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CAUSES OF AGITATION FOR ONE PRAIRIE PROVINCE.

by

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1973

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ABSTRACT

The specific objective of this thesis is to examine the causes of agitation for the establishment of one province to encompass the three existing provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, or the Prairie region.

Regional studies are hampered by the somewhat elusive meaning of 'region'. It is argued here, however, that the Prairies constitute a distinctive region of Canada, and such argument can be defended by looking into the historical, cultural and economic need for Prairie people to adopt a collective philosophy towards their lives concerning common goals, and, more recently, an antagonism towards Eastern Canadian economic domination over the Prairie provinces.

Such a view of the three Prairie provinces has many times stimulated the question - Why don't they join together and create one Prairie province? The Conference to discuss this question was most recently held at Lethbridge, Alberta, and from the proceedings of this conference comes the stimulus and interest in this topic.

A further objective is to identify the interesting growth of co-operative organisations which transcend

political boundaries within the Prairies. It is suggested that these are in direct response to the fact that the region needs a co-operative approach to many of the problems that are faced by the whole region. This is indeed a cause for agitation in that integration is increasing in the Prairies. Argument can be made that political unification is the ultimate step. It must be pointed out that the writer has not taken a stand on the advisability of the idea, but merely to identify the bases of the agitation for it.

The method of investigation in this work is to determine the extent to which the Prairie provinces could be considered to have an identity which points particularly to the Western alienation question.

A measure of the following for the idea of Prairie union is given. This is examined with regard to the increasing number of organisations that concern themselves with a Prairie hinterland, as opposed to an area of influence contained by the political borders of one of the Prairie provinces.

The conclusion is that the Prairies do have a definable identity which is predominantly a result of

the feeling of Western alienation in the Prairies. The desire to control their own future stimulates the growth of Prairie organisations. The agitation for Prairie unity does not necessarily express itself in terms of a political union, but in terms of Prairie co-operation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

|               |   |     |
|---------------|---|-----|
| CHAPTER I.    | INTRODUCTION  | 1   |
| CHAPTER II.   | THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.   | 16  |
| CHAPTER III.  | THE ONE PRAIRIE PROVINCE<br>CONFERENCE AND THE SUPPORT FOR<br>THE IDEA.   | 40  |
| CHAPTER IV.   | PRAIRIE IDENTITY.   | 60  |
| CHAPTER V.    | REGIONAL CO-OPERATION WITHIN THE<br>PRAIRIE PROVINCES.  | 66  |
| CHAPTER VI.   | CONCLUSION  | 81  |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY. |   | 90  |
| APPENDIX 1.   | THE PRAIRIES AS A REGION.   | 98  |
| APPENDIX 2.   | ATTENDANCE AT THE ONE PRAIRIE<br>PROVINCE CONFERENCE.   | 100 |
| APPENDIX 3.   | THE ALBERTA ELECTORAL STUDY, 1969.<br>D.K. ELTON.   | 102 |
| APPENDIX 4.   | PRAIRIE IDENTITY STUDY.   | 104 |
| APPENDIX 5.   | "JURISDICTION OF FEDERAL<br>'REGIONAL OFFICES, AGENCIES,<br>DIVISIONS, OR BRANCHES IN THE<br>PRAIRIE PROVINCES, 1970."<br>DR. CARD. | 107 |

LIST OF TABLES

|                   |   |    |
|-------------------|---|----|
| TABLES I, II, III | A MEASURE OF THE DEGREE TO WHICH<br>ALIENATION IS FELT BY A SAMPLE OF<br>PEOPLE FROM ALBERTA.   | 44 |
| TABLE I           | WESTERN ALIENATION - GREATER BENEFITS<br>TO EASTERN CANADIANS.  | 44 |
| TABLE II          | WESTERN ALIENATION - TARIFF TO PROTECT<br>EASTERN MANUFACTURERS.  | 44 |
| TABLE III         | WESTERN ALIENATION - CONCERN OF THE<br>FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.  | 44 |
| TABLE IV, V       | A MEASURE FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE<br>ONE PRAIRIE PROVINCE IDEA.  | 50 |
| TABLE VI          | CONTENT ANALYSIS OF STUDENT<br>RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ON THE<br>ONE PRAIRIE PROVINCE IDEA.  | 52 |
| TABLE VII         | ECONOMIC DISPARITIES WITHIN<br>THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES. VALUE<br>ADDED IN GOODS-PRODUCING<br>INDUSTRIES AND PERCENTAGE ANALYSIS<br>BY PRAIRIE PROVINCES 1967. | 55 |
| TABLE VIII        | PRAIRIE IDENTITY.   | 61 |
| TABLE IX          | PRAIRIE IDENTITY - CONTENT<br>ANALYSIS ON PRAIRIE IDENTITY STUDY.<br>(OPEN-ENDED QUESTION).   | 62 |

TABLE OF MAPS

|        |                                      |    |
|--------|--------------------------------------|----|
| MAP I  | TERRITORIAL DISTRICTS OF CANADA 1898 | 22 |
| MAP II | PRAIRIE TERRITORIAL DISTRICTS 1898   | 22 |



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"It is a lesson which all history teaches wise men, to put trust in ideas and not in circumstances."

Emerson, Miscellanies: War

This thesis is a study of regionalism and of political integration as they exist within the Prairie provinces. Political, economic and culturally derived processes impinging upon the Prairie landscape have given rise to the idea of amalgamating the Prairie provinces into one.

Behind any idea of territorial change and of breaking down existing political structures, there is presumably some discontent with the present structure, and there are presumably notions held of what the new structure should be and do. It is these notions of the potentially revised structure coupled with the degree of integration that has taken place among Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba that form the basis of the One Prairie Province idea and the topic of this thesis.

Closely allied to regional studies in the Canadian context is the study of the federal system of government.

A federation is based on its regional differences and allows for each individual entity within the federation to foster its own identity. At the same time unity of the whole federated state constitutes considerable gains to each part of the federal system. The federal system of government allows the provinces to co-exist within the component area, and thus, as in all federations, the political divisions within the federation become anachronistic unless they are susceptible to change.

The idea of integrating the Prairie provinces into one large unit within the Canadian federation has been put forward on numerous occasions. The first major agitation for such union occurred during the debate on autonomy of part of the Northwest Territories prior to the entry of Alberta and Saskatchewan into confederation in 1905. In 1932 the well-known jurist, the Hon. W.F. Turgeon, published a provocative article in a national magazine,<sup>1</sup> which stimulated interest in the idea, and almost predictably an active press was generated in response. The idea was endorsed by Sir John Aird, president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, by F.W. Turnbull, a member of parliament for

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1. W.F.A. Turgeon, "I'd Unite the Prairies,"  
Macleans Magazine, (Feb. 1, 1932), p.17.

Regina, and significantly, by Premier Bracken of  
Manitoba.<sup>2</sup> The issue was raised again in 1937 at the  
Royal Commission on Dominion Provincial Relations.<sup>3</sup>

Prairie historical literature and records of the legislatures of the Prairie provinces reveal no significant discussion of uniting the region into one political unit for a period of over twenty years.

This long gap of inactivity as far as the One Prairie Province idea is concerned, is probably associated with the considerations of the war and post war years being more pressing, and too, that the war stimulated a greater Canadian allegiance as opposed to a regional one.

With the growing awareness of economic problems facing the Prairie provinces in the early 1960's, joint programmes directed at resource development among the three provinces, and particularly between Saskatchewan and Manitoba,

- 
2. J. Bracken, Exhibit No. 32 from the Records of the Royal Commission on Dominion Provincial Relations (RG 33/23. Vol. 2). Filed Dec. 28, 1937. In this brief Premier Bracken outlines correspondence and press statements of 1932, more of which is used in Chapter 2 of this thesis.
  3. Rowell & Sirois Commission. Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Books 1 and 2 and Documents. Canada 1867-1939.

encouraged a regional union of the Prairies rather than a division by political boundaries into three jurisdictions. Many problems relating to the economy of this region were common ones, not the least of which was the domination that was felt from Eastern Canada; such arguments as unfair freight rates were and still are commonplace, and largely were responsible for a massive protest in 1959 by Prairie farmers.<sup>4</sup> The idea of political union of the Prairies again was present in newspapers, particularly as a result of British Columbia's Premier, W.A.C. Bennett's proposals in the 1968 Federal-Provincial Conference.<sup>5</sup> Here Premier Bennett called for a reduction in the number of provinces to five, following the five economic regions of Canada as used by the Federal Government for the records of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.<sup>6</sup>

- 
4. Western Farm Delegation, On to Ottawa, 1959. A report on a delegation to Ottawa. A protest on conditions facing Prairie farmers.
  5. W.A.C. Bennett, Federal-Provincial Conference, Ottawa, 1969, p.10.
  6. The five regions are Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario, Prairies and British Columbia. The Northwest Territory and the Yukon Territory were included into the Prairies and British Columbia respectively.

More recently the question of Prairie integration has been raised again in Lethbridge, Alberta. This conference, held in May 1970,<sup>7</sup> attracted speakers and registrants from all over Canada.<sup>8</sup> The proceedings, edited by D.K. Elton, reveal three fundamental questions. What are the causes of agitation for Prairie union? How would such a union be implemented including constitutional problems? What possible effects could be expected from such a union?

This thesis answers the first question: What are the causes of agitation for Prairie union? The question needs clarification. The historical aspects are of paramount importance in understanding the roots of the idea of Prairie unification, recognising however that the historical bases for the idea are not necessarily the bases for the present interest and following.

No attempt to justify the advisability of the idea is made by the writer; it is enough to accept that the idea has been seriously postulated, in the past and more recently, and the basis for such union will be examined from a political geographic view.

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7. Sponsored by the University of Lethbridge and the Lethbridge Herald.

8. D.K. Elton, (ed), One Prairie Province? A Question For Canada, 1970. Referred to later as the Lethbridge Conference.

This thesis is a study in Political Geography as it looks to the recognition of the need to align political-administrative areas so as to coincide with socio-economic interests. Recognition of regional identity and diversity has long played a part in political geographic literature,<sup>10</sup>

9. The definition of Political Geography, "the spatial analysis of political phenomena", is as used by Kasperson and Minghi in R.E. Kasperson and J.V. Minghi, (eds), The Structure of Political Geography, 1969, p.xi.
10. Many examples of political integration studies can be cited. Those adding significantly to the background reading of the writer are:-
  - E. Moore, "The Causes of Agitation after 1901 for the Establishment of a New State in Northern New South Wales," M.A. Thesis, New England University, 1955.
  - G. Spencer, "The New England New State Movement - A Problem in Political Geography," B.A. Thesis, Newcastle University, 1960.
  - E.R. Woolmington, "The Geographical Scope of Support for the New State Movement in Northern New South Wales," PhD Thesis, New England University, 1963.
  - E. Dale, "The State Idea: Missing Prop of the West Indies Federation," Scottish Geographical Magazine, V.78. (Dec., 1962), pp.166-176.
  - T. Franck, Why Federations Fail, 1962.
  - A.J. Hughes, East Africa: The Search for Unity, 1963.
  - C. Ake, "Political Integration and Political Stability: A Hypothesis," World Politics, XIX, (April, 1967), pp.486-499.
  - A. Etzioni, "European Unification: a Strategy of Change," World Politics, XVI, (Oct., 1963), pp.32-51.
  - C.A. Fisher, "The Geographical Setting of the Proposed Malaysian Federation: Some Primary Considerations," Journal of Tropical Geography, XVII, (May, 1963), pp.99-115.
  - P.E. Jacob & J.V. Toscano, The Integration of Political Communities, 1964.
  - A. Etzioni, Political Unification, 1965.

a most recent example closely allied to the Canadian<sup>11</sup> Federation, being the Maritime Union Study. These studies have traced the historical development of the central idea around which they have been postulated and looked at the basis of present rationale for the idea. Such is the case in this thesis.

Although several writers have given attention to the<sup>12</sup> structure of Prairie politics and its impact on Western Canadian institutions, no writer has yet dealt explicitly with the concepts of political integration as found in the Prairie provinces with the view of understanding the agitation for Prairie union. An examination of the literature reveals, at best, a recognition that the idea

11. F. Drummie, (ed), The Maritime Union Study. Also G. Hawkins, (ed), The Idea of Maritime Union, 1965.
  12. W.L. Morton, "The Bias of Prairie Politics," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. XLIX, Series III, (June, 1955), p.57.
- D.Smith, "Prairie Revolt: Federalism and the Party System," in G. Thorburn, Party Politics in Canada, 1967.
- L.G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta, Toronto, 1959.
- M.S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba, Toronto, 1963.
- J.E. Hodgetts, "Regional Interest and Policy in a Federal Structure," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXXII, No. 1, (Feb., 1966), p.6.



has been present for some time. This literature presents only a rather cursory evaluation of some of the problems that are common to the three provinces. Thus it is maintained by the writer that this thesis will make a worthwhile contribution to the literature in that it examines the impact of integratory factors on the political structures of the Prairie provinces, and reveals for the first time the basis to the idea of union. The conclusion reached will be useful in future debate on the subject, which indeed promises to be in the offing with the establishment of the "Canada West Council", a committee formed following the Lethbridge Conference to examine the idea of Prairie union, or at least Prairie co-operation, more thoroughly.

Then too, this thesis examines the growing awareness of a Prairie identity as a basis to Prairie union. It is significant that the title adopted for the Lethbridge Conference was - One Prairie Province, A Question for Canada - a reminder that the West is a changing part of the Canadian Confederation and that its development may point to a change in the whole federal structure.

... people, particularly in the west, see the current political ferment in the west as a sign that fundamental changes are at work - changes altering the entire relationship of the west within Confederation.

This viewpoint maintains that unrest will not be subdued by selling wheat, tinkering with freight rates or making special 'concessions' to western politicians. The west is not looking for handouts from Ottawa. It is clear that one of the major challenges facing all Canadians in the 1970's will be to find out what the modern west really wants. As during the '60's, a popular Canadian question was 'What does Quebec want?' - so during the '70's the question is 'What does the west want?' 13

In looking for "what the west really wants", an examination of recent press articles reveals a strong desire to take a greater share in solving western problems and shaping its own regional destiny.

To understand the bases of the One Prairie Province idea the arguments directed at "Western Alienation" from Eastern economic control have to be appreciated, as they are the key to growing awareness of the need for integration within the Prairie Region. The end product of this integration may be eventual union, but certainly the need for economic integration, or a certain degree of it, is recognised by the three men who now lead the Prairie provinces.

The ideological differences which separate them (The Prairie Provinces) seem to be far less important than their similarities of temperament and approach to government ... The political result will be a far more cohesive Prairie block than the rest of Canada has been accustomed to encountering. 14

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13. G. Molgat, The West and Canada's Challenges for the 1970's, Paper given at Carleton University, Feb., 1970, p.2.

14. P. Desbarates, "Three Young Premiers New Young Force on National Scene," Toronto Star, (Nov.27,1971)/

Referring to the idea of Prairie union Premier Blakeney (Saskatchewan) stated:

... it is worth a look, since every Canadian problem appears to be a constitutional problem. In that context Prairie union is a good idea. 15

Premier Lougheed (Alberta), although against eventual Prairie union calls for a combined Western approach:

I think that will be a forward thing for Canada that the balance between Quebec and Ontario will be to a degree offset by perhaps, a growth towards political union in the Maritimes and at the same time a stronger and more united Western view. 16

Premier Schreyer (Manitoba), who supports Prairie union, calls for a functional alliance at this time between the 17 Prairie provinces rather than a constitutional one.

These views reveal that indeed political, economic and cultural relationships within the three Prairie provinces do point towards a changing Western outlook within the Canadian federation, and it is these changes which have developed historically and most recently and which underlie the idea of Prairie union.

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15. Loc. Cit.

16. Loc. Cit.

17. Loc. Cit.

### Hypothesis and Thesis Question

The hypothesis of this thesis is that the agitation for political integration of the Prairie provinces is a function of the changing regard for Western Canadian regionalism within the Canadian Federation. The question contained herein is simply: What are the causes of agitation for the One Prairie Province Idea?

### Problem

The problem examined is an identification and isolation of the relevant political, economic and cultural factors of integration as they exist within the Prairie region, and to equate them to the idea of political unification of the Prairie provinces. An examination into the proceedings of the Lethbridge Conference and the press that it generated is of keynote importance to this thesis as it contains numerous statements of Western awareness of the Prairies as a region.

### The Study Area.

The Prairie provinces are certainly not all Prairie grassland and, in fact, any attempt to justify the Prairie provinces as a strict geographical region would be unlikely. However, the southern areas of the three provinces, the areas most densely populated, coincide in most part with what

is known as "prairie", and thus the Prairie region has come to mean the three provinces. The whole area was in fact governed, prior to 1905, as one, when it was part of the Northwest Territories. Then too, common problems have confronted the three provinces which related directly to the area's geographical location and the historical experience. This thesis makes the assumption that the Prairie provinces constitute a region, and it is pointed out here that the same assumption is taken by government departments, Royal Commissions, and a large body of literature. (See APPENDIX I). A somewhat assertive view of the Prairie region is given by Edward McCourt:-

The Prairie Provinces constitute the most homogeneous of the great natural divisions within this country. In spite of the abutment of the Rocky Mountains on the western flank of Alberta, all three, in their settled areas, are primarily flat and agricultural; they are hot in summer and cold in winter and the wind blows hard and often across them. The sun sets over them in a blaze of colour beyond the comprehension of anyone unfamiliar with the Prairies; and the great arch of northern lights is a common sight three quarters of the year. The provinces are alike in heterogeneity of their people, the Anglo-Saxon constituting in each something less than half of the population. All three are bordered by Americans on the south and a vast, virtually unexplored hinterland on the north. They are young aggressive and united in their hostility to Ontario. 18

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18. E. McCourt, The Canadian West in Fiction, 1970, p.5.

### Source of Data

The underlying data used in this thesis is the proceedings of the Lethbridge Conference, the correspondence that the writer had with the majority of the speakers at that conference, and the interviews conducted with politicians, government officials and businessmen on two trips to the Prairies. In addition, data was collected from the Alberta Electorate Study<sup>19</sup> and the 1965 Meisel study.<sup>20</sup>

In examining the historical aspects of the thesis question, Lingard's<sup>21</sup> book made it possible to isolate the original sources that needed attention. Similarly Lipset's<sup>22</sup> and Macpherson's<sup>23</sup> works provided the information required on political party development in the Prairie provinces. Morton's<sup>24</sup> and Swainson's books on the history of Manitoba, and other works pertaining to the other Provinces, provide the base upon which the historical chapter sits.

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19. D.K. Elton, The Alberta Electorate Study, 1969.

20. J. Meisel, 1965 Canadian National Election Study.

21. C.C. Lingard, Territorial Government in Canada, 1946.

22. S.M. Lipset, Agrarian Socialism, 1950.

23. C.B. Macpherson, Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System, 1953.

24. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, 1957. and D. Swainson, Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces, 1970.

Government publications relating to certain views of the problem were provided with the Rowell Commission and the Batten Commission.<sup>25</sup> In addition Position Papers from the legislatures of each Province gave a predictive view<sup>26</sup> of the West in the 1970's.

The data pertaining to common Prairie organisations which are directed to economic and resource integration, in varying degrees, was available through the Federal Department of Intergovernmental Relations, Ottawa, and ultimately from the organisations themselves. The constitutions of these bodies are not always available but where they could be obtained they make a significant contribution.

The importance of newspaper articles, both from the past and current era, cannot be underestimated. Two books<sup>27</sup> recently published, Zimmerman<sup>28</sup> and Gagan, contributed much to the understanding of Prairie identity. Other materials are to be found in the bibliography.

- 
25. Two Royal Commissions, The Dominion-Provincial Commission, 1937, and the Commission on Consumer Problems and Inflation (Prairie Provinces Cost Study Commission), 1968. The latter commission also has supporting studies.
  26. Particularly Premier Strom's paper - A Case for the West, See also Footnote 13.
  27. C.C. Zimmerman and G.W. Moneo, The Prairie Community System, 1971.
  28. D.P. Gagan, (ed), Prairie Perspectives, 1970.

## Outline

The structure of this thesis follows this breakdown. Chapter II is an historical overview of the Prairie region dealing with diversity of ethnic settlement, the influence of a common environment, common occupations and rural pioneering. Also included are the autonomy debate<sup>29</sup> and the contribution by Frederick Haultain in pointing to the formation of a Western outlook. The chapter concludes with a comment on the historical basis to the idea of Prairie union. Chapter III analyses the political situation immediately prior to the Lethbridge Conference, Western alienation and the integration which was becoming apparent within the Prairies. Chapter IV pays particular attention to the Prairie identity question and to the disparities of wealth that is divided by political jurisdiction within the Prairie region. Chapter V examines the regional co-operation that has been shown to exist within the Prairies, and Chapter VI concludes by evaluating the impact of the Lethbridge Conference, and discusses this in terms of Prairie identity and the degree of integration that does exist within the three Provinces.

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29. Premier of Northwest Territories to 1905.



## CHAPTER II

### THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE TO PRAIRIE UNITY

#### An Overview

An examination of the history of the Prairie provinces reveals a recurring theme, one which calls for a single political unit to be formed out of what are now referred to as the Prairie provinces. The idea of union in the past did not coincide with any period of economic recession nor with a period of affluence, but, predictably, came at a time when issues of provincial-dominion relationships were debated. The inequalities between Eastern and Western Canada, the latter alienated from the Eastern economic centre, were seen as interfering with the economy of the three Prairie provinces.

The political history of the Western plains, or the Prairie region as it is known today, has witnessed a greater variety of governments than any other region in the Confederation.<sup>1</sup> It is significant, however, that this region was administered as one unit, albeit a territorial government under the control of the Federal Government in the East, until Manitoba achieved its autonomy in 1870.

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1. E. Oliver, The Canadian North West, Vol. 1, p.20.

The remaining area continued to be administered as one until the existing provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were admitted into the Confederation with provincial status in 1905.

The Acts of 1869 provided for "the temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North West Territory when united with Canada".<sup>2</sup> Thus, the most fundamental 'idea' of Canadian unity was made possible by this Act; the idea of political integration of the Western territory with the existing provinces to form a Canadian Confederation from sea to sea.

Mobility of people in the Prairies prior to 1870 was by way of the birch bark canoe, the York boat, steamers which plied up the Red River, and, for local transportation, the horse and prairie cart. Furs were hauled by these conveyances, ultimately reaching the European or Eastern province markets. But in 1878 a railway was built between Winnipeg and St. Louis, which then allowed a connection to Chicago and thus to the sea via the Great Lakes. This railhead made available an easier access for immigrants from Europe and the United States. Connections were available

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2. Statutes of Canada, 32-33. Vict. c.3.

via the lake route then overland to Winnipeg, but this was a somewhat arduous journey and extremely inefficient<sup>3</sup> despite government intervention to improve this route.

By 1883 the Canadian Pacific Railway had reached Winnipeg, having taken an all-Canadian route following the Northern shore of Lake Superior, thus reducing travelling time, between the Eastern cities and Winnipeg. Two years later the line reached the Western Seaboard, and thus the "National Dream" became a reality.

This feat was heralded as the cohesive force needed to unite the Confederation, but among the numerous platitudes of the day were heard hints of negative aspects of the scheme.

... said the fathers of Confederation, 'Let us bind the provinces together with steel rails'. 'Yes', was Huntington's reply, 'but you are going to bind them together at the ends.' 4

---

3. For a comprehensive account of this, see P. Berton, The National Dream, Chs. 1, 2.

4. J. Nelson, "The Problems of Our Provinces," Macleans, (May 15, 1923), V.36, No. 10. p.13.  
(Huntington, L.S., 1827-88. Politician and Author. 1861 Elected liberal member of legislative assembly, Lower Canada. 1863-64 Solicitor General of Canada. 1864-65 opposed Confederation. 1873 prepared charges against Macdonald government in connection with granting CPR Charter which led to that government's downfall).

With the development of a railway system within the Prairie provinces and in British Columbia by the beginning of Twentieth Century, the way was open for a large migration of British and European people into the West, the railway providing the impetus to this increased mobility into the Western Territory. The West was characterised as "Newer Canada" differing from the "Older" East by occupation, by racial milieu and by outlook. The West was a pioneer fringe which had achieved a new relevance within Confederation, a relevance that shifted its concentration from fur trading to one of agrarian importance. The strongest influence, nonetheless, came from the Ontario settlers, who introduced into the Prairies the attitudes prevalent in their former province.

In retrospect the West and Ontario did constitute a particular entity, bound together by common values, similar institutions, and a commitment to the concept of an English Canada. This did not prevent the growth of a unique Western regionalism. Western conditions, primarily economic but also cultural and political, changed the outlook of the newcomers. Very soon Westerners became conscious of their own regional identity and of their under-privileged position in the dominion. 5

- 
5. F.W. Rutherford, "The Western Press and Regionalism, 1870-96," Canadian Historical Review, LII, No. 3, (Sept., 1971), p.228.

Huntington saw the dangers behind the differences of identity in Canada, and his intuitive feelings were of a West and an East at opposite ends of the very link which was supposed to join them but which would also alienate one from the other.

In 1923 a journalist, John Nelson, wrote a series of articles outlining the problems of the Prairie provinces. He accepted Huntington's foresight as being extremely enlightened:

Much of Canada is still a strange land to other parts of it. A comprehension by all of the difficulties of each is fundamental to that sympathetic co-operation without which Confederation is but a rope in the sand. 6

This is an interesting observation; hindsight affords many pleasures, and, indeed, a more recent examination of the debate of regional disparities, of Eastern economic domination of the West, and the call by statesmen to co-operate more within the Prairie region, discloses a similar conclusion. For, example, Premier Strom's statement to the Federal-Provincial Constitutional Conference in 1969 was very similar to that expressed in the 1923 statement above.

We will co-operate with the Federal Government to the fullest extent of our ability to bring regional alienation and inequality in Canada to an end, but there must be a corresponding effort on the part of the Federal Government and the Provincial Government of Central Canada to recognise and accommodate the concerns of the west. 7

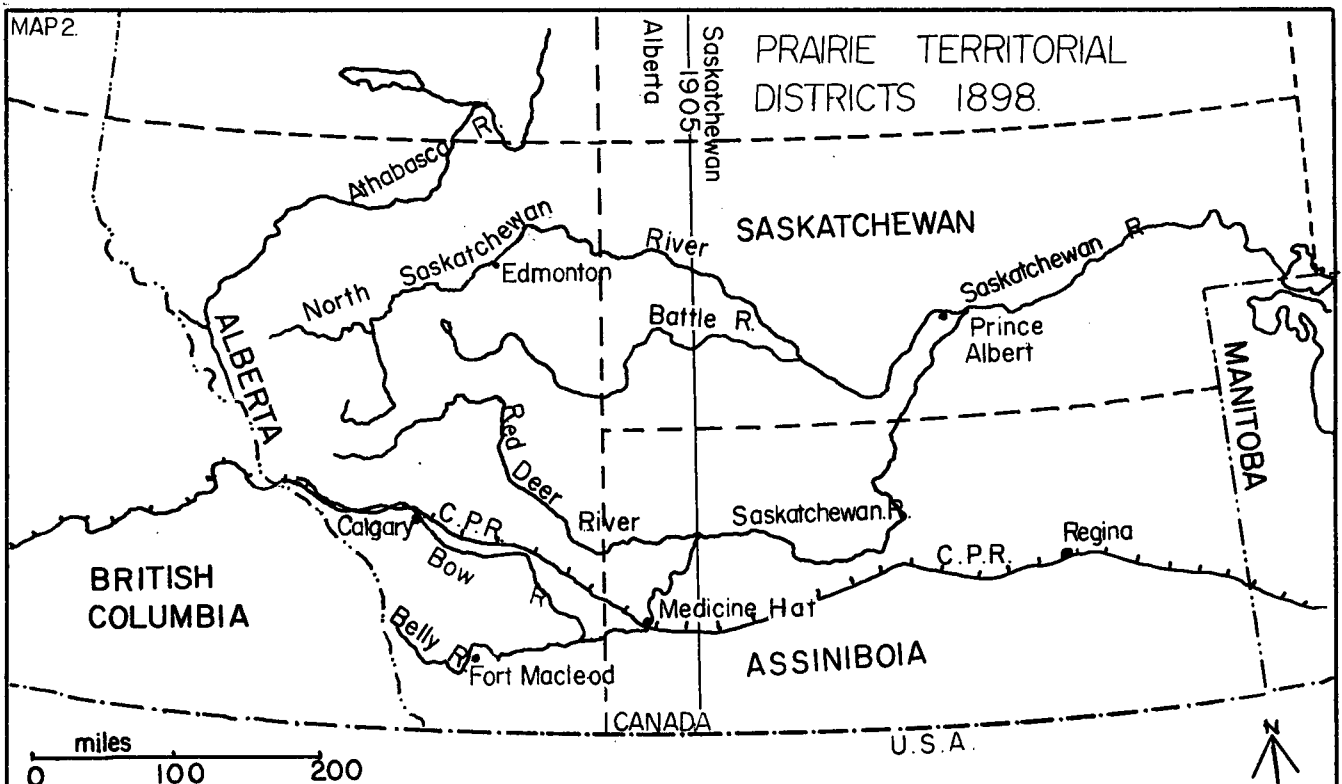
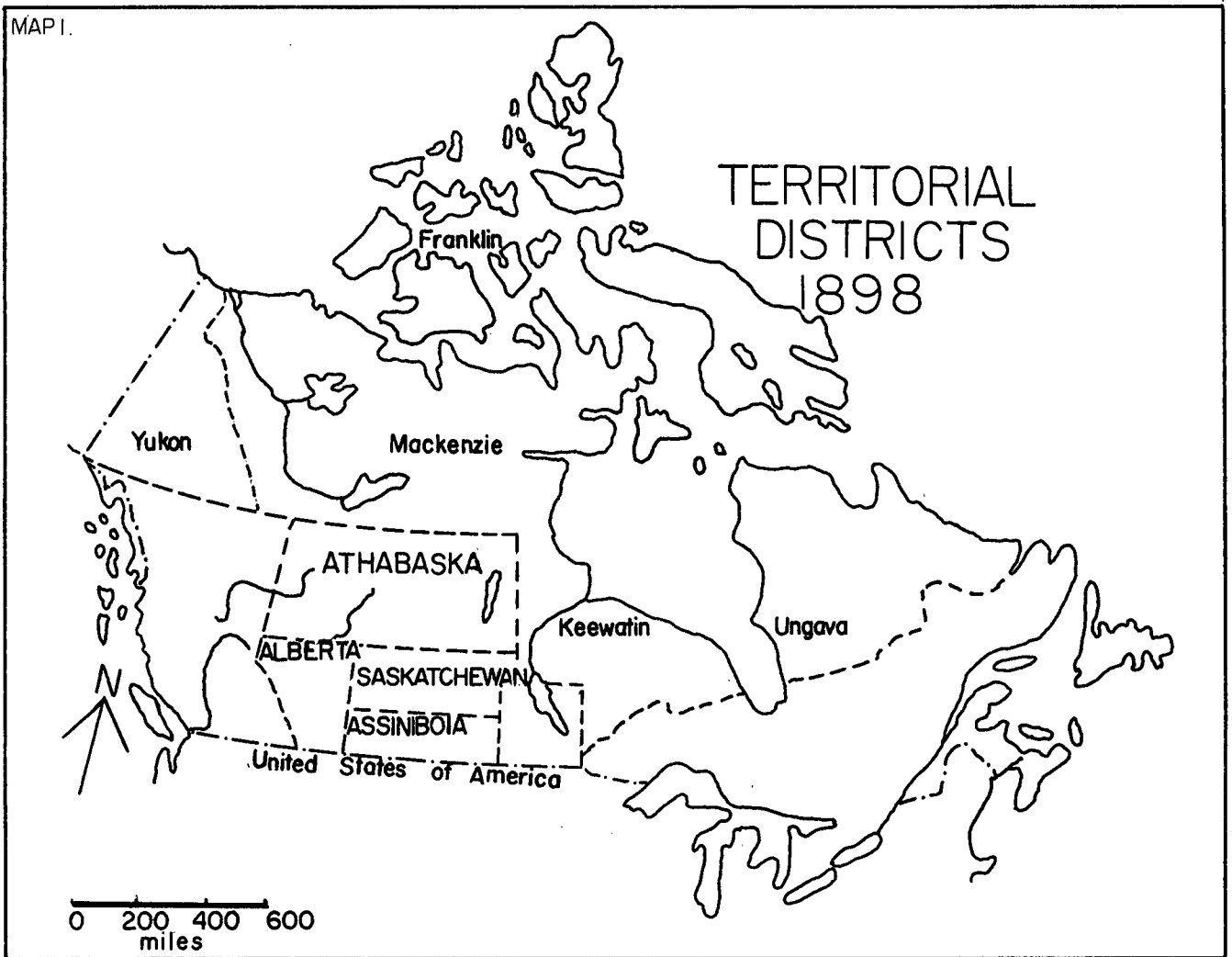
#### The One Prairie Province Idea - The Autonomy Debate

The question, following Confederation, was what was to be the rationale behind dividing the Northwest into districts for effective administration, and later, the much debated autonomy question of granting provincial government to the districts of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Assiniboia and Athabaska. (See Map 1. Territorial Districts 1898 and Map 2. Prairie Territorial Districts 1898). The Northwest Territories Act of 1875<sup>8</sup> provided for a resident Lieutenant-Governor and a Northwest Council to be made up of not more than five persons and having executive and legislative powers. The Act further provided for the Territory to be divided into electoral districts which would elect a member to the Council. When the number of elected members reached twenty-one, the council became defunct and the elected members were designated the Legislative Assembly.

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7. H.E. Strom, A Case for the West, An address to the Federal-Provincial Constitutional Conference, Feb., 1969.

8. Statutes of Canada, 38, Vict, c.49, 1875.



SOURCE- L. J. Burpee, *An Historical Atlas of Canada*, Toronto, 1927.

C.B.

The implementation of this step, thus forming the Legislative Assembly, took place in 1888 with twenty-two members.

Problems of Eastern control over the legislature became apparent almost immediately, particularly with the control of tax monies collected in the Territory, and demands for full responsible government were raised. An amending Northwest Territories Act of 1891 granted much of what was demanded "... receiving powers to make ordinances covering virtually all matters allotted to the provinces under the British North American Act except that of borrowing money."<sup>9</sup> An executive committee led by F.W.G. Haultain<sup>10</sup> was established in 1891 to advise in the government of the Territories.

Premier Haultain worked incessantly towards the idea of maintaining one administration for the territorial districts of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Athabaska and Assiniboia. W.L. Morton suggests that "Frederick Haultain has always seemed to me to be the key personality in the formation of the Western outlook."<sup>11</sup> It is certain that

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9. C. Lingard, Territorial Government in Canada, p.6.

10. Commonly known as Premier Haultain-a member of the North-West Committee, a lawyer from Fort Macleod, Knighted in 1916. Chief Justice to the Supreme Court of Saskatchewan 1912-1937.

11. W.L. Morton, in a letter to the writer dated Dec.22,1971. Dr. Morton is Professor of History, Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario.



Haultain's consistent concern for the West's position in the Confederation and for a more favourable balance of power to govern more efficiently, marked him as being one who constantly expounded a political philosophy for the West, a view which changed little, if at all, throughout his time in office. He was indeed a constant representative of the view of one province for the Northwest, autonomy of school legislation, and a continual agitator for the territorial (and later provincial) control of natural resources, which had not been relinquished by the Laurier Government in 1905 for Alberta or Saskatchewan. (Finally relinquished in 1930).

The movement west of the Canadian Pacific Railway, crossing 750 miles of territorial land with tax exemption, was seen by Haultain and the Northwest Council as an

... extraordinary burden upon the people of the West... Ample evidence exists to show that the railway was not in any sense built for the benefit of the Northwest... it is difficult for the people of the Northwest Territories to understand why they should be called upon to assume any other burden than that of contributing proportionally - and no more - with the people of other parts of Canada towards the cost of carrying out obligations assumed by Canada under the compact with British Columbia. 12

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12. Sessional Papers, No. 116, 1903, Vol. XIII, Haultain's Letter to Laurier, Dec. 7, 1901, pp. 24, 25.

Then too, the additional financial burden of an increasing population within the territory, particularly after 1896, proportionally increased the need for further grants from the Federal Government. Haultain writes in 1901,

On the one hand, our limitations preclude our doing for ourselves the things that ought to be done and on the other hand, Parliament makes no effort to assist us with an even approximate degree of adequacy. 13

Being a territorial government, the Northwest Council was prevented from obtaining the benefits of their resources such as timber, minerals and lands, unable to charter railways or borrow money. Haultain's letter<sup>14</sup> to Sir Wilfred Laurier clearly enumerates the basis to the Autonomy Bill which he put forward in 1901. In this letter Haultain again discussed the economic problems that face the Territory, the administrative problems associated with being a territorial government, the duplication of Dominion administration work,<sup>15</sup> particularly as it relates to the justice department, and the lack of adequate funds being granted to keep pace with a growing and diverse immigration.

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13. Ibid, p.11.

14. Laurier Paper 1901, pp.1-8, also discussed in C. Lingard, Territorial Government in Canada, p.38.

15. This is also mentioned in Sessional Paper 116, p.11.

General acceptance of autonomy of the Northwest Territories was in no way a unanimous acceptance of the idea that one province was the most viable answer; indeed, backing for one, two, three, and even four provinces was proposed. In addition a smaller group desired a westward extension of the Manitoba border. Nonetheless, at the territorial general election of 1902 Haultain stressed in his pre-election address that his government

has presented to the Federal Authorities the claims of the people ... In that document the territorial government has expressed its opinion in favour of the organisation of one province only. Action upon the whole question has been postponed by the Dominion Government, principally upon the grounds that there is a 'divergence of opinion respecting the question whether there should be one province only or more than one' ... The opinion of the territorial government is based upon the fact that in the past, one government and one legislation have found no difficulty in conducting the affairs of the country (i.e. Territory) other than such as arose from the inadequacy of the revenues, and it is not anticipated that any difficulty which cannot be met with, will arise in the future. 16

The results of the election were overwhelmingly in Haultain's favour, which was taken by the press to be a statement of confidence in his election policy to achieve autonomy for the Northwest Territory as one province.

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16. Macleod Gazette, May 2, 1902.

Section One of Haultain's Bill for Autonomy called for the erection of one province on January 1, 1903, out of the districts comprised of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and that portion of the district of Athabaska lying to the south of the fifty-seventh parallel of north latitude.<sup>17</sup>

Haultain argued in his letter to Laurier, in which he first drafted this bill, that even though the proposed province was larger than the others much of the area of Athabaska and the northern and eastern portions of Saskatchewan were unproductive and would never attract anything more than a small population.<sup>18</sup> He also stated in this letter that the people living within these areas were satisfied with the administration of the territory and did not see anything to be gained by its dissection into more than one administrative unit.

The issues noted by Haultain in this letter to Laurier had been presented to the people of the Territory on numerous occasions, the most comprehensive statement being made at Indian Head on December 18, 1901.<sup>19</sup> At this time

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17. Sessional Paper 116, also Lingard, p.38.

18. Proposed Province 404,000 sq.miles - Quebec 347,000, Ontario 220,000, British Columbia 383,000 - Sessional Papers 116, p.13.

19. The full speech is reported in The Telegram, (Manitoba), Friday, Dec. 27th, 1901.

Haultain reported his government's stand on autonomy and the One Province idea as well as a rebuttal to Premier Roblin's (Manitoba) proposal to extend Manitoba's border westward. At this time he further defended the size of the proposed province, looking to the Australian example, noting that the area of Western Australia, South Australia and Queensland were all well in excess of that of the one province that he was proposing.

Thus, the terms of the autonomy debated were laid clearly before the Federal Government in Ottawa, as they had been previously. The reply, however, did not come, and at the opening of the Fourth Session of the Territorial Legislative Assembly he expressed the Government's regret that no communication had been received from Ottawa. The issue of autonomy continued on in like manner for two more years, terminating at the opening of Parliament in Ottawa with the following statement from the Speech from the Throne: "The rapid growth in the population of the Northwest Territories during the past two years justifies the wisdom of conferring on these territories provincial autonomy." <sup>20</sup> Thus in 1905 Sir William Laurier submitted

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20. Debate, House of Commons, Canada, 1905, Vol. 1, Col. 6.

legislation for the establishment of two provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The rationale behind making the decision for one province was that it would be too large a political unit.

Laurier argued that the northern limit of the two new provinces would not extend into the District of Mackenzie because the area to the north of  $60^{\circ}\text{N}$  was unfit for agriculture; although possessing definite indications of mineral wealth, the area was unfit for settlement due to an absence of accompanying rural productivity. The government's decision was to give autonomy to that section of the territory bounded by the line north from the United States border to the line dividing the districts of Mackenzie and Athabaska, (See Map 1. and 2, Page 22) and the  $60^{\circ}\text{N}$  parallel of latitude.

The decision to retain the territory of Athabaska within the autonomous area, was that, even though this territory was not considered wholly fertile, agriculturally rich lands were available particularly in the Peace River Valley, and settlements had developed in this area. The land area of this autonomous region, made up 550,345 square miles, was considered too large to be made into a single

province. By dividing the area into two halves, thus forming two provinces, Laurier argued that each province was given an area which was of manageable size, corresponding approximately to the size of Ontario. The boundary was thus drawn along the fourth meridian ( $110^{\circ}\text{W}$ ), which not only divided the autonomous area into approximately two provinces, but also eventually split the population (approximately 250,000 people in each province).

The provincial capitals were set as Regina in Saskatchewan, and provisionally Edmonton, due to its central position, in Alberta. The fourth meridian ( $110^{\circ}\text{W}$ ) boundary was criticised heavily, particularly by representatives from the southern cities of Calgary, Medicine Hat and Macleod, who objected to the division of the range country. They argued the division, if to be made at all, should be the  $107^{\circ}\text{W}$  meridian, as the former meridian cut the livestock industry into areas of different political legislation. The decision, however, remained unchanged. The decision to form two provinces rather than one from the district of the Northwest Territories implied a political division within a region which had much in common.

This caused a separation of the united political force that would have been formed within the Federation if one province had been established. Fear of an eastern portion of the proposed territory of the One Prairie Province being annexed by Manitoba certainly undermined the Haultain government's proposal. The view held by liberal members of the Northwest Territories, that Regina constituted too much centralised force on the territorial districts, added much weight to the creation of two provinces.

Laurier also rejected the Manitoba proposal of extending its borders westward on the grounds that it was not acceptable to the people living in the area affected, and that this area was well defined as part of the Northwest Territories and would thus become part of the new province of Saskatchewan.<sup>21</sup> Hence, the inauguration of these two provinces brought to an end the dispute.

#### Debates on Amalgamating the Three Prairie Provinces

The idea of amalgamating Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba into one province has been documented on numerous

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21. N.L. Nicholson, The Boundaries of Canada, Its Provinces and Territories, p.82.



occasions. The first mention of such an idea was put forward by Captain John Palliser who suggested that the area between the Red River settlement and British Columbia should constitute a single British Colony, generally following as its northern boundary, the 54<sup>0</sup> North parallel and the 49th parallel in the south from the eastern end of the Lake of Woods to the Rocky Mountain crest. The most significant discussion however, occurred from the beginning of 1932 with the proposal of John Bracken (Premier of Manitoba) to diminish the number of legislature members in the Prairie provinces and to

Consider whether one legislation instead of three would not be to the general advantage of the West ... I would suggest that a committee bring in a recommendation to the legislature not only in favour of a smaller number of members and a fairier method of representation, but also in favour of asking the other governments to join with us in having the whole question carefully examined with a view to laying before the public the advantages, and the disadvantages, if there are any, of such a proposal. 22

He further argued that the combined economy of one legislature would constitute considerable savings.

22. Exhibit No. 32. Exhibit to Rowell Commission 1937.  
Bracken here recounts previous correspondence on the idea of One Prairie Province, January, 1932.

This view was endorsed by Justice W. Turgeon of Regina, who argued that the people of Western provinces

... have developed a social and political individuality which tends to bring them together, and which would make it comparatively easy for them to agree on the management in common of their local affairs. 23

The realisation that the Prairie people had developed a common identity, a notion that Haultain also believed, led Turgeon to see union of the three provinces in terms of advantages to the economy, management of natural resources and education, and a reduced legislative body ending the need for a multiplicity of government departments when administered as one political unit.

These views received considerable discussion; among the  
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private views expressed, Premier J.E. Brownlee of Alberta agreed that economy would be achieved but also he saw advantages in having one government as one Prairie voice in all Dominion matters. Similarly, Premier J. Anderson of Saskatchewan saw advantage in the proposal. The underlying comment to be found in the majority of positive opinions on the idea was the economy to be achieved by the reduction in the number of provincial governments. The Royal  
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Commission of Dominion Provincial Relations thus discussed

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23. W.F.A. Turgeon, "I'd Unite the Prairie Provinces," Macleans, (Feb. 1, 1932), p.40.

24. J. Bracken, Exhibit No. 32.

25. Royal Commission of Dominion Provincial Relations, (Rowell Commission). See "Union of Certain Provinces," p.167.

this view, and revealed that the savings would be approximately five per cent of the existing current expenditure of the three provinces. The pooling of economic risk, however, was seen to be an advantage to union if recommendation made elsewhere in the Commission's report were not acceptable. Making this assumption

there would be a strong case for union of the Prairie Provinces on grounds that it would improve the general credit standing of the region. By union, the economic risks of the three provinces would be pooled, and the resulting increase in financial stability for the region would tend to diminish the need for Dominion assistance in time of crop failure. 26

The matter of Prairie union was raised again more recently by the then-Premier of British Columbia (W.A.C. Bennett) in 1968 at the Federal-Provincial Conference. 27

This submission calls for the Federal Government to recognise the "legitimate needs of the five economic regions of Canada." 28 In addition, this proposal requests consideration to be given to extend the provincial boundaries northwards to the limits of continental Canada, thus dividing the Yukon and Northwest Territories among British Columbia and the Prairies.

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26. Ibid, p.168.

27. Submission by Hon. W.A.C.Bennett, Proposals of the Provinces of British Columbia on the Constitution of Canada.

28. Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario, The Prairies and British Columbia.

Such a view would certainly appear to be within the self interest of Mr. Bennett's jurisdiction and, at that level, can be dismissed as a positive argument. On the other hand the Yukon and Northwest Territories, by joining with their southern provinces, could also stand to gain by such a union and the argument must therefore be considered seriously.

The political history of the One Prairie Province idea reveals that its basis has been largely economic; it asserts that if the provinces could be politically unified, it would create a more effective balance between the richer provinces to the East and West; recognising that a federation of equals is more logical than one of unequals.

The propositions made have not been calls for  
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secession, but for a reorganisation of the Confederation to recognise the economic gains that they believe would be forthcoming. Some also see the Prairies as a cultural region, recognising its diversities, but accepting the commonalities of the landscape and the way of life of its people as being the cohesive element that binds it together. Andrew Clark, recognising the great diversity within the Prairies concedes that

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29. The prospect is discussed in D.K. Elton (ed), One Prairie Province Conference: A Question for Canada, p.185.

Those who live in the region have usually tended to identify themselves with all of it rather than with a part. There was little to distinguish the individual units and much to bind them together in the shared history of the fur trade, dominant until the new Canada reached west a century ago and clutched to its bosom Rupert's Land, the Northwest Territory and British Columbia. Even thereafter, the old attitudes and channels of communication were dominant until the advent of the railway, the Northwest Rebellion and the first wave of true farming settlers made their impact in the eighties. Moreover, the first years of agricultural settlement involved much the same kind of people fanning out from Winnipeg in a steady series of streams to the west and northwest. Manitoba was clearly the cultural and economic progenitor of the other two, and the strong similarities reflect the common heritage. 30

The recognition of economic and cultural ties within the Prairie provinces, cohesive enough to be recognised as constituting a region, is the key to the idea of union. The diversities that exist have parallels in Ontario, and it would appear that such diversity has been used to economic advantage in the case of that province.

The historical aspects of the One Prairie Province idea reveal an increasing need for interprovincial co-operation and joint project planning, a trend which appears to be happening, and which in themselves, are integrative forces binding the Prairie region.

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30. A. Clark, "Historical and Geographical Perspective," in D. Elton (ed), One Prairie Province: A Question for Canada, pp.330-331.

## Conclusion

W.O. Mitchell's novel, "Who has Seen the Wind", illustrates the Prairie sky and wind and tranquility. It is an evocation of feeling and of belonging, leaving the reader with an idea of the uniqueness of Prairie life. And so it is unique, for many reasons, but fundamentally as a result of its environment which has its impress upon Prairie history. It is however, necessary to understand

that the institutions of the Prairie West were Canadian institutions and that the people who worked these institutions and determined the political development of the West were in the overwhelming majority of Canadian birth and ancestry. 31.

The strong influence of Ontario institutions left a definite mark on Prairie life. Notwithstanding this, colonization of the Prairies came later than that of Eastern and Central Canada; also problems of distance and accessibility produced a distinctive Western Canadian mentality, moulded by the common agrarian occupation and the problems which face such an occupation imposed by geographical location. But these were not the only problems; externally controlled factors such as world market conditions for grain and railway freight rates were certainly common problems which had the effect of binding

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31. W.L. Morton, "The Bias of Prairie Politics," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. XLIV, Series III, (June, 1955), p.57.

the people together. Thus by examining the common factors of historical Prairie economic life, an argument for explaining the emergence of a Prairie identity can be made. But to accept that tradition and cultural traits brought from elsewhere to the Prairies by a multiplicity of races were to be forgotten would seem unrealistic, the pioneer being "imitative rather than creative."<sup>32</sup> However it would seem reasonable to assert that following generations of Prairie people would adhere more to the tradition and culture which gradually formed within the new setting, and thus a distinctive agrarian identity would form, with an increasing degree of distinctive homogeneity.

The Prairies, then, have a regional identity rooted in an historically common base. Morton argues that this regional identity is not what distinguishes the political bias which made Prairie politics different from that of Central Canada, "... the subordinate status given the West in Confederation was the initial bias that set in train the development of Prairie politics towards an increasing differentiation from the Canadian standard."<sup>33</sup> If the Prairies were to be equal partners in Confederation with

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32. F.G. Stanley, "Western Canada and the Frontier Thesis," Report of the Canadian Historical Assoc., Annual Meeting, London, May, 1940, (Edited by R.G. Riddell, Toronto, 1940), p.106.

33. W.L. Morton, "The Bias of Prairie Politics," p.58.

the other provinces it was clear, prior to Confederation, that political autonomy would be the method to achieve it. A history of the Prairie politics and their objectives reveals a drive to establish this equality. It is then, little wonder, that debate on the idea of amalgamating the three Prairie provinces into one strong political representation has been continually put forward. It is this desire to equalise provincial status within the Confederation which reveals an underlying base to the Prairie union idea. "... The West as a region of political and material differences sufficiently significant to give it the character of a sub-society. That being so, it is the relations of the sub-society with the nation of which it is a part which make significant the history of the Prairie West."

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34. Ibid, p.66.



### CHAPTER III

#### THE ONE PRAIRIE CONFERENCE AND THE SUPPORT FOR THE IDEA

The most recent and, indeed, the most comprehensive discussion on the idea to unite the Prairie provinces was held in Lethbridge, Alberta in May 1970. This conference drew together academics and politicians from the whole of Canada, and particularly from the three Prairie provinces (see Appendix II), to debate the idea, and it is significant to present here the main stream of ideas discussed, as they represent not only the most recent but certainly the most comprehensive collection of opinions formulated at any one time.

It is important to note that the title of the Conference includes "... A Question for Canada,"<sup>1</sup> and the comments made by the speakers strictly related to the "Canadian" context. The notion that the proposed new province might wish to break away from the Canadian Federation was discounted completely.

The underlying agreement that permeates its way into the proceedings of the Conference is the alienation that the West feels from Ottawa, that an end must come to

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1. One Prairie Province - A Question for Canada. A national conference to study the feasibility of a One Prairie Province. May 10-13, 1970, Lethbridge, Alberta.

"... the constant catering to the vested industrial interests in the St. Lawrence Valley and centred around the industrial Golden Horseshoe in Southern Ontario."<sup>2</sup> That one or two provinces in a Federation should wield more economic and marketing power than the others, and thus demand and receive more from the Federal Government is unacceptable.

The emphasis of Western alienation is directed at the inequality of Western business and rural industries from the seat of the Federal Government in Ottawa. With the close proximity of the Central Canadian provinces to Ottawa it would appear that they are often able to obtain benefits from Federal legislation which favour their requirements and which are often unfavourable to the requirements of the Prairie provinces.<sup>3</sup> The reason for such inequality may well be expressed in the number of members representing the Prairies in the House of Commons. The representation from the Prairie region is forty six seats among a total of two hundred and sixty four members. The Prairie representation then can hardly hope to control the house or cabinet. It is significant to note that the metropolitan areas of Toronto and Montreal combined have

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2. Premier E. Schreyer, statement to Canadian Club in Ottawa, Feb. 1970. As reported in D. Thomson's paper, "The Prairie Provinces and the Canadian Federation," submitted to the One Prairie Province Conference, D.K. Elton (ed), One Prairie Province - A Question for Canada, p. 48.

3. This point has been made by Premier H. Strom, A Case for the West, p.18.

almost as many members as the whole Prairie representation. Then too, there has been a long period of liberal government in Ottawa with little representation from Prairie members, the Prairies being a conservative stronghold.

... the Prairies realise they have little chance of achieving justice through political instruments. Ironically, they are just as weak in terms of financial might. They have great wealth in the production of primary resources, but the purse strings are held by other hands. The Canadian financial institutions that provide the funds for private industrial development are almost all in the East. 4

Another aspect of the alienation frequently stated in the West is the seemingly favourable position which Quebec appears to be able to maintain within the Federation. The French language is imposed upon a society that does not speak French, nor does it need to do so, except in order to satisfy the requirements of a bilingual East. The East is the hub of economic and legislative control, and hence a hub which controls the Prairie economy. This situation becomes even more incongruous when it is realised that the Prairie population is made up of a multiplicity of nationalities, fewer than six per cent being of French origin, and greater than eight per cent being Ukranian, and nine per cent German. These people too feel a desire to be recognised as making up part of the Canadian population, and that recognition and opportunity for all groups should be

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4. P. Thompson (ed), The Prairie Provinces - Alienation and Anger, 1969, p.5.

realised regardless of language or race.

A measure of the degree to which alienation is felt by the people of Alberta has been ascertained by Professor D.K. Elton in his 1969 Alberta Electorate Study.<sup>5</sup> The following questions were directed to 567<sup>6</sup> voters in Alberta. The findings of the survey were that alienation does exist in Alberta, and it is reasonable to assume that similar discontent is to be found in other Western provinces. Tables, I, II and III examine points of Western alienation, and the responses indicate that approximately half of the people interviewed felt some alienation from Eastern Canada. This alienation refers to benefits made available to Eastern Canadians at the expense of Western Canada, and to tariff protection opposing Western Canadian interests. Table III (Western Alienation - The Concern of the Federal Government) calling for a more general response, obtained a slightly greater proportion supporting the view that the Federal Government was more concerned with Eastern problems than with Western ones.

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5. D.K. Elton, Alberta Electorate Study 1969, Much of the information is also available in Elton (ed), One Prairie Province - A Question for Canada, pp. 142-144.

6. See Appendix 3 for details of the study.

TABLE I      WESTERN ALIENATION - GREATER BENEFITS TO  
EASTERN CANADIANS

"The eastern Canadians receive more benefits than do western Canadians from being part of the Dominion of Canada."

| <u>Response</u>      | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Percentage</u>  |
|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| a) strongly agree    | 68               | 12.0               |
| b) agree             | 258              | 45.5 57.5% agree   |
| c) disagree          | 229              | 40.4               |
| d) disagree strongly | 7                | 1.2 41.6% disagree |
| e) no response       | 5                |                    |

TABLE II      WESTERN ALIENATION - TARIFF TO PROTECT EASTERN  
MANUFACTURERS

"The west is always getting a raw deal because the national government imposes high tariffs to protect eastern manufacturers."

| <u>Response</u>      | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Percentage</u>  |
|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| a) strongly agree    | 47               | 8.3                |
| b) agree             | 254              | 44.8 53.1% agree   |
| c) disagree          | 248              | 43.7               |
| d) disagree strongly | 6                | 1.1 44.8% disagree |
| e) no response       | 12               | 2.1                |

TABLE III      WESTERN ALIENATION - CONCERN OF THE FEDERAL  
GOVERNMENT

"The Government in Ottawa is more concerned about the problems of Eastern Canadians than they are about the problems of Western Canadians."

| <u>Response</u>      | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Percentage</u>  |
|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| a) strongly agree    | 58               | 10.2               |
| b) agree             | 288              | 50.8 60.2% agree   |
| c) disagree          | 209              | 36.9               |
| d) disagree strongly | 9                | 1.6 38.5% disagree |
| e) no response       | 3                | 0.5                |

Tables I, II and III - A Measure of the degree to which alienation is felt by a sample of people from Alberta.

A number of recent publications point also to the growing awareness of the alienation problem.<sup>7</sup> These books, magazine articles and newspaper reports point out the disparities that exist in the Federal Government's attitude towards the East, and particularly Quebec's status in the Federation. Examples are numerous: bitter articles appeared over the attitude taken by the Prime Minister, Mr. Trudeau, who was reported as saying at a Winnipeg meeting: "Why should I sell your wheat?"<sup>8</sup> This statement, coming at a time when wheat farmers were facing a disastrous year stimulated by a slump in exportation and the price cutting of the International Grains Agreement price structure, would appear to have done

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7. J. Barr & O. Anderson (eds), The Unfinished Revolt, Toronto, 1961.

P. Thompson (ed), The Prairie Provinces - Alienation and Anger, Toronto, 1969.

A. Edinborough, "Notice towards a definition of the mind of the West," Saturday Night, (July, 1969).

W. Stewart, "The Coming Showdown with the West," Macleans, (July, 1969).

Newspapers: The Gazette (Montreal), Nov. 24, 1971,  
P. Desbarats "West's diverging provinces share distrust of East."

Vancouver Sun, Nov. 3, 1971, P. Desbarats, "Canada's West United by fear of East."

Winnipeg Free Press, Jan. 17, 1971, P. Newman, "West's unease now a farce."

8. P. Trudeau, Prime Minister, stated at a farmers' meeting in Winnipeg. Reported by W. Stewart, "The Coming Showdown with the West," Macleans, (July, 1969), p. 37.

nothing to cement feelings of belonging to an Eastern Canada which is the centre of Canadian grain marketing.

In Manitoba, the transfer of the Air Canada overhaul base from Winnipeg to Montreal, resulting in a loss of a large number of jobs and a large amount of investment, stimulated the Manitoba Federation of Labour to ask in a national newspaper "Is the just society just for Quebec?"<sup>9</sup>

When speaking about western alienation Premier Strom summarised the situation saying

... in general, the accommodation which we require includes changes in attitude, changes in the orientation of various Federal departments, changes in the operating policies of the Federal Government, and a creation of new policies to cope with the causes of our dissatisfaction. 10

The rationale for the Conference had as its underlying philosophy that dissatisfaction was indeed present in the Western provinces, and that clearly the view of many Prairie people was that they were looking for alternatives. Thus, in early 1970, the Liberal Cabinet Minister, James Richardson, stated that "an increasing number of Western Canadians are ready to re-negotiate the conditions and terms upon which Western Canada stays in the Confederation."<sup>11</sup> Such a

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9. W. Stewart, p.39.

10.H. Strom, A Case for the West, p.8.

11.P. Thompson (ed), The Prairie Province - Alienation and Anger, 1969, p.1.

view would appear to be extreme; it is important to note, however, that this statement does not subscribe to leaving the Confederation, but to recognising the principles of Confederation to the extent that regional development can take place without the encumbrances of political subdivisions (made in the West before the people of the West were able to take any active part in defining this political division). At the Lethbridge Conference, James Richardson redefined his earlier statement:

We have the opportunity, and in fact the obligation to redraw the map of Canada if we sincerely believe we can improve Canada by so doing ... Let us look at some of the merits of a larger and stronger government in the West. The first is that all the powers and responsibilities now given to the provinces under the constitution would be legislated and administered evenly in this vast region. The two areas of provincial jurisdiction of greater importance in this respect would be natural resources development and human resource development ... The second merit of a larger government .. and a stronger government, would be better able to negotiate appropriate changes in the division of powers between the central government and the regional government ... A third fundamental merit ... is that it would help to achieve the essential balance of Canada which is vital to our on-going Confederation ... the increasing centralization of economic and financial and political power in Ontario and Quebec, has threatened the balance of Canada and therefore an important purpose which I see for a larger regional government in the West, is that it would be better able to balance the growing power of the central provinces. 12

The Conference was thus prefaced by talks of a realignment or a "new deal" for the West. Such major changes

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12. D.K. Elton (ed), One Prairie Province - A Question for Canada, pp.22-23.



were not, however, wholeheartedly accepted by many, although the essential points made at the opening address were largely agreed upon. Thus, James Richardson's arguments for the creation of one Prairie province although widely accepted, were not necessarily taken to the same conclusion, and a large following accepted the conclusion made by Peter Lougheed, who called for a much greater degree of co-operation between provincial administrations.

Then, too, there was the question of Quebec and its status in the Canadian Confederation, which prior to the Conference, was in the balance, as the 1969 Quebec elections were beset with talk of separation on the one hand, and a call for unity and a strengthening of the regions of Canada to encompass Quebec into the Federation, on the other. The reaction by Prairie people interviewed by the writer was that Quebec must stay in the Confederation if Canada was to maintain its unity, and the only way of achieving such an aim was to decentralise the government, recognising the distinctiveness of the natural regions of Canada.

The outcome of the Quebec elections, being held prior to the Conference, was fundamentally very important, as had the Quebec party under Rene Levesque been elected, separation would have been a distinct possibility.

Had separation been voted for, the question that remains unanswered is what would the reaction then have been in the Prairies and the Maritimes?

THE FOLLOWING FOR THE IDEA

In discussing the backing of the One Prairie Province idea it is important to consider the views held by the people, as hitherto the opinions put forward have been those of the political or business elite. What then are the views of the lay community about such an idea, and what advantages can they see for it?

No data is available for Manitoba and Saskatchewan on such a question; however, the survey conducted by Professor D. Elton in 1969<sup>13</sup> on such views held by 567 Alberta voters reveals a significant following for the idea.

Two questions (indicated here as Table IV and V) were included in Professor Elton's survey relating to the One Prairie Province idea, and in each case the affirmative result was twenty three per cent in favour of union.

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13. D.K. Elton, Alberta Electorate Study 1969, Aggregate Tables, p.12.

TABLE IV                      MEASURE FOR SUPPORT OF THE ONE PRAIRIE PROVINCE  
IDEA

"Are you in favour of One Prairie Province?"

| <u>Response</u>    | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Percentage</u> |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| a) Yes             | 130              | 23.0              |
| b) No              | 373              | 65.9              |
| c) Don't know      | 63               | 11.1              |
| d) Not ascertained | 1                | -                 |

TABLE V                      MEASURE FOR SUPPORT OF THE ONE PRAIRIE PROVINCE  
IDEA

"The three Western provinces should join together and form one large province."

| <u>Response</u>      | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Percentage</u> |
|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| a) agree strongly    | 21               | 3.7               |
| b) agree             | 108              | 19.9              |
| c) disagree          | 349              | 61.6              |
| d) disagree strongly | 85               | 15.0              |
| e) no response       | 4                |                   |

Of the affirmative response in Tables IV and V, people who had lived in Alberta for less than ten years tended to be in favour of Prairie amalgamation more than residents of longer periods, and also a slightly higher response was found to exist among agricultural and service workers. Education level showed a slight increase from respondents having some high school education to those with high school graduation and/or university graduation. Such trends would seem to indicate that the agricultural community is more favourable to the idea, probably because it is the most severely

affected by the inadequacies of the Wheat Board at that time to find markets for their wheat. The gradation towards a positive response according to education level, it is suggested, is due to a greater awareness of the problems confronting the area.

The response to the idea of the Prairie provinces amalgamating is significant; it is, however, hard to determine if the ramifications of such a step, were it implemented, are realised by the lay community, and if they were, one could well ask what the result would be. Then too, it must be appreciated that the survey was conducted in Alberta, and thus contains the views of a representation of that province. It does not, however, seem an unreasonable assumption to suggest that the statistics presented here would be comparable, were they available, from Saskatchewan and Manitoba, since these two provinces have much to gain, economically, by an amalgamation.

Considering the twenty three per cent who were in favour of the idea with the fifty four per cent who answered that they felt the West was receiving a "raw deal" from the National Government (Table II), an indication is documented that discontent is felt in Alberta, and that as a result of this discontent, a significant number of voters see advantage in joining the three provinces together.

In a far less rigorous study Dr. Brigham Card, a sociologist from the University of Alberta, asked his senior undergraduate students to write an answer to the question, "Suppose you were invited to speak at the Conference at Lethbridge on 'One Prairie Province, A Question for Canada', what would you say?" Of the forty one who responded fifty per cent were in favour of the idea, twenty per cent were against and twelve per cent were non-committal.<sup>14</sup> Dr. Card gives a content analysis of their answers.

TABLE VI      CONTENT ANALYSIS OF STUDENT RESPONSE TO A QUESTION  
OF THE ONE PRAIRIE PROVINCE IDEA

MAJOR FACTORS  
INDICATED

COMPONENTS OF MAJOR FACTORS

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Political                                     | exploitation, subservience of West to East, need for a united voice, need to recognise internal political differences, to remain part of Canada.   |
| Economic                                      | similarity in sources of income; disparity between Alberta and the other two provinces.  |
| Demographic                                   | ethnic balance comparable in the three provinces.  |
| Educational                                   | reduction of number of school systems with unity.  |
| Attitudinal                                   | feeling of alienation from East, feeling of sharing common problems, similar style of life in the three provinces, perceived by outsiders as from the Prairie region.  |
| Operational<br>(Means to<br>achieve<br>Unity) | extension of Prairie co-operatives and wheat pools, conference, educational campaign, surveys to find present views, more social movements to a populist nature, co-operation with neighbouring U.S. States. |

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14. B.Y. Card, "Political Union, Regionalism, or Both?" in D. Elton (ed), One Prairie Province - A Question for Canada, p.108.

The keynote to this analysis is that within this small group of students a need for regional co-operation was seen to be desirable, rather than a re-organisation of the political boundaries of the Prairie region.

Another study conducted by Maclean's Magazine <sup>15</sup> in October 1959, begins by suggesting to readers that

certain geographical divisions that may have made administrative sense 50 or 100 years ago are no longer so clearly valid. Planners in the Maritimes, more out of desperation than desire, are seriously considering political union. Pressure groups on the Prairies are advocating a western Bloc ... The Yukon has long been demanding full provincial status, while B.C.'s W.A.C. Bennett wants to swallow the territory whole. <sup>16</sup>

The survey presents four maps giving an alternative political redivision of Canada. Map 1 presents Canada with its present political structure. Map 2 divides Canada into eight sub-divisions in which the Prairie region is included with the Northwest Territories (B.C. includes Yukon territory), and in addition to Maritime union, Ontario and Quebec, the cities of Montreal and Toronto are shown as city provinces. Map 3 shows "Canada West" as the whole nation as one, except independent Quebec, and the Maritimes connected by a corridor to Canada West. Finally, Map 4 shows Canada as part of the United States with an independent Quebec.

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15. D. Marshall, "Which Canada would you choose?" Macleans Magazine, (October, 1969), Centrefoil. This survey although not part of the One Prairie Province Conference, is contained in this chapter as its results complement the findings of Dr. Elton's survey and Dr. Card's observation. (See footnotes 13 and 14).

16. D. Marshall, Ibid, Centrefoil.

Although this survey could be discounted as being too suggestive towards one alternative, or that its results represent an unrealistic response, the data nonetheless serves as an indication of the view of 1200 Canadians. The results were Map 1: 27 per cent; Map 2: 41 per cent; Map 3: 10.5 per cent; Map 4: 13 per cent. (The remaining 8.5 per cent suggested other variations). The map indicating the Prairies as one political unit, among other changes, was the most popular choice.

The net result from these three surveys is that they indicate that a following of significant proportion is present for an amalgamation of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, although clearly it is the minority view. From the literature available, the survey conducted by Professor Elton and the writer's interviews with over 120 people in the three Prairie provinces, it would appear the cause of agitation for supporting the One Prairie Province movement was the alienation that Western Canada feels from Eastern Canada.

#### Economic Considerations - Disparities within the Prairie Provinces

The economic result of forming one province to encompass the existing provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba would certainly be to eliminate the disparity of goods-producing industries that exist within each political jurisdiction at present.

TABLE VII

ECONOMIC DISPARITIES WITHIN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES VALUE ADDED IN  
GOODS-PRODUCING INDUSTRIES AND PERCENTAGE ANALYSIS BY PRAIRIE  
PROVINCES 1967.

|                   | <u>Manitoba</u>  |              | <u>Saskatchewan</u> |              | <u>Alberta</u>   |              |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
|                   | <u>\$'000</u>    | <u>%</u>     | <u>\$'000</u>       | <u>%</u>     | <u>\$'000</u>    | <u>%</u>     |
| Agriculture       | 267,777          | 25.4         | 636,837             | 43.6         | 523,031          | 19.2         |
| Forestry          | 2,256            | 0.2          | 3,556               | 0.2          | 7,591            | 0.3          |
| Fisheries         | 2,527            | 0.2          | 1,163               | 0.1          | 758              | -            |
| Trapping          | 1,284            | 0.1          | 1,131               | 0.1          | 1,549            | 0.1          |
| Mining            | 96,429           | 8.8          | 306,527             | 21.0         | 895,205          | 32.8         |
| Electric<br>Power | 57,629           | 5.3          | 54,872              | 3.7          | 77,763           | 2.8          |
| Manufacturing     | 424,639          | 38.9         | 165,696             | 11.3         | 574,215          | 21.1         |
| Construction      | <u>230,001</u>   | <u>21.1</u>  | <u>292,371</u>      | <u>20.0</u>  | <u>647,229</u>   | <u>23.7</u>  |
| <u>TOTAL</u>      | <u>1,901,542</u> | <u>100.0</u> | <u>1,461,883</u>    | <u>100.0</u> | <u>2,727,341</u> | <u>100.0</u> |

17. A.L. Boykiw, "One Prairie Province and regional development," in D. Elton (ed), One Prairie Province - A Question for Canada, p.385.



The table presented in the proceedings of the Lethbridge Conference by A.L. Boykiw suggests that in 1967 considerable disparity existed between goods-producing industries on a comparative basis between the three provinces.

Table VII indicates the importance of the value of agricultural products in the Prairies, and that manufacturing varies quite significantly in the value added goods producing industries, with Manitoba being the highest at 38.9 per cent followed by Alberta 21.1 per cent and Saskatchewan 11.3 per cent. The latter figures however must be brought into perspective when compared with Quebec and Ontario (67 per cent and 71 per cent respectively).

In view of the large proportion of the gross national expenditure being supplied by imports, and the heavy concentration of manufacturing in Ontario and Quebec, it is reasonable to assume that the trade in manufactured goods between the Prairie provinces is rather limited. Most of the manufacturing in the Prairies is for local demand. 18

Some products manufactured within each of the Prairie provinces do experience provincial preference legislation thus restricting interprovincial trade. This situation would certainly be eliminated by the formation of one province as it would effectively eliminate trade barriers within the Prairie region.

The total value of the industries included in Table VII indicates that considerable disparity exists with Alberta

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18. Ibid, p.384.

having almost twice the value of Saskatchewan and a greater margin over Manitoba. Union of the three provinces would certainly diminish the wealth of Alberta in favour of the other two provinces. The marketing of Prairie exports (which include coal, nickel, potash, gas, oil and beef cattle) is carried out with Federal Government influence in Eastern Canada, and, more recently on the Pacific seaboard in British Columbia:

... unification of the Prairie provinces, expressing a strong position on the marketing of these products, could add more impetus to the marketing of some of these products. 19

This implies a greater strength is to be had by unifying the Prairie provinces both at the market place and in government. Such may be the case, although an argument can be found which suggests that three independent representatives backed by their own government are more powerful than one.

#### Summary of the One Prairie Province Conference

The Conference points out the many advantages and too, the disadvantages of this idea of amalgamation. The common denominator, however, is that a need is seen to co-operate much more closely within an area which many are prepared to consider as one region. It is clear that the Prairie provinces look westward and feel alienated from the East. Mildred Schwartz revealed some interesting trends from the Meisel study concerning political opinions and

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19. Ibid, p.386.

behaviour of Prairie people -

Currently, the Prairie Provinces are orientated westward. Saskatchewan and Manitoba look to Alberta, but Alberta does not reciprocate. Alberta looks away from the Prairies to British Columbia in terms of its diffinities and standards of comparison. 20

It would seem clear that Alberta, by looking westward to British Columbia, draws with it Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and that economically the Canada West concept could include British Columbia as well, which to many at the Lethbridge Conference indicated a need for greater inter-governmental co-operation with British Columbia as well as the Prairie provinces. Such has, most recently, been the case with British Columbia's new NDP Government establishing links by sitting with the Prairie provinces on the economic council conferences.

It is this disparity of allegiance that stimulates the opposition to the idea of political unification of the three Prairie provinces, and extends it into a Western Canada concept which calls for co-operation for interprovincial institutions to break down the barrier effect that the boundaries have to the flow of trade. In reaction to this barrier to political boundaries many organisations have been developed to counteract the effects of fragmentation which are discussed in Chapter V.

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20. M.A. Schwartz, "Attachments to Provinces and Region in the Prairie Provinces," in D. Elton (ed), One Prairie Province - A Question for Canada, p.105.

The question of belonging to a Western Canada, or perhaps to the Prairies, brings to the forefront the matters of identity and of disparity of allegiance.

The agitation for a One Prairie Province rests, in large part, upon the concept of a Prairie identity, demanding a cohesion within the Prairies. Chapter IV examines the cohesive elements that account for a Prairie identity.

## CHAPTER IV

### PRAIRIE IDENTITY

It has been argued that support for the idea of creating one province within the Prairies is significant, albeit in a minority. The question has now been asked "to what extent does a Prairie identity contribute to the agitation for the idea?" Such a question implies that a cohesive element, binding Prairie people together, may be discernible. Such cohesion could be attributable to factors of environment, to common problems of occupation, to a need to consolidate in order to create a balance within the whole nation, or, of course, to many other reasons. But is there a feeling of Prairie cohesiveness?

The survey conducted by the writer attempts to determine whether, in fact, a Prairie identity can be said to exist.

The survey was by interview, either by letter or by direct questioning. (See Table VIII and IX). Most of the speakers at the Lethbridge Conference constituted the group questioned first, consisting mainly of a political, academic or business elite. Direct questioning was used to interview students, newspaper executives and the lay public in Manitoba, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Calgary and Lethbridge. (See Appendix 4).

Sixty five people were interviewed or corresponded with and asked -

TABLE VIII--

PRAIRIE IDENTITY

- 1) Do you feel that a discernible Prairie identity exists within Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba?

| <u>Response</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | <u>Percentage</u> |
|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Yes             | 37               | 56.9              |
| No              | 16               | 24.6              |
| Don't know      | 12               | 18.5              |

The response to this question indicates that, in a very limited sample, Prairie identity is discernible, and that it encompasses the three Prairie provinces; however, a wide variation became evident when they were asked to define the basis of such identity. A sample -

Prof. J.H. Thompson - McGill University:

Yes. Undoubtedly a feeling of common identity has existed among residents of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta since the early years of this century. All these provinces, unlike the other seven, were essentially creations of the Federal Government, with explicit and implicit inferior status in Confederation. The provincial economics, with their emphasis on wheat production for export, were a second source of identification. Each suffered the disabilities imposed by the 'national policy', which deliberately concentrated industrial growth in Central Canada. Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta faced similar social problems, caused by the strains of moulding a united society from ethnic diversity, and each province faced a similar situation during the great depression of the 1930's. 1

E. C. Manning, the Senate of Canada.

... there is a Prairie identity in the sense that a considerable number of mutual interests and problems are common to all three Prairie provinces. There is also a mutual bond between these provinces arising from long standing with respect to excessive freight rates and the fact that the tariff protection afforded

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1. J.H. Thompson, in a letter to the writer, Dec. 2, 1971.

industry in Central Canada works to the disadvantage of the Prairie region. 2

The issue of Western alienation appears again in these two responses, as it does in most answers to the question on identity. The fact that diversities are also present is also substantiated by the returns to this question: a content analysis indicated the following points;

TABLE IX                      CONTENT ANALYSIS ON THE BASIS OF PRAIRIE IDENTITY  
STUDY.                      (OPEN-ENDED QUESTION)

CONTENT HEADING

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| Historical  | People felt they belonged to a distinctive situation and way of life. Recognition as Prairie folk. This identity is strongly associated with being Canadian. Alberta was different from the other two provinces as American settlers impregnated a different culture and had greater finances than the European settlers in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Frontier effort to mould area together. |
| Political   | Alienated and exploited by East. Having inferior status in the Canadian Federation. A need seen to balance the nation politically. Disabilities imposed by national policy - tariffs, freight rates, wheat markets etc. Inferiority to Quebec. French language not applicable to West. More co-operation between governments required.   |
| Economic    | Prairies are an economic malaise. Sharing of natural resources required. Many common organisations formed to combat the exploitation from the East.  |
| Environment | The Prairie provinces are not physically plains, thus "Prairie" tends to be a misnomer. However Prairie has come to be regarded as the term used to describe and justify the region as such.   |

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2. E.C. Manning, in a letter to the writer, Dec. 2, 1971.

Diversity                      Diversity evident in religion, languages,  
occupational structure within Prairies.

The breakdown of the comments made in the open-ended response are similar to the analysis made by Dr. Card from his students' comments. (Chapter III). They outline that although many common factors can be found within the three provinces, great diversity also exists. The concept of an identity in the sense that there is an absolute sameness is not present on the Prairies, but the term is used to denote a common "personality". It is important to understand that a recognition of "identity" may not necessarily indicate a feeling of cohesiveness having its roots within the Prairie provinces. From the data collected by Dr. Elton (see Tables I, II and III) it appears that the people of Alberta expressed an antagonistic feeling when questioned on their opinion of Western Canadian status in the Confederation. Thus, the question is posed: is the agitation for a One Prairie Province based upon a desire to unite the existing plains provinces for attaining common benefits? or is it a result of the alienation felt by the Prairie people from the East? In other words, is the stimulus for unity an agitation wholly from within the Prairie region, or is it a reaction to an outside influence?

The impression that is obtained by this writer is that, as examples of Western alienation are brought to the forefront by the media, the response is one of anger directed against



the Eastern provinces. This response calls for united action within the Western provinces.

A collective Prairie response comes about, consequently, due to the Prairie provinces seeing a need to balance the effect of the strong decision-making force of Eastern Canada, where many of the policy and marketing decisions are made for the Prairies. This is seen to be undesirable, as is documented in Table IX. The positive response (fifty seven per cent) given to the question on Prairie identity (Table VIII) is substantiated by the response to the open-ended question (Table IX). Identity is regarded as a reaction to the Western alienation viewpoint.

It is conceded in Table IX that diversity does exist within the Prairie region particularly in terms of language, race and even the base of the economy. Yet, as Table IX also suggests, there are bases for much common feeling within the three Prairie provinces; many common problems are shared, a common historical experience has been shared to the extent that the whole area was administered as a territory prior to Manitoba gaining its provincial status, a common rural activity has been experienced, immigration problems have been shared, as well as communication and transportation problems. More recently, the depression of the 1930's, in varying degrees, was shared, and the growing discontent

with the status of Western Canada in the Confederation is also shared.

The limits of what was considered the Prairie region by the respondents was almost unanimously the populated area of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Many agreed that the area was thus poorly named, but that the term "Prairie" had come to be regarded as a whole region.

When considering these questions and the response made to the writer's questions in terms of the One Prairie Province idea, the important factor is to note that a common ground, in a collective sense, is indeed felt among the Prairie people.

The problems that need to be solved for this region to develop transcend provincial boundaries, and in reaction to the pressures felt by these provinces, common organisations are present, and are growing more numerous, putting a united and integrated view forward. The following chapter discusses these organisations.

CHAPTER V

REGIONAL CO-OPERATION WITHIN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES

"The need to balance between the desire for Canadian unity on one hand and the aspirations and the economic and social realities of this region on the other." 1

The West can be regarded as a region having certain commonalities and facing problems of alienation from Eastern Canada. At the same time there is a great diversity. As a result, "the need to balance" has brought about a large degree of regional co-operation among the Prairie provinces. This co-operation has become necessary in order to break down the restrictions placed upon the provinces by the boundaries that separate them; for example, the provincial regulations for interprovincial trucking licencing, in which road haulage companies, wishing to transport goods across provincial boundaries, were required to seek the permission of each provincial motor transport board.<sup>2</sup> This meant an application was required for each province. This situation, causing a great deal of time loss and thus expense, was finally stopped by the proclamation of the 1967 National Transport Act, thus requiring only one application. Such an example points out the need for co-operation, which, in this case, has been given.

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1. P. Lougheed, "What are the alternatives?," in D. Elton, One Prairie Province?, p.398.
  2. This example is cited by L. Evans, "What are the alternatives," in Elton, p. 426.

The three Prairie provinces as they exist to-day are really very close to being one economic unit. Relatively few restrictions exist with regard to the movement of goods and services within the Prairie region ... Manitoba businessmen view the Prairies as one market. 3

With communications running across Canada predominantly from East to West and so linking each of the Prairie provinces it is inevitable that a great deal of commerce should exist between each of the three Provinces, and, too, that the major railheads should serve as collection points for this commercial activity. The railhead thus required an initial co-operation amongst the three provinces, with Winnipeg as the centre of the Western division of the C.P.R. The transportation of grain to the East, and later to the Western seaboard to cope with an Asian market, again required provincial wheat pools to co-operate with the Canadian board. Hence, as rural occupations are of paramount importance to all three Prairie provinces, the Federal Government has acted as the co-ordinating agent to facilitate the movement of grain, and other produce, to the market place.

The efforts of Frederick Haultain to maintain a regional government for the Prairies must have been the first concerted effort to bind the whole region into one political legislation. These having failed, due to the

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3. Op. cit, p.425.

Federal Government's insistence on further political fragmentation of the Prairies, other organisations, seeing common interest among the various Prairie occupations, sought to establish regional political parties based upon economic protest. Such parties as the Progressive Party, The United Farmers of Alberta, of Saskatchewan and of Manitoba, and CCF Party in Saskatchewan and Alberta attempted to fuse together the agrarian interests of Western Canada. Their stance, particularly that of the CCF Party, is to represent the working man without being left of centre; to move more to the right would encroach upon the liberal or conservative view, and thus it would lose its identity.

While it (the CCF Party) is stuck on the horns of a dilemma, the Conservatives and Liberals have appropriated many of its social welfare planks. Its chief obstacle is the hard fact of Canadian middle class democracy; like all radical and sectional parties it can consider broadening its appeal only at the risk of losing its claim to existence. 4

Thus with such encroachment by other parties the CCF collapsed. It is suggested here, however, that the need for parties to represent, among others, the agrarian population was necessary, and such necessity transcended provincial political boundaries. It would not appear to be too generous to take the view that, in retrospect, the function of the political or quasi-political agrarian organisations has been to present, at least, the view of

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4. P.Fox, "Politics and Parties in Canada," in P.Fox, Politics: Canada - Problems in Canadian Government, p.342.

the farmers, and that these views have been given their due consideration by the large parties which have evolved as the powers that be.

An organisation dedicated to protect the farmers of Canada was formed in December 1921, and named the Farmers' Union of Canada, with its headquarters in Ituna, Saskatchewan. (Significantly, those of the grain growing provinces of Western Canada sought to gain more from this organisation, as it was started in and administered from Saskatchewan). The Constitution is a manifestation of the views of the Union's first President, Norbert Henri Schwarz, who called for the "Farmers of the World to Unite." He writes, farmers "... realized, after many years of deception that it was useless to rely on Governments that were never controlled by the people, but by a few, controlled old men." <sup>5</sup> He urged farmers to take the initiative and significant clauses in the constitution state:

Clause II: To protect the farmer. To obtain complete control of the main Canadian produce. To market our crops under our own system. To affiliate with all the farmer organizations of the world, with one central executive in each country, which will fix prices according to a fair average of estimates sent in by the locals, will through the same source also know amount of marketable produce in the country; will have to keep informed as to the demands and needs of importing countries, and will also help to prevent the re-occurrence of famine by knowing ahead of time where and when food will be needed, and then insist towards the different governments with the full support of farmers and workers combined that the Governments shall do what they are there for; attend to the welfare of the masses of the people.

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5. D.S. Spafford, "The Origin of the Farmers' Union of Canada," in D. Swainson, Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces, p.255.

Clause III. If the Execution (sic) Board thinks certain steps are necessary to the welfare of the farmers, the conditions will have to be put before the farmer members and decided by a vote of the members of the Farmers' Union of Canada . If the majority is in favour of certain decisions every member of the Farmers' Union of Canada binds himself to unconditionally obey the orders of the executive of the Union. 6

The Farmers' Union was, by contrast to the conservative Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association, militant in so far as it exerted control over the 'subordinate lodges' of the Union from the Central Office, and called upon secrecy and a certain amount of ritual at its numerous meetings. The political impress of the Union was understandably in support of the labour parties' platform, but an active participation in politics was not attempted.

The impress of this Union on Prairie life is hard to determine; it does, however, provide a useful source of information to determine the agrarian discontent that existed after the depression following the First World War. At this time the price of wheat had dropped significantly from the bouyant returns that grain growers had been getting during the war years. And too, no stability of grain price was assured by the Government, contributing further to the farmers' discontent. This organisation, one of many formed due to this discontent, did not adhere to provincial boundaries, and it is another example of the agrarian population, particularly of the Prairie group, presenting a

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6. op.cit., pp.262-3.

common view to Ottawa. Similar historical organisations can be cited which were formed to foster a Prairie regional view, such as the Prairie Province Manufacturers Association, with its headquarters in Winnipeg.

The need for regional co-operation did not restrict<sup>7</sup> itself to secondary or primary industries. Dr. Card suggests that the need for regional co-operation was a decisive factor in the establishment of the United Church of Canada from the hitherto fragmented rural church problem.

The role of the Federal Government's Department of the Interior from the early years of national policy was essentially to settle the problems of and develop the Plains region.<sup>8</sup> "For years there has been an equivalent of a Prairie region 'desk' for the Prime Minister in Ottawa."<sup>9</sup> In support of this the Federal Government continues to use "The Prairies" as a basis for Prairie statistical information within the Dominion Bureau of Statistics reports. The National Employment Services also uses "The Prairies" as a region for their organisation. From the evidence available, however, and from recent research, it would appear that as far as the Federal

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7. B. Card, "Political Union, Regionalism or Both?" in D. Elton, p.120.

8. Op. cit., p.121.

9. Loc. cit.



Government's jurisdiction of regional offices in the Prairie provinces are concerned, eighteen of eighty four jurisdictions are clearly regional in that they combine the three provinces. However, fifty two jurisdictions deal with the provinces separately, or divide Alberta into two regions and deal with Manitoba and Saskatchewan separately in the Prairie provinces, some of which extend into the Northwest Territories and others into B.C.

"There appears to be little regional rationale guiding Federal relations with the Prairie provinces at present."<sup>10</sup> Such a finding is not in conflict with the point being made in this chapter, which is that the Prairie regional institutions existed or exist as a result of the Federal Government's decision in the first place to divide the Plains area into separate political entities, and that these interprovincial organisations continue to grow in the form of a counter balance to the hugeness of Ontario and Quebec, which themselves hold most of the Federal offices with Prairie jurisdiction. The fact that there "seems to be little regional rationale guiding Federal relations" then, is exactly the major point of contention which Prairie regional institutions have in their dispute with the Federal Government; it is, in fact, their 'raison d'etre'.

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10. loc. cit. (See Appendix 5 for Dr. Card's table on Federal Jurisdiction Offices in the Prairie Provinces, 1970.)

The Federal Government in April 1969 undertook to attempt to work towards reducing "the economic and social disparities<sup>11</sup> between the various regions of Canada" by passing legislation for the establishment of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion. At its inception, Government legislation terminated a number of the then existing agencies and programmes, but incorporated their activities into the new department. The three regions for the department's operations were East (the four Atlantic Provinces), Centre (Quebec and Ontario), and the West (The Prairie provinces and British Columbia).<sup>12</sup> The Minister for the Department, the Hon. Jean Marchand, when speaking at the One Prairie Conference at Lethbridge, used as his theme "Regional and national co-operation ... Co-operation on a regional scale - co-operation of the people of the whole of this great Prairie area - is highly important to your economic progress and social welfare."<sup>13</sup> A programme originating prior to the establishment of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, but now administered by it, is the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act (PFRA) with headquarters in Regina. This programme "provides technical and financial assistance for water development projects in the agricultural areas of

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11. Information Canada Publication on Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE), Ottawa, 1971, p.1.

12. op. cit., p.3.

13. J. Marchand, in Elton, p.35.

Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta." <sup>14</sup> Other activities of PFRA work co-operate with other Federal and Provincial agencies in land and water use studies, as in the work being carried out by the Saskatchewan-Nelson Basin Board. Prairie water flows across the provincial boundaries and much of this water is required for irrigation and other purposes. The Prairie Water Board was formed in July, 1948, between the Governments of Canada and the three Prairie provinces in order to facilitate co-operation of a common resource. Its aim stated:

... to recommend the best use to be made of interprovincial waters in relation to associated resources in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta and to recommend the allocation of water as between each such province of streams flowing from one province into another province. <sup>15</sup>

These two co-operative organisations recognise a need to integrate in order to facilitate mutually common areas of concern, particularly to explore and plan for future development which would increase production. The latter organisation has not, however, proved to be a strong example of provincial co-operation. Alberta, although interested in making feasibility studies of the Saskatchewan-Nelson Basin, has shown little enthusiasm for a common administration

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14. DREE, p.8.

15. S. Raby, "Alberta and the Prairie Province Water Board," Can. Geog., VIII, 2, (1964), p.87. Original source, Royal Commission on the South Saskatchewan Project: Report, Ottawa, 1951, pp. 422-3.

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for the Basin, despite its submission in 1952 to the Royal Commission that a single administrative authority would have to be set up. Such a view must fundamentally come from the realization that Alberta is not dependent upon Saskatchewan or Manitoba for water. Undeniably, such is the case as applied to other resources, and for this reason, it could well be considered the "wayward child" regarding comprehensive, interprovincial co-operation, or eventual political union. The former Premier of Alberta, H. Strom, denies such allegations, at the same time calling for more co-operation between the Prairie Premiers, and indeed, for a "co-operative federation."

The concerns of Alberta's poor and residents of the underdeveloped regions of this province, suffer because of the impression sometimes given by senior people in the Department of Regional Economic Expansion that 'Alberta is a fat cat'. 17

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16. Raby has reported two statements about this provincialism in his paper (Footnote 15) in which he quotes the head of the Engineering Division of Alberta's Water Resources Branch. Speaking at a Western Canada Reclamation Association Conference (Fall, 1962). See p. 90 of Raby's paper:

Alberta ..., although interested in an integrated Basin plan, would certainly oppose any suggestion of any sort of inter-basin or interprovincial authority on the administration of the Nelson-Saskatchewan Basin ... It seems that the policy of the Alberta Government at the moment is not to become too involved or tied down too much to an integrated basin plan.

17. Strom, in Elton, p.33.

Most recently, an interprovincial agency made up an executive of the three Premiers of the Prairie provinces, known as the Prairie Provinces Economic Council,<sup>18</sup> has been established. This council has provided a forum for the leaders of the three provinces to discuss common problems, realizing that their independent jurisdictions necessitate a regional approach to planning and solving problems. This intergovernmental co-operation has had some tangible results, such as the establishment of the Interprovincial Committee on University Rationalization (IPCUR)<sup>19</sup> in 1966, and effective discussion on plans for development in the Saskatchewan - Nelson Basin. Of particular concern to the Council has been any case where regional needs transcend provincial boundaries, particularly where underpopulated areas are concerned. The IPCUR attempts to discuss regularly common university problems and to co-ordinate the development of regional higher education. Thus, in this capacity, the Committee has studied library automation, and experimental<sup>20</sup> graduate and undergraduate programmes.

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18. The constitution of this council has not been made public, nor have the briefs of the discussions held. To date all such information is classified and thus unavailable.
  19. J.R. Cameron, and J.F. Graham, Post-Secondary and Government Finance, 1971, p.147.
  20. For a review of this Board's work, see The University Society and Government, Report of the Commission on The Relations Between Universities and Governments, (Rowat-Hurtubise), pp.189-193.

The University of Saskatchewan, by offering degrees in a faculty of Veterinary Science at Saskatoon, performs a regional task, for which the Alberta Government pays a grant of \$2,500 per Albertan student enrolled in that faculty. (This amounted to \$160,000 in 1970-71). Manitoba provides no assistance, but uses the Veterinary Science facilities. Only the Veterinary Science faculty at the University of Saskatchewan could be described as a regional faculty.

Another education facility being used by Western Canada (including British Columbia in this case) is the Banff School of Fine Arts, which has extended its scope to include The Advanced School of Business Management.

Within the primary industry in the Prairies are such organisations as the Canada Wheat Board (a Federal body which does not restrict itself to the Prairies, but predominantly is concerned with the wheat growing region of the plains), the interprovincial Farmers Union Council, the Western Farm Management Extension Committee and the Fund for Rural Economic Development (FRED) which comes under the control of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion. The FRED plan:

... provides for the initiation of comprehensive Federal Provincial development plans for selected rural areas of the country, where there was recognised potential for development, but widespread low income

resulting from economic and social adjustment problems. 21

Within the Prairies extensive work has been carried out in the Interlake area of Manitoba. A department to handle intergovernmental affairs has been established by the Alberta Government. This ministerial position is a new portfolio, which seeks to bring together the Federal and Provincial governments to discuss matters pertaining to Alberta. As such the Prairie Provinces Economic Council is an important linkage with this department, as here a further connection can be made with the various provincial departments of the Alberta Government in matters that transcend political boundaries.

Interprovincial organisations with concern for the environment can be cited: the Prairie Pollution Control Committee, which is an adjunct of the Department of Environment, and the Western Canadian Waterfowl Committee, an adjunct of the Department of Lands and Forests.

Western Canada, and in particular the Prairie provinces, have many common aspects which pertain to the physical, cultural or economic landscape; indications are that the need to co-operate with one another is increasing. The question that needs to be asked is why this trend is

necessary. The answer is that all the organisations discussed in this chapter have a need to co-operate, at least at a planning level, toward the formation of a joint administration. The overriding response to the question 'why does this organisation's work extend beyond this province?' asked by the writer to representatives of three organisations favouring regional co-operation was that the concern of each particular body did not restrict itself to one province alone, but to the whole of the Prairies. With regard to primary industries concerned with selling grain, the response to the question was that a united body was required to confront Ottawa with their demands.

It is thus reasonable to postulate that the growth and increasing strength of these interprovincial organisations on the Prairies is in reaction to the realisation that much can be gained by taking a regional view of particular problems on the Prairies, as so many common aspects that have hitherto been dealt with by the individual provinces can best be resolved by a co-operative body such as the Prairie Provinces Economic Council.

It is interesting that the three Prairie provinces have called for more co-operation, and, in fact, at the One Prairie Province Conference, they argued for a greater



strengthening of the Prairie Province Economic Council. It is this degree of amalgamation that they see as most desirable for the Prairies; this does not necessarily imply political union.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

The fundamental reason behind agitation for the amalgamation of the three Prairie provinces into one political unit is, and always has been that the Prairies constitute a region, and that by politically dividing the region into three separate jurisdictions they have been made discontiguous with each other. Such a need has been seen by many as reason for encouraging and agitating for political union. The boundaries between the provinces are seen as barriers to the flow of funds and services between one province and another, which would not be the case if the whole region constituted one political unit. Within the Prairie region disparities of wealth clearly exist<sup>1</sup> and thus if the Prairie provinces became one political unit

it is likely that there would be more equalization of income and provincial government resources and services; since the provincial boundaries would no longer be barriers to the flow of funds from one region to another in the Prairies. 2

Thus the economic benefit for Manitoba and Saskatchewan in being united together with Alberta would give significant economic gain to the former two provinces.

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1. This was demonstrated in Chapter 3, Table VII of this thesis.
  2. A.L. Boykiw, "One Prairie Province and Regional Development," in D. Elton, One Prairie Province - A Question for Canada, p.388.

The underlying question is consequently:- what economic loss would be felt within the Alberta economy due to the redistribution of their revenues to encompass the whole Prairie region? From the literature that is available on this point, and from interviews conducted by the writer it would appear that fundamentally, for reasons of perceived economic loss, Alberta is the least receptive to the idea of Prairie union. An article from the Lethbridge Herald in response to statements made at the One Prairie Province Conference by Alberta's Premier at the time of the Conference, Mr. H. Strom, supports this view.

Many of the Saskatchewan delegates of the One Prairie Province Conference had lost some of their enthusiasm for the discussion ...

They blamed their decline in interest to a large extent on a speech by Alberta Premier, Harry Strom, who some felt has effectively torpedoed the spirit of give and take discussion of the proposal. 3

Despite the fact that the agitation to unite the Prairie provinces is a minority view, the Prairie people quite clearly exhibit a feeling of solidarity with the Prairie region. The extent to which a provincial allegiance would increase a Prairie identity is uncertain; it would appear to the writer that it would vary considerably within the region.

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3. Hinds, Lethbridge Herald, May 13, 1970.

Variations in support and agitation for the idea within the whole Prairie region occur according to basically two considerations: the first is the economic gain or loss that would result from union. It would appear that the most active opposition comes from Alberta, which stands to have its economic wealth (compared with Manitoba and Saskatchewan) shared with the remainder of the Prairie region. Then, too, one's loss is another's gain. The question that needs to be asked is whether the gain is going to create ultimately a more viable economic unit within the Canadian Federation. Will it allow the Prairies to truly partake in the "Federal Idea" to the extent of being a fully-fledged member, not subservient to the other units that make up the Federation?

The question implies the importance of a political measure of Prairie co-operation. Under the present arrangement of three Prairie provinces it is possible to use one province against another to maintain a balance of power within the Federation. Prairie union would certainly have a greater status, in terms of size, within the Federation, but because one administration, instead of three, would represent the region this balance of political power would not be possible.

The second consideration is the West's feeling of alienation from the East. This implies that Western status in the Federation is of some lower order than that of the economically and politically dominant provinces in the East.

These views vary considerably in strength within the provinces, but most significantly in the urban-rural scene. The reasons for this is that the agricultural primary industry is experiencing hard economic times, notably the wheat industry in recent years. Because the marketing, financing and administration of agricultural, as well as mineral-based industries, are situated almost exclusively in Eastern Canada, the Prairie agitation is directed towards the East. The city dweller may be sympathetic and may notice the detrimental effects of poor grain returns on his provincial economy, but nonetheless, he is removed from the situation directly, and thus does not usually express Western alienation as strongly as his rural counterpart. Differing socio-economic classes did appear to be significant in expressing support for the idea. It was, in fact, the business, academic and political elite, that expressed the original agitation for the idea. The agitation for the One Prairie Province idea may well be valid if the desire was present among all Prairie people to break their provincial allegiances and act as one. Such a feeling

is not present and thus union is unlikely, but the desire to co-operate with each other is certainly present, and numerous examples of such co-operation have been cited.

It is incorrect, therefore, to see these co-operative ventures as signs of political integration; indeed, they are signs purely of a region, which is politically fragmented, seeing a need to look to common areas of concern, such as their feeling of alienation from the East. The integratory forces that are evident here strengthen the co-operative organisations, but certainly do little to weaken the political jurisdiction.

Despite the acceptance by many at the One Prairie Province Conference that the idea of Prairie unity was not a strongly held point of view, the proponents of it continue to agitate as they have done for over fifty years. Undoubtedly, a following for the ideas does exist; and, too, with active talk of a Maritime Provincial union it is conceivable that, should such a union take place in Eastern Canada, the Prairie Union idea may well be seen more favourably.

#### Future Research Needs

It is unfortunate that data measuring the support for the idea of Prairie Union has not been generated in Manitoba and

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Saskatchewan as it was by Professor Elton<sup>4</sup> for the Province of Alberta. The same questions as were contained in his study could well be asked in a Prairie wide survey. Whether the affirmative answers would correlate with Alberta's twenty three per cent would indeed be interesting. Then, too, the matter of Prairie newspaper circulation and interprovincial (i.e. within the Prairie provinces) telephone usage would give an indication of the degree of inter-communication that exists between the provinces. In the same way, by looking at the communication across the Alberta-British Columbia border for the same two examples - newspaper circulation and telephone usage, an interesting comparison could be thrown upon Dr. Mildred Schwartz's thesis that Alberta is looking westwards, rather than towards the Prairies, for "its affinities and standards of comparison."<sup>5</sup>

Dr. Card calls for more work to be done in collecting a list of common Prairie organisations, either political or commercial; with this information a constitution or statement of philosophy of these organisations is essential if any indication of the strength of the

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4. D. Elton, The Alberta Electorate Study - 1969. A Preliminary Report, University of Lethbridge, 1969.

5. M.A. Schwartz, "Attachments to Province and Region in the Prairie Provinces," in Elton, p.105.

influence of such an organisation is to be determined. An example is to be found in the Prairie Economic Council. Such a council, with the Premiers of each Prairie province presiding, would seem to be extremely indicative of the three provincial governments seeing a need to discuss common problems and move towards some mutually agreeable aims or objectives. However, the constitution for such a council does not appear to exist. If then, this council is merely a forum for discussion without clearly set down aims, then such a council cannot be given the same degree of importance as others that have defined their aims and objectives in terms of the Prairie region.

In looking at the historical background to the One Prairie Province idea, the division of the Prairies was made predominantly as a result of the size of one large province being considered too large to be within the Canadian Federation. A federation is based upon its regions, and ideally allows for each unit within the federal structure to foster its own identity. It would seem inevitable that this identity would change, and thus the federal structure has to be flexible enough to change with it. How much the Canadian Federation has changed in accordance with regional identities changing, and the extent to which the Federation has become anachronistic, is a further research need. It would seem a reasonable



postulation that the Prairies have developed economically and culturally to a point that the values for their original acceptance into the Federation have changed. They have been left with a status that does not allow them to co-exist within the Federation as equal partners.

### Summary

The agitation for political integration of the Prairie provinces, as the hypothesis states, is based upon the growing awareness of Prairie people to view Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba as a region of Canada - a Western Canadian regionalism, which for some would include British Columbia. This regional awareness has developed in most part due to the many common problems that the Western provinces face, and particularly from their feeling of alienation from the East. In reaction to this, the Prairies have developed many common organisations which transcend political boundaries. From the evidence gathered it would seem at this time that there is a stronger emphasis on the need for Prairie co-operation than for political union.

The contribution of this work is fundamentally in two areas. Firstly, it is directed at providing a greater understanding of the Prairie region and of its status

within the Federal structure of Canada. It reveals that the Prairies are changing in character. Secondly, it reveals the evolution of an idea of regional integration which is expressed by many as political integration, and thus is a basis of agitation for the idea.

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APPENDIX I

THE PRAIRIES AS A REGION

The Canadian Prairies have historically been settled by a variety of races but have faced common problems of farming the land, drought, and marketing of their produce. They were basically a rural people and as such have shared a common philosophy of co-operation between one another and with the land itself.

The advent of big business and the development of mining in the Prairie encouraged the Prairie farmers into centres which have formed into huge urban conglomerates, providing wheatpools, transportation centres and goods and services generally. With this growth in huge urbanized centres has come discontent with the Eastern cities from which so much of Prairie life is controlled, freight rates and wheat marketing being two. The collective response has been firstly to be antagonistic to the East and later to organise, within the three Prairie provinces, co-operative organisations which give the Prairie region a more forceful voice. P.F.W. Rutherford suggests Prairie regionalism has been fostered by Eastern domination. He assumes the existence of a Western community

... considering the diversity of prairie life and the significance of metropolitan rivalries, some readers may doubt this assumption. But the west had a strikingly uniform attitude towards its destiny, its character, and its problems. And western towns were united in the struggle to develop the prairies and to free their region from eastern domination. Thus it

seems fair to speak of a western community.

George F.G. Stanley agrees with the concept of a Prairie region,

... the plains and the park belt together constitute a single unit, physically, economically and historically this unit shares neither its economy nor its culture with the cordillera of British Columbia, or with the rocky lakeland of the Canadian shield. These regions have their own distinctive geographical features, their own problems and their own future. 2

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Other sources which support the Prairies as a distinctive geographical region are-

1. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics use "The Prairies" (encompassing Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba) as a region of Canada.
2. Rowell-Siros Commission, Royal Commission on Dominion Provincial Relations, Canada, 1867-1939. This Commission includes a number of supporting studies which look to the Prairies as a region of Canada-e.g. W.J. Waines - "Prairies Population Possibilities."
3. The Royal Commission on consumer problems and inflation, 1938. Supporting studies include -
  - (i) Prairie Regional Development and Prospects.
  - (ii) Transportation on the Prairies.
4. Stabler, J. "Recent Developments in the Prairie Region and its implications for Regional Economic Policies with special reference to Saskatchewan." Brief on behalf of Regina and Saskatoon presented by Dept. of Regional Economic Expansion 1967. Government Publication.

1. P.F.W. Rutherford, "The Western Press and Regionalism, 1870-96." The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 41, 3, (Sept., 1971), p. 287.
2. George F.G. Stanley, "The Western Canadian Mystique," in D.P. Gagan, (ed), Prairie Perspectives, Toronto, 1970, p. 8.

APPENDIX 2

ATTENDANCE AT THE ONE PRAIRIE PROVINCE CONFERENCE.

The One Prairie Province Conference: One Prairie Province?  
A Question for Canada. A National Conference to study the  
Feasibility of One Prairie Province, May 10th - 13th, 1970.  
Editor of Proceedings, D.K. Elton.

Conference Co-sponsors: Dr. William E. Beckel, Acting President  
The University of Lethbridge.

Conference Co-ordinator: D.S. O'Connell.

Guest Speakers: James A. Richardson, Federal Minister of  
Supply and Services.  
Harry E. Strom, Premier of Alberta.  
Jean Marchand, Federal Minister of Regional  
Economic Expansion.

Panelists: Donald Baron, Editor, Country Guide Magazine,  
Winnipeg.  
Edward P. Benoit, M.L.A., Edmonton.  
Allan E. Blakeney, M.L.A., Regina.  
A.L. Boykiw, Vice-President, Hu Harries and  
Associates Ltd., Calgary.  
Sidney L. Buckwold, Mayor, Saskatoon.  
R.M. Burns, Director, Institute of  
Intergovernmental Relations, Queens  
University, Kingston.  
Brigham Y. Card, Department of Educational  
Foundations, University of Alberta, Edmonton.  
Andrew H. Clark, Department of Geography,  
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.  
Fred R. Drummie, Executive Director, Maritime  
Union Study, Fredericton.  
David K. Elton, Department of Political Science,  
The University of Lethbridge, Lethbridge.  
Alvin, A. Hamilton, Former Federal Minister of  
Agriculture, Ontario.  
Eric J. Hanson, Department of Economics,  
University of Alberta, Edmonton.  
Darrel V. Heald, Attorney-General of  
Saskatchewan, Regina.  
Ralph O. Hedlin, Menzies and Associates Ltd.,  
Toronto.  
Warner Jorgenson, M.L.A., Winnipeg.

Laurier LaPierre, Director, French Canadian  
Studies Program, McGill University,  
Montreal.

Arleigh H. Laycock, Department of Geography,  
University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Peter Lougheed, Leader of the Opposition,  
Edmonton.

Stephen G. Peitchinis, Department of Economics,  
University of Calgary, Calgary.

John E. Oberholtz, Human Resources Development  
Authority, Edmonton.

Mildred A. Schwartz, Department of Sociology,  
University of Illinois at Chicago Circlly,  
Chicago.

Thomas K. Shoyama, Assistant Deputy Minister,  
Federal Department of Finance, Ottawa.

Barry L. Strayer, Director, Constitutional  
Review Section, Privy Council, Ottawa.

J.R.W. Sykes, Mayor, Calgary.

Alan M. Thomas, Executive Assistant to  
The Honourable Robert Stanbury, House of  
Commons, Ottawa.

Dale C. Thomson, Director, Centre of Canadian  
Studies, The John Hopkins University,  
Washington, D.C.

Norman Ward, Department of Political Science,  
University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

APPENDIX 3

1

THE ALBERTA ELECTORATE STUDY, 1969. D.K. ELTON.

This study is a survey research project concerning Electoral Perception of Federalism: The Alberta Electorate.

The objective of this survey research project was to undertake an exploratory investigation regarding the knowledge, saliency, and evaluation of federalism by the citizens of Alberta. Specifically, it sought to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent does the average Alberta citizen understand the federal form of government under which he lives and the resulting division of power between the federal and provincial governments?
- 2.2. How important is it to the citizens of Alberta in general that a viable balance between the two levels of government be maintained? That is, would it make any difference to Alberta's citizens if the federal government took over such provincial responsibilities as health and welfare? Or, on the other hand, would it make any difference if the provincial government became responsible for such things as the regulation of broadcasting or family allowances, etc.?
3. How do Alberta citizens evaluate the present activities of the federal and provincial governments regarding constitutional reform?

The interviewing took place in October and early November, 1969, encompassing a four-week period.

A sample of 600 potential respondents was chosen from forty one of Alberta's sixty five provincial constituencies. The rationale behind the exclusion of twenty-four constituencies was mainly one of finances and accessibility. It was therefore decided to limit the parameters of the study to the major urban centres (Edmonton and Calgary), and those small cities of rural areas that were reasonably accessible to the field

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1. This explanation is quoted in entirety from Elton D., The Alberta Electorate Study, p.1.

workers available. While on the surface one might conclude that the parameters of the sample are small, it must be remembered that there are vast areas of Alberta that are sparsely populated. In fact, over seventy-five per cent of the 1967 Alberta electorate live in the forty-one constituencies from which the sample was drawn.

The sample was proportionally stratified geographically on the basis of major urban centres (Edmonton, Calgary), small rural areas (inclusive of small cities and towns such as Camrose, Fort Macleod, Vulcan, Fort Saskatchewan, etc.). This resulted in the following allocation of interview schedules:-

| <u>Geographic<br/>Location</u> | <u>% of<br/>Samples</u> | <u>Number of<br/>Eligible<br/>Electors</u> | <u>Interview<br/>Schedule</u> |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| Edmonton                       | 35%                     | 207,304                                    | 210                           |
| Calgary                        | 30%                     | 178,110                                    | 180                           |
| Small Cities                   | 10%                     | 57,230                                     | 60                            |
| Rural                          | 25%                     | 151,385                                    | 150                           |
| <u>TOTALS</u>                  | <u>100%</u>             | <u>594,029</u> *                           | <u>600</u>                    |

\*Total names on electorate list, 795,034.



#### APPENDIX 4

##### PRAIRIE IDENTITY STUDY.

This survey was conducted by the writer in three forms -

- 1) As part of an interview.
- 2) By directly putting the question to students selected at random at the Universities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan (Saskatoon), Lethbridge, Edmonton and Calgary.
- 3) By letter. Sixty-five people responded.

The two questions were asked in one of the forms above.

- (i) Do you feel that a discernible Prairie identity exists with Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba?

If answer was 'Yes' -

- (ii) What is the basis of this identity?

The latter, being an open-ended response, was analysed into content headings, the results of which appear in the text.

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##### Interviews -

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Edward P. Benoit   | M.L.A., Edmonton.   |
| Brigham Y Card     | Department of Educational Foundation, The University of Alberta.                            |
| D.K. Elton         | Department of Political Science, The University of Lethbridge.                              |
| Arleigh H. Laycock | Department of Geography, The University of Alberta, Edmonton.                               |
| Cleo W. Mowers     | Editor and Publisher, The Lethbridge Herald.  |
| L.D. Mabbott       | Executive Director, Department of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs.                    |
| J.P. Meekison      | Assoc. Dean, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, The University of Alberta, Edmonton. |
| H. Strom           | Former Premier of Alberta.  |

##### Correspondence -

|               |   |
|---------------|---|
| O.A. Anderson | Former Research Assistant to Premier Strom. |
|---------------|---|

|                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| D. Baron        | Editor, Country Guide-Farm Magazine.   |
| E.P. Benoit     | M.L.A. Alberta.  |
| R.M. Burns      | Director Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queens University.                                    |
| J.R. Cameron    | Research Associate, Royal Commission on Education Public Services and Provincial - Municipal Relations.  |
| B.Y. Card       | Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta.  |
| F.R. Drummie    | Secretary of the Cabinet, Nova Scotia.   |
| D.K. Elton      | Professor, Department of Political Science, The University of Lethbridge.                                |
| E.J. Hanson     | Professor, Department of Economics, The University of Alberta.   |
| A. Laford       | Department Assistant Office of the Minister of Regional Economic Expansion.                              |
| L.L. LaPierre   | Professor, Department of History, McGill University.   |
| A.H. Laycock    | Professor, Department of Geography, University of Alberta.   |
| L.D. Mabbot     | Executive Director, Department of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs, Alberta.                        |
| E.C. Manning    | The Senate, Canada.  |
| E.E. Miller     | Professor of Geography, The University of Lethbridge.  |
| W.L. Morton     | Professor of History, Trent University.  |
| J.P. Meekison   | Assoc. Deap, Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research.   |
| A.W. Platt      | Executive Secretary, United Farmers of Alberta Co-operative.   |
| S.G. Peitchinis | Professor, Department of Economics, University of Calgary.   |
| M.A. Schwartz   | Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.                              |
| B.C. Strayer    | Director, Constitutional Review, Privy Council Office.   |
| D. Swainson     | Assoc. Professor, Department of History, Queen's University.   |
| R. Sykes        | Mayor of Calgary.  |
| J.H. Thompson   | Department of History, McGill University.  |
| D.C. Thomson    | Director, Centre of Canadian Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University. |
| N. Ward         | Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Saskatchewan.                                  |

In addition to the above, other letters were received, but did not respond to the relevant questions concerning Prairie identity.

Newspapers, either by letter or interview - \* No response to relevant questions.

- \*The Editor. Toronto Daily Star, Toronto.
- \*The Editor. Macleans Magazine. Maclean-Hunter Ltd., Toronto.
- The Editor. Edmonton Journal, Edmonton.
- The Editor. Winnipeg Free Press, Winnipeg.
- \*The Editor. Victoria Colonist, Victoria.
- The Editor. The Albertan, Calgary.
- The Editor. The Calgary Herald, Calgary.
- The Editor. Medicine Hat News, Medicine Hat.
- The Editor. Red Deer Advocate, Red Deer.
- \*The Editor. Herald-Tribune, Grand Prairie.
- \*The Editor. The Times, Victoria.
- \*The Editor. The Vancouver Sun, Vancouver.
- The Editor. The Leader-Post, Regina.
- The Editor. The Star-Phoenix, Saskatoon.
- \*The Editor. The Herald, Prince Albert.
- The Editor. Time-Herald, Moose Jaw.
- The Editor. The Tribune, Winnipeg.

A Ramble Sample of students.

Students were chosen mainly because of their availability, and their willingness to answer questions and present an opinion on the subject. Time availability also made students an attractive sample group.

APPENDIX 5

JURISDICTIONS OF FEDERAL "REGIONAL" OFFICES, AGENCIES,  
DIVISIONS OR BRANCHES IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES, 1970. 1

This table is taken from - Card, B.Y., "Political  
Union, Regionalism or Both?" in Elton, D.K., One  
Prairie Province? A Question for Canada, p.122.

| Jurisdiction Areas  | Distribution of Regional Headquarters |                 |                            |                |                 |              |
|---|---------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
|   | <u>Total</u><br><u>Number</u>         | <u>Winnipeg</u> | <u>Regina</u> <sup>2</sup> | <u>Calgary</u> | <u>Edmonton</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| The 3 Prairie<br>Provinces as a<br>region                                 | 18                                    | 7               | 4                          | -              | 6               | Drumheller   |
| Man.Sask.as<br>a region   | 3                                     | 3               | -                          | -              | -               | -            |
| Alta.&B.C. as<br>a region   | 1                                     | -               | -                          | 1              | -               | -            |
| Alta. N.W.T.& Y.T.  | 3                                     | -               | -                          | -              | 3               | -            |
| Alta.subdivided<br>as two regions,<br>and Sask.and Man.<br>as two regions | 16                                    | 4               | 4                          | 4              | 4               | -            |
| Four Western<br>provinces as<br>a Region. 3                               | 2                                     | -               | -                          | 1              | -               | Vancouver    |
| Sask.Alta. &B.C.<br>as a Region   | 1                                     | -               | -                          | 1              | -               | -            |
| Alta.as a region,<br>Man.& Sask.<br>Combined as a<br>Region               | 2                                     | 1               | -                          | -              | 1               | -            |
| N.W.T. & Y.T.   | 2                                     | -               | -                          | -              | 2               | -            |
| Each Province as<br>a Region  | 36                                    | 12              | 12                         | 12             | 12              | 12           |
| Total Regional<br>Offices or Agencies                                     | <u>84</u>                             | <u>20</u>       | <u>27</u>                  | <u>7</u>       | <u>28</u>       | <u>2</u>     |

1. Compiled from mailing list of the Edmonton Office of the Public Service Commission, supplemented by interview data.
2. Regina in most cases, though some may be Saskatoon.
3. That part of B.C. adjoining Alberta included for Western Region of National and Historic Parks.