

Ideal Climate: The Myth of the Climate of the Canadian Prairies from the 1870s to 1910

(最適な気候——1870年代から1910年にかけてのカナダ西部平原地域の気候に関する俗説)

Taiki Kato*

SUMMARY IN JAPANESE: 19世紀中ごろ、カナダ政府はハドソン湾会社から北西地域を獲得し、当地に何百万人もの移民を入植させ、農業地域として開拓する必要があった。イギリスから獲得認可を受け、農地として売り込むためには、気候に関する情報が非常に重要であった。本論文は1870年代から1910年にかけてカナダ農務省、内務省、カナダ太平洋鉄道発行の移民向けパンフレット、西部拡張論者の論文や書籍の中で、北西地域の気候がどのように記述されていたかを明らかにすることを目的とする。1850年代まで、当地は「とても寒くて、全く農業には適していない気候」と考えられていたが、十分な科学的根拠がないにもかかわらず、「乾燥して、さわやかで澄んだ空気は冬の寒さを和らげ、当地で生活すると体は丈夫で心身ともに健康的になる。農作物生産と牧畜にも適した気候で、中央カナダやアメリカ西部より良い生活ができる」と肯定的で誇張された気候論とともに移民が奨励された。この言説から当時の気候論にはロマン主義の影響が見られ、北西地域がカナダとイギリス帝国繁栄において中心的役割を担うことが期待されていたことがわかる。本論文は、創られた北西地域の気候を描くことで、当時の入植者の気候に関する先入観も明らかにし、西部平原諸州に暮らす人たちの地域への帰属意識を気候との関係で考察する上で、重要な位置づけとなる。

* 加藤 大貴 Teacher, Hikarigaoka Girls' High School, Aichi, Japan.

I. Introduction

When Canada looked to the Northwest in the 1850s and began to consider ways to acquire the western territory and make it part of Canada, it expected the region to become the home of hundreds of thousands of farmers. One way to promote immigration was to talk about the climate. The general assumptions about the western climate were negative and included images such as harshness, frost, snow, and cold. These images reflected the perception of the fur traders of western Canada, and were embraced in the early nineteenth century by Englishmen and eastern Canadians. When Upper Canadian expansionists, with the belief that the Northwest was necessary for Canada's development and should be developed on the basis of hardy farmers with British traditions within the British Empire, drafted pamphlets to encourage immigration in the mid-nineteenth century, they tried to transform these negative images into positive ones.¹ At that time, the climate was something that Canada had to surmount in settling the West, but expansionists as myth makers turned it to Canada's advantage and promoted the "ideal climate."

This article will examine how the climate of the Northwest was portrayed through the latter half of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. The targeted period is from the 1870s to 1910. In 1870, Manitoba, one-eighteenth of its current size, entered the Confederation and Canada officially acquired Rupert's Land and the Northwestern Territory from the Hudson's Bay Company. After the acquisition, expansionist rhetoric started to be used mainly for the promotion of immigrants. Over the next four decades, the region developed to be the home for millions; two new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, were created out of the region in 1905 and Manitoba grew to its current size in 1912.² At that time, government pamphlets, Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) pamphlets, newspapers, and the writings of explorers, visitors and other people promoted the advantageous features of the climate of the Northwest Territories. Among dozens of promotional literature, the immigration pamphlets produced by the departments of Agriculture and the Interior, and the CPR were abundant between the 1870s and 1910. Next to the government pamphlets, the literature by expansionists who explored the Northwest Territories provides very useful and available resources for this article. It includes Thomas

Spence's *The Saskatchewan Country* and *The Prairie Lands of Canada*, George M. Grant's *Ocean to Ocean* and *Picturesque Canada*, and George Bryce's "Our New Province: Manitoba." A sampling of promotional literature for the period between the 1870s and 1910 will be examined.

The study of the "ideal climate," part of the image of the Canadian West, is significant for understanding the history of western Canada and the western Canadian identity. A historian, Douglas Francis, a specialist on the topic, says, "the history of the West has often been governed as much by what people imagined the region to be as the 'reality' itself."³ The image of the West has changed over time and has been shaped by the aims and power of artists, such as writers and painters, and by the interests of people such as politicians, journalists, and promoters whose positions were strongly influential. Whether positive or negative, the images and perceptions of the West have helped western Canadians form a strong sense of identity.⁴ In seeking a connection between the image of the West and its relation to westerners' identity, however, historians and other scholars have not paid much attention to the westerners' consciousness of the western climate. In trying to understand the connection between climate and identity, it is important to understand the "ideal climate" promoted by expansionists. Other scholars have done this for the land and how the prairies were seen as a kind of agricultural Eden, but the "ideal climate" has not been examined in great detail.⁵

An analysis of the "ideal climate" rhetoric used by expansionists also helps us to understand pioneers in the settlement era and incorporate their stories into narratives of both national and regional history, which has been required of historians for the past several decades to break with history writing tradition.⁶ From the mid-nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, many pamphlets were published in America and Europe to promote immigration and settlement, and millions of people crossed borders, including experienced farmers with tools and machinery, moving to the Northwest to contribute to creating an agricultural settlement.⁷ With the "ideal climate" in their mind, those immigrants started to work on the land, cooperated with each other regardless of race or ethnicity to make their life successful, and created new communities on the Canadian prairies. In this regard, the study of the "ideal climate" is also useful in looking at the history of both western Canada and western America from outside the framework of the nation-state.⁸ The wonderful climate in the pamphlets and promotional

literature had given future pioneers a preconception of the climate they could expect when they came to western Canada. Their actual perception of the climate was based on the “ideal climate” and whether they succeeded in farming or not depended heavily on the actual weather and climate at that time. This article, in this sense, could also contribute to enriching the environmental history of Canada.⁹

With all these scholarly implications, this article on a comprehensive analysis of the “ideal climate” will provide some insights into the role and place of the climate in the western Canadian identity and its development. It will be the first step to finding one of the most basic, unitary, and shared symbols and experiences for part of Westerners’ identity as the “ideal climate” was one of the few thoughts that immigrants shared.

II. Expansionists’ Efforts and Romantic Reviews to Recast the Climate

It was an urgent necessity in the 1850s that Canada acquire Rupert’s Land from the Hudson’s Bay Company. That was because of the growth that Canada experienced in the 1840s and 1850s. Canadians found themselves hemmed in by the Canadian Shield and running out of agricultural land. Toronto also needed a new hinterland and market to continue its commercial expansion.¹⁰ The Northwest Territories were seen as a new world to conquer. This sense of economic progression heightened Canada’s need to look to the Northwest and the huge unexploited land under the Hudson’s Bay Company.¹¹ In other words, the Northwest presented Canada with the possibility of a brighter and more prosperous future. Otherwise, the region faced certain stagnation if it could not expand.

At that time, however, the Northwest was not considered an agricultural country. Nor was the climate given much attention at all.¹² In persuading the British government to consider the Canadian claim to Rupert’s Land, expansionists advocated that the region would bring wealth not only to Canada but also to Great Britain. They also believed that the best features of British civilization would take root in the Northwest Territories.¹³ These assertions promoted a reconsideration of the quality of land in the Northwest Territories. In this way, then, expansionists started promoting the potential of

the Northwest Territories as an agricultural hinterland.¹⁴

Although a re-evaluation of the Northwest in terms of an agricultural frontier had been started, it was based on scanty and spotty data. The records of cultivation, which depended on such factors as soil condition, drought, frost, and rainfall, were inconsistent and varied from region to region.¹⁵ But despite this uncertainty, expansionists played up the region's potential and what Canada could expect by settling the land.

This new emphasis on the great potential of the land also meant that the climate was reconsidered.¹⁶ The reconsideration of climate went hand-in-hand with settlement and consequently any negative features were ignored in favor of the "ideal climate." Before Canadian took interest in the settlement potential of the region, the climate of the Northwest was seen as subarctic, especially in the reports of fur traders, missionaries, and explorers. But from the middle of the 1850s, any negative views, such as severe cold and heavy snow, were downplayed.

The most influential work that contributed to the expansionist campaign to recast the climate of the Northwest was by American climatologist and statistician Lorin Blodgett. He challenged the general idea of the climate of Canada and the Northwest by drawing lines across the map of North America, known as isothermal lines. Canadians had been thinking of the climate of the Hudson's Bay Company's territory based on latitude: the higher the latitude, the lower the temperature. Blodgett, however, made a different observation using the concept of isotherms that Alexander von Humboldt, a German naturalist and explorer, had developed.¹⁷ What Blodgett discovered was that in summer, the temperature at several Northwest locations was quite high. He concluded that the Northwest had enough heat and precipitation to grow crops and thereby confirmed the possibility of settlement there. Ironically, this conclusion was based on only six sets of meteorological data from British North America, all of them from Canada and Nova Scotia, and none from the Northwest. Blodgett simply generalized the climate of the Northwest.¹⁸ But his isothermal lines were accepted as a verified scientific finding among expansionists and were used in their campaign to project an ideal climate.

Besides the expansionists' efforts in the 1850s and 1860s, romantic views of the West also contributed to helping cultivate a positive image of the climate. For example, the Earl of Southesk, a Scottish aristocrat, left for the Northwest in 1859. He expected to hunt large animals and improve his health

there. But he found the winter climate of the Northwest to be extremely cold. Although he had to endure the severity of the winter, he learned the importance of adjusting to the winter: the art of endurance.¹⁹ Other visitors to the region had similar experiences. They discovered the beauty of untapped nature and regarded the climate as something to embellish the landscape. For example, William Butler, a British major and intelligence officer, headed for the Northwest Territories in 1870 to report on the condition of the indigenous peoples for the Canadian government.²⁰ He published *The Great Lone Land* in 1872 and *The Wild North Land* in 1873, and observed the beauty of the winter landscape:

In winter, a land of silence, a land hushed to its inmost depths by the weight of ice, the thick-falling snow, the intense rigour of a merciless cold—its great rivers glimmering in the moonlight, wrapped in their shrouds of ice; its still forests rising weird and spectral against the Aurora-lighted horizon; . . . its nights so still that the moving streamers across the northern skies seem to carry to the ear a sense of sound, so motionless around, above, below, lies all other visible nature. . . . If then we call this region the land of stillness, that name will convey more justly than any other the impress most strongly stamped upon the winter's scene.²¹

The climate of the Northwest had specific positive features each season, which enhanced the scenery and supposedly improved the well-being of people from industrial societies. Even the severe winter was embraced as something positive. The Northwest fascinated people—not only because of the “untamed” land, but because of the climate. They imagined the Northwest as a kind of garden of Eden. Its climate was also captured within this framework. The romantic views of the climate could be seen through the latter half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Thomas Spence, Clerk of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba from 1878 to 1885 and an immigration pamphleteer, wrote in his pamphlet *The Prairie Lands of Canada* (1880): “winter, with its short days of clear bright sky and bracing air, and its long nights of cloudless beauty, complete the circle” of season.²² Arnold Wightman, a Methodist minister in eastern Canada, said in 1905 that “there is a certain charm in the bright, crisp and

frosty air of winter, with its sparkling sunshine, that makes it altogether one of the most pleasant seasons of the year. The scenery of winter, though to some extent monotonous, is nevertheless charming and novel.”²³ The beauty of the winter included the morning. Nicholas Flood Davin, a lawyer, politician, and journalist who founded and edited the first newspaper in Assiniboia, the *Regina Leader*, gave this description in his book of 1892: “The winter is wonderfully attractive—cold, clear, dry, bracing, healthy, and the beauty of the snowy prairies [with] the morning sun’s rays.”²⁴ These romantic images of the Northwest also contributed to the amazing transformation of the image of the climate in the mind of Canadians and prospective immigrants.

By 1870, when the Northwest became a part of Canada, expansionism had been widely accepted in English-Canadian society and expansionists’ attention naturally directed most toward the need to settle the region by convincing potential immigrants of the advantages of the Northwest. This made the promotion of immigration “a central theme of expansionist rhetoric” after 1870.²⁵ As expansionists had imagined the Northwest to be cultivated to produce wheat by farmers with British tradition, the most desirable immigrants in their mind were natives of Britain and America, especially farmers. Next to these people came northern Europeans such as Germans and Scandinavians, many of whom transmigrated through America or were “the American-born children of immigrants.”²⁶ To this preference were added southern and eastern Europeans after 1896, when the Liberal party took office and the new Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton started to reorganize immigration policies. During his term of 10 years, Canada put more money into promoting immigrants from America, Britain, and Europe.²⁷

With this immigration hierarchy in mind, the government of Canada held a federal-provincial Immigration Conference in Ottawa in 1872 and made guidelines for recruiting immigrants abroad to prevent intergovernmental competition. They included that the federal government would distribute information necessary to encourage immigration about the Dominion, Manitoba, and the Northwest Territories in particular; that each province would also share all the information necessary for their advancement of immigration with the Department of Agriculture and the Emigration agents of the federal government. The federal government tried to advance immigration together with each provincial government.²⁸

III. Clear, Dry, Still, and Bracing Atmosphere

In the hope of settling the West with people that could keep British traditions, what language was used to portray the region? In expansionists' rhetoric, climate was one of the most crucial topics to encourage immigration to the Northwest to achieve the ideal society they had imagined. An author, George Bryce, a Presbyterian minister in Winnipeg, read a paper on Red River history before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba in 1873 and argued that "Climate depends on so many elements that it is not surprising it should have been most keenly debated."²⁹ Among the positive features of the climate of the Northwest, the most common attribute was the dry atmosphere of the cold winters. Positive aspects of the atmosphere of the West replaced the previous negative images of the climate. Every single pamphlet on the region recognized that it was cold in winter in the Northwest. It was believed, however, that the dryness of the winter alleviated the coldness and that people did not feel the cold as much as the thermometer indicated. Acton Burrows, an immigration promoter and journalist, went to Winnipeg in 1879 and worked for more than 15 years on newspapers and wrote a guidebook of the Northwest Territories in 1880. He said that "the thermometer, during winter, sometimes ranged from 30 to 40 degrees below zero, but the atmosphere is bright, dry and exhilarating, . . . old countrymen do not find the cold at all severe, and are agreeably surprised at the absence of hardships which would be caused by the same degree of cold in a more humid climate."³⁰ One guidebook by the Department of the Interior reported in 1897 that "the humidity or the dryness of the atmosphere in such circumstances decides its degree of comfort or discomfort, and largely its healthfulness or unhealthfulness."³¹ George Bryce, in his 1873 talk, tried to capture the relationship between the resistance of a human body against the cold and the degree of humidity:

In the less humid climate of Manitoba the cold will not be felt so much as the same degree would be in a damper climate, like that of Ontario . . . and the animal heat increased in the body to resist cold. . . . The lighter air stimulates the functions, respiration is quickened, the blood circulates more rapidly, and so the animal heat is greater; the power of

resisting cold being increased, the rigour of winter is not felt to the same extent.³²

Besides the dryness of the air of the Northwest, it was argued that other characteristics of the atmosphere alleviated the winter coldness. Thomas Spence observed in 1880 that “although the mercury ranges from 15 to 35 degrees below zero, falling sometimes even below that, the severity of these days was much softened by the brilliancy of the sun, and the stillness of the air.”³³ An immigration pamphlet in 1888 by the CPR tried correcting the misrepresentation of the winter severity by mentioning that the atmosphere of the West was very bright, and almost every day the sun shone with little wind.³⁴ The winter atmosphere was not only cold, but also clear, dry, bracing, and exhilarating. The Presbyterian minister George M. Grant commented while traveling through the Northwest in 1872 that the cloudless skies and the stillness of the air also eased the cold.³⁵ The brightness and amount of sunlight were other features to encourage adaptation to the winter severity. Wightman wrote in 1905: “If Canada had earned the title of ‘Our Lady of the Snows,’ she certainly equally deserved the title of ‘Our Lady of the Sunshine’; nowhere was sunshine so bright and abundant.”³⁶

The influence of the warm winds from the western mountains, Chinook winds, brought warm air to the east side of the mountains and favorably affected the winter climate of the prairies. In a Department of Agriculture pamphlet in 1883, it was claimed that “Chinook winds have their home in the Canadian North-West; and the transformations of temperature they cause is indeed one of the wonders.”³⁷ It was even believed, Nicholas Davin argues in his 1892 book, that Chinook winds encouraged thawing ice and snow: “Cold is seldom of long duration; at any time we may have the Chinook winds, driving away the icy blast and substituting its own strong warm breath, causing the snow to disappear as if by magic.”³⁸ The effect of Chinook winds came from the Pacific, the Japanese warm currents: “The influence of this warm current on the Pacific Coast extended eastward across the Western and into the Central Provinces, so that the winter climate of the Western part of the Central Province was considerably milder than of the eastern part,” said an immigration pamphlet in 1908 by the Department of the Interior.³⁹

This lessening of the winter cold created the impression that western Canada had a winter climate as cold as the eastern provinces, or not even

as cold as theirs. On the stillness of the air of the Northwest, a journalist, Charles Mair argued in 1875 that the lack of wind reduced the intensity of the cold. The cold weather was never a serious problem, especially when compared to the denser atmosphere of Ontario.⁴⁰ A government pamphlet in 1878 by the Department of Agriculture also insisted that “the weather of the West was not felt to be colder than that in the Province of Quebec, nor so cold as milder winters in climates where the frost, or even less degree of cold than frost, was accompanied with dampness.”⁴¹ The mildness of the climate was mentioned in contrast to the European countries, where the atmosphere was more humid than in the Northwest. Another pamphlet in 1887 by the Department of Agriculture explained: “The raw wet weather of Great Britain and the north of Europe was unknown on our great western plains, and one could go out without suffering from cold in the least degree when the thermometer registers 10, 15 degrees, or even 20 degrees below zero, especially as when it was very cold, the wind never blew.”⁴² One government pamphlet in 1910 by the Department of the Interior included the testimony of an American immigrant who claimed it was colder in Michigan: “I [American farmer] think the climate here [western Canada] is far ahead of Michigan . . . , if it is cold here sometimes we do not feel it as we did there [Michigan].”⁴³ These comparisons to other regions in Canada or Europe were essential to re-conceptualizing the climate of the Northwest. By comparing something unknown to something familiar, potential settlers could imagine the climate more easily and in a positive way.

The enjoyable and pleasant season was not only winter, but also summer. The most common features of summer were the long, bright sunny days, which made settlers want to work outside, according to one pamphlet published in 1910 by the Department of the Interior.⁴⁴ After a fine and sunny day, it went cool at night. The transition of the temperature enabled farmers to take a good break, sleep, and refresh themselves. George M. Grant reported on the summer of 1872 in his book *Ocean to Ocean*: “The feature of cool nights after hot days is an agreeable surprise to those who know how different it usually is in inland countries, or wherever there is no sea breeze. It is one of the causes of the healthy appearance of the new settlers even in the summer months.”⁴⁵

It was initially believed that the Great American Desert had an influence on the summer heat of the Canadian prairies. In the promotional literature,

however, the summer heat was portrayed not as hot as the western States. Davin said in 1892 that “the great heat of summer was generally tempered by the wind which was constantly stirring on the prairies. It seldom blew from the south more than a few hours continuously, which was fortunate, for there was trouble in its breath, and anything but healing in its wings.”⁴⁶ Wightman, in his promotional book of 1905, differentiated summer in the Northwest from the one in the U.S.: “The heat of the Canadian summer is not the smothering sultry heat of the south, for though the thermometer registers high, this is modified by refreshing breezes and cool nights, which is in marked contrast to the summers in most parts of the United States so near our borders.”⁴⁷ A government pamphlet in 1898 by the Department of the Interior included the testimony of a settler who compared the summer heat of western Canada with that of the western States: “I met Americans travelling there surprised and delighted with the conditions which make western Canada probably the best summer health and pleasure resort in the world.”⁴⁸ These kinds of comments were important since Canada was competing with the American Western frontier for settlers in the nineteenth century.

IV. Advantages in Farming and Ranching

The climate of the Northwest was one of the most crucial factors in guaranteeing Canadian development rather than holding the country back. Since the Northwest was expected to become a garden of Eden, the climate and the land had to be favorable to farmers. One government pamphlet in 1908 asserted the summer temperature in the Northwest was actually better for farming: “The heat is not so extreme as in the populous portion of eastern Canada,” and induced a greater perfection in wheat, oats, barley and field vegetables.⁴⁹ There was also more sunlight during daytime. One 1888 pamphlet by the CPR favorably observed on summer: “The days are very long, on account of the high latitude, and grain has more hours each day for ripening than in southerly latitudes, thus making up for the comparatively shorter season.”⁵⁰ Thomas Spence, in his pamphlet, *The Prairie Lands of Canada* (1880), affirmed the advantage of a long summer: “While New Orleans has fourteen hours of sunlight, we have sixteen, consequently our vegetation grows more rapidly than theirs, and matures much sooner. This

is a beautiful law in compensation, as what we lack in heat is made up in sunlight during our summers.”⁵¹ Another feature of the Northwest summer was the sudden change of temperature. Farmers worked in hot weather during summer, but could refresh themselves in sleep since it was cool at night. The sudden change of temperature at night in the summer produced more “vigorous plants, than a gradual lowering of temperature,” since the ground and plants could still preserve “the heat previously absorbed after the latent heat has been given off.”⁵²

Nor was the winter climate of the Northwest an inconvenience in a farmer’s life. George M. Grant, the then Principal of Queen’s College in Kingston, Ontario, argued in 1882 that the settlement of western Canada was assured: “During the greater part of the winter the air is remarkably still. The thermometer may sink to 50 degrees below zero, but people properly clad experience no inconvenience; and teaming, logging, rockcutting, go on to as great an extent as in the Eastern Provinces in winter.”⁵³ The winter climate made farmers feel glad to work outside. One pamphlet in 1887 by the Department of Agriculture insisted that the settlers would never feel hardship, but pleasure under the superior climate:

The winters are apparently severe in some places; but the temperature and atmospheric conditions of the fine season, . . . are so favourable to cultivation and to comfort . . . ; the air is so pure, so exhilarating, so stimulating, that there is hardly a land in the world, where . . . man can lead an existence more active and more happy in all its aspects. Here the active and industrious man experiences a true pleasure in working the fertile soil.⁵⁴

Expansionists also suggested that the cold Northwest winter was actually better for vegetation. The dry winter air encouraged vegetation to grow quickly, strongly, and maturely. Thomas Spence said in 1880 that the bracing winter gave plants a greater endurance to survive the winter: “The dryness of the atmosphere gives greater vigour to the plants, the plants grow rapidly but with firm texture, and are consequently the same as a person who has dined heartily on rich food is better able to bear the cold of winter.”⁵⁵ Frost before the crop was harvested also had to be discounted. Spence and Acton Burrows both pointed out that the dryness of the atmosphere and the rapid change of

the temperature reportedly gave the vegetation enough endurance to deal with frost.⁵⁶ Frosts in winter had also an advantage on the soil. Jesse Hurlbert, a former professor of natural science at Victoria College, argued in 1872 that frost had “a powerful effect in pulverizing soil.”⁵⁷ Arnold Wightman also shared the same views in 1905, saying: “Without any chemical or mechanical appliances, in the spring, the ploughed ground was left completely pulverized and friable, and with little preparation was adapted to the reception of seed.”⁵⁸ Snow covering the ground in the winter was another advantage for vegetation. Hurlbert observed that it protected “the ground from the winds and sun of the late months of winter and spring,” keeping the soil moist, which was “necessary for seeds and plants.”⁵⁹ He contrasted the advantage of snow on the Canadian prairies with the dry features of western States and southern Europe, pointing out in those areas “the ground, exposed for months without such a covering, is too dry for vegetation.”⁶⁰ Hurlbert’s pamphlet was so outstanding as a piece of immigration literature that most of its content was used in immigrant brochures by the Department of Agriculture.⁶¹

Future settlers did not need to worry about the climate of the Northwest in relation to vegetation. The atmosphere and soil would help farmers grow all kinds of crops. The Northwest could prosper with “the great fertility of the soil and the great variety of products.”⁶² In the promotional literature of this period, although the climate was described as advantageous to many different kinds of vegetation, the greatest attention was paid to the possibility of wheat cultivation, which dominated Canadian minds. Of course, the land was actually cultivated not only for wheat but also for other vegetation such as barley, oats, potatoes, beets, onions, carrots, radishes, and cabbages.⁶³ But the value of the Northwest to the Dominion of Canada was how much wheat potential farmers could produce.⁶⁴ One government pamphlet in 1877 by the Department of Agriculture forecast “that the North-West of British America is destined to become the granary of the continent is clear beyond all doubt.”⁶⁵ Besides crops, the “ideal climate” suited ranching, too. James Wickes Taylor, who was consul for the U.S. at Winnipeg and an enthusiastic supporter of western settlement, insisted in 1881 that the climate of the Northwest “gives health and weight to the production of domestic animals.”⁶⁶ One government pamphlet in 1883 reported on the strength of livestock: “The cattle did well during the winter, the great bulk of them having been kept outside, and very few housed, with the increase in numbers expected.”⁶⁷ The climate of the

Northwest would consequently lead to prosperous farmers. People would never fail to succeed in farming and ranching. The climate was the best in the world. Agricultural society must flourish in the Northwest.

The attribute of the “ideal climate” for wheat production also made it possible for Canada to rank equally with other civilized European nations. Expansionists wanted to see Canada, and the Northwest in particular, achieve the highest level of civilization. The association of the northern climate with civilization and racial superiority was consistently expressed in the 1870s to the first decade of the twentieth century amid a population explosion and an extended transcontinental railway network. George Bryce wrote in 1873 that “the great grain producing region of the Northwest will support a people who, with the bracing air of their northern climate, may be a great, hardy and heroic northern nation.”⁶⁸ Indeed, the Canadian geographical position was comparable to other civilized countries with cold winters. Nicholas Davin emphasized that the precedents for a successful civilized race “had been found north of the 49th parallel.” Even England pierced the 50th parallel at the southernmost point. “The great part of the commerce and power of the globe lay north of the 49th degree of north latitude.” Canada occupied “the best half of the northern temperature zone” and “the larger portion of wheat producing land on the continent of America.”⁶⁹ A government pamphlet in 1908 by the Department of the Interior maintained: “The climate of Canada was bracing and healthful, and in all respects suited to the fullest development of the races of the British Isles and northwestern Europe generally.”⁷⁰ A historian, Carl Berger argues that in Canadian expansionists’ thoughts Western Canada and its climate had more potential for advancement than the American western frontier had below the 49th parallel.⁷¹

V. Physical, Mental, Intellectual, and Moral Benefits

The climate of the Northwest was considered not only extremely agreeable for prospective immigrants to live a successful farming life but also beneficial to their physical development. The wonderful winter and summer weather conditions in the Northwest were believed to have a positive effect on the physical well-being of settlers. In fact, people in such a climate would become hardy and powerful: George Grant observed

during his trip through the West in 1872 that “the air is pure, dry, and bracing all the year round, giving strength of body.”⁷² If people lived in the Northwest, their body would become more muscular. Thomas Spence, in his pamphlet *The Prairie Lands of Canada* (1880), mentioned how people would be “improved” by the western climate: “His [the future citizen of the Northwest of Canada] countenance, in the *pure, dry*, electric air, will be as fresh as the morning. His muscles will be iron, his nerves steel.”⁷³ The increased muscular development was mentioned mostly as a result of the great climate. The speedy growth of muscles was considered important for the future development of western Canada since farm children were expected to become hardened workers. William Hales Hingston was one of the best known Canadian surgeons in the second half of the nineteenth century and president of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Quebec and of the Canadian Medical Association. In 1884 he published a book on the climate of Canada and its relationship to life and health, and asserted that the western Canadian winter produced hardy youth. He “recorded the superior physique of the new-born infant in Canada; the subsequent more rapid development of his muscular system. It was undoubted the brain and nervous system here [in Canada] participated in that early and rapid growth.”⁷⁴

The strong and hardy body produced by the “ideal climate” meant that people had more energy and stamina and experienced less fatigue. The same amount of work in the Northwest did not cause settlers an equal degree of fatigue as in other countries. A pamphlet by the Department of Agriculture in 1883 introduced a letter from an American who traveled around the Northwest on the CPR to check land values and to improve his health. He wrote: “I found myself capable of more physical exertion than I could possibly have stood in this climate at any time within the past ten years. A walk of ten miles which I made without extra exertion in two and a quarter hours, fatigued me less than a walk of a third of the distance would have done here.”⁷⁵ He felt he was a superman. The lack of fatigue was equated with the restoration of youth. One CPR pamphlet in 1894 touched upon this point: “The dryness and lightness of the air is very bracing and invigorating, and gives a feeling of buoyancy and energy to both mind and body, and makes the man of middle age feel as though he had renewed his youth ten or fifteen years.”⁷⁶

The physical toughness and strength, in turn, dovetailed with the idea that people could live comfortably without serious health problems. This

idea of healthy lives in the Northwest was quite common in the promotional literature. One pamphlet by the Department of Agriculture in 1876 said that healthy bodies thrived in the atmosphere of the Northwest: "As to the winter cold of Dunvegan [in northern Alberta], its steadiness and dryness are, for both man and beast, better than that of any other place in the Dominion. I never saw any person from that region but who was improved and strengthened in health and body . . . a region of essentially strong life."⁷⁷ Settlers could expect to maintain their hardiness and seldom experience any sickness under the wonderful atmosphere. George Grant never heard any case of sickness in the Northwest during his trip and thought it was because of the atmosphere: in "a healthy and—for the hardy populations of northern and central Europe—a pleasant climate, we ceased to wonder that we had not heard of a case of sickness in the settlers' families."⁷⁸ The lack of sickness applied to every region in the Northwest. Acton Burrows saw only one case of epidemic diseases, which was considered to be an exception, and pointed out the perfect health record.⁷⁹

The lack of epidemics and diseases was attributed to the dry air. Burrows added that "humidity was absent; the air was bracing and dry; stagnant waters and their poisonous exhalations were unknown; fogs and mists did not occur."⁸⁰ The dryness of the air was mentioned in comparison to the humid air of the western States. Nicholas Davin talked about the relationship between illness and the climate of the Northwest in 1892:

The summer is hot, but . . . no matter how hot the day the nights are cool. No zymotic, epidemic or endemic disease exist. . . .

. . . it is found that the Canadian North-West generally, on account of its more northern latitude, if for no other reason, has a climate more conducive to health and vigor than the country further south in the United States, and that the new settler in the Canadian North-West has a greater certainty of retaining his health and strength in their fullest degree . . . than the settler south of the line.⁸¹

The striking contrast between the U.S. and the Northwest was one of the best ways to acquire more immigrants and keep Canadian farmers from moving to the south. In 1880 Burrows told farmers to settle in Canada if they wanted to live longer. "Fever was but little known; ague, so common in

many of the United States, was almost unheard of. In brief, those who desired a healthy home, who wished to prolong their lives and to secure for their children vigorous constitutions, should settle in North-Western Canada.”⁸² The most serious disease in the U.S. at the time was consumption, more correctly known as tuberculosis. The air of the Northwest, unlike the western States, effectively prevented contagion. People with consumption could be healed by the dry and fresh air. One government pamphlet in 1883 included a letter mentioning people who recovered from consumption: “The dryness of the climate and the clear air are taken advantage of frequently to consumptives, who came from other parts of America and were cured. I can name several persons of my acquaintance who, on coming to the country, were said to be far advanced in consumption, and who have now recovered.”⁸³ Davin pointed out in his pamphlet *Homes for Millions* that even just a trip to the Northwest made people healthier and stronger: “Some settlers here are men who were far gone in consumption before coming here. . . . A young man whose case was pronounced hopeless tried a trip to Manitoba and the North-West, with the result that an immediate change set in and he is now quite strong.”⁸⁴

The depiction of the healthy climate with the wonderful atmosphere was common everywhere in the Northwest. The comment on how healthy the climate was could be seen in every single pamphlet and promotional literature. The physical hardiness and strength transformed to the perfection of health. It meant less sickness, especially epidemic disease, and compared favorably with health conditions in the U.S. and Europe. As Davin recognized: “the climate was known as a resort for consumptive people.”⁸⁵ In other words, the Northwest was the best health resort in the world in the expansionists’ eyes.

The climate also stimulated mental health. The positive operation on the body worked on the spirit in a similar way. The specific effect was spiritual elevation. It was described in an 1878 government pamphlet: “A constitution nursed upon the oxygen of our bright winter atmosphere makes its owner feel as though he could toss about the pine trees in his glee.”⁸⁶ A fresh and elevated spirit produced a sound mind. The favorable air created both sound mind and body: “The atmosphere is highly purified, joyous and clear, and charged with ozone—that element which is mysteriously associated with soundness of mind and body,” wrote Davin.⁸⁷ Even surgeon Dr. W. H. Hingston considered harmony between body and mind: “What has been

adduced is unmistakably in favour of increased muscular development, or, more correctly speaking, I think, of density and strength of muscular tissue; and with it, *pari passu*, of, mental vigour,—more important still,—for if ‘on earth there is nothing great but man, in man there is nothing great but mind.’”⁸⁸

The dry, invigorating, pure, and brilliant air of western Canada helped to stimulate the brain. Hingston argued in 1884 that the strong effect of the climate lay in hastening brain development: “It is un-doubted the brain and nervous system here [Canada] participate in that early and rapid growth.”⁸⁹ The Northwest had the climate to give power to the brain. Spence, in his promotional booklet of 1880, talked about the importance of the strong brain on sound behavior: “Vigor will characterize his very action: for climate gives quality to the blood, strength to the muscles, power to the brain.”⁹⁰ People with a strengthened brain were wise and intelligent. Wightman, in his book *Our Canadian Heritage* (1905), spoke of the capability of the climate to elevate one’s intellectual level: “We are reminded of the words of Sir Charles Dilke, who said of Scotland, but with equal application to this country, ‘The long winters cultivate thrift, energy and fore-thought, without which civilization would perish, and at the same time give leisure for reading and study.’”⁹¹ The long winter of the Northwest would give the residents time to engage in cultural and intellectual activities. These people behaved themselves and had good manners. They were equipped with a high moral standard. Comparing with the effect of the climate in the U.S., Wightman suggested that the rigor of the climate of the Northwest “bred philosophers,” while a southern climate bred “naked savages.”⁹²

The climate, especially the winter air, created people with physical, mental, intellectual and moral strength. Spence concluded in his 1880 booklet that “the dryness of the air . . . , the brilliancy of its sunlight, and its pleasing succession of its seasons, all conspired to make this a climate of unrivalled salubrity and the home of a joyous, healthy, prosperous people with strength in physical, intellectual and moral capabilities.”⁹³ The superior climate was the parent of the perfect man. The notion of the superman was heroic and glorious; consequently, the “ideal climate” was bound up with national construction. The National Club, created in 1874 for a nationalist movement called Canada First, published promotional addresses in 1891 and claimed that the climate “ [is] compacting people into a national characteristic,” and creating “a Unity of Race.”⁹⁴

VI. Conclusion

The “ideal climate” of the Northwest, as propagated by the expansionists, played a key role in the campaign to settle the region from the 1870s through the beginning of the twentieth century. It became a powerful tool to promote the development of the western Canadian frontier. Hingston said in 1884 that “whenever Nature is more powerful than industry, whether for good or for bad, man receives from the climate an invariable and irresistible impulse.”⁹⁵ Since the climate was considered so important to the settlement of the Northwest, first expansionists, then the Canadian government, deliberately exaggerated the positive features of the climate of the region. First of all, they used the dry and still atmosphere of winter and the cool breeze of a summer night to dispel the common belief of the winter coldness associated with its northern position and the summer heat with the spread of the Great American Desert across the border. The general ideas of the wonderful winter, sometimes with beautiful snowy landscapes, and summer conditions were almost always discussed in relation to physical health, with such words as hardy, powerful, and healthy. The atmosphere of the climate made the Northwest the best health resort in the world. These features of the climate in promotional literature were partly related to romantic views of nature, which was a reaction against the material changes in society. In the mind of the expansionists who lived in or had come to the Northwest from cities, as the Northwest had not been degraded, spoiled, and polluted by industrialization yet, its climate was pure, invigorating, and healthy and it was part of nature that let them feel connected with nature. This sense of pristine nature with clean air might have been felt among prospective immigrants as well because their purpose in the western Canadian frontier was to start a new life and nature untouched was a spiritual source of renewal.

The climate made people not only physically strong and hardy but also wise, intelligent, and morally superior. It was also described as best suited to farming and ranching. With a dry atmosphere and snow in winter and long hours of sunlight in summer, it was believed that farmers would successfully produce a huge amount of wheat with little effort. These features of the climate mirror nationalist and imperialist views of the Northwest by expansionists. The Northwest was expected to be a stable source of food to feed the growing population in Canada and to produce a great number of

grain exports to meet the demand in Europe. The Northwest was placed at the center of the development of both Canada and the British Empire. The stability of wheat production and the granary of the world must be attained by strong farmers who could work long hours on the land. Besides material success, proper moral character, in expansionism, had to be implanted in a society that was going to develop in the imperial community.⁹⁶

The nationalist and imperialist sense of the Northwest as the core of the development held by expansionists was also expressed in comparisons of its climate to other areas, especially that of the U.S. Canada exaggerated the climate of the Northwest, playing up its health-restoring features and discounting the western American frontier, in order to direct people to the Canadian West and for fear that its own population might emigrate to the U.S. Positive statements of the climate of the western Canadian frontier by farmers who had immigrated from the U.S. were included in some pamphlets by the government and the CPR, which further convinced people to come and start settling there. The higher latitude of western Canada suggested that the Canadian frontier had greater potential and would enjoy greater prosperity and a higher level of civilization—all thanks to the wonderful climate. The civilization that would be built in western Canada would be as great as or even greater than European countries. The climate of the Northwest would help bring Canada to the position where it would replace Great Britain in time.

This romantic, nationalist, or imperialist rhetoric of the climate of the Northwest and Manitoba did not change much in tone from 1870 through 1910. It was not until the 1910s that the expansionists' hope in the 1850s and 1860s that the Northwest had to be settled with hundreds of thousands of farmers was achieved. This means the achievement of establishing an agricultural empire on the Canadian prairies was really needed for Canada's development as a nation within the British Empire and also reflects expansionists' optimism about inevitable Canadian prosperity and the progress of British society and morality across the North American continent.

The "ideal climate" gave people a deeply positive image of the western Canadian frontier at that time. With such preconceived ideas about the climate of the prairies, millions of homesteaders arrived all the way from east, south, or across the Atlantic on the land that they were not familiar with at all.⁹⁷ In the new world, how did they react to and find the actual climate and

weather conditions throughout their new life? Did they develop any perceptions of the climate in relation to the nationalist, imperialist, and romantic views presented by expansionists? And has self-identity with the climate developed as a regional identity? From the viewpoint of borderland history, even though Canada was clearly separated from the U.S. along the 49th parallel on the map, half a million people did cross the border at that time to greatly contribute to the development of western Canada. What ideas did these immigrants from the south hold about the climate of the Canadian prairies? How has their perception of the climate and land there influenced the way people today on the Canadian prairies look at the Great Plains? These are only a few questions to follow a comprehensive analysis of the “ideal climate.” Climatologist Elaine Wheaton, a life-long resident on the prairies, pointed out in 1998 that the climate of the prairies makes the settlers amused, rich, terrified, and modest.⁹⁸ Her comments reveal that the climate of the prairies has helped people there form part of their collective identity. This article is a first, small step to discussing and comprehending cross-ethnic identity or consciousness historically running through the residents of the Canadian prairies.

Notes

1. Whatever interests they held in the Northwest, those involved in the expansion campaign shared this same belief, which separated them from other Canadians. After the acquisition of the huge territory from the Hudson's Bay Company, this expansionism started to be widely accepted within Canadian communities. In this article, expansionists refer to people with these beliefs and ideals.
2. For the population of three provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta) in 1911, see <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1911/Pages/about-census.aspx> (accessed October 14, 2022).
3. R. Douglas Francis, “Changing Images of the West,” in *A Passion for Identity*, ed. David Taras and Beverly Rasporich (Toronto: ITP Nelson, 1997), 419.
4. R. Douglas Francis, “Changing Images of the West,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 17, no. 3 (Fall 1982): 5-19. W. L. Morton, for example, analyzed the image of the West in terms of its relationship to Central Canada and found a subordinate consciousness permeating the western Canadian identity, something that also runs through western Canadian history. As for approaches to searching for regional identity on the prairies, especially in relation to geographical features, see R. Douglas Francis, “Regionalism, Landscape, and Identity in the Prairie West,” in *Challenging Frontiers: The Canadian West*, ed. Lorry W. Felske and Beverly J. Rasporich (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), 29-49.
5. Historian Doug Owrarn's *Promise of Eden* shows the importance of changing images of the western climate for Canada in acquiring Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company. His study of the image

Ideal Climate: The Myth of the Climate of the Canadian Prairies from the 1870s to 1910

- of the climate, however, is limited to the expansionist movement. Douglas Francis, in his book *Images of the West*, deals briefly with the “ideal climate.” But as in the case of Owram’s work, it has not been treated comprehensively enough to see the consistency of the “ideal climate” idea through the settlement era.
6. In response to traditional historical writings based on elitism and its English-centered social outlook and focused on east-west connections, scholars under the influence of new history, mainly social history, have been trying to describe the lives of ordinary people in western Canada with a focus on race, ethnicity, class, gender or environment since the 1980s. This kind of new western history movement also emerged in America led by Patricia Nelson Limerick, Richard White, and Donald Worster, whose work criticized the frontier thesis by Frederick Jackson Turner for the lack of viewpoints of Native Americans, women, and minorities and the lack of continuity of historical narratives after the closure of the frontier. For western Canadian historiography, see Gerald Friesen, “Critical History in Western Canada 1900-2000,” in *The West and Beyond: New Perspectives on an Imagined Region*, ed. Alvin Finkel, Sarah Carter and Peter Fortna (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2010). For the discussion of the western frontier in the U.S., see Erik Altenbernd and Alex Trimble Young, “Introduction: The Significance of the Frontier in an Age of Transnational History,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 4, no. 2 (2014): 127-50.
 7. On the number of Americans who immigrated to western Canada frontier, see David Hall, “Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy, 1896-1905,” in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1992), 290; According to the Canada Museum of History, many of them were probably returning Canadians. See <http://www.historymuseum.ca/cmhc/exhibitions/hist/advertis/ads6-01c.html> (accessed October 14, 2022).
 8. Though the new western history movement has made western regional history richer both in Canada and America, it has also been criticized for the lack of broader narratives. Meanwhile, since the 1990s, the new research focus has been on U.S.-Canada borderlands or the Great Plains to understand western Canada in a much broader context. See Gerald Friesen, “Critical History in Western Canada 1900-2000,” 7; Pekka Hämäläinen and Benjamin H. Johnson, ed., *Major Problems in the History of North American Borderlands: Documents and Essays* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2012), 26-40.
 9. Studies on the history of human interaction with nature or human-made settings started to develop, under the influence of U.S. environmental history, in the 1990s, with a wide range of interests: “resources, conflict and environmental change, environmental perception, and wildlife politics” —to name just a few. Since the end of the twentieth century, growing concerns about global environmental issues related to climate change have naturally been expecting more interdisciplinary and cross-border studies on climate-related issues as the subject is very complicated and needs to be understood in relation to other areas or countries. In writing about the environment, historians are also expected to describe it as the main actor instead of human beings. For environmental history in Canada, see Alan MacEachern, “The Text that Nature Renders?,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 95, no. 4 (December 2014).
 10. Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 47-49.
 11. *Ibid.*, 43.
 12. *Ibid.*, 48.
 13. *Ibid.*, 56.
 14. *Ibid.*, 59.

15. William A. Waiser, *The Field Naturalist: John Macoun, the Geological Survey, and Natural Science* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 17.
16. *Ibid.*, 66.
17. G. S. Dunbar, "Isotherms and Politics: Perception of the Northwest in the 1850s," in *Prairie Perspective 2*, ed. Western Canadian Studies Conferences (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1973), 84-85.
18. *Ibid.*, 89.
19. R. Douglas Francis, *Images of the West: Changing Perceptions of the Prairies, 1690-1960* (Saskatchewan: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1989), 41; Earl of Southesk, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains: A Diary and Narrative of Travel, Sport, and Adventure, during a Journey through the Hudson's Bay Company's Territories, in 1859 and 1860* (Toronto: J. Campbell, 1875).
20. Francis, *Images of the West*, 37-40.
21. William F. Butler, *The Wild North Land: Being the Story of a Winter Journey, with Dogs, across Northern North America* (London: S. Low, Marston, Low, & Scarle, 1873), 4-5.
22. Thomas Spence, *The Prairie Lands of Canada: Presented to the World as a New and Inviting Field of Enterprise for the Capitalist and New Superior Attractions and Adventures as a Home for Immigrants Compared with the Western Prairies of the United States* (Montreal: Gazette, 1880), 21.
23. F. Arnold Wightman, *Our Canadian Heritage: Its Resources and Possibilities* (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1905), 43.
24. Nicholas Flood Davin, *Homes for Millions: The Resources of the Great Canadian North-West: The Reasons Why Agriculture Is Profitable There and Why Farmers Are Prosperous and Independent* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1892), 22.
25. Owsram, *Promise of Eden*, 104.
26. Laura A. Detre, "Canada's Campaign for Immigrants and the Images in *Canada West Magazine*," *Great Plains Quarterly* 24, no.2 (Spring 2004), 117.
27. *Ibid.*, 16; David Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy, 1896-1905," 289-90.
28. Patrick A. Dunae, "Promoting the Dominion: Records and the Canadian Immigration Campaign, 1872-1915," *Archivaria* 19 (Winter 1984-1985): 75-76; The Northwest was as big as western Europe and, in its southern part, four administrative districts were created in the 1880s after the population growth. After the creation of four districts—Alberta, Assiniboia, Athabasca, and Saskatchewan—promotional literature writers started to have all the districts either in one booklet or each for one.
29. George Bryce, "Our New Provinces: Manitoba," *Canadian Monthly and National Review* 3, no.5 (May 1873): 372.
30. Acton C. Burrows, *North Western Canada: Its Climate, Soil and Productions: With a Sketch of Its Natural Features and Social Condition: A Manual of Reliable Information Concerning the Resources of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, and the Inducements Which They Offer to Persons Seeking New Homes and Profitable Investments: Land for the Landless, Homes for the Homeless, Offered in the Future Wheat Field in the World: Hints as to How, When and Where to Go* (Winnipeg: s.n., 1880), 11.
31. Department of the Interior, *An Official Handbook of Information Relating to the Dominion of Canada* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1897), 3.
32. Bryce, "Our New Provinces: Manitoba," 374.
33. Spence, *The Prairie Lands of Canada*, 21.

Ideal Climate: The Myth of the Climate of the Canadian Prairies from the 1870s to 1910

34. Canadian Pacific Railway, *Farming and Ranching in the Canadian North-West: General Account of Manitoba and the North West Territories, Superior Advantages for Agricultural Settlers, Unrivalled Ranching Districts, Free Grants and Cheap Lands, and How to Get Them, Climate and Health, How to Go, and What to Do at the Start, Testimony of Actual Settlers* (Montreal: s.n., 1888), 10.
35. George M. Grant, *Ocean to Ocean: Sandford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872: Being a Diary Kept during a Journey from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with the Expedition of the Engineer-in-Chief of the Canadian Pacific and Intercolonial Railways* (Toronto: J. Campbell, 1873), 93-94.
36. Wightman, *Our Canadian Heritage*, 48.
37. Department of Agriculture, *Canadian North-West: Climate and Productions: A Misrepresentation Exposed* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1883), 21.
38. Davin, *Homes for Millions*, 82.
39. Department of the Interior, *Canada, the Land of Opportunity* (Ottawa: Department of Interior, 1908), 5, 11.
40. Charles Mair, "The New Canada; Its Natural Features and Climate," *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* 8 (July 1875): 5-6.
41. Department of Agriculture, *Province of Manitoba and North-West Territory of Dominion of Canada: Information for Emigrants* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1878), 3.
42. Department of Agriculture, *North West of Canada: A General Sketch of the Extent, Woods and Forests, Mineral Resources and Climatology of the Four Provisional Districts of Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Athabasca* (Ottawa: s.n., 1887), 57.
43. Department of the Interior, *Prosperity Follows Settlement in Any Part of Canada: Letters from Satisfied Settlers* (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1910), 11.
44. *Ibid.*, 40.
45. Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, 120.
46. Davin, *Homes for Millions*, 12.
47. Wightman, *Our Canadian Heritage*, 48.
48. Department of the Interior, *The Wonders of Western Canada: A U.S. Press Correspondent's Graphic Description* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1898), 22.
49. Department of the Interior, *Canada, the Land of Opportunity*, 12-14.
50. Canadian Pacific Railway, *Farming and Ranching in the Canadian North-West*, 11.
51. Spence, *The Prairie Lands of Canada*, 21.
52. *Ibid.*, 25.
53. George M. Grant, *Picturesque Canada: The Country as It Was and Is* (Toronto: Belden, 1882), 300.
54. Department of Agriculture, *North West of Canada*, 77.
55. *Ibid.*, 25.
56. *Ibid.*, 25; Burrows, *North Western Canada*, 10.
57. Jesse Beaufort Hurlbert, *Climates, Productions, and Resources of Canada* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1872), 1.
58. Wightman, *Our Canadian Heritage*, 44.
59. Hurlbert, *Climate, Productions, and Resources of Canada*, 12.
60. *Ibid.*, 12.
61. Owrarn, *Promise of Eden*, 158-59.
62. Hurlbert, *Climate, Productions, and Resources of Canada*, 9; Spence, *The Saskatchewan Country of the*

- North-West of the Dominion of Canada* (Montreal: Lovell, 1877), 25.
63. Canadian Pacific Railway, *Farming and Ranching in the Canadian North-West*, 43.
 64. *Ibid.*, 111.
 65. Department of Agriculture, *Canada: A Handbook of Information for Intending Emigrants* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1877), 51.
 66. James W. Taylor, *Central British America: Physical Aspects and Natural Resources* (S.I.: s.n., 1881), 13.
 67. Department of Agriculture, *Canadian North-West: Climate and Productions: A Misrepresentation Exposed*, 24.
 68. Bryce, "Our New Provinces: Manitoba," 378.
 69. Davin, *Homes for Millions*, 3-4.
 70. Department of the Interior, *Canada, the Land of Opportunity*, 5.
 71. Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto; New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1966), 3-26.
 72. Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, 187.
 73. Spence, *The Prairie Lands of Canada*, 6.
 74. William Hales Hingston, *The Climate of Canada and Its Relations to Life and Health* (Montreal: Dawson, 1884), 251.
 75. Department of Agriculture, *Canadian North-West: Climate and Productions*, 10.
 76. Canadian Pacific Railway, *Western Canada: Manitoba, Assiniboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Northern Ontario: How to Get There, How to Select Lands, How to Begin, How to Make a Home* ([S.I.]: Canadian Pacific Railway, 1894), 53.
 77. Department of Agriculture, *Province of Manitoba and North West Territory of the Dominion of Canada* (Ottawa: Department of Agriculture, 1876), 48.
 78. Grant, *Ocean to Ocean*, 100, 110.
 79. Burrows, *North Western Canada*, 12.
 80. *Ibid.*, 12.
 81. Davin, *Homes for Millions*, 22, 91.
 82. Burrows, *North Western Canada*, 12.
 83. Department of Agriculture, *Canadian North-West: Climate and Productions*, 7.
 84. Davin, *Homes for Millions*, 71.
 85. *Ibid.*, 52.
 86. Department of Agriculture, *Province of Manitoba and North-West Territory of the Dominion of Canada*, 1878, 12.
 87. Davin, *Homes for Millions*, 11.
 88. Hingston, *The Climate of Canada and Its Relations to Life and Health*, 260.
 89. *Ibid.*, 251.
 90. Spence, *The Prairie Lands of Canada*, 6.
 91. Wightman, *Our Canadian Heritage*, 46.
 92. *Ibid.*, 46.
 93. Spence, *The Prairie Lands of Canada*, 20-21.
 94. National Club, *Maple Leaves: Being the Papers Read before the National Club of Toronto, at the 'National*

Ideal Climate: The Myth of the Climate of the Canadian Prairies from the 1870s to 1910

- Evenings, ' during the Winter 1890-1891* (Toronto: National Club, 1891), ii. viii.
95. Hingston, *The Climate of Canada and Its Relations to Life and Health*, xxiv.
96. Owrarn, *Promise of Eden*, 125-26.
97. R. Douglas Francis, in his article "Changing Images of the West," introduces ethnic historians and argues that the myth and idealism of the Canadian prairies were great drawing forces that directed potential immigrants there as emigration agents depended on myth for their recruitment.
98. Elaine Wheaton, *But It's a Dry Cold!: Weathering the Canadian Prairies* (Calgary: Fifth House Ltd, 1998), 1.