer camps, an old folks' home, two public parks on the beach,[89] and, according to early residents, a flour mill, a garage, and other services. Its hinterland extended north to Arnes, south at least to the limit of the study area, and west to the swampy area in range 1E. The presence of the lake limited the possible size of its agricultural hinterland but made it an important center for fishing and lake transportation. Because so much of Gimli's hinterland was poorly developed agriculturally, Gimli did not do as much business as might have been expected. The large population in the town reflected the large number of farmers, fishermen, and retired people living there. Much of the town's trade and growth depended on its importance as a

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[89] See footnote no. 59 above. Also Village of Gimli, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

summer resort center. Although it was not growing rapidly, it was large enough to have greater power for attracting new services than did the smaller centers nearby, and its continued dominance in the area seemed assured.

Probably as important as a service center was the much smaller center of Arborg (population 92).[90] There were at least six stores, a blacksmith shop, a veterinary surgeon, two livery stables, an oil warehouse (where gasoline was sold), a grist mill, a bank, a rural credit society, a hotel, an orphanage, and the only elevator and the only creamery north of Rockwood and east of the principal meridian.[91] Its hinterland stretched from range 1E on the west to Lake Winnipeg on the east, and from township 19 or 20 on the south to the limit of settlement on the north. There was little competition from other centers in much of this area, and only the larger centers such as Fisher Branch, Riverton, and Gimli could compete with it for specialized services. Its postal revenue (map 20) was larger than that of Gimli mostly because of its importance as an agricultural service center, which in turn was mostly due to its location at railhead in the most agriculturally advanced part of the Icelandic and Ukrainian area.

Riverton, the third major center of the Icelandic area, had almost as many services as did Arborg, but it had a much smaller agricultural hinterland. During the period before 1914, when it had no railway, it fell behind Arborg and never caught up. The lake limited its agricultural

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[90]Bifrost municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

[91]Ibid. Also see footnote no. 59 above.

hinterland to the east, and to the west its hinterland was limited by competition with Arborg. Because of a smaller agricultural hinterland and a lesser degree of development in that hinterland, Riverton did not depend to such a great extent on farm trade. Its main hinterland was north and east along both sides of Lake Winnipeg. Riverton supplied the area with specialized services and served as the distributing point for the area. Riverton had at least six stores, a bank, a hotel, a boarding house, a livery, two pool rooms (one with a barber), a blacksmith shop, and at least six "fish houses" and a "freezer and icehouse" for handling fish.[92] Its population (192) included many fishermen, freighters, and retired people.[93] Riverton's importance was less as a local service center than as an entrepôt for the area to the north--a position it enjoyed because of (1) its location at railhead, and (2) the large fleet of boats stationed there.

None of the other Icelandic centers served a very large area or had many services. Hecla had two "icehouses and freezers" and was important as a fishing station subsidiary to Riverton. Hnausa had one store and four "icehouses and freezers", Arnes had three general stores and a church, Nes and Haas (two German centers on Lake Winnipeg) each had a church, and Silver had three stores.[94]

South of Silver were the Ukrainian centers of Rembrandt, Meleb, Kreuzburg, and Malonton. These centers were all very like Komarno in

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[92] Ibid.

[93] Bifrost Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921.

[94] Ibid. Also see footnote no. 59 above.

Rockwood in that they served a primarily Ukrainian area and most of the stores were owned by Ukrainians. Similarly, the postal revenue (map 20) does not give a correct measure of the importance of these centers, as other services were more important to the Ukrainians. No data are available on the population or the number of services offered in these centers, but early residents say that each center had from three to five stores. Kreuzburg appears to have been the largest and most important of these centers; it was centrally located in the Ukrainian area and was the administrative center for the municipality. All the centers owed much of their importance to their location on the railway, as most of the Ukrainian farmers of the surrounding area brought in pulpwood or cordwood for shipment to Winnipeg several times a week during the winter. It was their function as shipping centers that brought much of the trade to these centers. For specialized services, the Ukrainian settlers patronized the larger centers of Arborg, Gimli, or Teulon.

Many of the small stores, churches, and post offices off the railway were still in existence. Bifrost municipality had at least 6 rural stores,[95] Gimli municipality had at least 4 rural churches,[96] and there were probably a number of other rural services in the area. However, there was no important "center" not located on the railway.

Summary. The most important changes in the pattern of service centers from 1911 to 1921 was the growth of new centers in the northern

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[95]Bifrost Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921. (It does not show churches.)

[96]Gimli Municipality, Tax Assessment Roll: 1921. (It does not show stores.)

Interlake. Though none of the new towns could challenge Stonewall in size or volume of business done, the new towns as a whole did more business than did all the old, well-established centers in Rockwood. The dominance of the railway town had been established, and as a result the most obvious feature of the service center pattern was its linearity along the railways. By 1921 the basic pattern of Interlake service centers had been established, and even today the pattern is quite similar.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY

The human geography of the Interlake at any time between 1871 and 1921 reflected the influence of a number of factors--both cultural and physical--but the cultural element was dominant throughout. Interlake geography was also undergoing constant change.

The human geography of the Interlake in 1871 was mostly a reflection of the presence of the Indians and Métis--the most numerous people. Hunting and fishing were the main activities, transportation was very primitive, and Hudson Bay Company posts were the most important services. A few settlers of British origin had begun taking up farms in the south, but they were very few and had not yet become an important element.

However, these British settlers were in the majority by 1881, and they had completely altered the geography of the southern Interlake. Most of them were farmers and had a variety of farm animals and large acreages of crops. Some of these British settlers had also made quarrying important and had brought into being the first real Interlake service center--Stonewall. The arrival of the first railway and the use of steamboats on Lake Winnipeg had revolutionized transportation, and a number of post offices had been opened in the Interlake. Another new population element--the Icelanders--had been added on Lake Winnipeg. However, although large numbers had arrived by 1879, few remained in 1881. Most were engaged in fishing. The Indians and Métis had become, and were to remain, a minority of very secondary importance.

Ten years later the most important change was the increased number of Icelanders--not only on Lake Winnipeg, but between Shoal Lake and Lake Manitoba as well. The fisheries had increased in importance on both Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba, the farms of Rockwood and Woodlands had expanded production considerably, service centers had grown somewhat, and the quarries had cut down production, but basically the geography of the Interlake in 1891 was little different from its 1881 geography.

By 1901 new factors had come into play. A new ethnic group--the Ukrainians--had entered the Interlake and these new settlers were undertaking the first intensive pioneer agricultural enterprises in its forest zone. The Icelanders had increased in numbers and had become less dependent on fishing. In Rockwood the railway was extended northward and brought into being a new major service center--Teulon--and the increased use of machinery was expanding farm production. The first quarries (for gypsum and limestone) on Lake Manitoba had been opened and had brought an increased use of steamboats on the lake. The area occupied in the Interlake as a whole had expanded considerably during the last few years before 1901.

By 1911 the areas occupied had approximately doubled, and more people were engaged in pioneer subsistence agriculture than in any other activity. Associated with this was a boom in cordwood production, made possible by the construction of many miles of new railways. Population growth and new railways had brought into being many new service centers--almost all of them outside of Rockwood. The quarrying industry had experienced a great boom and many new quarries had opened--largely because of increased demand for stone and lime. The introduction of automobiles

brought important changes in road building techniques in Rockwood, and new settlement had made necessary the expansion of the road network throughout the Interlake. Probably the most striking change in Interlake geography in the decade ending in 1911 was the expansion of the settled area and the arrival of a large number of new ethnic groups.

By 1921 there were a number of other changes. The settled area had expanded considerably during the decade, though by 1921 it had begun to shrink. Three railways had been built or extended; in the south the number of autos had increased considerably and many roads had been gravelled, but in isolated areas transportation had changed little since 1871. A multitude of new service centers had come into being and many had become important towns. Pioneer forest agriculture remained the predominant way of life, though pulpwood cutting had become the most important supplementary source of income. Many quarries had closed, and agriculture had increased in relative importance. In 1921 the overall population was changing little, service centers had generally stopped growing, few new economic activities were being undertaken, no new railways were being built, and no new land was being taken up; the Interlake had entered a period of stagnation and/or consolidation marking the end of the frontier there.

From 1871 almost to 1921 the Interlake was being settled, pioneer farming was being practised by a large part of its people, service centers were developing, the transportation networks were being formed, and the population was growing. By 1921 the major features of the present-day geography of the Interlake had been established, and the present-day geography of the Interlake is still very much a reflection of this period of settlement.

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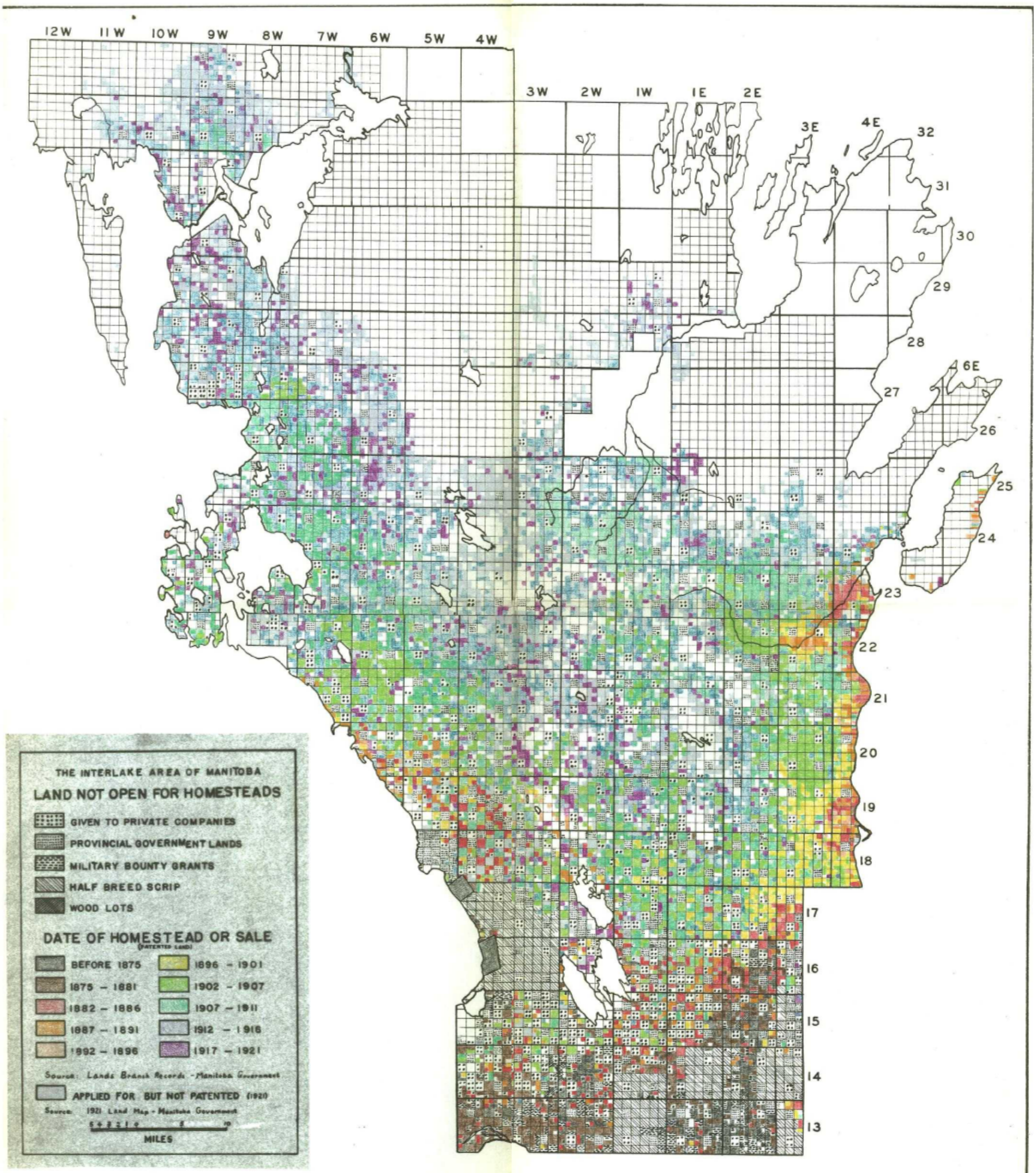
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GIVEN TO PRIVATE COMPANIES
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MILITARY BOUNTY GRANTS
HALF BREED SCRIP
WOOD LOTS
DATE OF HOMESTEAD OR SALE
(PATENTED LAND)
BEFORE 1875
1875 – 1881
1882 – 1886
1887 – 1891
1892 – 1896
1896 – 1901
1902 – 1907
1907 – 1911
1912 – 1916
1917 – 1921
Source: Lands Branch Records - Manitoba Government
APPLIED FOR BUT NOT PATENTED (1921)
Source: 1921 Land Map - Manitoba Government
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