

CHAPTER 2

LAND AND COLONIZATION COMPANIES

The mechanism for land sales and settlement used by both the Dominion and the railways was the land company and/or the colonization company. There were two periods during which these companies proliferated, the first one from 1882 to 1887, and the second from around 1902 to the 1920s.

1882 TO 1887

The land companies of this first wave had their roots in the *Dominion Land Regulations* of 1881, which identified the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and homestead lands. These regulations allowed companies to purchase lands outside the railway belt for colonization purposes. A previous initiative to establish colonies, in 1872, had been abandoned in 1877 and then revived. One of the purposes of the new colonization movement, from the government's point of view, was to facilitate construction of lines of communication, such as roads and bridges, between settled and unsettled areas. Twenty-six companies received charters in 1882 to acquire odd-numbered sections outside the railway belt. The companies could arrange to purchase these lands at \$2 per acre, in five instalments, but, if after five years, the company succeeded in placing homesteaders on the even-numbered sections, they could receive a rebate of \$1 per acre (see Macdonald 1966, 237).

At the time, the CPR had its own Land Department, which handled sales from its grant of land. When it began its sales in 1881, the flat price per acre was \$2.50, regardless of quality or location. The purchase contract required a down payment of one-sixth of the purchase price, and the rest in five annual instalments. Improvements were to be made over a four-year period, including the cultivation of three-quarters of the cultivatable land, enabling the buyer to apply for a rebate of \$1.25 per acre. Speculators who wanted to acquire the lands at \$2.50 per acre could do so, though, by reselling the land, they forfeited the rebate. The company's main purpose was to sell land to "real" settlers rather than to speculators.

In 1882, however, the price structure was changed and the prices varied from \$2.50 to \$7 per acre, with a higher price attached to lands with no cropping conditions and those in close proximity to the lines. Rebates were allowed for cultivation. The Land Department put a clause in the land

regulations giving the vendor the right to cancel agreements if the requirements for improvements and cultivation were not met. Prices were reduced in 1888 (the minimum price dropped to \$2 per acre) and again in 1892, because of poor land sales. There was a rise in land purchases around the 1890s, but it dissolved when the 1893 depression began (Hedges 1939, 67-78; Eagle 1989, 174-76).

At the same time, however, the Land Department adopted changes that permitted speculators to acquire large blocks at flat rates, in accordance with the federal policy allowing land companies to operate. These blocks had to be at least 12 miles from the line, and could be bought at \$5 per acre, payable on instalments, at 6 per cent per annum interest. If half of the land was cultivated and crops reaped within five years, the balance of the purchase monies (above \$1.25 per acre) could be set aside. The CPR actually sold over 800,000 acres to colonization companies, but the majority of these contracts were cancelled in 1886 (Eagle 1989, 176-77).

The **Canada North West Land Company** of Great Britain was an exception. In 1882, the CPR president made an arrangement with William Scarth, E.B. Osler, John Kennedy Tod, and Oliver H. Northcote of New York for a sale of 5 million acres across the prairies. The purchasers acquired the land at \$3 per acre and transferred their assets to the London-based Canada North West Land Company. This sale was reduced to 2.2 million acres in 1883, to be selected from designated lands between range 33 west of the first meridian and Moose Jaw (southern Saskatchewan). Unlike the other colonization companies, this one had no colonization requirements.

When the land was selected, it was sold in six instalments at 6 per cent interest. Land sales were not profitable; by 1892 the company had sold only 274,553 acres. In 1893 control of the company passed to the CPR, with William Van Horne as President and E.B. Osler as Vice-President. The land was then sold through the CPR Land Department, run by L.A. Hamilton until 1900, and then by Frederick T. Griffin (Eagle 1989, 177-78; Hedges 1939, 70-79).

Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, was settled by one of these companies, the **Temperance Colonization Company**, a group of temperance advocates from Toronto. They received a land grant in 1883, and went to the new site in 1883 and 1884. Eighty families homesteaded the area, which would become a city, and soon established a distribution centre. When the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway reached the town in 1890, it acquired the means to attract businesses and residents (Macdonald 1966, 250-51).

The **Qu'Appelle and Long Lake Land Company** was the companion to the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway. The company originated in the Qu'Appelle Valley Wheat Growing Company. The directors were William Pugsley, William Pugsley Jr, Robert Doull, Thomas Gibbs, Frank E. Biggs, Hugh McMahon, Thomas Wesley Jackson, Leigh Richmond Harrison (Pugsley's law partner in New Brunswick), and Gilbert Pugsley. Of these, the Pugsleys had the majority interest in the railway companies. The original application for land came from Nova Scotia MP Robert Doull and Senator Thomas Gibbs (NA, RG 95, vol. 2930). The only Saskatchewan person was Jackson, at that time a Dominion Lands Agent at Qu'Appelle. He became a Member of Parliament in 1886, and also became president of the Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Railway (NA, RG 15, vol. 300, file 5043).

The company acquired land around the Long Lake area of Saskatchewan, near the land through which the rail line would pass. Because of delays in the survey and of the alleged poor quality of some of the first land selected, Deputy Minister A.M. Burgess allowed some substitutions in 1883. Gilbert Pugsley, based in Winnipeg, acted as agent for the company, along with George Terry Marsh, a Winnipeg realtor; by 1886 they had relocated to Regina. Robert Doull was paid as resident agent at Long Lake, although it not clear whether he actually moved from Nova Scotia. The company was not very successful in finding settlers, as the efforts of the Pugsleys were focused on raising money for the rail and steamship company. The company realized that transportation into the area was essential for effective settlement, so placed its priorities there. When the contract was rescinded, the Pugsleys appealed to have their costs of building a bridge across the Qu'Appelle River, and other investments, reimbursed. This request was denied, on the grounds that they had not colonized and that the rail-line expenses were dealt with through the arrangements with the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway. Many of the expenses listed pertained to trips to the United States and England to solicit investors. The Pugsleys acquired investments by the Land Corporation of Canada. The Qu'Appelle Company gave the Land Corporation a townsite of one section, plus an additional tract, in return for its investments. They also made an arrangement with the Sussex Land and Stock Company, incorporated in 1884 to establish and operate a ranch in the area; the shareholders were Gilbert and William Pugsley, Robert Doull, Oliver Stone, and George Terry Marsh (NA, RG 95, vol. 2655).

The company remained in business after 1886, and in 1888 it made another appeal for a return on its investment and was turned down. Jackson, one of the original investors, indicated to the Secretary of the Interior in 1887 that he had never been informed of the scrip received in 1886 in settlement of accounts with the Dominion. Similarly, John Ferguson of Nova Scotia said that he had invested his money through Doull, and had never received a return (NA, RG 15, vol. 300, file 5043).

The company ceased to be active around 1902, and the firm of Osler, Hammond and Nanton wound up the business and sold the remainder of the land. Its solicitors were Munson, Allan, Laird, and Davis of Winnipeg (Saskatchewan Archives Board [SAB], RG 348, file 5126).

The **Edmonton and Saskatchewan Land Company of Canada** was owned primarily by W.B. Scarth, but Alexander Morris, the Treaty Commissioner from Treaties 4 and 6, had stock in the company as well (NA, RG 95, vol. 2555). One of the investors, George Gordon Dustan of Nova Scotia, applied directly to John A. Macdonald for the land, even before the company was formed, and the land they acquired was in the Edmonton district, just east of the city and some distance from the railway at that time. The company seems to have had an affiliation with the Canada North West Land Company, through Scarth, as some correspondence appears on the letterhead of the latter company (see NA, RG 15, vol. 273, file 427767-1).

George A. Simpson, Dominion Lands Surveyor, was hired as agent for the company at the same time that he was surveying for the Interior and Indian Departments. When this involvement was brought to the attention of Interior Department officials in 1883, they determined that there was no conflict of interest because Simpson held no shares in the company, in spite of a clause in the *Dominion Lands Act* prohibiting employees from purchasing land or acting as agents for others interested in buying land. Simpson did have shares in the British North American General Farming and Colonizing Company, however.

Alexander Morris, William Scarth, and James McLennan wrote to Prime Minister Macdonald on May 30, 1883, asking for a change in the proposed system of survey for the district because they believed that the river lot system proposed would not be in their interests. Later, they also applied for a change in the original allotment of land; they gave up two townships and acquired three, for the reason that the original two were separated from the remainder of the tract. The three townships they

applied for, and received, were all surveyed by Simpson, their own agent (see NA, RG 15, vol. 273, file 427767-1).

When the company's contract for the land was cancelled in 1886 and settlement with the Dominion was being arranged, the company asked to be treated as a separate case and to receive consideration for the costs of salaries, expenses, and capital expenditures. It did receive credit for one-third of its expenses, paid in an additional land grant. Morris was, at this time, President of the company and was instrumental in making this special arrangement. He was also authorized by special Order in Council in 1887 to give the patented lands to shareholders in exchange for a surrender of their shares to the company (see NA, RG 15, vol. 273, file 427767-1).

The **Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company** had several directors who would have prominence elsewhere in western development: E.B. Osler was the largest shareholder, but William Mulock, who would act as Minister of the Interior when Sifton was away, was also a director. This company had its head office in Toronto and had an initial capital investment of \$1 million, a much larger investment than most companies made (NA, RG 68, lib. 84, p. 154). It acquired some of the CPR lands in 1882, as the Canada North West Land Company also did. By 1894, it had had to surrender much of this land back to the CPR.

The **Qu'Appelle Valley Farming Company** was an interesting firm, associated with the Bell Farm company. William Robert Bell, a farmer from Brockville, Ontario (James Smart's home town), and H.J. Eberts enlisted other local Ontario farmers and merchants to establish the Qu'Appelle company, with a capital stock of \$600,000. They made an arrangement with the CPR and the Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company to acquire a 9-square-mile area in the railway belt. These odd-numbered sections were purchased at \$2.50 per acre. They also purchased the even-numbered sections from the Department of the Interior at the rate of \$1.25 per acre, and agreed to place 128 families per township in this tract, within five years. The money was to be paid in five instalments, at 6 per cent interest on the unpaid balance. They attracted settlers by offering shares in the company. The company established the model Bell Farm 12 miles from Indian Head, Saskatchewan, a series of individual holdings that were farmed collectively. The farm had 14,000 acres under crop by 1885 and 106 settlers. The operation was massive at the time (NA, RG 15, vol. 270, file 41273/2).

One of the early directors was Edgar Dewdney, who was elected in 1883 along with Senator Northwood of Chatham, Thomas Howard, William Boyle, Arthur Eden, and Duncan Macarthur of Winnipeg. In that year the Interior Department agreed to sell to the company section 24 in Township 18, range 13, west of the 2nd meridian, at the rate of \$8 per acre. The sale was subject to the usual rights of the CPR in the section for the station, road bed, and other railway purposes. Interior agreed to reimburse the Qu'Appelle Company for any land taken out of the section by the CPR. This acreage amounted to 30.52 acres. The remainder of the section, which was in addition to the original grant, became company property and took on additional value because of its proximity to the station grounds. It appears, from a letter written on August 21, 1953, from W.A. Bell, Manager of the Canada Trust Company, Winnipeg, that his father and the company sold the townsite lands (Indian Head) to the CPR at a profit. It is worth considering whether Edgar Dewdney was one of those who benefited from the transaction (NA, RG 15, vol. 270, file 41273/2).

Matters got considerably more complicated after 1884, when the company began to experience some losses through fire, horse theft, and crop failure. Land already occupied by squatters was, in some cases, bought out, and the company negotiated with the Interior Department to get some of the land patented in the name of the company without paying the balance of monies owed. The company made plans to establish an agricultural college, and asked for concessions to support the endeavour. It pointed out that some of the land reverting back to Interior was improved, and that the value of these improvements should also be considered in the amount of land patented to the company. It claimed to have hired over 200 Indians to assist in agricultural operations. In addition, the company calculated that the farm itself would be a good advertisement for the Department. The company also applied for a rebate on interest. In 1886, the Minister agreed to take the money paid by the company to date, apply it to a block of land to be patented to the company, and take back the balance of the land, including the land patented to the CPR. The company then asked to have the lands it had returned added back to the venture, since it was raising money in England on the promise of the agricultural college. Apparently this request was successful; although the company did pay the balance owing on these lands, it succeeded in getting a rebate on interest. The plans for the farm were not successful, however, and the company lost most of the land before the turn of the century (NA, RG 15, vol. 270, file 41273/2; RG 68, lib. 85, p. 116; lib. 94, p. 108; Macdonald 1966, 249-50).

The **Canadian Colonization Company** was formed by a group of Manitoba investors, including A.A.C. LaRivière, who pressed to have the Roseau River reserve surrendered, and Charles de Cazes, who became the Indian Agent at the Edmonton Agency. It acquired 200,000 acres of land.

The history of the other 26 companies will not be described here because they had disappeared by 1887, when their five-year contracts expired. Most companies had multiple directors, to spread the risk, often with a combination of politicians and businessmen. Of the total number of applicants in 1882, there were five senators, 24 parliamentarians, and seven members of provincial legislatures (Macdonald 1966, 238). The companies can be summarized as follows:

- The companies attracted investors from Great Britain, eastern Canada, and the eastern United States.
- The companies had to come to an agreement with the Department of the Interior as to the selection of lands, and this consensus involved political pressures.
- The companies' managers had to register homesteads in the same manner that dominion lands agents did.
- The directors of the companies, mostly speculators with limited investments, could resell the odd-section lands at a profit when the demand arose.
- The companies were inspected by the homestead inspector to ascertain their degree of progress in selling lands and attracting homesteaders. Some companies simply told the inspector not to bother, as they had no homesteaders.
Rufus Stephenson was appointed Inspector of Colonization Companies, and he would pay visits to ascertain progress. In the returns submitted to him in 1883, there are lists of homesteaders, along with improvements; most cropped from 2 to 10 acres, if they made any improvements at all. In an article in the *Winnipeg Times*, October 24, 1883, Stephenson was interviewed about his inspections. He found that 11 companies were doing well, having attracted 100 settlers each. He commented that he did not understand why some people saw the colonizations as land-grabbing enterprises, as "all the land they hold is a mere speck on the map" (NA, RG 15, vol. 306, file 65600).
- Some companies were criticized for fraudulent advertising to attract immigrants (Macdonald 1966, 239).
- The companies failed because there was simply no demand for land that was at a great distance from rail lines, and, since companies could only select lands outside the railway belt, this was a built-in disadvantage to the attraction of settlers. Roads and improvements were high cost, as was the provision of relief to settlers when crops failed, and companies

overextended themselves. The railway companies were selling land closer to the rail lines at considerably cheaper prices (Macdonald 1966, 241). The only ones that lasted, such as the Edmonton and Saskatchewan Land Company, were those that could forecast when and where the lines would run, and attracted settlers and speculators on that basis, or those that had some direct affiliation with the railways.

- When the government cancelled the deals with the companies in 1886, the companies were divided into two classes, at their own request. One class had paid only the first instalment, and had not put homesteaders on the land, and they received scrip for land equivalent to the value of the instalment paid. The second class had succeeded in putting some settlers and making some improvements, and they were entitled to scrip equal to their investment, plus a remission of \$160 per settler and to the expenditure actually made in developing the grant. In total, the companies received 438,000 acres of land and scrip valued at \$376,524 for placing 1243 settlers (Macdonald 1966, 242). Several companies appealed to the Department of the Interior and to politicians to have some of their costs for improvement compensated.

1902 TO THE 1920S

Throughout this era there were three types of land buyers:

- The *bona fide* settler was sought by both government and industry to farm the land in the fertile belt. The ultimate purpose of settlement was to get these individuals, recruited from Great Britain, Scandinavia, Eastern Europe, eastern Canada, and the U.S. Mid-West, to come and farm the land. These settlers would provide traffic for the rail lines, markets for consumer goods, and products for the cattle and grain industries.
- The local speculator settled in one of the towns or cities and made his living by the sale of goods and services. They were lawyers, realtors, bankers, brokers, and merchants. This group, along with farmers and ranchers with large and successful holdings, made up the layer of society from which patronage appointments and political candidates were culled. These individuals would buy up lands, including reserve lands, on short-term speculation.
- The major speculators and land companies had considerably more capital, could buy land in blocks, and hold it for longer periods. Some of these speculators were also bankers and businessmen who had other careers, but they usually worked in partnership to raise sufficient capital to make large investments, often in areas remote from their home base. These men were the major buyers of land in the period before 1906.

The first group of colonization companies, between 1882 and 1886, were handicapped by the distance of their holdings from transportation centres and by high development costs. A few survived into the next century if they had affiliations with the railway companies or were situated where speculation would be profitable on the lands they retained in the 1886 contract cancellations.

After the turn of the century, however, the railway companies showed renewed interest in having companies sell land in their land grants. The pace of immigration was increasing, especially from eastern Canada and the United States. A second group of companies that incorporated between 1901 and 1906 invested Canadian and American capital, primarily. Many had dual U.S. and Canadian incorporations, their purpose being to bring Americans to the Canadian West. They used a system of advertising, subsidized transportation, and commissioned agents to pull in settlers. Some of the investors already had extensive experience selling U.S. railway lands, particularly those of the Northern Pacific (Hedges 1939, 141-43).

Between 1901 and 1906, for example, the CPR sold 2.3 million acres to 13 different companies, and sales escalated. The use of other companies continued until 1913, when the CPR reverted to selling only to “settlers.” The CPR sold the land at about \$2.50 to \$4.75 per acre, and it was then sold again at a profit to the companies.

Three of the companies active in this period included:

- The **Canadian American Land Company**, headed by Beiseker, Davidson, and Martin, three speculators from North Dakota, acquired land on the CPR Pasqua section in eastern Assiniboia.
- J. Heber **Haslam**, a Canadian, bought and sold land south of Weyburn. Haslam had an office at 312 Jackson Street in Minneapolis (in the same block as the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company). He wrote to Sifton in January 1905 with a request to buy odd-numbered sections so he could establish whole communities. It was not clear from the correspondence whether he was asking Sifton for assistance in getting approval or for investment (NA, MG 27, Sifton Papers, D-II-15, C579, 143987).
- The **Northwest Colonization Company**, headed by Minneapolis businessmen O.A. Robertson and F.B. Lynch, acquired land in southern Saskatchewan and Manitoba. It had a minimum sales clause of \$4.00 per acre to keep it from underselling the Canada North West Land Company, the primary CPR company.

Others companies active in this period were the following:

Union Trust Company of Toronto
Ontario and Saskatchewan Land Corporation
Great West Land Company
Alberta Central Land Corporation
Alberta and Saskatchewan Colonization Company
Western Canada Land Company
Luse Land Company (see below) (Eagle 1989, 185-86)

THE COMPANIES

Saskatchewan Valley Land Company

The company that has garnered the most attention from this period is the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company. Along with a series of affiliates, it sold land from the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway grant and, later, from the Canadian Northern Railway (CNOR) grant. It included both Saskatchewan and U.S. speculators and required the cooperation of Clifford Sifton, James Smart, and J.G. Turiff to allow the concessions it needed. Although it does not appear that Sifton had any direct affiliation with this company, he did put money into other enterprises headed by the same group of gentlemen.

The Saskatchewan Valley Land Company was incorporated in January 1913. The original directors included Z.A. Lash, counsel for the CNOR; Miller Lash, his son; Massey Morris, banker; Byron Edmund Walker, banker; James Stellar Lovell, accountant; and William Bain, bookkeeper. In addition, there were others who seem to have worked in Lash's firm (Blake, Lash, Anglin and Cassels). All of these individuals were from Toronto, and they began with \$3 million in capital investments (NA, RG 68, lib. 158, p. 407).

The company appears to have been acquired by a syndicate, though the actual arrangement is not clear. No records have been found which would indicate whether Lash and his associates continued to have a financial interest. Lash was a major investor in the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway, and had begun to acquire stock in that company in 1902 as well, accumulating a majority interest by 1906.

The syndicate included Colonel Andrew D. Davidson, a Canadian by birth who had already had extensive experience in railway real estate; his brother-in-law A.D. McRae of Duluth, also a Canadian; McRae's father-in-law, George Howe; Davidson's brother Alexander R. Davidson, of Little Falls, Montana; George F. Piper, of Minneapolis; Walter Douglas, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, president of Quaker Oats; D.H. McDonald, banker and realtor, Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan; A.J. Adamson, merchant, politician, and scrip speculator, Rosthern, Saskatchewan; and A.L. Warner.

The Americans became interested in Saskatchewan land when Adamson and McDonald sent samples of Canadian wheat to Quaker Oats, where it gained Douglas's attention. The samples were

forwarded on the advice of C.W. Speers, the General Colonization Agent at Winnipeg and a political associate of Sifton's (see below) (Hedges 1939, 144-45).

The syndicate first acquired a block of land from the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway. This block, 840,000 acres, was purchased at \$1.53 per acre. This particular rail company had threatened litigation in the mid-1890s over the quality of the lands in its grant reserve. The company had rejected some of its 1.6-million-acre land grant and wanted new lands elsewhere. The issue was still outstanding when the syndicate offered to buy the rejected lands. The 98,800-acre land grant of the Saskatchewan and Western Railway was also acquired; this small railway linked Minnedosa to Rapid City, Manitoba, a distance of 16 miles; the land, granted in 1894, was located in Saskatchewan. The lands purchased by the syndicate were located primarily between Regina and Saskatoon, were unsettled at the time, and were not considered particularly arable.

Correspondence from February and March 1902 from J.G. Turiff, Commissioner of Lands, to Sifton seems to indicate that Turiff was involved in the scheme, along with Speers, the syndicate, and possibly J.O. Smith, Commissioner of Immigration in Winnipeg. On February 16, 1902, Speers wrote to Sifton on Smith's letterhead, calling Sifton's attention to a map of the lands between Saskatoon and Regina. He said that the land had been considered unfit by the company, and this discontent had led to difficulty between the railway company and the government. Speers said he was convinced that the country was good and recommended that Sifton "take over this land feeling assured that we can settle it and dispose of it in the interest of the Department. . . . I anticipate that some of the country referred to will be settled during the coming summer and the value of the odd-numbered sections very materially enhanced" (NA, Sifton Papers, MG 27, D II 15, C544, Speers correspondence 1902).

Turiff wrote Sifton a private letter on March 8, 1902, from New York, saying that he was looking for investors, but was not having much luck attracting the eastern capitalists. He thought they might be more successful with the St Paul/Minneapolis people. "I have a couple of men at work on it, but their only chance is to organize a company and raise money by bond, and I do not consider it feasible; I am leaving for home tomorrow . . . [not legible] of not being able to purchase from Ryway on reasonable terms, could the Gov't. not buy it and sell it in a block at a small advance, on reasonable terms, I am sure enough could be sold in next two years to pay it off. Should anything now

turn up will advise. . . . Our reason for Govt. buying would be to get rid of law suit, and make land available.” Later, on March 23, Turiff wrote from Winnipeg, saying he had spoken with Mr Nanton in reference to their grant and that he thought they would lower their figure by 25 cents per acre. On March 26 Turiff sent a telegram to Sifton from Sintaluta, North-West Territories, in cipher: “Secure without delay Regina, Long Lake land grant or hold in abeyance until I reach Ottawa on Saturday” (NA, Sifton Papers, MG 27, D II 15, C545, Turiff correspondence).

The company then approached the Department of the Interior, on April 12, 1902, for a 250,000-acre tract of even-numbered sections along the railway, interspersed with railway lands, which they proposed to sell with the odd-numbered sections in the grant. It is important to note that the company would not select all the even-numbered sections in the reserve, but only part of them. The rest would remain open for homesteading. They offered a 20 per cent deposit on a purchase price of \$1 per acre, and promised to place 20 settlers in each township where the homestead lands were retained by the government, and 12 settlers per township in the even sections they purchased.

The letter, written on April 12, postdated a letter to Sifton from J.O. Smith recommending that the government employ land companies to sell these particular lands, which were still empty. In fact, the original April 12 proposal from the syndicate to buy land appears to have been written on Colonization Agent C.W. Speers’s typewriter, and it was posted from Winnipeg. It was followed immediately by letters from Speers, endorsing the application and suggesting his own role in masterminding the idea, and from James Smart. Smart met with the syndicate at the end of April and made a few changes in a proposed agreement. He would be an ardent advocate of the company, pushing to have lands surveyed for them for selection and recommending land exchanges as needed. Other researchers have speculated that some of the November 1902 correspondence from Davidson to Smart was written on Smart’s typewriter. Apparently Davidson used Sifton’s secretary, A.P. Collier, to send him names of voters in Ontario for mailing distributions (NA, RG 15, vol. 857, file 195671/1; Hedges 1939, 145-46).

The proposal was somewhat unusual in that the company proposed to buy lands normally reserved for homesteading, and then to place settlers on these lands in conjunction with their sales of railway lands. Smart, in his endorsement, pointed out that this plan would bring unexpected revenue to the government. Sifton recommended the sale, and it was put through Cabinet in little

more than a month after the original proposal. A reserve of 250,000 acres was set aside for the speculators. The original partners in the business, Davidson and McRae, forwarded “half-breed” scrip for their deposit to Canada. Turiff told the local land agent at Regina not to locate any half-breed land scrip on the land reserved by the company. Further scrip payments garnered by Adamson from the syndicate, Osler, and Alloway (all scrip dealers) were used for payment. In 1904, payment on the lands was made by the firm of A. W. Fraser of Ottawa; Fraser was one of Sifton’s co-investors in several projects and the man whom Turiff recommended in 1902 as a potential buyer of the indemnity lands of the railway company (NA, RG 15, vol. 857, file 195671/1; Hedges 1939, 145-46).

Because the Qu’Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway had not been satisfied with the quality of lands in the original grant, it had asked for replacement lands and had filed litigation; this is the lawsuit referred to by Turiff in March 1902. According to a memorandum from the Canada Saskatchewan Land Company of May 30, 1910, the allocation of additional replacement lands in 1902 by the Department of the Interior, endorsed by Sifton, was not communicated to the company directly, but rather to the company assigned to sell the land, so it is possible that the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company undertook this selection as part of its selection of the even-numbered sections under the purchase arrangement (NA, RG 15, D-II-1, vol. 305, file 65383).

It seems possible that Smith, Speers, Turiff, Smart, and Sifton were all involved, as well as Adamson and McDonald in Saskatchewan. Adamson was Turiff’s brother-in-law and business associate, and McDonald was involved at the same time with Smart in another scheme to place Jewish settlers in the Qu’Appelle Valley. Speers was the one who, as noted above, had approached the American capitalists in Minnesota. According to the Sifton correspondence, Speers had made other business proposals to Sifton and may have been involved in other ventures. Sifton was obviously involved in securing the arrangements, perhaps investing cash as well. Turiff was involved in negotiating the purchase. A letter to A.P. Collier of July 7, 1902, places him in St Paul, meeting with Colonel Davidson. In a letter to Sifton of September 6, 1902, Smith referred to a proposal for a business venture involving himself, Smart, W.T.R. Preston, overseas immigration officer for the Department of Interior, Frank Pedley, William White, and Sifton. He did not specify what the proposal was, however, and it was not retained in the file (NA, Sifton Papers, MG 27, D II 15, C544, J.O. Smith correspondence 1902).

The method pursued by the company was to sell the railway lands and to “give” away the homestead lands; there were complaints that settlers were compelled to buy land in order to homestead. The lure of “free homesteads” was used to bring settlers in, although the company denied pressuring people to buy lands or picking up cancellations. It could sell not only the odd-numbered sections but some of the even sections acquired from the government as well. Blocks of lands were sold to other firms and speculators, who then resold them. The syndicate also asked for commissions for placing homesteaders on government lands, in spite of the original agreement. It was able to pressure the government successfully to subdivide some of the land that had not been completely surveyed, and its success in importing people was used as a lever (NA, RG 15, vol. 857, file 695671/2).

There is no doubt that the firm employed powerful enticement techniques, including extensive advertising in the United States and transportation into the area from the United States. It also built two hotels within its blocks of land to attract visitors. Subagents were employed in recruiting farmers (see Martin 1938, 324-27). The company not only met but exceeded the homestead requirements. The first large settlement in the area was by a group of German Catholics from Minnesota.

The lands were sold at \$8-12 per acre. Those who did not pay the full amount at purchase paid 6 per cent interest on five instalments. Purchasers were required to pay survey fees, and the agents in the United States were paid commissions. It was an extensive, costly, yet lucrative deal, and it garnered criticisms from the Conservative Party. The government had accepted scrip as payment for lands, from which the foreign speculators were deriving great profits. Adamson, one of the directors, was running for the House of Commons as a Liberal. Sifton defended the company in the House in 1904, saying that the government had received revenue that it would otherwise not have got and that the receipt of scrip was not important, since the government would have to redeem the paper (Hedges 1939, 149).

The sales work of the company had the effect of enhancing the value of adjacent land. One of those who entered a homestead in 1902 in land near the reserve, and near Saskatoon, was James Smart. Allegations were made that some of the company’s homestead entries were bogus, entered by those who did not intend to farm the land but only to speculate on it. Some Canadians complained that they were denied homesteads in the area by the Dominion Lands Agent in Regina on the basis

of the company's reserved lands; they believed this discrimination was giving unfair advantage to Americans (NA, RG 15, vol. 857, file 195671/1). By the time these criticisms emerged, the affairs of the company had largely been taken over by its replacement, a new firm with the same syndicate, but with the capacity to enlarge its operations.

Saskatchewan Valley and Manitoba Land Company

The Saskatchewan Valley and Manitoba Land Company (SVMLC) was formed under the same procedures as those for the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company. The incorporation in 1903 was for a company directed by Massey Morris, Robert Cecil Hamilton Cassels, Miller Lash, William Bain, James Lovell, and other employees of the Blake, Lash, Anglin and Cassels firm (except Z.A. Lash). Again, the same American/Canadian syndicate took over, using this law firm as its counsel in the initial phases. Two of the original directors, William Bain and James Lovell, served as secretary and chair of the Executive Committee, so the link between the charter directors and the syndicate continued in some form. The firm did not register in Saskatchewan until 1907, long after it had begun to do business there, because of confusion over the necessary papers (SAB, RG 348, file 4585; NA, RG 68, lib. 182, p. 51).

The company then proceeded to acquire land from several sources:

- 1 It acquired unsold lands from the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company, amounting to 199,430 acres at \$3 per acre. The new company simply took over the obligations of the old one, buying out its assets, and assuming the Jackson Street address in St Paul, Minnesota. This process was gradual, being completed only in 1909. It then also acquired:
 - The 98,800-acre tract that had first belonged to the Saskatchewan and Western Railway. Angus W. Fraser, barrister, of Ottawa, and close Sifton associate, seems to have had a part interest in this land, because some of the payments were made to him. Fraser was apparently representing the "Saskatchewan Valley and Manitoba Railway Company." This land was sold at an average price of \$7.18 per acre.
 - The 320 acres belonging the National Trust Company, as well as miscellaneous amounts of land belonging to private individuals (NA, RG 30, vol. 2459, Saskatchewan Valley Black Book).
- 2 The company also acquired, in 1903, an assignment of 911,161 acres from CNOR. The SVMLC would sell the land, at not less than \$5 per acre, and then reimburse CNOR at \$3 per acre plus one-third of gross receipts above \$3 per acre. Essentially, it was selling land on

commission. All the transactions were run through the National Trust Company (NA, RG 30, vol. 2459, Saskatchewan Valley Black Book).

In 1905 the agreement was cancelled and unsold land was returned to CNOR, with the provision that the land company could keep the profit it might have made if all the unsold lands had been sold for \$5.20 per acre (Regehr 1976, 228). The company made a profit of \$1.3 million on these lands.

After 1905, the partnership of Davidson and McRae continued to act as land agents for CNOR.

- 3 In 1904, the company entered into a contract with Mackenzie, Main and Co., Ltd., to sell townsite lots. Within a year they had secured control of over 200 town sites along the CNOR route. Mackenzie and Main set up a “new company,” with Davidson and Hugh Sutherland of Winnipeg, and sold the townsite lots to the new company, which then entered into an arrangement with SVMLC to sell them, in return for shares in this new company. The firm name is not available. (NA, RG 30, vol. 2459, Saskatchewan Valley Black Book; see also Hedges 1939, 150).

The legal work was done later by Metcalfe, Sharpe and Stacpoole, who formed the splinter Saskatchewan Valley and Alberta Land Company, and also by Munson, Allan, Laird, and Davis, who did legal work for CNOR.

The stock ledgers of the company in 1907 list, in addition to the directors of the syndicate, a number of relations in Duluth, Minneapolis, and Winnipeg. Z.A. Lash had some shares, as did Hugh Sutherland of Winnipeg, William White of Winnipeg (Vice-President, CPR), J.W. Leonard (manager, western division of CPR), and A.W. Fraser, Lily Turiff (probably J.G.’s wife), George Bulyea of Edmonton, and David Wood of Winnipeg.

The board changed over the years. D.H. McDonald of Fort Qu’Appelle was treasurer until 1909 and kept his stock until 1911, when he dropped it, and then reacquired stock in 1913. Chester Latham of Winnipeg became secretary. D.B. Hanna, of CNOR, acquired shares in 1911, as he did with the Qu’Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway. C.E.F. Brande and C.E. McPherson of Winnipeg were also directors after 1915 (SAB, RG 348, file 4585; NA, RG 68, lib. 182, p. 51). Employees included a “Miss Smart” and an E.R. Collier (NA, RG 30, vol. 2459, Saskatchewan Valley Black Book).

The company used the same sales techniques that its predecessor began and showed a profit of between \$1.47 and \$2.85 per acre (NA, RG 30, vol. 2459, Saskatchewan Valley Black Book). By 1914 its finances had begun to fail, and in 1920 it showed a loss. The partnership of Davidson and

McRae dissolved in 1914, but it still held a lot of land. The company was struck off the provincial record in 1929 (SAB, RG 348, file 4585; NA, RG 68, lib. 182, p. 51).

Canada Saskatchewan Land Company

The Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway and Steamboat Company (QLLS) had lands other than those already discussed to sell as well. As part of the original financing agreement with the Dominion, an area of 493,269.34 acres was identified as indemnity lands. These lands were held as security against the fulfilment of a transportation contract with the government. In effect, if the company did not provide services with the \$80,000 per year subsidy being provided by the Department of the Interior, these lands could be retained by the Dominion. Interestingly, the transportation contract included the carriage of supplies for Indians under Treaty 6. These indemnity lands, as will be seen, were the subject of protracted disputes among the company, the Department of the Interior, and CNOR; they were not confirmed by Order in Council until 1907.

In 1902 J.G. Turiff, then Land Commissioner, said that the company wanted to return these lands to the government because it felt it could not earn the subsidy. Turiff proposed that the lands be sold to A.W. Fraser, one of Sifton's business associates, on behalf of the Saskatchewan and Northern Colonization Company. Fraser and his firm would repay the principal advanced to the rail company as subsidy and then buy the land. Turiff recommended the proposal, given the dispute with the rail company about the quality of land grants, but the idea was not accepted (NA, Sifton Papers, MG 27, D II 15, C545, 107468).

On June 13, 1906, these indemnity lands were nonetheless assigned from the railway company to shareholders William Pugsley, E.B. Osler, H.C. Hammond, and C.S. McInnes as trustees; Pugsley replaced Hammond as president of the firm. On the same day, Pugsley and the other trustees conveyed the indemnity lands to David Russell, representing the Saskatoon and Western Land Company, and Montreal financier J.N. Greenshields. Russell and Greenshields had agreed to purchase the land at \$2 per acre from Pugsley a month earlier. The directors of the Saskatoon and Western Land Company were William Pugsley, J. Dobson Good, Edward Dowling, and David Russell of Montreal. This company was formed in 1907, with \$6.5 million in capital investment (NA, RG 68, lib. 189, p. 237; RG 30, vol. 1363, Minute Book 2).

Meanwhile, the QLLS was involved in a dispute with CNOR, which, since 1903, had been selecting lands within the area reserved for the company. Sifton had agreed in 1905 to let CNOR do so, in spite of an Order in Council of 1903 which specified that CNOR selections were to be contingent on those made by QLLS in the reserved block, and that this right would terminate the last day of 1905. In addition, the responsibility for making selections on behalf of the Qu'Appelle and Long Lake Land Company had been given to Davidson and the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company; Davidson had then, through the Saskatchewan Valley and Manitoba Land Company, taken over the responsibility of choosing CNOR lands.

A protest about CNOR selecting lands prior to selection by QLLS had been levied in 1905, resulting in a referral of the issue by the Department of the Interior to the Department of Justice. Justice affirmed the rights of QLLS over those of CNOR. When the arrangement with Greenshields and Russell was made in June 1906, QLLS did not know that CNOR had continued to select lands after 1905, and it gave Greenshields the power of attorney to finish the selection of QLLS railway lands. CNOR then approached Greenshields, via William Mackenzie and A.D. Davidson, with a proposal to allow QLLS to select 200,000 acres in the CNOR reserve if the CNOR selections in the QLLS reserve could be patented. Greenshields sought and received authority from QLLS to do this. Greenshields wrote to Oliver on June 16, 1906, saying that he had authority from his clients to make the selections, and asserting that QLLS would agree to patents of any land selected by CNOR before or after the end of December. The QLLS was furious when it became aware of the letter, because it had not realized that CNOR had continued to select lands in its reserve after the end of 1905, and it revoked Greenshields's authority. Greenshields claimed that the phrase referring to lands selected after 1905 had been inserted in the letter to Oliver without his knowledge (Regehr 1976, 182-83; NA, RG 15, vol. 305, file 65383, memo from Canada Saskatchewan Land Company to Governor General in Council, May 30, 1910).

Meanwhile, CNOR had purchased control of the company in mid-July 1906. Apparently the sale was made to obtain money to pay off the \$4 per acre lien on the indemnity lands so the grantees could obtain patent. The Order in Council of July 10, 1907, a year later, which accompanied the Order in Council that formally allotted the contested indemnity lands to the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Land Company, set the lien at \$5 per acre and provided for patent to issue to the

company, not to any assignees or grantees (NA, RG 30, vol. 1363, Minute Book 2; NA, RG 15, vol. 1016, file 1583000/1). In other words, the company had to pay the government \$5 per acre to secure patent.

In January 1907, Greenshields signed over his interest in the sales arrangement to Russell and the Saskatoon and Western Land Company, but in the end it appears that the arrangement for sale was never actually completed, perhaps because of all the legal difficulties. Hammond transferred his interest in the indemnity lands to Osler in 1908, and then, in December of that year, the remaining three men assigned their interest to the Canada Saskatchewan Land Company. Russell and the Saskatoon and Western Land Company assigned their interests to the Canada Saskatchewan Land Company as well. Augustus Nanton, president of the firm, became the agent for sales, through Osler, Hammond and Nanton. The vice-president of the Canada Saskatchewan Land Company was R.A. Smith, one of the former shareholders in the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway, who resigned when CNOR took over the majority control of the stock in July 1906.

By 1910, the QLLS was in debt to the government; for a variety of reasons, the value of transportation services provided to the government in return for a 20-year-term annual grant of \$80,000 to the line had not equalled the value of the grant. The government was asking for a refund, and this demand affected the value of the indemnity lands, since the government held a lien on sales pending resolution of the difference in amounts. In return, the company pointed out that the government had been tardy in allocating the land grants for the railway; some of the land had not been fit for settlement and had been replaced; the company was not even aware of the replacement lands until other claims had been made on them; and the CNOR had been allowed to select land within the Qu'Appelle reserve, even though this was prohibited by an agreement in 1903.

David Russell filed suit against Pugsley, C.S. McInnes, and the estate of H. Hammond (under the National Trust Company) for breach of contract. It appears that he also filed suit against Greenshields, the latter being represented by Chrysler and Bethune, the firm that also represented Sifton. The outcome of these actions is not known.

Besides the land conveyed to the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company, and that conveyed to the Canada Saskatchewan Land Company, over 2000 acres were patented to A.M. Nanton, and just under 2000 acres was patented to each of Pugsley and McInnes. Over 150,000 acres was

patented to other nominees; and 120,000 acres was patented to the Land Corporation of Canada (NA, RG 15, vol. 305, file 65383/13, memoranda from J.A. Cote, Interior, January 23, 1917).

Land Corporation of Canada

The Qu'Appelle and Long Lake Land Company was incorporated in 1882 as a companion to the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway and Steamboat Company. Both companies were essentially owned by the same men, including William Pugsley and his sons, and they sought to raise money in England for their railway and colonization endeavours. Some of the capital came from the Land Corporation of Canada, and in return the latter firm claimed a right to some of the land grant of the railway company.

The company was incorporated in London in 1881 by Robert and John Tennant, Ellis Gilman, H.W. Maynard, L.T. Whalley, William Negus, Alexander Fraser, Arthur Grenfell, Sir Stuart Hogg, and Sir Rowland Blennerhasset. Molyneux St John, a journalist and witness to Treaty 1, was also a shareholder (see Appendix D, Sifton: Investments: Grenfell had business dealings with Sifton). They then registered for business in the North-West Territories around 1900. George Terry Marsh, who also acted as agent for the Qu'Appelle and Long Lake Land Company, became their agent and attorney. They later used other attorneys, including Blake, Lash, Anglin and Cassels, and William Mulock of Winnipeg.

By 1918 the firm's affairs were largely administered by the Northern Trusts Company of Winnipeg (SAB, RG 348, file 6704).

Canadian Prairie Land Company

The Canadian Prairie Land Company was another of the companies that sold CNOR land. The company was formed in 1905, bought 500,000 acres of CNOR land at \$3 per acre, and resold it to settlers. In exchange for the land, CNOR gained control of the stock and sold shares in England, probably through the British Empire Agency, with which this company and CNOR were affiliated. The company had problems with its initial charter because it had set the shares at \$5, too low under the law for the capital investment involved; these charter problems may explain why the company transferred stock to CNOR (see Appendix D on Sifton's investments). Within two years it was selling

lands at \$9.50 per acre, with interest on instalments at 6 per cent (Hedges 1939, 151; Regehr 1976, 22-31; NA, RG 95, vol. 2693).

Like the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company and the Saskatchewan Valley and Manitoba Land Company, the Canadian Prairie Land Company seems to have been formed by people associated with the Blake, Lash, Anglin and Cassels firm in Toronto: James S. Lovell, Robert Gowan, William F. Ralph, Robert Phipps Ormsby, Frances Annesley, A.J. Mitchell, and George Cassels. Annesley and Ormsby were among those who bought stock in the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway in 1906 with Z.A. Lash, of that firm, who assumed control of the company. Later, the directors included Hugh Sutherland (promoter of the Hudson Bay Railway), D.B. Hanna of CNOR, and A.D. Davidson. There were several British investors as well. Sifton also seems to have had shares in the company because, in 1912, he transferred or sold his shares to the British Empire Trust (NA, Sifton Papers, MG 27, vol. 298). J.H. Lamont of Regina, another Sifton associate, was solicitor. Lamont also bought land at the Moosomin sales in 1909.

In 1917 this firm absorbed the Canadian Loan and Securities Company, owned by Davidson and McRae (see below).

Saskatchewan Valley and Alberta Land Company

This company was established by Thomas Metcalfe, Lorne Elliott, Dick Stacpoole, E.E. Sharpe, and George Metcalfe. Metcalfe, Sharpe, and Stacpoole had a law firm that worked for the Saskatchewan Valley and Manitoba Land Company, and they had done some of the title transfers for the Moose Mountain/Assiniboine reserve sales that A.C. Bedford-Jones was involved in. The firm also worked for buyer A.S. Porter (see Chapter 6: Ocean Man and Pheasant's Rump).

These lawyers and businessmen established the land company in 1906, with a \$5 million capital investment and a head office in Humboldt, Saskatchewan. They had an office in Regina, also, with Norman McKenzie acting as agent. McKenzie was the law partner of George Brown, director of the Northern Trusts Company, a Liberal, and the Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan in 1910. A.D. Davidson, A.D. McRae, A.R. Davidson, and George Howe acquired shares in 1908, and acquired majority control by 1912. D.B. Hanna, of CNOR, also invested in this chain of companies.

By 1917, the company had ceased to do business, but it is not clear from provincial files where and how it acquired land for sales (SAB, RG 348, file 2314).

Quill Plains Land Company

This firm was incorporated by the same group of men as the Saskatchewan Valley and Alberta Land Company, and the office was also in Humboldt. Edwin Swift of Chicago, Peter Jenson of Nebraska, and Robert Jenson quickly bought up most of the shares in 1908, and by 1912 the stock was acquired by A.R. Davidson, C.F. Stephenson, Oscar Mitchell of Duluth (who ended up with A.D. Davidson's estate), Chester Latham of Winnipeg, and C.E.F. Brande of Winnipeg, all of whom had investments in the Saskatchewan Valley and Manitoba Land Company. One of the directors in 1911 was F.O. Riley of Outlook, who may have been related to R.T. Riley and C.S. Riley of Northern Trusts; another 1909 director was L.O. Kirby, a bank manager from Hibbing, Minnesota. In the 1920s they were paying Saskatchewan incorporation fees through the firm of Munson, Allan, Laird, and Davis of Winnipeg; Allan was a director of Northern Trusts.

According to a letter from C.E.F. Brande to C.F. Stephenson of May 15, 1922, the Quill Plains Land Company was still in existence in 1922, but land sales had virtually stopped. The company had 3.046 acres remaining in its assets, and \$31,600 in outstanding contracts for sales at \$6.85 per acre (NA, RG 30, vol. 2459).

This same group also incorporated the **Canadian Loan and Securities Company** in 1906, for loans and real estate; its offices were established in both Winnipeg and Humboldt. The partnership of Davidson and McRae established majority ownership by 1908. They, too, worked through Munson et al.

In 1917 it was solely a loan company, and it was absorbed by the Canadian Northern Prairie Lands Company Ltd. (SAB, RG 348, files 805, 6695).

Canadian Northern Land Company

The Canadian Northern Land Company was incorporated in 1904 by a group of lawyers from Ottawa: Francis Chrysler, Charles Bethune, Norman Gordon Larmonth, Peter Larmonth, and Geoffrey Chrysler. Francis Chrysler acted at times as Sifton's legal counsel. C.A. Masten was also

an investor, and his firm acted as legal counsel. By 1905, when the company registered in the North-West Territory and set up an office in Regina, the directors were Masten, J.R.L. Starr, and J.H. Spence, all apparently from the same law firm. It appears from correspondence that Sifton had an interest in this firm and assisted in setting it up through Masten; his financial interest, however, is not clear. The head office was moved to Regina soon after incorporation, to avoid paying additional Ontario fees (RG 95, vol. 2527; Sifton Papers, vol. 296).

SALES AGENTS

Osler, Hammond and Nanton

The three principals in the firm of Osler, Hammond and Nanton were investors in the Qu'Appelle and Long Lake Land Company, in the Calgary and Edmonton Railway, in the Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company, and other enterprises. They acted as banker, scrip dealers, brokers, and sales agents. Nanton, for example, was president of the Canada Saskatchewan Land Company and the agent, through this firm, for the sale of the indemnity lands of the Qu'Appelle, Long Lake, and Saskatchewan Railway Company. Osler, a Conservative MP from Toronto, headed the Ontario and Qu'Appelle Land Company. With W.B. Scarth, he ran the Canada North West Land Company, which became a sales agent for the CPR in the early 1880s.

The firm also sold for the Qu'Appelle and Long Lake Land Company, disposing of the 1886 land grant given by the Dominion in settlement of contracts with the group of 1882 colonization companies. It acted as agents for the Winnipeg Western Land Corporation and for the Calgary and Edmonton Land Company. They held the land until prices were high enough, a practice that gave them some advantage over other firms. They also worked closely with the CPR. In 1904 they were advertising over 800,000 acres, most of it in Alberta (Hedges 1939, 153-54). By handling both Qu'Appelle and Long Lake railway lands and CPR lands, they crossed over between CPR and CNOR lands.

Osler also was a joint trustee with R.R. Angus, D.A. Smith, and W.B. Scarth of the CPR townsite properties, according to an agreement between the CPR and the Dominion in 1883. As trustees, they were accountable to the government for the proceeds of sales. Four sections at Regina, two at Moose Jaw, four at Qu'Appelle, and one at Virden were laid out for the CPR and managed

by the trustees (Innis 1971, 259-60). The Canada North West Land Company was responsible for land sales.

Davidson and McRae

As can be gleaned from the above descriptions of the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company and its spinoffs, this partnership of two Canadian men with American ties was at the core of several land companies, and the two primary partners served for years (1904-18) as primary land agents for the CNOR.

COMPANIES REQUIRING FURTHER RESEARCH

Northern Trusts Company

The company was based in Winnipeg, with a Regina office. Its directors included George Brown, J.A. McDougall, A.M. Nanton, C.S. Riley, J. Robinson, F.W. Stobart, George Galt, and George William Allan (Munson, Allan, Davis, and Laird, of Winnipeg).

Western Trust Company

The company offices were in Regina and Winnipeg. Alan J. Adamson, of the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company, was president, with R.P. Roblin as vice-president. D.H. McDonald and F.E. Kenaston were directors, along with J.G. Turiff, J.H. Ross, and MP George McCraney (who pushed for the Moosomin and Thunderchild surrenders). McCraney later lived in Rosthern, as did Adamson. He and Adamson were also co-investors, with Turiff, in the Canada Territories Corporation, a loan company that apparently invested in the Western Trust Company (SAB, RG 348, file 4025).

West Canada Land and Development Company

This firm, whose president was Cornelius Vanderbilt of New York, registered in Saskatchewan in 1906, having been incorporated in Delaware. The company held land south of Brownlee, Saskatchewan, and farmed it. H.R. Leonard was also from New York, but moved to Saskatchewan (SAB, RG 348, file 2156).

Western Canada Land and Development Company

This firm was incorporated in Saskatchewan in 1903, and its manager was the same H.R. Leonard as in the West Canada Land and Development Company. Its shareholders included George Brown, who would become Lieutenant Governor, and who got involved in a Liberal land scandal around this time; James A. Calder, another prominent Saskatchewan politician after the formation of the Saskatchewan government in 1905; George Bulyea; and James H. Ross, MP, who was closely linked with Sifton. Their address was Brownlee, Saskatchewan (SAB, RG 348, file 1720).

It is possible that this firm used Leonard to attract U.S. capital for its farming operations. That would explain the incorporation of the Western Canada Land and Development Company, which had a much greater capital investment.

The James A. Smart Company

The James A. Smart Company was incorporated in 1903 by James A. Smart, Allan Crawford, D. Smart, Joseph Rattey, Mary Ida Hickson, and Eliza Frances Smart (wife of James), all of Ottawa. They set up their place of business in Montreal and conducted a passenger booking agency, immigration agency, and real estate business. They acquired lists of Indian lands for sale, but it does not appear that they purchased any. Smart had not left government service when he set up this firm (NA, RG 68, lib. 182, p. 271).

In an exchange between A.P. Collier, Sifton's former secretary and a realtor in Winnipeg, and Sifton himself, in late 1904, Collier alleged that Smart and William J. White (his partner in the Moose Mountain and Chacastapaysin land purchases) cut a deal with the CPR to buy lands cheaply for resale. Sifton acknowledged that Smart had done so, with his consent. This transaction may have dated back to early 1903, however, before Smart set up his firm. Sifton had in fact assisted in making the arrangements, whether or not he had any financial interest in them. The president of the CPR himself approved the sale at \$4 per acre, on a six-payment instalment plan, for 10,000 acres. This price was a dollar less per acre than the going rate. Collier also alleged that Smart was endorsing the use of government pamphlets to advertise the sale of CPR lands through private firms. It appears that Smart might have sold these lands through the Canada North West Land Company, the agent in

charge of selling most CPR lands at that time (Sifton Papers, vol. 156, file, Collier, A.P.; vol. 149, 870; vol. 133).

On the whole, little has been found to link any of these companies to departmental officials, except for the suggestions that Sifton, Smart, and Speers were involved in Davidson's empire.

The Saskatchewan Valley Land Company drew its immigrants and buyers from the same Midwestern area of Nebraska, Iowa, and Minnesota from which Bennett and White, working for the Department of the Interior in immigration, drew their clients. As has been described elsewhere, White's department made extensive use of subagents on commission, and the Saskatchewan Valley Company did the same. Some of these agents also worked for the railways.

In 1904, a convention resulting in the formation of the Western Canada Immigration Association involved Robertson and Lynch of the Northwest Colonization Company (and later the Western Canada Colonization Company), and A.D. Davidson. Davidson clearly had working relationships with Sifton, Smart, and Speers, although the only direct involvement he had with Indian lands was through townsite sales for CNOR.

The purpose of this association was the pooling of funds for advertising and networking. The CPR land department made a donation to that association. It is possible that this association served as a vehicle for publicizing the sale of Indian lands (see Hedges 1939, 164).

Bennett and White were known to be associated with at least one of the following companies buying Indian lands, however; they may also have had a connection with Agent J.P.G. Day, who assisted in obtaining surrenders and sales in the Battleford area of Saskatchewan. Bennett was known to have been present at one meeting with the prolific Liberal speculator F.W. Grant, before the Moosomin/Thunderchild sales.

COMPANIES THAT BOUGHT LAND IN INDIAN LAND SALES

Canada National Land and Development Company

The company was formed in 1903 by A.A. Bedford-Jones, R.R. Beaumont, and George W. Marsh, the same three men who forged tenders for the Moose Mountain reserve lands. The company was incorporated in Ontario (Tyler and Wright 1978b, 307, note 142).

This company paid for land tendered at the Enoch/Stony Plain sale in 1902 through George Angus. Their street address was 18 Toronto Street, Toronto, and Bedford-Jones was the managing director.

Western Canada Colonization Company

The Western Canada Colonization Company was one of the firms set up by O.A. Robertson and F.B. Lynch, bankers, from Minneapolis. The Northwest Colonization Company, also a Robertson-Lynch company, was mentioned above, in the context of firms that bought CPR land at the turn of the century and resold it. These same men were directors of the Canada Land and Colonization Company, registered in Manitoba in 1905. The other investors were J.G. Wood, F.H. Mitchell, W.L. Passons, J.A. Brown, and T.G. Barrows.

The Western Canada Colonization Company bought land at the Muscowpetung and Crooked Lakes land sales. It received Manitoba incorporation in 1909. The directors at the time of the Crooked Lakes sales in 1909 were F.B. Lynch, Nicoll Halsey, O.A. Robertson, A. J. Nason, and E.P. Delahunt. They had offices in St Paul, Minnesota, and at the Union Bank Building, Winnipeg. They shared Winnipeg offices with the Northwest Colonization Company and the Alberta and Saskatchewan Colonization Company, all presumably run by the same people. A.L. Gordon of Gordon, Bryant and Gordon of Regina was legal counsel. In 1913, the head office moved to St Paul.

Francis Atherton Bean acquired land on assignment from this company and seems to have been affiliated with it. Wesley Homan Collier had purchased some of the same land in 1911, which was then sold to Bean, and Collier took the company to court in Saskatchewan in 1913. The matter was settled out of court (SAB, RG 348, file 18319). (See also Chapter 6: Cowessess.) There is an E.H. Collier who worked for the Saskatchewan Valley and Manitoba Land Company, and an A.P. Collier who worked for Sifton, but it is not known whether they were related in any way.

The company also bought land at the Muscowpetung sale, which it sold to James Wallis of Dubuque, Iowa. No link has been found between Wallis and any department officials, although he certainly was within the area of Iowa/Nebraska/Minnesota from which both the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company and the White/Bennett team from the Dominion government had their bases of operation.

Luse Land Company

The Luse Land Company bought land at Tramping Lake 7A (Swan Lake) and received notices of other sales. It was based in St Paul, like the Western Canada Colonization Company, and it bought and sold CPR lands in Alberta. The directors included J. Luse, J.E. Martin, Theodore Myers, and A.A. Parker. This company contacted Frank Oliver in 1908 about setting up a Lutheran colony in the Battleford area. It had made a deal with CNOR to purchase some odd-numbered sections, and it wanted the adjacent even-numbered sections reserved; this request was denied (in spite of the fact that it had been done in other instances). Apparently A.D. Davidson had encouraged the company to make the request (NA, RG 15, vol. 1009, file 148,872).

White Land Company

The White Land Company involved William J. White, of Moose Mountain fame, and his son, a realtor in Battleford, Saskatchewan. There were connections, apparently, between this firm and Champagne, Speers, and Simpson, another local realty outfit (SAB, RG 348, file 1145). George A. Simpson, the district land surveyor and agent for the Edmonton-Saskatchewan Land Company, may have been related to Seymour Sydney Simpson. Similarly, C.W. Speers, who worked closely with Sifton and was the engineer of the Saskatchewan Valley Land Company, may have been related to Robert J. Speers of this firm. (See Chapter 6: Mosquito, Grizzly Bear's Head, and Lean Man.)

Kamsack Land Company, Ltd.

The Kamsack Land Company was formed in 1908, and its directors included W.G. Blewett, Indian Agent; J.I. Wallace, physician; Theodore Miles, E.C. Lawrence, Charles Ingram, Thomas Foley, and W.E. Ouellette. The principal of the Crowstand School, the Reverend Mr McWhinney, was a member of the company, and he purchased land at the Cote sale of 1908. Several of these individuals bought land at the Cote 1907 surrender land sale in 1908. Wallace had advocated the surrender, and Blewett had taken it (SAB, RG 348, file 3364). Crescent Realty of Yorkton, in which E.L. Cash was an investor, also acquired land from the Cote land sales (SAB, RG 348, file 3669).

Fishing Lake Land and Farm Company

The Fishing Lake Land and Farm Company was formed by George Hathaway and Myron McKinnon of Chicago, and W.H. McKinnon of Manitoba. It had its head office at Kylemore and maintained a Chicago address. It acquired much of the Fishing Lake land from D.H. Hudson, who had bought on behalf of a Winnipeg syndicate (SAB, vol. 348, file 2343). (See Chapter 6: Fishing Lake.)

Fenton Farms Ltd.

Fenton Farms Ltd. was owned by T.O. Davis of Prince Albert, the Liberal MP, and Rothwell Davis of Fenton, Saskatchewan, along with Francis Halliday, Davis's law partner. Davis formed the company in 1917 and transferred his interest in lands acquired from the Chacastapaysin reserve to it (SAB, RG 348, file 3841).

Taber Alberta Land Company

The Taber Alberta Land Company was incorporated in 1906 and acquired land at the Peigan sales through Humphrey Annable. George Annable of Moose Jaw was one of the directors, as was William J. White of Moose Jaw, then Owen Sound, who was apparently unrelated to the W.J. White employed by the Department of the Interior (SAB, RG 348, file 345).

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it must be said that only a few land and colonization companies appear to have been involved directly in Indian land purchasing. However, it cannot be overemphasized how important these companies were in establishing the demand for land, affecting prices, and directing the flow of immigrants who sought agricultural land. Some of the individuals who were active in purchasing Indian lands were also active in the land companies. These companies, as well as trust companies, acted as a funnel for political patronage, and often politicians and senior bureaucrats from the Department of the Interior were shareholders. The Department of the Interior had the same minister as the Indian Department, and briefly had the same bureaucratic head. Staff were housed together, and information flowed readily between departments. Yet their interests were often fundamentally opposed.