

LOWER FORT CARRY

The Manitoba Penitentiary, 1871-1877

The Manitoba Asylum, 1885-1886.

A report prepared for Research and Op-
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by

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1: PREFACE

This report was prepared under explicit instructions to describe everything connected with the Penitentiary Building at Lower Fort Garry. Consequently it embodies no sense of balance, organization or selection other than that naturally growing out of the primary and secondary source materials consulted. It includes much material which would be considered extraneous to either a purely historical or a purely structural study.

The material consulted was weighted heavily towards the procedural and administrative aspects of the history of Manitoba's first penitentiary and first lunatic asylum; the structural material is rather disappointing in its limitations. Where possible, structural matters have been inferred or interpolated on the basis of administrative correspondence, but virtually all the materials on which this report are based were written in the 1870's on the assumption that the reader either knew or did not need to know the physical layout of the buildings involved. However, a certain amount of structural data is available and has been collected in the second chapter. The remainder of the report provides insights into a variety of topics, including dominion-provincial relations, biographical material on a couple of prominent Manitobans, and insights into late nineteenth-century concepts of prison and asylum management.

A number of documents have been placed in appendices: these are primarily excerpts from reports already on file in the records room, Research Division, National Historic Sites Service. They also include statistical tables which could not conveniently be integrated into the text.



15 July, 1970

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X: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The rôle of Lower Fort Garry during the two decades after Confederation changed swiftly and dramatically as the Hudson's Bay Company altered its arrangements for supplying and provisioning the fur trade of the Northern Department. As farming increased in the province of Manitoba, the agricultural establishment at the Lower Fort became redundant. The improvement of steam navigation on the Saskatchewan, and the total abandonment of York Factory as a depot in the 1870's altered transportation arrangements drastically. In 1877 the Countess of Dufferin arrived --- a little steam locomotive strapped to a barge behind a steamboat --- and when rails soon connected Winnipeg to Selkirk the head of navigation was quickly moved from Lower Fort Garry to Old Colville Landing. The buffalo herds, decimated, fled further and further west and the annual hunt for pemmican and robes went with them. The commercial and economic importance of the old Red River Settlement grew, but the old activities of the Hudson's Bay Company in the region declined drastically. Upper and Lower Fort Garry, previously rivals for preeminence in the Red River trade, both experienced a rapid decline in importance and activity.

At the time of Confederation in 1870, Upper Fort Garry had but 12 years existence remaining. Passing time and crumbling masonry left it with "a decided air of ruin and neglect"¹ and in 1882 an urban planner with a passion for straight streets found the old fort astride the projected path of Main Street. He was apparently unmoved by sentiment, and Lower Fort Garry was left as

¹ Diary of M. Boll Irvin, entry for 24.8.70. PAC: M3 29 F 29, p. 120.

the only surviving fur trade post on the Red River inside Manitoba. By a combination of circumstances, the Lower Fort fared somewhat better than its companion at the Forks. The rural charm and peace and quiet which had attracted Simpson to the site throughout the 1830's and 1840's still lingered, and successive senior officers of the Company continued to base their activities at the Forks but to use Stone Fort as a quiet week-end retreat or even as a summer home. Another aspect of the site commended Lower Fort Garry to the Company authorities -- the old buildings, though no longer needed for the fur and provision trades, were certainly not useless. They were well suited to the temporary needs of a young province for public institutional buildings. The character of the Fort and its site largely dictated what sort of institutions it should host; while Upper Fort Garry housed the Lieutenant Governor through much of the 'seventies, the Lower Fort's isolation from the main area of development made it an ideal site for a penitentiary and, later, a lunatic asylum.

For each of these august institutions, the North side of the fort was reserved. The Big House continued as the Company officers' quarters and so long as the post remained open, one or other of the two saleshop buildings along the south wall continued to provide retail services for the neighbourhood. So the choice of a penitentiary building was obvious. The structure usually referred to as the penitentiary building or "guard house"², the stone warehouse on the north wall which is virtually a twin of the furloft building, had long been associated with functions which declined in the five years after Confederation. So the Hudson's Bay Company had excess facilities in the form of a solid stone building, while

² "Guard House" appears to be a misnomer -- a wooden building at the river gate was used by the North West Mounted Police as a guard house in 1873-74. During the Motor Country Club Lower Fort Garry abounded with misnomers such as "Doctor's House"; most of these -- excluding the designation of the bastions as south-west, south-east etc., have been expunged.

the local and federal governments needed institutional buildings faster than their departments of public works could erect them. This coincidence gave the Hudson's Bay Company a substantial income from rents from the Manitoba and federal governments, and wrote two most interesting chapters in the history of Lower Fort Garry.

This is not to suggest that the penitentiary and asylum activities actually saved the lives of the buildings concerned. It is true that wooden buildings in and around the fort enclosure were demolished quite ruthlessly during the late 'seventies and early 'eighties, but there was no such policy towards stone buildings. The Company would almost certainly have preserved them whether or not they had been able to realize an income from them -- as was the case with the stone store, which was abandoned in 1874. Unquestionably the penitentiary and asylum buildings have a history and had a function separate from the governmental institutions which they housed; but those government activities were by far the most important part of the record so far as the interpretive historian or the restoration architect should be concerned. The prison and asylum activities lent these buildings an aspect of historical interest which would be hard to find in a stable or a pemmican warehouse. It seems obvious, then, that restoration or interpretation should deal almost exclusively with the period of extensive institutional activity at the Lower Fort, 1871-1886.

The penitentiary, which took up part of the fort between 1871 and 1877, occupied only one of the buildings still standing -- the big stone warehouse near the north-east bastion. It was surrounded by a palisade which excluded the bastions but enclosed a number of wooden buildings, since demolished, and the north gateway. The asylum, which operated at the Lower Fort for slightly over a year 1885-1886, occupied two other buildings

which are still standing, besides of course the main "penitentiary" building. These two were the timber-and-rubble constructed one-storey building at the west gate, and the tiny wooden office, which according to a number of sources was built for the medical superintendent, Dr. Young, though Young's own records show no mention of it.³ The asylum also made use of a small wooden warehouse, later dismantled. There is no indication that either the prison or the asylum made use of the north-west bastion, though it was inside the fence of at least the latter institution.

³ See J.E. Wilkins, Lower Fort Garry Inspection (N.H.S.S. Report No. 246) which states, "Colonel Hunter Young of Selkirk... believes it was built round about 1885 when the guard house was used as an asylum. He is quite sure that his father never lived there.... It was in fact the Doctor's dispensary." p. 9.

II: STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF THE PENITENTIARY-ASYLUM COMPLEX

A structural history of the penitentiary-asylum complex at Lower Fort Garry must consider three aspects of the site -- first, the large stone "penitentiary building", alternately known as the "men's house" or "guard house"; secondly, the two smaller buildings also associated at one time with the asylum, namely the "doctor's office" and the "Mounted Police canteen and hospital", the asylum's women's ward; thirdly, the complex of small wooden buildings both inside and outside the fort walls, some of which were built by Warden Bedson with convict labour, which provided auxiliary facilities for both institutions. These latter buildings are rather difficult to deal with; changes were rapid, at least one building occupied the site of a previous structure, and the only known plan of the penitentiary complex as such, one sent by Bedson to Ottawa with his report for 1875,¹ has not been found.¹ Bedson's letterbook and daily orders contained frequent references to these outbuildings, which may provide clues of some assistance to archaeologists.

The penitentiary building itself is the third oldest building in the Fort, its construction having been finished about 1837. It was designed originally as a warehouse, served as a barracks for the 6th Regiment of Foot (1846-1848) and was one of those two stone buildings which Colonel Crofton felt he could "hold against a strong force unaided by artillery."² It is almost certainly this building which H.M. Robinson described in his book, The Great Fur Land.

¹ This plan was almost certainly destroyed by the Department of the Solicitor General about the time that the Canada Penitentiary Service was attached to that Department instead of the Department of Justice, in the mid-1960's.

² Crofton to Fitzroy Somerset, 15.9.46, WO 1/557, fos. 195-219. This statement is of particular relevance since the walls of the Fort were uncompleted at the time Crofton wrote.

Leaving the trading-store, a succession of warehouses containing stores and supplies, is next encountered. The last and most massive building, near the gateway, is the warehouse of packages destined for posts inland. These are goods imported from England and other countries, and to be used in the fur trade exclusively. In this vast bulk of merchandise there is not a single package of over one hundred pounds weight. The greater portion weigh but eighty or ninety pounds, strongly packed, the cases lined with zinc and bound with iron.³

This, about 1869, was the function of the "most massive building." It was converted to a military barracks for 120 men⁴ in 1870, served as a penitentiary from 1871 till 1877, and was probably then abandoned immediately. It was found "in a dilapidated state generally" in 1884 when it was converted to serve as a temporary lunatic asylum.⁵ After the asylum left in 1886, the building was once again left in disuse, but was revived by the Motor Country Club, which repaired and adapted the ground floor for use as changing rooms and maids' quarters -- several toilets were added. Since the Motor Country Club left the Fort at the end of 1962, no formal use has been made of this building although occasional working parties have used it both as living accommodations and as a work area.

The first level of the penitentiary building is a partial basement, filled with rubble or sand almost continuously since about the turn of the century, because of severe settling of the foundations in the west corner. It was, however, exposed during part of 1968 by an archaeological team who determined that it contains three underground brick cells with arched ceilings, all seriously crumbled or approaching total collapse.⁶ Warden Bedson determined

³ Henry M. Robinson, The Great Fur Land, New York (1879) pp. 78-9.

⁴ From a notation on the "Sketch shewing appropriation of Buildings allotted to the Troops at the Stone Fort", 1870. From RG 9 II A - 1, v. 33 file 3615. Reproduced in Appendix B of this report.

⁵ Selkirk Herald, 21.2.85, 2/d.

⁶ See Peter Pries, Excavations at Lower Fort Garry (LK) 1968 N.H.S.S. Report No. 488, June, 1969.

in December, 1872, to have these underground cells constructed for the punishment of recalcitrant prisoners; construction involved the use of over 14,000 bricks.⁷ These cells, numbered from one to three and referred to as "penal cells", were used for the confinement of noisy lunatics⁸ and late in 1874 Bedson ordered No. 3 penal cell filled with a four inch layer of dirt, to provide a winter bed for shrubs which would be put outside in springtime.⁹ There is no evidence that these cells were ever put to any use after 1877.

The ground floor of the penitentiary was used as a ward-room and cell area for the confinement of prisoners. Unfortunately the physical remains of this area tell little of its use as a prison because of the extensive remodelling done by the Motor Country Club. The notable features include four door-ways, one each on the north and west walls and two on the south; the west door-way is now most commonly used for access to the building, while the more westerly of the two south-side doors has been blocked up for some time -- perhaps since the early 1870's.¹⁰ An original heavy oak door, with a tiny hinged spyhold in the upper half, has been preserved and at present is resting loosely in the alcove formed by the blocked doorway. From its extremely heavy construction and the size of the peep-hole, one may safely assume that it was built and installed specifically for the penitentiary. It is not known for sure where it hung. During the asylum period, this storey was used for roughly the same purposes as Bedson had put it to -- it was divided into small rooms and a ward-room. There is no adequate description of the ground floor as a penitentiary

⁷ Bedson to ? (torn), 8.12.72; PAM: Microfilm copy of Warden Bedson's Letterbook (hereafter referred to as BL), and Bedson to Superintendent of Public Works, 19.5.73, requesting more bricks and acknowledging the receipt of 14,000 bricks. ibid.

⁸ Warden Bedson's daily order book, order dated 5.12.74; originals at Stony Mountain Penitentiary, Manitoba. Hereafter referred to as OB.

⁹ OB, 13.11.74.

¹⁰ Peter Cameron suggests this in N.H.S.S. Report No. 1, The Architecture of Lower Fort Garry at the Time of the Northern Department Council, 1846, p. 22.

area, but a contemporary source gives a reasonably good description of it when it was used by the asylum:

From the main entrance, on the ground floor, a large, wide corridor is entered, which is well lighted, and from which openwards for the patients and attendants. On this floor there are six single rooms and a large one containing accommodation for twelve patients; at each end of the corridor is an attendant's room; there is also a bathroom and all ¹¹ other conveniences.

The original stairway in the penitentiary rose from the middle of the ground floor, rising from south to north. The stairs from the second floor to the third ran beside it in the opposite direction. Heavy wear around those stairway locations suggests that the floor-boards are the originals. A stairway in this location would have been useful in a warehouse, but less so in a prison. In any case if the stairs had not already been removed by 1871, Bedson must have moved them because one of the prison chaplains referred to the "large upper room" of the penitentiary building.¹² There could have been no really large upper room with the staircase in the middle. In any case the stairs were removed, remodelled slightly to allow them to rise over a shorter lineal distance, and installed at the extreme ^{west} end of the building. This renovation left large rooms in the centre of the building on all three floors. In 1884, to overcome the difficulties of having the asylum kitchen located outside the main building, and the dining room on the third floor, a dumb-waiter was installed running beside the staircase in its new location.¹³

¹¹ Selkirk Herald, 21.2.85, 2/d. Robert Watson states that when this building was used as a penitentiary the ground floor was lined with cells on the north side with a "general room" along the south. He also maintained that the second floor was laid out in the same manner, that the top floor was the prisoners' dining room, and that the penitentiary and the asylum were moved to Selkirk in 1877. Much of this is demonstrably wrong and there is no reason to believe the rest. See Watson, Lower Fort Garry (Winnipeg, 1928), p. 44.

¹² Report of Archdeacon Cowley to the Inspector of Penitentiaries, 9.1.77, published in Canada Sessional Paper No. 15, 1877 (hereafter referred to as CSP 15/1877.)

¹³ Selkirk Herald, loc. cit.

So far as documentary evidence relates, the second floor was laid out similarly to the first, except for differences in doors and the stairway. There was a door in the north-east corner which apparently led out onto a platform and thence by a set of stairs to the ground. Cameron's report suggests of this,

Probably the east window was changed to a door only after the second floor of the warehouse building was used by a large number of people - eg when it was used as a barracks during the stay of the Sixth Regiment, or as a penitentiary from 1870 until 1877. (The steps coming down from this later door have since disappeared.)¹⁴

Because the walls were not completed in 1846, and in light of Crofton's determination to defend the barracks against attack, it is not entirely likely that he would have added a feature which would make the building somewhat more vulnerable to assault. The same argument would not necessarily apply to either the Quebec Rifles or to the Penitentiary. Unlike the ground floor, the second floor contains very clear evidence on floors, walls and beams, of the cell structure and of various partitions. In interpreting this area through as-found drawings it is important to remember that some remains relate to the penitentiary while others may be distinctly and separately evidence of alterations made for the asylum. It is known, however, with regard to the penitentiary period that the floor was divided into cells and a ward-room. In this respect it resembled the ground floor, so far as anything can be determined about the latter. The ward-rooms were large enough to provide table-space and seating for about 15 convicts at meal-times, and they were probably put to general uses between meals.¹⁵ A "box" -- presumably a guard-station --

¹⁴ Cameron, loc. cit.

¹⁵ OB, 31.7.75

was installed at the doorway of each ward for guard duty.¹⁶ The wards apparently also had "wash-rooms".¹⁷ In the case of the asylum, the Selkirk Herald report indicated that the ground and second storey floor plans were identical.

The third floor of the building was used by Bedson as a turnkey's quarters. Extensive renovations were made to this flat during the penitentiary period. Five window sashes were replaced in mid-summer of 1872¹⁸ and in 1875 Bedson had the entire roof repaired. He complained in October of that year that it "leaks in several places, and the shingles are perfectly rotten. In the present state I am greatly in dread of fire."¹⁹ Bedson estimated that 30 thousand shingles would be required, and promised to have the repairs done by convict labour. It was probably at this time that two sky-lights were installed in the roof over the staircase. These skylights appear in one or two photographs of the late 'seventies and early 'eighties, and no-where else. The function of this floor was changed by the asylum authorities, who as indicated previously mixed their attendants' rooms amongst the patients' quarters. They used the turnkeys' flat as a dining room, and also installed a tank containing water "for supplying the bathrooms."²⁰

Other buildings still standing which are involved in the interpretation of the asylum are the tiny wooden doctor's office, and the women's ward at the west gate. The north-east bastion, according to the plan of the asylum (See Appendix C), was well within the asylum complex, but there is no record that it was ever used for the purposes of that institution. The doc-

16 *ibid.*

17 OB, 16.11.74

18 Bedson to Norquay, 22.7.72; PAM: Bedson's Latterbook, p. 63.

19 Bedson to Balgillie, HBC Lands Office, 23.10.75; *ibid.*, n.p.

20 Selkirk Herald, *loc. cit.*

tor's office was build specifically for Dr. David Young, probably in the middle of 1885, since the site was occupied by an old Red River frame building as late as 1884. The women's ward has a lengthy history attached to it. It was built around the time of Eden Colville's residence at the Fort, of the same timber and rubble fill construction as the annex of the Big House. It was used variously as a men's house, a troop canteen, a bakehouse (the bake-ovens remain) and as a canteen and hospital for the North West Mounted Police. The Selkirk Herald described it as a part of the asylum:

Women's wards... are located in another building across the yard. Here accomodation has been provided for about fifteen patients, which includes every needed comfort. There is a large dining room, three single and one large ward, and several other rooms, besides the attendants' rooms, all of which are on the ground floor, the building having but one story[sic].²¹

The remainder of the penitentiary-asylum complex was set up in wooden buildings which have since been removed from the site.

These were undoubtedly mostly Red River frame buildings -- Bedson remarked in his report for 1875 that "the buildings that have been erected by me... can be readily removed as they are built of logs set in frames."²² In this category of 'missing' buildings might be included also the stockades which surrounded the two establishments. A number of sources reveal that the two institutions were not served by the same palisade, though it is entirely within the realm of possibility that the asylum fence followed the line of the previous stockade where it could conveniently do so.

²¹ ibid.

²² CSP 14/1876, p. 139. This is hardly surprising since his letterbook indicated throughout the early years considerable weekly outlays for the services of local carpenters.

The penitentiary stockade surrounded the entire complex of penitentiary buildings except for the prisoners' ice house and the root house. It also enclosed the north gate, which at the time was only the width of a foot-path. The only extensive evidence concerning its construction is found in a letter from Bedson to the Minister of Public Works in 1872:

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that there still requires to be enclosed 400 ft. boundary of yard to the Provl. Penitentiary, and it will take lumber as per Margin to complete this stockade fence.

North side of fence will run 16 feet beyond the Fort walls & I have estimated from the logs received last month that each log when sawn thro mill averages two pickets of 12 inch breadth. I beg to say that I would wish to commence erecting the stockade early in April next.

100 ft. planks.
400 ft. 1" boards.²³

This information, together with Watson's plan of Lower Fort Garry, one photograph, and some archaeological evidence dug up in recent years, should determine beyond reasonable doubt the outline of the penitentiary stockade. The photograph also clearly shows that where the palisade crossed the north wall, it was arched or peaked so that a convict's chances of escaping by climbing up on the wall would be no better than at any other point along the stockade. Unfortunately, nothing is known of the gate-house, except that it existed. Whether it was located inside the narrow passage-way of the gate, or at the gate itself cannot be determined at present.

²³ Bedson to Norquay, 23.2.72; BL, p. 9.

One site which may be located archaeologically is the original signal mast. There are frequent references in Bedson's daily order book to a "signal ball", and the penitentiary photo shows a large ball, perhaps three feet in diameter, at the top of a pole. The pole appears to be about 45 feet in height, and, judging from the photograph, was located either directly in front of the penitentiary or may even have been incorporated as a part of the stockade in that same area south of the main penitentiary building.

Other buildings referred to by both Bedson and Watson are the prisoners' ice-house and root-house. Both these sites are indicated on Watson's plan (See Appendix A) and both appear on the photograph. There was a road to the root-house which was maintained by convict labour.²⁴

A building whose location is not known is referred to for the first time in Bedson's daily order book for August 9, 1875. He refers to "a small building recently put up outside" the larger part of which was to be used as a "recreation room for turnkeys"; the reference is unclear as to whether the building was outside the fort wall (but inside the palisade) or completely outside the prison compound. Watson is of no help in identifying this building, and it is highly probable that it was removed within a few years of being built. A clue to its location may be another reference in the order-book, to the "latrine in rear of recreation room."²⁵

²⁴ OB, 6.11.74.

²⁵ OB, 1.9.75.

Yet another doubtful building is the lunatic ward build for the penitentiary in 1875-1876. Bedson asked Lieutenant-Governor Morris in June, 1875 for about \$800 with which to construct a building about 30' x 20' "which would give 6 good cells, wash room and Dining Hall."²⁶ His report to the federal government for 1875 indicated that such a structure was "now being built."²⁷

Another structure behind the penitentiary building appears in a relatively recent photograph, but cannot be seen in the original Penitentiary photograph (Appended as Photo No. 1). It is a relatively small building, probably of post-on-sill construction like Bedson's other additions to the complex, and of indeterminate date. It may be the asylum kitchen. From the perspective of Photograph No. 2, its ridgepole seems to be at about the same level as the bottom of the door from the second storey. A definite disparity of colour in the stone-work on the north side of the penitentiary building, which shows very clearly in this same photograph, raises the question whether an entire wing, two stories in height, may have abutted the penitentiary in this place at some time. It is known that Bedson wished to build a brick wing "from the North Wall of the main building to the North Wall of the fort"²⁸ but enough archaeological work has been done north of the fort to establish that nothing very substantial ever stood there.²⁹

27 See Bedson to Morris, 22.6.75; BL, pp. 386-7.

28 CSP 14/1876

29 See Priess, op.cit., figure 9.

Indeed, the entire problem of locating buildings within the penitentiary compound is complicated by their impermanence. Although certain archaeological remains have been found in the area³⁰ they have not been positively identified. Bodson explained that the buildings he had erected "can be readily removed", so they may well not have had any solid foundations. Development of the parking lot may have obliterated remains in that area, including the gate-house, while the site of Bodson's own residence, "Daisy Lodge", across the road from the Fort³¹ has likewise almost certainly been disturbed. The same holds true for the asylum complex.

30 Ibid., passim.

31 Mentioned in James Cleland Hamilton, The Prairie Province (Toronto, 1876) p. 176.

III: THE PENITENTIARY, 1871 to 1877

1) Founding and Administration:

The Manitoba Penitentiary at Lower Fort Garry originated in 1871 as a provincial prison, but was taken over by the federal government three years later. Throughout this period it was under the direction of Warden Samuel Lawrence Bedson, a former N.C.O. of the Quebec Rifles. There were at the time four types of penal institutions in Canada, and the prison buildings at Lower Fort Garry served in all four capacities. The first was the prison's rôle as a common gaol, a detention centre for alleged felons awaiting trial, or miscreants serving brief sentences. The second type of institution was the provincial prison, set aside for persons serving terms under two years for offences against provincial statutes. The third category, federal penitentiary, characterized the institution in effect throughout its six-year history. Offenders against federal statutes, sentenced for terms of over two years, and all offenders from the federally-administered North West Territories were confined in the prison at Lower Fort Garry right from 1871, though actual federal administration of the institution was limited to the period from August 1874 till January 1877. There were also a handful of de facto military prisons in Canada at this time, and the Manitoba Penitentiary was one of them; these institutions received soldiers convicted of breaches of military discipline, confining them for various short periods, sometimes as little as 14 days. All categories of offenders were grouped together in the same institution (along with a few lunatics) simply because better facilities for classification and segregation were lacking. Eventually the erection of a common gaol in Winnipeg (1874) and of the present federal penitentiary at Stony Mountain (1877) led to the abandonment of the penal facilities at Lower Fort Garry.

The penitentiary at Lower Fort Garry was originally conceived of by Lieutenant-Governor Adams G. Archibald as a federal project. On May 18, 1871, he drafted an urgent complaint to the Secretary of State for the Provinces, Joseph Howe, urging that "some steps be taken immediately for the erection of a building to serve the purpose of a Penitentiary for this province." The only penal facilities existing at the time were in a wooden building in Winnipeg, used as a police office. It was fitted with cells, said Archibald, but these were "unfit, even for the purposes of police.... In winter, prisoners would perish, ... in Summer they would suffocate." He then expressed his intention to visit Lower Fort Garry to ascertain "whether one of the Bastions of the Fort could not be made to answer temporarily the purpose of a Penitentiary." He concluded with a remark on the financing of such a venture:

If it [the bastion] shall appear suitable, and the use of it can be procured, I shall make the best arrangement in my power to procure its use, till a suitable building can be hired or erected, with the assurance that his Excellency, the Governor General will sanction what I deem right to do, and that the expenses necessarily incident to the arrangement will be borne by the Government of Canada.

Archibald cannot have seen the Stone Fort before writing that; in any event he soon realized how totally inappropriate were the bastions. He visited Lower Fort Garry on May 22, and, omitting any reference to the bastions in his report to Howe, declared that he had found "that there was a two-storey [sic] stone building within the walls of the Fort, which, with some small expenditure, could be made to answer temporarily the purpose of

¹ This dispatch is in the Secretary of State's Papers, PAC: RG 6 C - 1, Vol. 21, file 778. Archibald to Howe No. 165, 18.5.71. Emphasis added.

a Penitentiary till a suitable building can be erected." At the time the Fort was still occupied by troops under a federal government agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company, so Archibald made arrangements with Colonel Jarvis to take over the buildings immediately. J.H. McTavish of the H.B.C. was party to the negotiations and the whole matter was settled in a tentative way, "subject to such arrangements as I [Archibald] am able to make with the Hudson's Bay Company, upon the Military authorities delivering back the buildings they hired from the Company." Between this and his previous dispatch on the subject, Archibald and the entire province had been shocked by the escape of Longbones -- an Indian serving two years for scalping his wife alive -- from the police gaol in Winnipeg. Consequently he decided to move the remaining prisoners to the Lower Fort within two days.²

Archibald's naive trust in the bounty of the federal treasury was soon removed. On June 16th the cabinet ratified an order in council prepared by the Justice Minister and Prime Minister, John A. Macdonald, putting the initiative for founding a penitentiary upon the Manitoba government. Macdonald argued that the insufficiency of present facilities indicated the need for a new gaol, not for a penitentiary. He distinguished clearly between the two:

By the British North America Act 1867 the duty of establishing, maintaining and managing public prisons of a Province falls upon the Local Government and Legislature. In such provincial prisons by far the greater number of offenders are confined, as the Penitentiaries... are by law only to be used for the confinement of persons convicted of the more serious offences, and whose sentences are for not less than two years.

3

² The same to the same, 27.5.71, ibid. William Flett, the Hudson's Bay Company clerk in charge of Lower Fort Garry at the time, recorded the visit in the post journal: "The Governor, Messrs McTavish, Howard, Boyd, Villiers [sic] and Dr. Codd came down to inspect the stone store with a view of turning it into a jail. HBCA B.303/a/1.

³ Memorandum of the Minister of Justice, 14.6.71, and Minute of Council based thereon; PAC: RG 6 C - 1, Vol. 21, file 778.

Macdonald thought the solution was simple: the province should erect a common gaol or prison. When prisoners were confined for federal offences, or were brought in from the Territories for confinement in Manitoba, then a portion of the provincial institution might be set aside for the use of these federal charges. An appropriate "sum to be agreed upon" would then be paid by the Dominion to the provincial government.⁴

Beyond this point the documentary evidence available is infinitely less helpful than that provided in the papers of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, a post which was abolished in 1873. Certain facts can be gleaned from Bedson's letter-book but the precise history of the penitentiary's administration is somewhat cloudy. The agreement reached between the provincial government and the Hudson's Bay Company, following the departure of the troops, involved a lease on the penitentiary building and all the land and smaller buildings enclosed by a stockade, for \$1000 a year. This was at length paid up to the first of November, 1872 -- \$1500, covering a lease beginning June 1, 1871. Beyond this point the province either refused or neglected to pay, for reasons which are unclear. The penitentiary passed in August, 1874 -- for reasons and in a manner likewise obscure -- from provincial to federal administration and control. The federal government also stalled on fulfilling the terms of the lease, perhaps because of a dispute with the province as to who owed the balance between November 1872 and August, 1874. At length, the federal Department of Justice recommended in September, 1876, that the entire arrears be paid and charged against the current years appropriation for prison maintenance in the three newer provinces.⁵ However, Bedson's continued correspondence with

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ PAC: RG 2 - 2 Vol. 48, fyle 901, Privy Council Office Papers; copy of a memorandum dated simply 1876, from the Department of Justice. Without adequate documentation one cannot, of course, do more than speculate on the transfer of jurisdiction and the financial arrangements. It appears possible, however, that the

both federal and provincial officials suggests that there was some sort of shared-cost agreement after the federal takeover.

Following the Dominion's assumption of supervision over the penitentiary, more complete records were kept, both in the form of annual reports and statistical returns to the Inspector of Penitentiaries in Ottawa, J.G. Moylan, and in the records made by Bedson as replies to dominion government questionnaires.

As warden of the provincial institution, Bedson was nominally under the Attorney General but corresponded freely with other government offices, particularly the Department of Public Works, under John Norquay, and the office of the Deputy Receiver General, Gilbert McMicken. Under the dominion's jurisdiction, most of his correspondence was with Colonel Bernard, the deputy minister of Justice in Ottawa; in some cases, however, he addressed himself to the Lieutenant-Governor. In 1875, for example, he protested to Lieutenant-Governor Morris against the practice of confining lunatics in the same institution as convicts, and also sent Morris the following rather interesting communication:

I beg to request that you will kindly inform me what course I am to take, and who I am to communicate with in tendering my resignation to the position I now hold.

I am prompted to this step as certain parties have thought proper to malign my character & use improper phrases against my judgement [sic] in caring for the charge in my hands, and I shd. rather resign that [sic] be subjected to such remarks, especially unfounded ones. 5

5 Bedson's Letterbook (hereafter cited as BL), B. to Morris, 14.2.75, p. 375. It should be noted that Bedson signed this letter as "Actg. Warden", since his permanent appointment under the federal penal system had not yet been confirmed. A Justice Department memorandum of May 30, 1876, over a year later, gives him the same title. (PAC: RG 2 - 2 Vol. 45, Privy Council Office Papers.)

2) Penitentiary Staff:

The officers of the penitentiary were the warden, steward, head turnkey and other turnkeys, the surgeon, and the chaplains. The turnkeys -- or, in the modern idiom, correctional officers -- numbered from 6 to 8 at any one given time. Apart from the warden and the surgeons, there were many people occupying the different offices at different times over the six-year period under study. The only notable turnkeys were two head turnkeys named Tom Slack and Henry Hall; the former committed suicide in the attic of the penitentiary building;⁶ the latter was a member of the provincial police, of whom his commanding officer in Winnipeg wrote, there were complaints that he was "too hard and ruff towards the men under him in his capacity as head turnkey."⁷ The next such complaint against him, the commander wrote, would result in his recall to Winnipeg. He was shortly afterwards recalled.

These men were paid salaries more or less in line with the usual pay for minor civil functionaries; the complete list, taken from the period after the penitentiary was taken over by the federal government, was as follows;

1 Head turnkey at \$50. ⁰⁰ per mo.	\$600
1 Steward and storekeeper " \$45 "	540
1 Gate Keeper " 40 "	480
1 Yard Turnkey " 40 "	480
1 Turnkey (at Lunatics) " 40 "	480
2 Turnkeys for Convicts working outside " 40 "	960
2 Turnkeys night duty " 40 "	960
1 Messenger and waiting turnkey " 20 "	240
1 Protestant Chaplain at \$150 yr.	150
1 R. Catholic chaplain at \$150 yr.	150
	<u>\$5040</u>
Less estimate of fines from Turnkeys	<u>100</u> 8.
	<u>\$4950.</u>

⁶ See Watson, op. cit., p. 44. Flett's version in the post journal ran as follows: "This evening about seven o'clock Thomas Slack, the chief turnkey in the Penitentiary

The warden throughout the time spent at Lower Fort Garry was Samuel Lawrence Bedson. He was young; born in 1842 in a military camp at Betley, England, he followed his father's career in becoming an N.C.O. in the 16th Regiment of Foot. He came to Canada with his regiment in 1861, but when the force returned to England in 1870 he stayed on in Canada, enlisting under Colonel Garnet Wolseley's command as quartermaster-sergeant of the Second Battalion, Quebec Rifles, of the Red River Expeditionary Force. He was quartered at Lower Fort Garry. Most of the troops returned to Canada in the first half of 1871, but Bedson remained behind. When the last of the soldiers had left, he converted the former barracks into a provincial and military penitentiary, and took charge. Eventually he served as warden of the Manitoba Penitentiary for twenty years.

When Bedson assumed direction of the embryonic penitentiary, he was a veritable novice in the penal arts. A soldier's sense of discipline and an inventive mind helped him establish the pioneer government-run prison in what is now Western Canada.⁹ His career at Lower Fort Garry was well summed up by the Inspector of (federal) Penitentiaries in his report to Justice Minister Blake for 1875; Bedson, the Inspector said, was "charged with the task of inaugurating a Penitentiary without having had any previous knowledge or experience of the work, or rules for his guidance, and at so great a distance from all sources of proper information.... His military training no doubt greatly assisted him in achieving so much success as his report would indicate." Bedson himself seemed to share that view; he wrote Inspector Moy-

shot himself with a revolver in his own room and a coroner's jury was called at once to take all the evidence in the case the verdict of this jury was that the said Thos. Slack came to his death by a pistol shot from his own hands while in a temporary fit of insanity." (HBCA: B.303/a/1, entry for 19.8.73.)

⁷ L. de Plainval to Bedson, 25.3.72; PAC: MG 9 E 4, Manitoba Provincial Police Force Letterbook. From this letter it appears that all the turnkeys were at least nominally recruited as members of the M.P.P. and received temporary assignments to the gaol.

⁸ Memo dated simply 1876, BL p. 475. The warden himself got \$1400 per year.

lan in 1876 that "nearly all my turnkeys and guards, like myself, have served in Her Majesty's Regular Forces, and are therefore accustomed to perfect discipline, to which I also attribute the strict yet just and satisfactory administration of the institution."¹⁰

Bedson's entire life was spent in the public service. After he left Lower Fort Garry in 1877, he continued as Warden of the Manitoba Penitentiary at Stony Mountain except for three brief intervals. The first of these came in 1885, when he was put in charge of military transportation services during the North West Rebellion. On another occasion, he was sent to St. Vincent de Paul Penitentiary in Montreal to pacify the hostile inmates and to restore order among the employees. This he accomplished within a few months. His final departure from Stony Mountain occurred in February, 1891. He had already suffered a severe attack of Bright's Disease, which his doctor's had expected would be fatal. On his recovery, he went to Ottawa as aide de camp to the Governor General, and as a member of the Alaska Boundary Commission. He died there five months later.

Bedson married twice, each time to a daughter of the fur trade. His first wife was Jemima Murray, Chief Factor A.H. Murray's daughter; she bore him four children. Bedson's second wife, whom he married in the last year of his life, was a daughter of Chief Factor J.H. McTavish.

Obituary descriptions of a man are not the most reliable

⁹ There had of course been other prisons in Rupert's Land, including one at Norway House and another at Upper Fort Garry. Some of these were merely strong rooms used for detention as the need arose; others were not strong at all, as hostile crowds proved twice in the 1860's, liberating prisoners from the Upper Fort Garry gaol. The penitentiary at the Stone Fort was the first civilian prison operated by a duly constituted and legally recognizable government in the region.

¹⁰ CSP 14/1876.

source of information regarding a man's character and faults. However, the obituary given Bedson in the Manitoba Free Press seems quite consistent with the image the man gave of himself in his more private communications. He was, said the Free Press, a "tall, broad-shouldered man carrying himself with easy dignity"; and he was "strict and stern, but rigidly just." These qualities certainly are borne out in his papers. There was nothing soft about him -- he would fine a turn-key, have a convict whipped or fire a medical officer as the situation demanded; yet he also saw to it that his prisoners usually had more interesting work than breaking rock, that old standard of the "hard labour" sentence. In an age when imprisonment was a threat to health as well as morale and financial well-being, convicts under Bedson's care were adequately washed, fed, clothed, and provided with bedding. Bedson demanded a lot of his staff, of the convicts, and of himself; but there is no record that he ever failed to live up to his obligations.¹¹

3) Penitentiary Prisoners:

The prisoners at Lower Fort Garry were a motley enough crew, brought together from all manner of places and for any number of reasons. Over the course of six years, Bedson received men convicted of everything from murder to simple theft. One gentle soul was confined for "unlawfully cutting, stabbing, and wounding with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm." Others had committed minor offences against military discipline, and there was at all times a small quota of lunatics.¹² Prisoners ranged in age from

¹¹ All biographical details, unless cited from other sources, are taken from Bedson's obituary in the Manitoba Free Press, 18.7.91 1/e.

¹² One of these died at the Fort; Flett recorded in his journal under the date 30.11.71, "A Mrs. Hull a woman who had been mentally deranged for some time died here in the Gaol about 3 O'clock p.m." The men of the post built a coffin and she was buried in the churchyard at Mapleton. (1.12.71). HBCA: B.303/6a/1.

their late teens to early forties; most were natives of Red River or at least of Canada, though there were representatives of all Britain (except Wales), and of three foreign countries -- the United States, France, and Sweden. A number were local or Sioux Indians. Virtually all were labourers or tradesmen, though the list included an engineer and a druggist. The shortest sentence was 28 days; the longest -- for murder -- was 14 years. The Register of Prisoners kept at Lower Fort Garry between 1871 and 1877, from which all this information is taken, lists 54 convicts incarcerated during this six-year period.¹³

4) Industrial and Educational Programs:

The question of industrial and educational programs and their rôle in the prison is intimately bound up in the philosophy of the day on punishment and rehabilitation of offenders. The 1870's marked a transitional period in Canada; when the decade opened the Dominion's penitentiary system was superimposed on the hulks of the old colonial prisons; centralized controls were almost totally lacking, for the post of Inspector of Penitentiaries had not yet been created -- it was set up in 1875 -- and the Boards of Directors of Dominion Penitentiaries was largely ineffective. The Minister of Justice in 1871 was a man who firmly believed that "the primary [purpose] of the penitentiary is punishment and the incidental one reformation." He was also Prime Minister. The situation -- or at least the official attitude -- began to improve under the Liberal administration which took office in 1873. The Board of Directors

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The original copy of this register, and the only existing copies of Bedson's daily order books are at Stony Mountain Penitentiary, where I examined them with the co-operation of the Canada Penitentiary Service and of Warden Harris.

was dissolved, and its most energetic and progressive member, James G. Moylan, was appointed to the new post of Inspector of Penitentiaries.¹⁴ Justice Minister Blako also spoke in Parliament with a more humane philosophy of correction than that shown by his tory predecessor.¹⁵

Bedson, in his unaccustomed rôle as a prison warden, apparently conducted the routine business of the Manitoba Penitentiary upon lines of military efficiency and strictness. Yet in the field where his military training was of little use, that is, in implementing a philosophy of prison management and prisoner treatment, he seemed to move with the vanguard of his times.

Though the routine correspondence and daily orders which form the basis of this study rarely give any impression of Bedson's attitude towards his charges, the following remark in one of the orders illustrated quite clearly both his soldierly concern for strict discipline and a warmer interest in the welfare of his convicts:

Officers of the Prison must be more active in keeping temptation from convicts, this can be done very simply by attention in keeping them in their proper places. It is the duty of all connected with the Institution to endeavour to reform the unfortunate ones whose lot it is to be held in custody as prisoners -- officers must in future think of this. 16

This strict but benevolent paternalism was in marked contrast to Macdonald's remark, that punishment was the principal purpose of the penitentiary. Bedson's career as warden was marked by a concern for the dignity and the moral uplifting of the convict which would be hard to find in a similar situation in

¹⁴ Developments in this period are discussed in J. Alex. Edmison's, "Some Aspects of Nineteenth Century Canadian Prisons", Chapter 11 in W.T. McGrath, Crime and Its Treatment in Canada (Toronto, 1965) pp. 279-301.

¹⁵ See for example his remarks in debate on the Prisoners Employment Bill, and the Prison Discipline Bill, in Hansard,

the nineteenth century. More tangible evidence of Bedson's interest in rehabilitation may be found in the agricultural, industrial and educational programs which operated at the penitentiary even during the pioneer years at the Lower Fort. These facilities included primarily the prison garden, the shoe-making shop, and the school, all of which introduced a series of varied and perhaps even interesting activities into the otherwise drab life of Manitoba's earliest convicts. Like his superior Moylan, Bedson quite evidently believed that industrial employments for inmates were "essential to the good order and discipline of all such institutions." ¹⁷

The prison garden was probably the most important aspect of convict activity during the penitentiary's years at Lower Fort Garry. While there is no exact record of when the garden was first planted, it is likely that it began in the first growing season after the penitentiary was founded, that is, in 1872. The enterprise apparently grew rapidly, though the 1875 crop was wiped out by a plague of locusts.¹⁸ The crop of 1876, which Bedson described as "enormous"¹⁹ is described on the table reproduced on page 30, below. It appears from the "Expenditure" column of this table that the farm land used was included in the rental agreement between the Hudson's Bay Company and the government, since there is no additional rental charge for the garden.²⁰

1877, pp. 337 and 1062.

¹⁶ OB, 11.9.75.

¹⁷ Moylan to Blake, 3h.1.76, CSP 14/1876.

¹⁸ CSP 14/1876, p. 139.

¹⁹ CSP 15/1877, p. 180.

²⁰ For details of the financing of the penitentiary, see pp. 19-21. The prison garden was located, according to Watson, on the site of the present parking lot, parallel to the present highway. See Appendix "A" to this report.

40 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 15.)

A. 1877

BALANCE Sheet showing Expenditure on, and Produce from, Prison Garden, Manitoba Penitentiary, for the Year 1876.

Expenditure.	Amount.	Produce.	Quantity.	Price.	Amount.
	\$ cts.			\$ cts.	cts.
145 days' labour at 50 cents.....	72 50	Beans, French, in pod.....	57 quarts.....	0 05	2 85
Garden seeds.....	26 90	Beans, Windsor.....	18 do.....	0 05	0 90
12 canvas seed bags.....	5 60	Beets.....	20 bushels.....	0 30	6 00
		Carrots.....	91 dozens.....	0 05	4 55
		do.....	59 bushels.....	0 25	14 75
		Cabbages.....	450 heads.....	0 10	45 00
		Cauliflowers.....	315 do.....	0 15	47 25
		Celery.....	160 do.....	0 15	24 00
		Cucumbers.....	2 bushels.....	1 50	3 00
		Lettuce.....	97 dozens.....	0 05	4 85
		Onions.....	520 do.....	0 05	26 00
		do.....	631 bushels.....	1 00	63 10
		Parsnips.....	71 do.....	0 75	5 32
		Peas, in pod.....	125 quarts.....	0 05	6 25
		Potatoes.....	66 bushels.....	0 30	19 80
		Parsley.....	150 do..... per bunch	0 05	7 50
		Pumpkins.....	8 do.....	1 10	8 80
		Radishes.....	43 dozens.....	0 05	2 15
		Spinach.....	33 do.....	0 04	1 32
		Sage.....	30 bunches.....	0 05	1 50
		Squash.....	11 bushels.....	1 00	11 00
		Turnips.....	372 dozens.....	0 10	3 72
		do.....	27 bushels.....	0 25	6 75
		Tomatoes.....	1 do.....	1 00	1 00
		Seeds—French beans.....	45 pounds.....	0 05	2 25
		do Peas.....	45 do.....	0 05	2 25
		do Radish.....	8 ounces.....	0 20	1 60
		do Lettuce.....	8 do.....	0 10	0 80
		do Spinach.....	12 do.....	0 10	1 20
Balance to Cr.....	212 61				
	315 61				315 61

LOWER FORT GARRY,
6th January, 1877.

(Signed) J. L. BEDSON,
Warden.

Among other activities carried out at the Lower Fort Garry penitentiary, perhaps the most interesting was the shoe-making department. It began in May, 1875, when Bedson discovered that one of the inmates had a working knowledge of cobbling; so he set him to work repairing the shoes and boots of the penitentiary staff and inmates.²¹ Within a year the operation had grown to include three men, one of them being a Sioux Indian imprisoned in 1873.²² It probably operated in the main building or in a corner of one of the other buildings; an order dated October 15, 1875, instructed the steward to "inspect shoemakers benches and check tools with inventory of each chest or bench." During its two years at Lower Fort Garry, the penitentiary shoe shop showed a profit of several hundred dollars on the manufacture and repair of a number of different types of boots and shoes. Table II, page 32, provides financial statistics and some information on the types of shoes and boots made at Lower Fort Garry during the years 1875 and 1876. The shoe shop was transferred to Stony Mountain with the rest of the penitentiary in 1877, and continued as an important part of the industrial and training program for many years. It will be closed down later this year or in 1971.²³

Unfortunately very little is known of the school begun under Bedson for the instruction of illiterate prisoners. Apparently it was from the first under the direction of the security officers of the penitentiary -- the chaplains appear from their reports to have had nothing to do with it. The first pupils were three Sioux brought to the prison in 1873; they were restless

²¹ CSP 14/1876, p. 139.

²² Hamilton, loc. cit.,

²³ From a conversation between the writer and the supervisor of the Penitentiary Shoe Shop at Stony Mountain, March, 1970.

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Sessional Papers (No. 14.)

A 1876

SHOEMAKING DEPARTMENT, Manitoba Penitentiary, in account with
Dominion of Canada, from March 28th to December 31st, 1875.

Dr.	\$ cts.	Cr.	\$ cts.
To cost of Materials	415 00	By 45 pairs leg boots on hand	117 00
		78 pairs ankle do	195 00
		Unpaid accounts (private)	200 22
		Prison work	61 63
		Cash on hand for private work	91 85
Balance to Cr	286 24	Materials and tools in hand	
	\$701 24		\$701 23

* Since paid.

STATEMENT showing Revenue of Manitoba Penitentiary for the year ending June
30th, 1876.

Dr.	cts.	Cr.	\$ cts.
To Deposit in Ontario Bank to credit of the Hon. the Receiver-General....	344 62	By Shoe Shop, convict labour, &c.....	344 62
	344 62		344 62

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Sessional Papers (No. 15.)

A. 1877

SHOEMAKING DEPARTMENT, Manitoba Penitentiary, in account with the Dominion of
Canada, from January 1st to December 31st, 1876.

Dr.	\$ cts.	Cr.	\$ cts.
To cost of Materials	223 70	By 2 pairs laced boots	12 60
		17 pairs ankle boots	42 60
		65 pairs Oxford shoes	227 50
		Prison work	67 02
		Private work	60 24
Balance to Cr	233 72	Materials and tools on hand	60 85
	450 61		450 61

BOOTS AND SHOES REMAINING ON HAND, DECEMBER 31st, 1876.

	\$ cts.
1 pair laced boots, at \$6.00	6 00
46 pairs Wellington boots, at \$3.00	138 00
65 pairs Blucher boots, at \$2.50	162 50
41 pairs Oxford shoes, at \$3.50	143 50
	430 00

at first, each of them making at least one attempt to escape, but eventually they were calmed. One of them became involved in shoe repair work, and all three joined with other Indians who could neither read nor right and in most cases knew only a slight amount of English. The classes were conducted by one of the guards. Bedson reported in 1877 that great progress had been made in making these inmates literate.²⁴

The other activities of the convicts were somewhat more routine in nature, involving work in the stables and on various projects such as carpentry and what are around a farm known as "the chores". One prisoner escaped in September, 1875, while working on a roof with a gang outside the walls.²⁵ Other tasks were legion. One gang dug a well late in 1874;²⁶ another repaired "the road leading to the root-house";²⁷ convicts packed up the North West Mounted Police supplies when the latter left Lower Fort Garry in 1874.²⁸ They were also engaged in various work parties outside the walls, farming, cutting wood, and carrying water. Convicts on the sick list could, with the surgeon's permission, be used "for purposes such as cleaning kitchen utensils &c."²⁹ One also acted as assistant to the steward. The statistical return of convict labour, reproduced in Appendix "H", indicates other menial duties performed by the convicts. There was, of course, the old standard prison activity of breaking rock. Archaeological studies have revealed some crushed limestone

²⁴ CSP 15/1877.

²⁵ CSP 14/1876, p. 139.

²⁶ OB, 4.11.74.

²⁷ OB, 6.11.74.

²⁸ OB, 10.11.74.

²⁹ OB, 12.1.75.

in the vicinity of the penitentiary. Watson says of stonebreaking activity at the penitentiary that the prisoners themselves brought the rocks "from the river bank, in handbarrows," and that the remains of the rock pile still showed, just east of the penitentiary building.³⁰ Bedson himself ordered in August, 1875, "Head turnkey will put all spare hands to breaking stone tomorrow."³¹ Such an order was, however, rare; every effort was made to find more dignified work for the convicts.

5) Equipment and Supplies:

During Bedson's period at Lower Fort Garry, the penitentiary had all the basic equipment used for intimidating and restraining prisoners, and for maintaining general security in the institution. In the first place, all the guards were armed -- turnkeys on duty guarding work parties outside the walls were obliged to carry carbines slung over their shoulders, and were under orders not to unsling these weapons until the convicts were safely returned to their cells or wards.¹ In addition to carbines, each turnkey carried a revolver and handcuffs. The guards were trained in the fine art of shooting to maim, not to kill.² In 1875 Bedson ordered a dozen Spencer repeating carbines with 750 rounds of ammunition from the stores at Fort Garry;³ a year later, however, he reported to Moylan that the Spencers had not proved satisfactory and had been replaced with Sniders. The latter were loaded not with ball, but with cartridges, filled with No. 1 shot and buckshot. By using these, Bedson reported, "a Guard is more certain to secure a runaway convict should it

¹ OB, 12.22.74.

² GSP 14/1876.

³ Bedson to Gilbert McMicken, 3.7.75, BL p. 401.

be necessary to make use of his 'Carbine,'" ⁴

Security equipment included much of the heavy ironware which characterized prison life until relatively recently. Bedson's correspondence and daily orders refer to Ball and Chain⁵, hand cuffs⁶, and, after 1872, a half-dozen pairs of ankle fetters.⁷ All turnkeys were obliged to carry a pair of handcuffs, presumably in case of insubordination of one or more convicts on a work party. The guard at the main door of the penitentiary building was obliged to keep at least one key for both hand cuffs and ankle fetters.⁸ These items were not used indiscriminately -- for example, Bedson ordered in the middle of January one year that "during this severe cold weather and until further orders prisoners will not be encumbered with wearing Ball and chain when chopping wood or drawing water."⁹

From the evidence at hand it seems that all connected with the penitentiary -- prisoners as well as guards -- were adequately clothed. Early in 1872 when the institution was less than a year old, Bedson received orders from the provincial government to request from the warden of Kingston Penitentiary twelve "Complete Outfits Convict clothing", to be forwarded "with all despatch" via Norman Kittson at St. Paul.¹⁰ Whether these were ever received is not on record, but about a year later James C. Hamilton recorded his impression as a casual visitor of the convicts at what he called "the minitature temporary

⁴ CSP 15/1877.
OB, 9.1.75 and 11.2.75.

⁵ See for example
⁶ Ibid., 11.8.75.

⁷ Bedson to Rice Lewis and Son Ltd., Toronto, 3.1.73. The letter is an order for the fetters and indicates that the Provincial Government occasionally charged purchases to its account with this firm. The firm appears to have been a dry goods or hardware supplier.

⁸ OB, 11.8.75

⁹ OB, 9.1.75

¹⁰ Bedson to Warden Creighton, 25.3.72, BL p. 15.

Penitentiary of the young province," The convicts, he said, were "out in the yard and garden, clad in white, with 'P.P.' stamped on them."¹¹ One might assume that the "P.P." was stamped on the clothing and not, as Hamilton suggests, on the convicts. In addition to the initials of the Provincial Penitentiary, all convicts' clothing was marked with the number of the prisoner to whom it was issued.¹²

Besides actual penal uniforms, the penitentiary undertook to provide for all the convicts' clothing needs and to number each garment with its "owner's" number. Lists of convicts' clothing throughout the daily order book and Bedson's letter-book mention mitts, new flannel shirts (2 per inmate),¹³ socks (2 pairs to each number),¹⁴ ankle boots, winter trousers, winter jackets, winter caps,¹⁵ woolen drawers,¹⁶ mocassins, and cotton shirts.¹⁷ The steward was in charge of issuing and accounting for all articles of clothing, and was also obliged to report on their state of repair.¹⁸ Apparently there were corresponding items of summer and winter clothing for each type of garment.¹⁹

After the federal government took over the Manitoba Penitentiary in 1874, Bedson began to enforce a uniform standard in the turnkeys' dress. Unfortunately no prototype or precise description has been discovered, but some general indications may be gleaned from references in Bedson's order book. The first

¹¹ James Cleland Hamilton, loc. cit.

¹² See for example OB, 5.11.74.

¹³ OB, 5.11.74.

¹⁴ OB, 16.12.74.

¹⁵ Memorandum by Bedson, "shewing articles... destroyed by recent fire in store room of Manitoba Penitentiary." Dated 13.4.75, BL, p. 360.

¹⁶ OB, 16.12.74.

¹⁷ Bedson to Control Department, Provincial Government, 2.74, BL, p. 211. The socks cost 67½¢ per pair, mocassins 87½¢, and cotton shirts \$1 each,

¹⁸ OB, 5.11.74.

¹⁹ OB, 7.8.75.

mention of it occurs in an order dated July 24, 1875:

Head turnkey will see that officers of Institution appear in proper uniform, as a General Rule the cloth jacket will be worn only on Sundays and special orders to be issued for other occasions. On other days, the serge will be worn. Such uniform to be worn whilst on duty and optional with officers themselves after locking-up hour (unless on duty.)²⁰

A week later Bedson reminded his guards, "Turnkeys are expected to have their serge trousers ready to wear by Monday next."²¹

In September the officers were reminded to get cap badges.²² Apparently the system of having different winter and summer uniforms prevailed for guards as well as convicts, for Bedson ordered on September 28th, 1875, that

Head turnkey and steward will confer with other officers of the prison on suitable winter Uniform for the coming season and submit same for approval of Warden tomorrow morning. Cap, overcoat (or pea jacket) & trousers are all²³ that will be necessary to consider.

The steward was responsible for maintaining and distributing all bed-clothes. There do not seem to have been any sheets in use -- references are to bed-ticks²⁴ and to blankets. Blankets were numbered, like clothes, with the numbers of the convicts to whom they were issued,²⁵ but when in winter a third blanket was placed in each cell, it was unmarked.²⁶ Such extra blankets were collected from the cells when all danger of cold weather had passed.²⁷ On the "penal cells" or underground cells, buffalo robes were also used during the coldest weather.²⁸ The blankets were Hudson's Bay Company 3½ point blankets.²⁹

20 OB, 24.7.75.

21 OB, 30.7.75.

22 OB, 24.9.75.

23 OB, 28.9.75.

24 OB, 20.11.74.

25 OB, 12.11.74.

26 OB, 24.1.75.

27 OB, 17.6.75; "Head

turnkey will collect the third blanket from each convict, taking care to collect the one most in need of repair. Such blankets will be returned to the storekeeper who will have them repaired prior to being washed."

28 OB, 17.6.75.

29

destroyed in storeroom fire, loc cit.

Return of articles

Little is known of the general furniture of the institution, beyond a reference in the return of burnt articles, which showed the following losses: "1 flour bin, 7 night tubs (urine); 1 table; 2 benches; 13 sacks."³⁰ It is almost certain that common articles of everyday uses -- tables, benches and the like -- were manufactured of local timber by convict labour. A certain amount of general and specialized furniture did crop up in letters and memoranda, but this information tended to indicate that standard household equipment was used for most functions. Stoves, for example, were shipped up from Winnipeg in the fall of 1871 to provide heat for the penitentiary buildings.³¹

Various other pieces of equipment were mentioned from time to time. These included a "watch-clock",³² probably kept either by the gate-keeper or by the guard at the main door of the penitentiary. There was also a large ball, apparently raised on a pole in front of the main penitentiary building, which was used as a "signal ball." It was raised about dusk to indicate that prisoners at work outside the stockade should be returned to their wards and cells. During the winter the ball was raised about 4:45 p.m.³³ The prison was also equipped with a bell to announce the daily routine; in winter, the first bell to announce unlocking of prisoners rang at 6:30 a.m.³⁴ A visitor's book was kept by the gate-keeper after September, 1875, in which were recorded the names of visitors and of the convicts visited.³⁵ A "board of rules and regulations" was posted in each cell.³⁶

³⁰ Return of burnt articles, loc. cit.

³¹ F. Villiers to Bedson, 25.10.71, No. 4; Provincial Police Letterbook.

³² OB, 11.11.74.

³³ OB, 8.12.74, 12.11.74.

³⁴ OB, 16.11.74.

³⁵ OB, 22.9.75.

³⁶ OB, 1.1.75. Unfortunately no copies of these rules have been discovered, and comparative material which has been turned up has been quite out of context in terms of the Lower Fort Garry situation.

Some small items of household equipment are mentioned in the daily order book. An order for November 17, 1874 indicated that the meals in the prison dining hall were served off tin-ware.³⁷ There are also frequent references to night-tubs, apparently the wooden ancestors of the once-common chamber pot. An 1875 order instructed the head turnkey to get "the branding irons" from the storekeeper and brand each night tub with a number from 1 to 25, and with the letters "PP". The tubs were distributed among the cells according to number, "night tubs bearing same numbers as cells will be considered in future as property of that cell." The letters "PP" on the night tubs are ambiguous. They probably meant "Provincial Penitentiary" although the establishment at the time was under federal jurisdiction.³⁸ The night tubs were emptied during the day and replaced in the cells "at least 30 minutes prior to Ball being raised for locking up."³⁹

Another important part of the stationary equipment of the penitentiary was the fire-fighting equipment. Bedson was very concerned about the danger of fire, and with good reason. In December, 1872 a minor fire destroyed some of his records, and there was another blaze in the store-room in April, 1875. This latter fire Bedson thought had been set by a convict named Bellair, who was at the time an assistant to the steward. The fire was easily quelled with the assistance of several convicts and turnkeys, and two vats of water which were kept on hand for such an emergency.⁴⁰ In his report to the Inspector at the end of 1875, Bedson stated that

³⁷ OB, 11.17.74.

³⁸ OB, 7.9.75. The tubs may have been purchased by and for the provincial authorities to serve in the provincial penal system after the provincial and federal prisons were completely separated by the opening of Stony Mountain.

³⁹ OB, 1.10.75.
12.4.75; BL p. 361.

⁴⁰ Bedson to McMicken,

In the different wards I have vats that contain upwards of 600 gallons of water and in the boiler in the prison yard upwards of 300 gallons; with such a quantity of water it is difficult for a fire to make very great headway, as long as proper diligence is exhibited by the turnkeys and guards.⁴¹ I have since procured two Babcock fire extinguishers.

In addition to the equipment of the penitentiary itself, Bedson found himself for a time in charge of the supplies and livestock left behind by the North West Mounted Police when they left the Fort in 1874. These included the following:

- 50 Bed tops and trestles complete.
- 15 table tops ----do-----
- 18 officers chairs.
- 8 standing lamps.
- 8 hanging lamps complete with glasses.
- 15 lengths 7 in. stove pipe. ⁴²
- 2 sleighs and canvas cover.

He also related the following melancholy tale to the Mounted Police agent at Winnipeg:

I beg to report the death of one of the N.W.M. Police Cows which has been under my charge during the past winter. This cow has been ailing since I first received her. I had to put her in a sling on the night of the 8th inst., she being unable to stand. The best of care had always been given to her. She received regularly bran mash every day. ⁴³

Scant evidence is available on the storage and preparation of food for the penitentiary; in fact the exact location of the kitchen is unknown, though it seems almost certain that it was outside the main building. A root house was located

⁴¹ CSP 14/1876, p. 138.

⁴² Bedson to Thos. Nixon, 27.11.74, BL p. 290.

⁴³ Ibid., 12.5.75, p. 371.

outside the prison walls, and "potatoes, beets, cabbage, and other vegetables" were stored in it.⁴⁴ The return of provisions destroyed by fire in 1875 listed large quantities of salt, tea, sugar and flour among the items damaged by water.⁴⁵ The prison had a large vegetable garden attached to it and it is likely that much of the produce of this garden was consumed at the fort itself. Beef was the principal meat consumed, at the rate of about 59 pounds per day.⁴⁶ The penitentiary also used 980 pounds of oats per week, but this was likely consumed by horses. In all, rations made up the largest single item on the penitentiary's budget for fiscal year 1875, amounting to \$4,227.51 out of a total expenditure of about \$20,000.⁴⁸

6) Medical Services:

During his two years as warden at Lower Fort Garry, Bedson employed two medical officers at the penitentiary. Neither of them entirely satisfied him. His first M.O. was David Young, a Sarnia native who arrived in Manitoba in 1871.¹ Young lost his position in a dispute over fees and services when the federal government took over the penitentiary in 1874. He was replaced briefly by Dr. Henry Beddome of St. Andrews, whose penchant for the bottle soon brought Young back into office if not into favour in 1875. He continued as Medical Officer at the Penitentiary until after the penitentiary was moved from Lower Fort Garry.

Young was first hired in July, 1871, virtually as soon as the penitentiary opened. His appointment apparently was arr-

⁴⁴ Bedson to McMicken, 1.5.75, explaining losses sustained when flood waters covered the root house for 42 hours; BL, p. 369.

⁴⁵ BL, p. 360.

⁴⁶ BL, letters to local farmers requesting tenders for that amount of beef for the early summer months, 29.4.72.

⁴⁷ Bedson to Nixon, 31.5.75, BL.

⁴⁸ CSP 15/1877, p. 189. See Appendix "H".

anged through the provincial government or perhaps with a little assistance from Lieutenant Governor Archibald.² The financial arrangement under which Young attended the staff and inmates of the penitentiary "was to visit daily and be paid for each person seen by him \$1.75 with extra for medecine."³ When the local government relinquished control of the penitentiary in August, 1874, Bedson apparently felt his hand strengthened in dealing with the doctor, and immediately asked him to modify his fee scale. Young refused, and the services of Dr. Beddome were secured. Young, Bedson reported, "was refused admission to the prison."⁴

Dr. Beddome accepted the terms which Young had spurned, namely payment of \$2.00 per month for each convict or turkey at the institution, and he undertook to supply medecine at his own expense. He was appointed at the end of August, 1874, but soon ran into difficulties as Bedson addressed him the following letter in May of the following year:

I cannot understand that I am now left for four days without any medical attendance, if you are unable to attend you ought to have arranged with some other medical man to act for you. The responsibility thus thrown upon me is very great and I shall now be necessitated to secure the services of some other Medical practitioner.

In a later report to Ottawa, Bedson claimed that Beddome ceased to attend 14 April, 1875, which was presumably the last visit for which he was paid. In this report, the warden added some remarks on Beddome's general unsuitability: "I had to dispense with Dr. Beddome's services for neglect of duty in not attending to his patients and being under the influence of liquor

¹ For biographical material on Young, see Manitoba, Pictorial and Biographical (Winnipeg, 1913) Vol. I, p. 117.

² See R.B. Somerville, Young's father-in-law, to John A. Macdonald, 17.10.72, which suggests that Somerville or Young himself had some influence with Archibald. PAC: RG 13 1872/1398.

³ Bedson to Deputy Minister of Justice, 11.11.75, BL p. 460

⁴ Ibid. See also Bedson to McMicken, 2.11.74, BL p. 884.

⁵ Bedson to Beddome, 4.5.75, BL p. 370.

during one of his visits.⁶ The "other Medical practitioner" referred to in the letter to Beddome turned out to be David Young, who may well have been the only applicant. Young accepted the basis of payment under which Beddome had worked, and continued to provide medical services as long as the penitentiary remained at Lower Fort Garry.⁷

Medical care was among Bedson's high priorities and he showed a solicitous concern for the convicts' health at all times. Bedson's daily orders on a number of subjects showed this concern; for example, late in 1874 he ordered a convict to be flogged, specifying that all turnkeys and the doctor were to be present.⁸ When a lunatic was confined to the prison, his treatment was always to be "subject to the Surgeon's approval."⁹ Bedson's general comments on warm bedding and laundering of dirty bedding indicated at least an interest in cleanliness and comfort for the prisoners. Cleanliness was also uppermost in his mind when he addressed the following communication to Sheriff Armstrong in Winnipeg early in 1872:

I am of opinion that a bath was ordered... last summer for this establishment and if such is still on hand I should very much wish it to be sent here at an early date as I wish¹⁰ the prisoners should bathe twice a month.

Turnkeys were cautioned against giving even the lightest duties to prisoners on the sick-list without the surgeon's knowledge of the case.¹¹

⁶ Bedson to Deputy Minister of Justice, 1876, BL p. 463.

⁷ The controversial fee-scale applied only to civilian prisoners; military convicts at Lower Fort Garry received medical services at the expense of the military authorities. See Bedson to Major Peebles, 11.12.73, BL. Peebles was military Supply Officer at Upper Fort Garry.

⁸ OB, 9.11.74.

⁹ OB, 5.12.74.

¹⁰ BL, 6.2.72.

¹¹ OB, 12.1.75

Bedson was greatly annoyed at the prevalent custom of confining lunatics in the penitentiary. "The lunatic Robinson" was received in December, 1874, and was immediately confined to "Number 1 Cell" underground subject to removal to a remoter cell (Penal Cell No. 3) "when very noisy."¹² Several months later another lunatic, a woman, was delivered to the fort under a warrant of commitment. In this case Bedson put her in a bastion and rushed off a letter to the Lieutenant Governor, protesting that "the convicts for over two weeks past have been making complaints about not being able to get sufficient rest during the night, owing to the continual noise which is kept up by insane persons confined amongst them."¹³ He proposed that a grant of about \$800 be made to the penitentiary to put up a building "about 30 ft. x 20 ft. which would give 6 good cells, Wash room and dining hall."¹⁴ This he proposed to use for a lunatic ward. The province apparently made the money available and by January, 1876, Bedson was able to report that "a small building inside the walls of the prison where all lunatics could be kept" was under construction.¹⁵

7) Religious Services:

Bedson never questioned the premise that religious instruction should form part of the reformation of prisoners. From the first, Protestant chaplains attended the prisoners every Sunday, a Catholic priest attended every month, a Catholic guards read services for their co-religionists when the priest was not available for Sunday. Despite the interest of both warden and chaplains in the religious instruction given

¹² OB, 5.12.74.

¹³ Bedson to Morris, 22.6.75, BL p. 389.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 386-7.

¹⁵ CSP 14/1876, pp. 138-46.

to convicts, there was almost certainly no prison library, religious or otherwise. Although the chaplains were interested in such a library, there is no record of its ever having been formed; the penitentiary at Lower Fort Garry was such a transitory affair and its financial footing was sufficiently uncertain that the failure to carry out this scheme is quite understandable. So religious exercises at the Manitoba Penitentiary were restricted entirely to Sundays and a handful of special events, such as Christmas.

The first Protestant chaplain under the Provincial administration of the prison was Rev. Henry Cochrane, an Anglican and an Indian from the parish of St. Peter's.¹ He attended all the protestants at the penitentiary, including Anglicans, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Wesleyans, and Methodists.² Cochrane was transferred to the Stanley Mission in June, 1874, when he was replaced at the Penitentiary by W.H. Moore as Chaplain. Moore continued until May, 1876, when he took sick leave, from which he never returned. His replacement, the Venerable Archdeacon Cowley, visited on an interim basis during Moore's illness, then became the official Protestant Chaplain on the latter's death in October, 1876. Cowley³ was an unctuous man who considered

¹ See T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies (Toronto, 1962) for the following description of Cochrane's career: "Henry Cochrane was the third native to be ordained. Born at the Indian Settlement and sponsored as a candidate for Holy Orders by the Local Church Missionary Society Committee, his ministry was spent almost as much with the white settlers as among his own people. The perfection of his diction and the beauty of his sermons were long remembered in Winnipeg. The full details of his life have never been gathered together, but there was much tragedy in it.... He died in loneliness at the Jackhead mission on Lake Winnipeg in 1898." (p. 86).

² Religions taken from Register of Prisoners, at Stony Mountain.

³ A native of Gloucestershire, Abraham Cowley arrived in Canada and was ordained a priest by Bishop Jacob Mountain in 1841. He was 25 years old. He conducted a mission to the Saulteaux on the north-west shore of Lake Manitoba, then was transferred to Red River in 1854, where he served at the Indian Settlement. See Boon, op. cit., pp. 51-3.

it his "great, though melancholy pleasure" to minister to the needs of the convicts, and he reflected that "I often think it impossible that good shall not result from the holy services of divine worship, as it is practiced in [the] Penitentiary at the Stone Fort."⁴

The Catholic Chaplain, the famous missionary Father Albert Lacombe, paid less attention to his duties as chaplain than did his successive Protestant counterparts -- perhaps because Lacombe had to travel a considerable distance from Saint Boniface, while the Protestant chaplains were all residents of the Lower Settlement. Lacombe, however, received the same salary -- \$150 per annum -- as was allocated for the Protestant Chaplain. Lacombe reported at the end of 1876,

I go to the penitentiary monthly, on Sunday, and perform the religious services. Sometimes, when I cannot go, one of the priests goes to accomplish these religious duties. In our absence, one of the Turnkeys (a Catholic) reads the prayers and one religious instruction to the Catholic convicts.

This routine apparently remained as long as the penitentiary was located at Lower Fort Garry.

Sunday was generally a slack day at the Penitentiary, with no work for convicts or turnkeys, except that the latter, of course, were still responsible for security. Only meals and Sunday services broke up what would otherwise have been a rather monotonous -- if relaxed -- day. Services were at 10:30 a.m.

⁴ CSP 14/1876, pp. 138-46; CSP 15/1877, pp. 180-5.

⁵ CSP 15/1877. One of the turnkeys in question was named Mulvaney, cf. OB, 17.7.75.

for the Catholics, and at 2:15 p.m. for Protestants.⁶ Cowley described in detail the "beautiful ordering of arrangements for divine worship on Lord's days.":

The large upper room of the building is for the occasion turned into a chapel, seats so arranged that every prisoner is enabled to face the Chaplain; this is a great gain, and the guards are so distributed that should there be any design on the part of their prisoners to take advantage of the comparative freedom, it would be next to impossible for them to effect anything. Each prisoner who can use them is furnished with the usual books of devotion, and most of them seem glad to avail themselves of the opportunities. The utmost decorum prevails; the prisoners sing with great spirit, apparently thoroughly enjoying that part of the service. They join in prayer and in the reading of the psalms and other portions of the scripture readily, and during the sermon there is always rivetted attention to the discourse.⁷

Unfortunately there is no corresponding description of the Catholic services, but one must assume that R.C. convicts were as pious, holy, and unworldly as the men whom Cowley described. They did, according to Lacombe, at least have prayer-books for use during services.⁸

6 Ibid.

7 CSP 15/1877.

8 CSP 14/1876.

IV: THE ASYLUM, 1884, to 1886

1) Founding and Administration:

Warden Bedson of Stony Mountain Penitentiary had protested for years against the confinement of lunatics in prisons. He argued, quite rightly, that their condition warranted an entirely different treatment from that accorded ordinary convicts. He also noted the bad effect of this practice on the prisoners themselves.¹ In 1875, the provincial government and legislature proposed that "owing to the limited income of the Province it is impossible to erect and maintain an Asylum for insane persons at the public cost.", and it invited "the Privy Council of Canada to set aside a portion of the Penitentiary now being erected in that province for the reception of Criminal lunatics, and other insane persons, the reasonable cost of maintaining such last persons to be borne by the Province."² Justice Minister Blake recognized this quickly as part of the continuing game of dominion-provincial financial bickering, and in particular as one of Manitoba's efforts to have public institutions erected and supported by Federal funds. He also pointed out how similar the proposed arrangement was to the existing relationship between the federal and Ontario governments concerning Rockwood Asylum, an arrangement which was "deemed by both the Canadian and Provincial Government unsound in principle and unsatisfactory in practice." The province's request was not only turned down cold, but was met with an ultimatum: all lunatics were to be removed from the federal penitentiary at Lower Fort Garry before April 1, 1876, "provided no contingency should occur rendering earlier action necessary."³

¹ See p. 44, above.

² Cabinet Report signed by Mackenzie and Dufferin, 22.12.75; PAC: RG 2 - 1 - Vol. 117 (Privy Council Papers).

³ Ibid.

Blake's bad taste in selecting April Fools day as the removal date for all lunatics was overlooked, as indeed was his deadline. The lunatics remained in federal prisons not only while the penitentiary was at Lower Fort Garry but for eight years at Stony Mountain as well. At long last the Province took action: in January, 1884, surveyors began to lay out a site for the new Provincial Asylum at Selkirk.⁴ Sir Hector Langevin laid the cornerstone on August 26th, but it was obvious by this time that completion of the institution would be long delayed.⁵ The federal authorities were increasingly impatient to clear out the lunatics, as demands for extra space at Stony Mountain became more and more pressing.⁶ So the Province decided in October, 1884 to move the lunatics into Lower Fort Garry until the Selkirk Asylum was ready to receive them. After a late start⁷ the provisional asylum neared completion, supervised by Mr. R. Dickson, by the end of January, 1885.⁸ The province's lease with the HBC was dated 22 December, 1884; the institution was formally opened February 18th and began to function on the 20th,⁹ and remained at the Lower Fort until May of 1886.¹⁰

Like the penitentiary which had previously occupied the same principal building, the asylum was a pioneer institution in the Province, located at the Stone Fort as a stop-gap measure only. It is unlikely that the medical superintendent, the only doctor attached to the institution, had any special training in psychiatric practice -- hardly an unusual deficiency in 1885. This medical superintendent was Dr. David Young, previously referred to as the medical officer of the provincial penitentiary. Young was born in Sarnia, Canada West in 1847, and received his M.D. from Queen's University

⁴ Selkirk Herald, 18.1.84 3/a.

⁵ Ibid., 29.8.84 2/c.

⁶ CSP 65/1881; CSP 12/1882.

⁷ Selkirk Herald, 1.11.84 3/d.

⁸ Ibid., 31.1.85, 3/d.

⁹ February 18th was the date of a proclamation by the Lieutenant-Governor; the actual date of occupancy is taken from Dr. Young's Journal (hereafter referred to as YJ), entry for 20.2.85.

¹⁰ Departure date taken from Manitoba, Pictorial and Biographical, loc. cit.

in 1871. In June of that year he began his medical practice at Lower Fort Garry, becoming immediately medical officer at the penitentiary. He supervised the transfer of the insane from

Stony Mountain to Lower Fort Garry in 1885, when he became medical superintendent of the Manitoba Asylum, a post which he held until 1912. His career was not without controversy; his troubles with Warden Bedson have been noted above, and a more serious charge was levelled against him in 1885. John Gunn, a prominent citizen of St. Andrews parish complained of Young's appointment to Senator Schultz, who replied that "of course,, Lunatics in their asylum are purely matters of Provincial care and if Young has the charge in this way I can do nothing but if the Dominion still controls I can & will object to their being in charge of such a drunken incompetent."¹¹ There seems no other evidence of this charge; Young's journal and the length of his service both suggest that one should consider the source of Schultz's remark, and ignore it.

Though Young himself had virtually no formal experience with lunatics, he had one experienced staff member: Miss McBride, the matron, had occupied a similar position in the asylum at London, Ontario. The matron's assistant, chief attendant, and bursar were probably all local people or recent settlers -- they were Miss Carrie Kennedy, George Black, and James Colclough respectively.¹² Young always had difficulties in retaining staff -- no doubt because of the nature of the institution. Carrie Kennedy resigned in June, 1885, having served less than six months, "her relations objecting to her remaining any longer."¹³ Young

¹¹ Schultz to Gunn, 23.2.85, PAM: Gunn Papers.

¹² Selkirk Herald, 21.2.85 2/d.

¹³ YJ, 13.5.85.

even had trouble retaining washerwomen; they struck," said the work was too hard and the pay too small", in April, 1885.¹⁴ There was also a considerable turnover in male attendants, even in the brief year spent at Lower Fort Garry.

There was a good deal of diversity both in the type of lunatics committed and in the manner of their treatment. All, however, were committed in the same way. The allegedly insane person was brought before a Justice of the Peace or before a Police Court, where appropriate testimony concerning his state of mind would be given by friends, neighbours, witnesses to apparently insane acts, or by the patient himself. Then the patient would be interviewed independently by two doctors. If they reported in favour of committal to the asylum, a warrant was issued over the Lieutenant-Governor's signature, and the patient was taken to Dr. Young. Discharge procedures were less exacting; in fact on at least one occasion an inmate of the asylum discharged himself. Young remarked in his diary, "As I wanted his wife to take him home & he is quite fit to return [I] made no effort to find him."¹⁵ Patients returning home or being otherwise discharged without the superintendent's full assurance that they were cured were usually released into the custody of a friend or relative. The custodian had to send Young fortnightly reports on the mental and physical health of the patient; if such reports were not forthcoming, the patient and his guardian forfeited the right of future re-committal in case of relapse.¹⁶

¹⁴ YJ, 23.4.85.

¹⁵ YJ, 12.8.85; this procedure does not seem to have been in common -- it was still in use at Brandon Mental Hospital twenty years later, with regard to a patient considered "well enough at the time to take care of himself." See J.J. Anderson to D. Young, 14.2.1908, in Fyle No. 11, Medical Records, Selkirk Asylum. (Hereafter referred to as MR.)

¹⁶ See MR Fyle No. 1, probational bond for T.H.R. (Names of patients are omitted from this report as their inclusion would serve no useful historical purpose. The exception is W.H. Jackson (Honoré Joseph Jaxon), whose case is a matter of public record.)

2) The Patients:

The asylum patients were as diverse as the penitentiary prisoners had been before them. Initially, 28 men and eight women comprized the list of inmates sent from Stony Mountain and the Winnipeg gaol to Lower Fort Garry's temporary asylum.¹⁷ Some were evidently fairly mild in their disorders; many of these were discharged during the course of the year spent at Lower Fort Garry. Others, though badly deranged, were placid, such as Dr. O., who simply lacked ambition and initiative, and did nothing of any consequence except occasionally to play croquet.¹⁸ There was also a good number of severely disturbed individuals, notably two of the women, who according to Young's journal and their medical records, conducted themselves totally without inhibitions, suffered delusions, and had ideas which it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss. They were of many nationalities 4- Italians, French Canadians (probably métis), Icelanders, the usual quota from the British Isles, and a Danish seaman, who according to his own testimony had once commanded a ship with 69 masts and 39 smokestacks.¹⁹ Some were undoubtedly from well-to-do-families and had been brought up well; one must suspect that many of these had been sent to Manitoba in the hope that their condition would improve in the frontier atmosphere, or at least that emigration would render their unsteady conditions of less embarrassment to their families than if they had stayed at home. In other cases patients far from home enlisted the sympathetic help of friends and relatives to try to secure a release from the asylum and transportation home. This was the case of a young

17 YJ, 20.2.85.

18 YJ, 16.9.85.

19 MR, fyle No. 2.

Nova Scotian butcher whose only ambition was to be released and sent back to Pictou County. This sublime favour was denied him; he died at Selkirk some years later.

The greatest single disadvantage of Lower Fort Garry, from Dr. Young's point of view, was the ease with which patients could escape. Some merely wandered around outside the enclosure: one went "into the store and picked up an axe which she attempted to use in striking a visitor."²⁰ Others fled over the walls, usually only seeking a holiday. In such cases Young could only muster all the attendants he could spare and send them out to search, while the Winnipeg police were notified by telephone.²¹ The escapes averaged about one per month, but only one patient -- Riel's former secretary William Henry Jackson -- completely avoided capture by fleeing to the United States.

There were other disadvantages to Lower Fort Garry, most of which stemmed from the restricted size of the grounds. "Patients give a good deal of trouble", Young wrote in April, 1885, "by going into the Bursar's and my office and it is almost impossible for the attendants to prevent them."²² The close proximity of all types of patients to each other represented another drawback; "Continual fights show the necessity for having better arrangements for classifying."²³ Perhaps the most bothersome problem of the restricted facilities was the manner in which sexual problems were aggravated. "Having the men and women in close proximity undoubtedly has a bad effect on both", remarked Young, "and am frequently compelled to keep the women inside when frequently they should be out."²⁴ The

²⁰ YJ, 10.4.85.

²¹ YJ, 11.8.85.

²² YJ, 11.4.85.

²³ YJ, 27.4.85.

²⁴ YJ, 14.4.85.

men were undaunted: "Saw him and M. walking over towards the female ward and sent Hill to look after them", Young wrote on another occasion.²⁵ Of course some of the sexual problems were unrelated to the patients' insanity, but simply reflected the fact that men and women, many of them married, were confined for long periods without sexual contacts. "A.K. still depressed when I questioned her as to the cause she pointed to her genitals and said she wanted something."²⁶ Though conditions at the asylum undoubtedly aggravated such complaints, many of them were inherent in the nature of such institutions.

The most famous inmate of the asylum at Lower Fort Garry -- and its most famous escapee -- was William Henry Jackson, self-styled as Honoré Joseph Jaxon, a secretary to Louis Riel during the North West Rebellion of 1885. Unlike his "rebel chief", Jackson was fortunate enough to be judged insane, and was sent to Lower Fort Garry for safekeeping. His intelligence and resourcefulness and the nature of events leading to his committal all promised that he would be a most difficult patient.²⁷ Jackson had been tried for treason, but a trial of less than half an hour saw him acquitted on grounds of insanity. He arrived at the Lower Fort on August 14, 1885, in company with a North West Mounted Policeman named Farmer. He was quartered in Ward 2 (second floor of the penitentiary building), diagnosed by Young as not a confirmed lunatic, but "only a monomaniac, chiefly on religious subjects."²⁸

²⁵ YJ, 20.4.85.

²⁶ YJ, 25.4.85.

²⁷ The best historical account and character sketch of Jackson (I have retained here the form of his name under which he was committed) is Louis Blake Duff's "Amazing Story of the Winghamite Secretary of Louis Riel", Western Ontario History Nuggets (Series # 22). Duff's article combines elements of personal recollection with some decent research; a copy of the article in typescript is filed with Jackson's medical records at Selkirk; MR, Fyle No. 46. See also W.J.C. Cherwinski, "Honoré Joseph Jaxon....", CHR XLVI, No. 2 (June, 1965) pp. 122-33, for a scholarly discussion of Jackson as a U.S. labour agitator.

He did not appear in Young's Journal for the first month of his stay; he must have pondered escaping at this time, for his major ~~for~~ achievement, a letter to his family, stated in part:

I believe the Dr. and most if not all of the attendants would like to see me get away -- but their position as you are probably aware is a somewhat peculiar one -- it being a moot question not less among them than at Gov't headquarters as to whether, whatever public advantages might be derived from my liberation would not be more than counter-balanced by private disadvantages to themselves.... Should I endeavour to take French leave without the Dr.'s certificate or permit, whatever attendant last had the honor of seeing me might in his turn suffer²⁹ loss of position without any compensatory advantage.

The command of the English language shown in this letter is most creditable, despite a hint of madness lurking somewhere behind. The letter was dated September 19th, the same day on which Young finally persuaded Jackson to break a 4-day fast.³⁰

For reasons best known to himself, Young made no immediate mention of Jackson's escape in his Journal. According to Cherwinski, the escape took place "two and a half months" after Jackson was committed. Late in November people began calling to collect Jackson's personal belongings.³¹ Another story claims that Jackson escaped Sunday, November 2, by stealing a minister's team and rig parked outside the Fort, and "did not stop till he had crossed the United States border."³² Jackson was, of course, never recaptured, and despite a prophecy by one of Young's contemporaries that "your conduct will create a big scandal",³³ no reprisals seem to have been taken against the superintendent or attendants.

²⁸ Jackson to his family, 19.9.85, MR Fyle No. 46.

²⁹ Ibid. ³⁰ YJ, 17.9.85, 19.9.85.

³¹ YJ, 25.11.85. ³² Winnipeg Free Press, Prairie Farmer, 30.1.1952; photocopy of a clipping, included in NHSS Report No. 104.

³³ J.A. MacArthur to Young, telegram, 10.11.85, MR Fyle No. 46.

3) Medical Services:

Young's asylum contained none of the relics of medieval barbarism which one might expect to find in a nineteenth-century asylum. There were no devices for harsh physical restraint and Young seems to have invoked force only in extreme cases.

S.P.'s language has become... bad and all other means of restraining her failing have used a towel as a gag and tho of only temporary value yet can be easily and frequently applied without injury to her and with great relief to all near her. 34

This is the only recorded case in Young's journal of the use of physical restraint. Patients who showed any reason at all -- and sometimes those who didn't -- were argued with and cajoled very much as if they were recalcitrant children; the results were usually fairly good:

A.S..... ran into her own room screaming and swearing. I then locked the door which seemed to exasperate her very much. She threw her chamber pot at the door, smashing it in pieces. [I] unlocked the door and took out all the broken pieces of crockery & talked to her for a while about acting in such a way when she commenced to cry and gradually quieted down. 35

Patients who did not respond to verbal persuasion were often given sedatives of one sort or another. A number of these have been identified through the obscurity of Young's execrable handwriting and his medical short-hand. They include whiskey³⁶, morphine sulphate³⁷, potassium bromide and chloral (trichloroacetaldehyde)³⁸, and Hyocyamine.³⁹ All these chemical sedatives were administered with a hypodermic needle.

³⁴ YJ, 23.9.85.

³⁵ YJ, 2.3.85.

³⁶ YJ, 19.3.85.

³⁷ YJ, 30.7.85.

³⁸ YJ, 10.8.85; the chemical formulae for the three last-named are KBr, KI, and CCl₃CHO.

³⁹ YJ, 20.6.85. All sedatives (except whiskey) identified with the assistance of the Encyclopedia Britannica, XI edition.

When patients misbehaved grossly they were sometimes obliged to suffer for their mistakes -- one, for example, destroyed her bed and was for some time thereafter obliged to sleep on the floor.⁴⁰ This theory of punishment had draw-backs, since Young was not prepared to carry it to the extreme of letting patients go naked or hungry if they destroyed their clothes or refused to eat. In the latter case a nasal feeding tube was available, and it was used at least twice at Lower Fort Garry.⁴¹

There were of course other medical practices besides mental care to be attended to. A scale was available, permitting Young to record the weights of patients with eating problems.⁴² Iodoform was kept on hand for cuts and minor infections.⁴³ During their stay at Lower Fort Garry, all the patients and attendants were vaccinated by Young against smallpox.⁴⁴

4) Routine and Special Events:

The asylum at Lower Fort Garry had a relatively fixed routine of activities, but of course there was no organized program of works such as Bedson had operated with the penitentiary, and a patient who sought for some infathomable reason to ignore the daily routine would usually be allowed to go his way. There were constant efforts made to amuse or distract the patients with both work and recreation. There is no fixed bed-time on record -- considering the nature of the institutions patients were probably permitted to stay in bed as long as they saw fit, but were encouraged to return there about dark -- it is highly unlikely that they were left with candles or kerosene lamps. There is record of their being sent to bed at 7:30 one night -- their first night at Lower Fort Garry -- but on special occasions they were known to stay

⁴⁰ YJ, 2.3.85.

⁴² YJ, 21.4.85.

⁴⁴ See YJ, 11 to 14.11.85.

⁴¹ YJ, 26-27.5.85.

⁴³ YJ, 19.7.85.

somewhat later.⁴⁵ There is unfortunately no record of fixed meal-times.

Daily activities varied as much with the deason as with the whim of the individual patient. Some activities in which the men indulged included "wheeling barrows"⁴⁶, digging a drain⁴⁷, and ploughing, planting, and tending a small garden which included celery, cabbage, cauliflower, and tomatoes.⁴⁸ Women's activities were restricted to such things as sewing⁴⁹. Of course the vital or even the routine business of the institution was not entrusted to the patients. However, Young recorded that "nearly all the patients do some work, and if suitable employment could be found could get a great deal done."⁵⁰

Several special occasions took place during the stay of Young's patients at Lower Fort Garry. Some were relatively regular and prosaic, like the Saturday night bath; others were unplanned, like the escapes; but there were two sorts of diversionary activity which were both planned and encouraged --- religion and partying. There was apparently no chaplain assigned to the asylum, for services were performed at different times over the course of the year by the following clergymen: Archdeacon Cowley, Rev. C.N. Martin of Mapleton, Fr. Allard of Selkirk, Rev. A. Matheson of Little Britain, and Rev. A.L. Fortin.⁵¹ On other occasions, when none of these holy men appeared, appropriate passages were read from scripture by individual patients in their wards.⁵² On the rare occasions that the minister

⁴⁵ YJ, 20.2.85.

⁴⁶ YJ, 27.2.85.

⁴⁷ YJ, 6.4.85.

⁴⁸ YJ, 1.6.85.

⁴⁹ YJ, 26.2.85.

⁵⁰ YJ, 27.2.85.

⁵¹ See YJ for those dates: 8.3.; 5.4.; 29.3.; 15.3; and 13.12.85.

⁵² YJ, 1.3.85.

visited in the morning, patients might spend the afternoon singing hymns and reading scripture.⁵³ Attendance at each of these services was of course voluntary, but most of the patients seemed to enjoy the diversion, except for one who "refused to go to Service and said it was all damned nonsense."⁵⁴

The other diversion came in the form of various parties, including dances, and, for the women, a weekly drive into Selkirk during good weather.⁵⁵ The parties were quite frequent, and included evening dances, sometimes with music provided by the attendants or by the Selkirk Brass Band;⁵⁶ on another occasion the patients of Ward 1 had a party of their own, to which they invited those of Ward 2. One of the attendants played the violin and the evening was climaxed when the patients "read an address and bid good-bye to Attendant Hill, who leaves tomorrow."⁵⁷ The pièce de résistance was the 25th of May, 1885, which was celebrated as the Queen's Birthday:

We had various games and dances with music during the day. In evening those who wished went over to female ward and danced from 7.p.m. till 9.p.m. Mr. C. made an oration, Mr. C. and W. R.J. sang songs. Ice cream, cake and lemonade being handed around they all retired after singing "God Save the Queen" having enjoyed the evening very much.⁵⁸

Except when they were working or engaged in some sort of group activity, the patients were quite free to come and go as they wished within their own part of the fort. One wandered around for days "making a large collection of nails, musket balls, and other odds and ends he picks up in the yard."⁵⁹ This

⁵³ YJ, 19.4.85. ⁵⁴ YJ, 26.7.85. There is no record of where these services were held or what, if any, religious material was available to the patients between Sundays; shortly after the institution was established Archdeacon Cowley promised to send the patients "some reading matter." (YJ, 25.2.85.)

⁵⁵ Selkirk Herald 4.4.85 3/b.

⁵⁶ YJ, 25.6.85.

⁵⁷ YJ, 30.4.85.

⁵⁸ YJ, 25.5.85.

⁵⁹ YJ, 13.4.85.

same patient also developed the habit of walking up to horses and oxen --- these animals were evidently allowed into the yard, which suggests that the gate had been enlarged --- and thrusting his arm down their throats.⁶⁰ At times Young felt that the patients were insufficiently supervised by their attendants:

Thru some misunderstanding the third flat patients have been allowed to smoke after retiring & was only brought to my notice by a report from Attd. Jones. The Chf. Attend. is responsible for this he knowing and not reporting the fact to me. All the attds. and night watch state they reported to him. I have warned him not to take such responsibility upon himself⁶¹ again.

Apart from mixing of the sexes, patients were apparently allowed to mingle freely amongst each other, except for those disposed to violence, who were confined to their rooms during bad spells. In this way they had the rudiments of a feeling of community with each other, as the following excerpt shows:

T.C. told me he had called all the patients and Attendants together and made a speech and they had all consented to appoint him to telegraph Sir Jno. A. Macdonald to form them into a Comp[any] to go and fight the rebels. He wanted me to promise to send a telegram at once on the fort line.⁶²

⁶⁰ YJ, 25.3.85 and 30.3.85.

⁶¹ YJ, 16.11.85.

⁶² YJ, 13.4.85.

V: GENERAL REMARKS ON RESTORATION

Recommendations respecting site development of the penitentiary-asylum complex would intrude upon questions of policy, and consequently are beyond the immediate scope of this report. The writer feels, however, that certain problems arising directly out of the research will probably influence the direction which final decisions on restoration, interpretation, and display will take; they should therefore be discussed briefly here.

The first problem is the difficulty of trying to recreate either the asylum or the penitentiary complex completely, either on the site, or with a side model or plan for display purposes. Even without seeing the results of final archaeological work one may be reasonably sure that much of the penitentiary complex will remain a mystery. Full-scale restoration on the site seems out of the question, but it may be desirable to attempt a display model or plan. The same considerations hold true for the asylum.

The principal difficulty in interpreting the asylum is one of taste. It would probably be difficult to go much beyond a presentation of the medical side of the asylum without offending someone. In a private conversation with the writer, one of the guides at Lower Fort Garry described the embarrassment of attempting to explain an asylum to a class of students from a school for the mentally handicapped. Since these tours do occasionally come through, and the visiting public have had experiences personally or within their families involving psychiatric hospitals, the scope for originality and creativity in interpreting the asylum should be nil. Perhaps it can all be dealt with in the Doctor's Office.

Another problem relates to the lack of specific information and artifact material on the penitentiary operations. A restoration of wards, cells, and turn-keys' quarters would to a certain extent have to be based in interpolation, while the selection of materials for an interpretive display is at the moment even more limited. This could lead to a situation such as that in the south-west bastion, where in an otherwise excellent display,

one photograph has been used four times in the space of a few hundred square feet display area, with only minimal alterations effected by cropping and enlargement. The penitentiary complex, exclusive of the underground cells, provides roughly 6,000 square feet display space and somewhat less original material than was available for the south-west bastion display.

One partial solution to this problem which might be considered is the reconstruction of cells on the second floor at least -- this is sure to attract visitors -- and the use of the original "ward areas" as display space for interpretive material. Some thought might equally be given to restoring the third floor as a turnkeys' flat, with rough 'convict-made' furniture and appropriate amounts of penal hardware -- ankle fetters, carbines and the like -- on display. It may or may not be thought tasteful to refer to the suicide of Tom Slack on this floor of the penitentiary building.

Some thought may also be given to using some of the available display space for small displays representing the Building's service to the HBC, British Army, provincial and federal government, and the Motor Country Club. The Club made extensive use of this building and if it were thought proper to commemorate its existence at the Fort, this would probably be the appropriate building for it.

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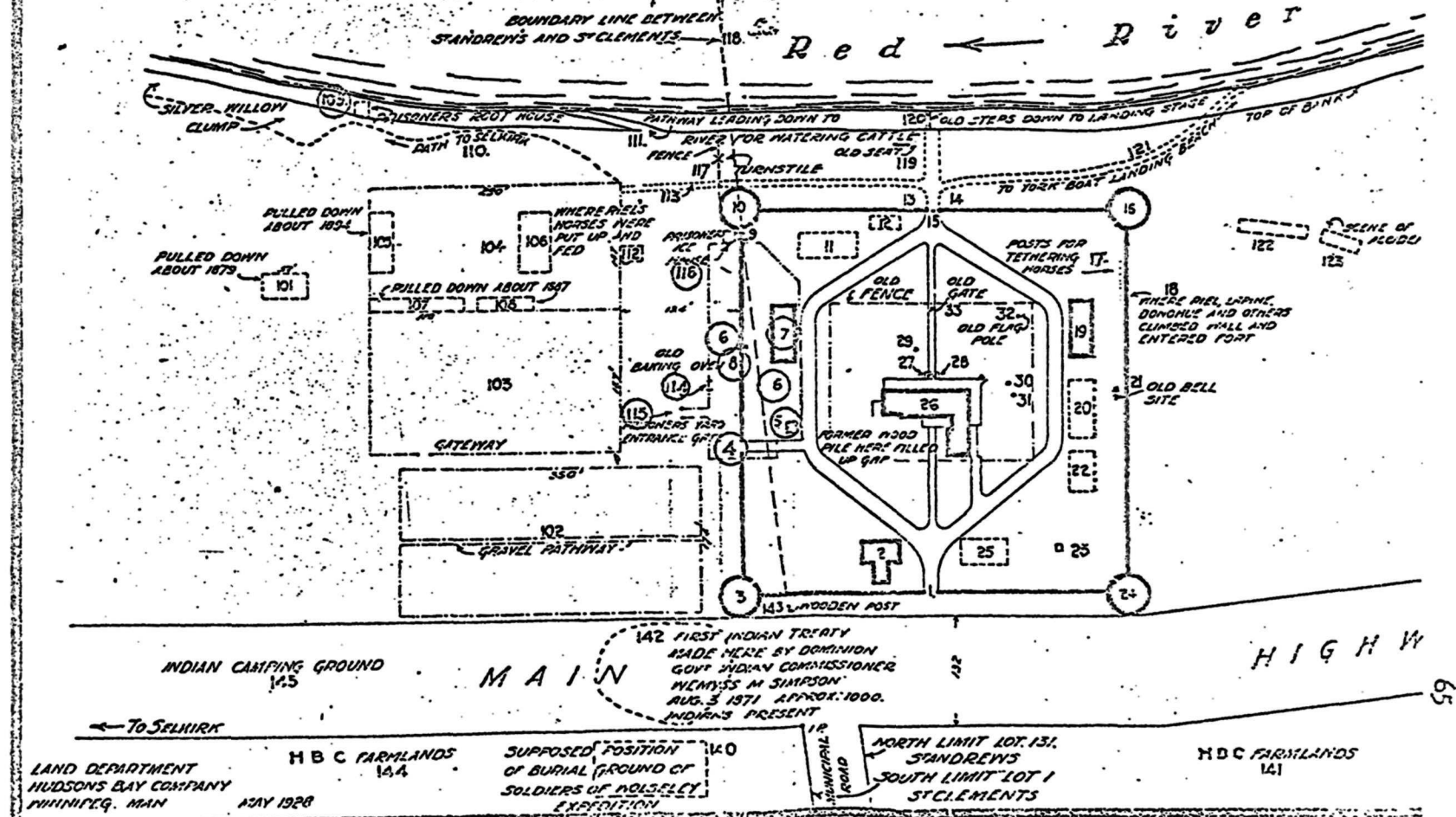
APPENDIX A

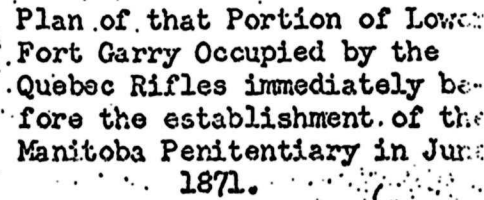
The attached plan is taken from Robert Watson's 1928 publication, Lower Fort Garry, and is based on the recollection of people who lived and worked at the Fort in its declining years. The map is by no means fully accurate or complete, but it is of some usefulness. Watson's comments cover a number of the buildings, etcetera, connected with the penitentiary, and his remarks on the institution, with cross-references to the map, are reprinted below:

- 4 North Gateway.
- 5 Wooden house, used by Dr. Young, the prison doctor. Built in 1885. Now used as a laundry.
- 6 Prisoners' yard. Formerly enclosed by high stockade.
- 7 Penitentiary and asylum. See page 43 for full description. /Relevant material from pp. 43 ff. has been integrated into the text of this report./
- 8 The remains of the oven built by the prisoners for the purpose of baking their own bread.
- 109 Prisoners' root house. Foundations still remain.
- 114 Penitentiary stockade. At the north gate, outside, are the remains of the old penitentiary stockade, a number of posts still showing above ground. This stockade ran about 36 feet out from the wall and east to within about 18 feet of the east bastion (powder magazine). There was a strong wooden gateway to this stockade which was about 20 feet high.
- 115 Entrance gate to prisoners' yard.
- 116 Prisoners' ice house. Foundations still remain.
- 102 Vegetable Garden of penitentiary. Formerly enclosed by a stockade.

PLAN MADE IN AUGUST 1926 TO SHOW PRESENT AND FORMER BUILDINGS, PALISADES, ETC. FORMER BUILDINGS, ETC., ARE SHOWN IN DOTTED LINES IN LOCATIONS INDICATED BY MALCOLM FRANKS. BUILDING COMMENCED IN OCTOBER 1831 FROM DESIGNS OF CHIEF FACTOR ALEXANDER CHRISTIE, IN CHARGE OF RED RIVER DISTRICT, AND GOVERNOR OF ASSINIBOIA. IN 1833, DWELLING HOUSE AND STORES COMPLETED. IN 1839, SURROUNDING WALL AND TOWER BASTIONS COMPLETED. LENGTH OF EACH WALL INCLUDING BASTIONS ABOUT 505 FT. DISTANCE INSIDE BETWEEN WALLS ABOUT 450 FT. AREA WITHIN WALLS APPROXIMATELY 44 ACRES.

SCALE OF 0 50 100 200 300 400 FEET





RG 9 II A-1, v. 33, 11

APPENDIX C

Letter from Commissioner J. Wrigley to F. Holloway, clerrk in charge of Lower Fort Garry at the time of the Lunatic Asylum.

(Letter dated 24 December 1884.)

Source: HBCA: B.303/C/1; Xerox copy from London Archives in N.H.S.S. Report No. 295.

Dear Sir,

I have to inform you that the Company has leased to the Provincial Government for one year from the 22nd inst., for the purpose of a Lunatic Asylum, such buildings and parts of the enclosure of the Fort as are shown in the accompanying sketch-plan.

It is agreed that the Government at their expense repair the buildings and such other property leased to them; and at the termination of the tenancy such improvements as are affixed to the freehold be left.

It is also agreed that the Government at their expense erect a fence, as marked in red on the accompanying sketch-plan, in such a manner as will effectually prevent the possibility of any of the inmates of the Asylum getting into the other parts of the enclosure of the Fort, and of any annoyance to people visiting the Company's Store or to the Company's servants inhabiting the Fort. This fence may be removed by the Government at the termination of their tenancy. You will be good enough to afford the Government every assistance in carrying out their plans, and at the same time you will take care that the provisions of the agreement are fully carried out.

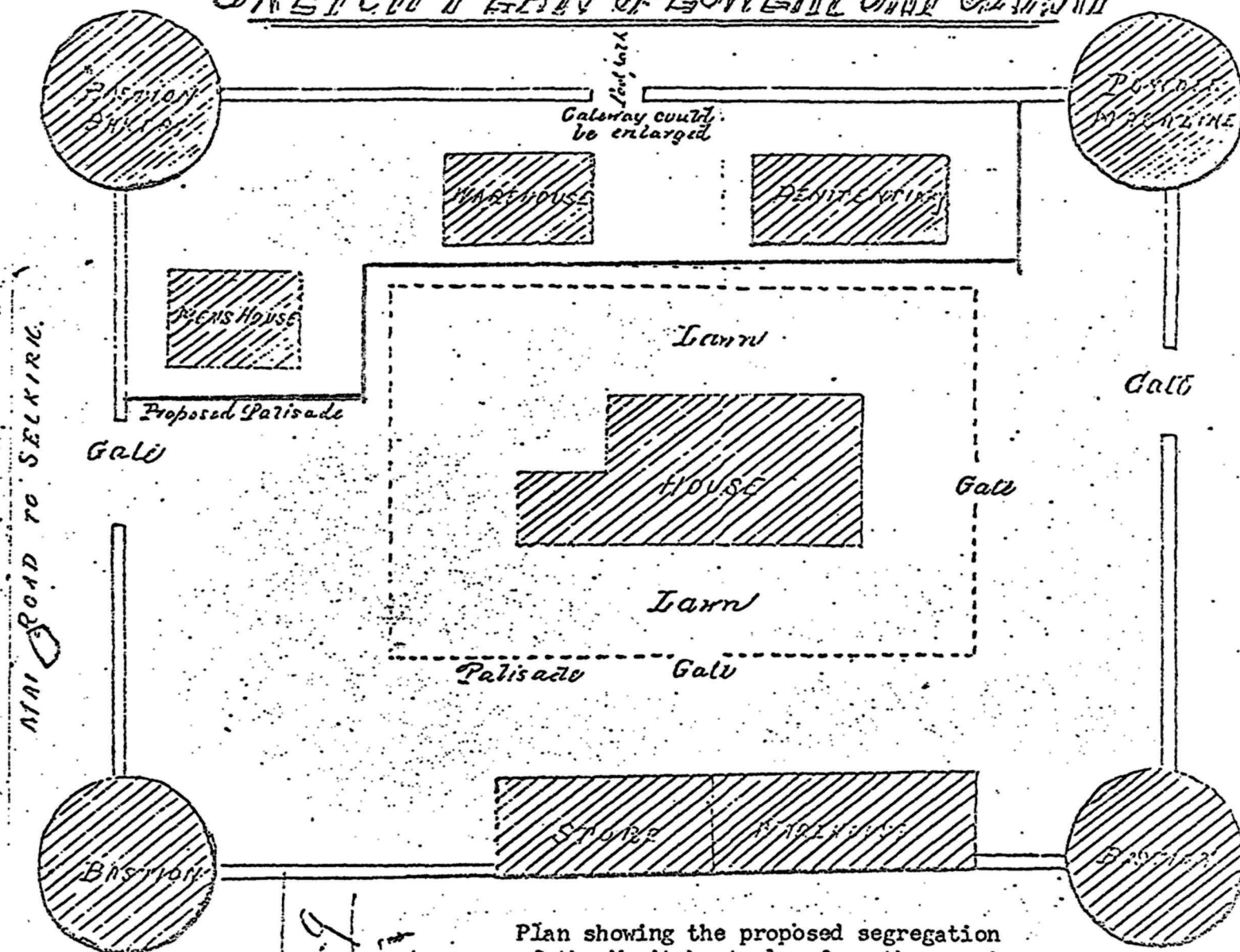
In case of need you will report.

I remain, dear sir,

Yours truly,

J. Wrigley.

SKETCH PLAN of LOWER FORT GARRY



Plan showing the proposed segregation of the Manitoba Asylum from the remainder of Lower Fort Garry, 22 Dec. 1884.

APPENDIX D

In 1873 construction began on a new common gaol in Winnipeg, and it opened in March, 1874. Some of the dimensions of this building and its equipment are cited here; though they may not necessarily be accurate information on the other institution (at Stone Fort) they may be of some use as comparative material.

Source: Report of the Department of Public Works for the Province of Manitoba from 1870 to 30th June, 1874.

pp. 11-15:

- 13th: Cell doors are 18 inches wide, with a ventilator of 10 inches by 10 inches.
- 14th: Wards are 12 feet by 40 feet and contain ten cells each. Wards of 12 feet by 24 feet contain six cells.
- 42nd: The stockade is 14 feet high from ground level, and each post is sunk 8 feet below the surface, the whole securely braced and pegged together, on mud sills twelve feet long.
- 43rd: The length of the stockade is 401 feet, and there are 32 plants /sic/ between each post. There are four girths of 6" x 7" oak timber, to which the planking is nailed, and all joists are battened with a three inch wide batten.
- 44th: The planks used in the stockade are 16 feet long, 3 inches thick, of oak lumber, and there is about two feet of the planking sunk in the ground.

APPENDIX E

THE ARCHITECTURE OF LOWER FORT GARRY
AT THE TIME OF THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENT COUNCIL
JUNE 1846, pp. 22 - 34

EXCERPTS, relating to the Penitentiary or "Warehouse" building.

Peter Cameron,
Museology Section,
National Historic Sites.
September 1964.

The exterior of the warehouse has remained much the same as it was when the building was completed except that one of the front doors has been filled in and some details have been changed on the north elevation.

a) South Elevation

The two chimneys, three dormers and six second story windows are visible in Finlay drawings (illustrations 5 and 6). A Hime photograph (illustration 9) shows this elevation very clearly and indicates that the second door wasn't filled in until much later when the warehouse was used as a penitentiary.

b) East Elevation

The upper part of the elevation is visible in a Finlay drawing (illustration 5). A Hime photograph (illustration 9) shows all of it clearly.

c) North Elevation

Illustration 11 shows the upper part of this elevation - that it has two dormers and two upper story windows. It is possible that the painting is inaccurate, but probably the east window was changed to a door only after the second floor of the warehouse building was used by a large number of people - eg. when it was used as a barracks during the stay of the Sixth Regiment, or as a penitentiary from 1870 until 1877. (The steps coming down from this later door have since disappeared.)

There is no early evidence for the lower part of this elevation although perhaps close examination of the stonework would indicate any alterations.

d) West Elevation

A Pinlay drawing (illustration 4) shows most of this elevation.

Notes on the Plans

Plan 1. This is redrawn from the engineers' plan (58-14) of Lower Fort Garry. The redrawing was necessary to show the second door.

Plan 2. Traced from the engineers' plan.

Plan 3. A xeroxed copy of the engineers plan, with the outlines darkened.

Plan 4. Redrawn from the engineers' plan. The redrawing was necessary because the engineers' plan inexplicably included an extra dormer. A series of photographs show that the dormer doesn't exist now and never did exist. In addition, the door had to be changed to a window to correspond to illustration 11.

Plan 5. A xeroxed copy from the engineers' plan with the outlines darkened.

Plan 6. Redrawn from the engineers' plan. This was necessary to show the door, sealed up in the present building. Furthermore the engineers have forgotten one of the windows.

Plan 7. A xeroxed copy of the engineers' plan with the outlines darkened. (The sketchy writing was added to the engineers' plan later.)

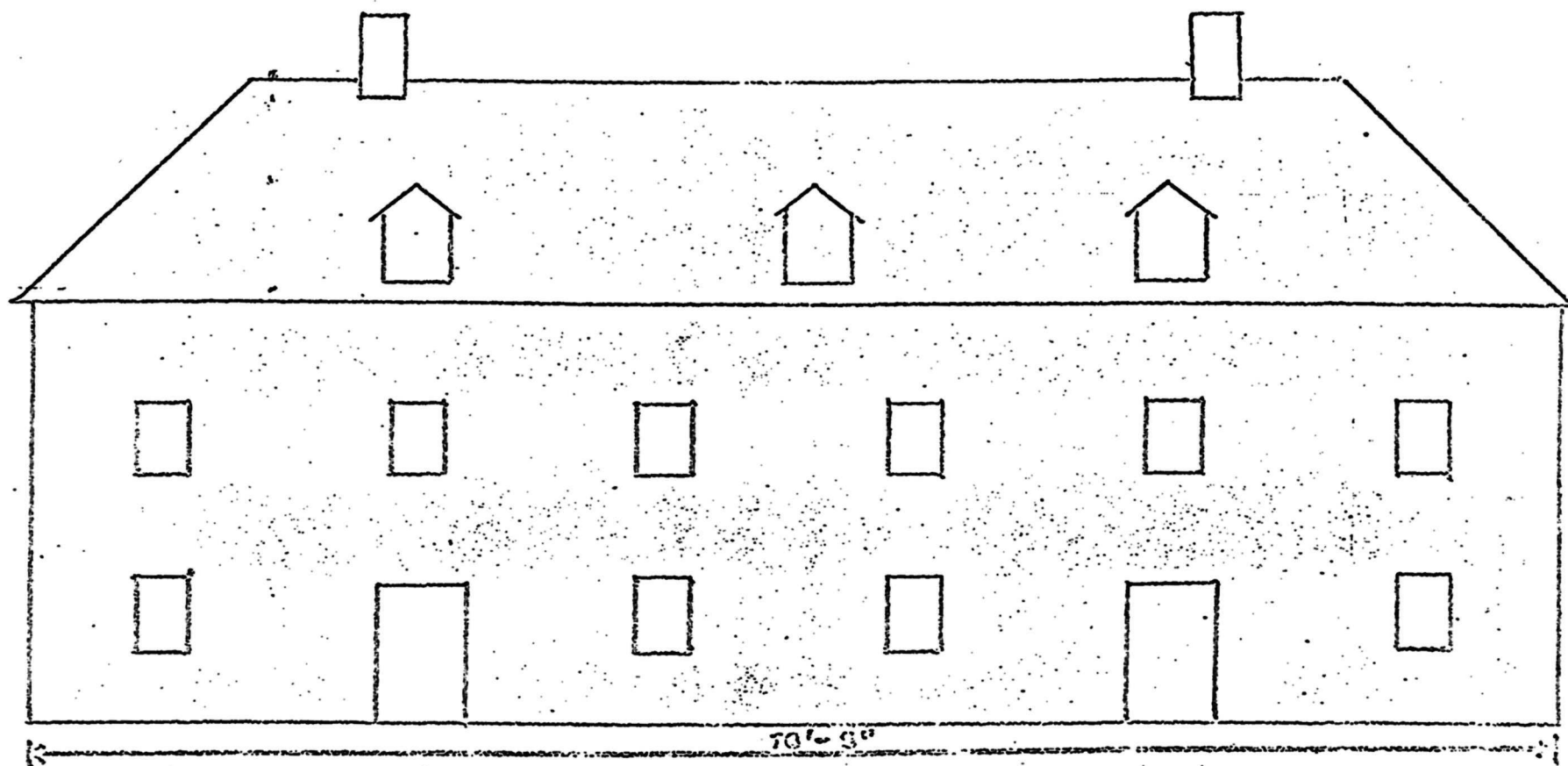
Plan 8. Same comments as for plan 7.

THE WAREHOUSE cont'd

Notes on the Plans

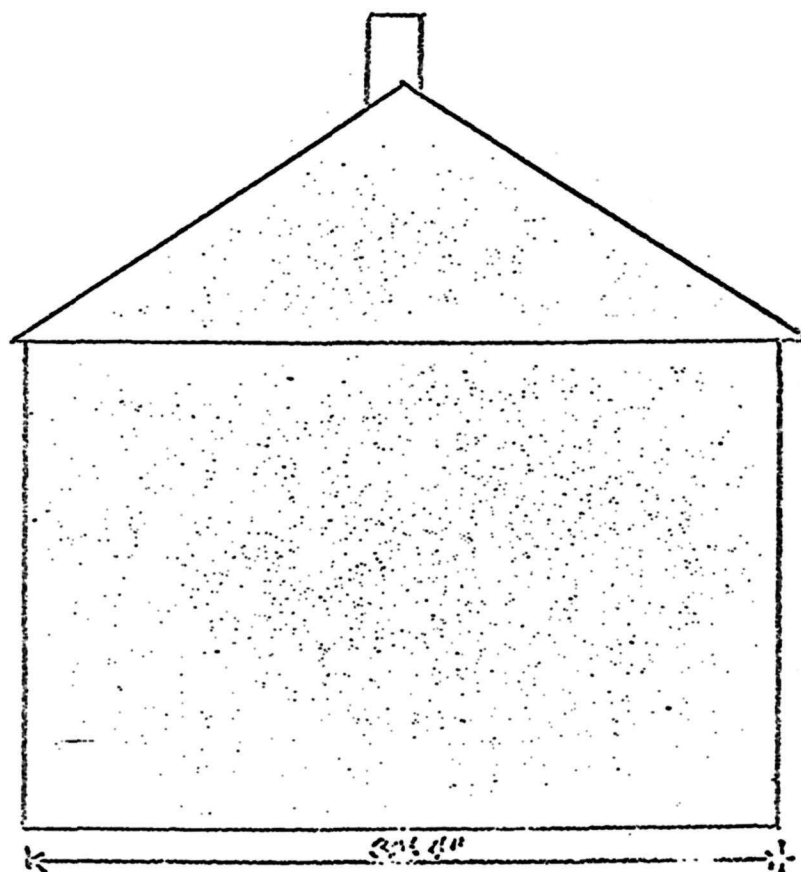
Plan 9. Redrawn from the engineers plan to eliminate the spurious third dormer.

Plan 10. A xeroxed copy from the engineers' plan.



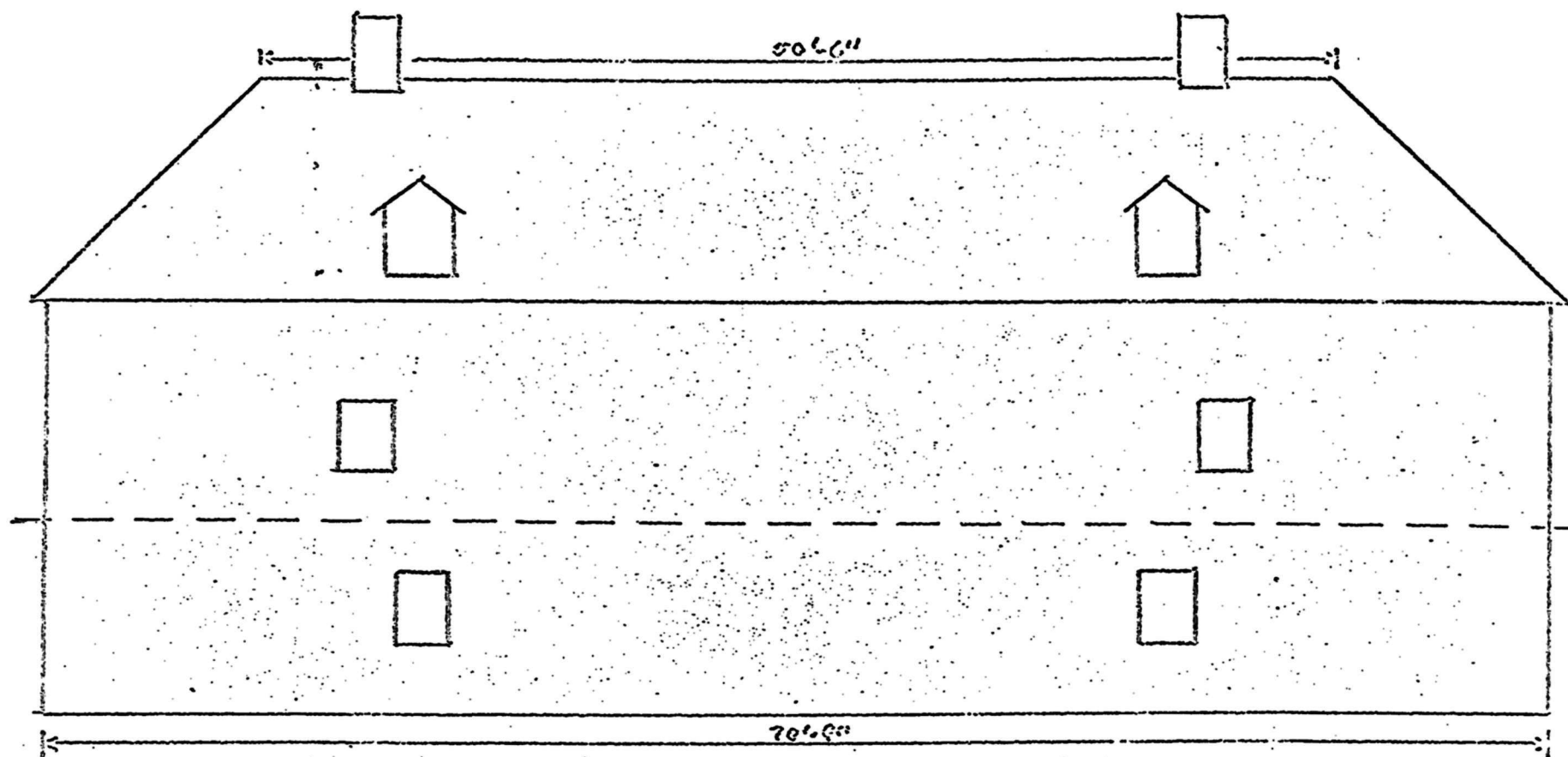
1. WAREHOUSE: SOUTH ELEVATION

SCALE: $\frac{1}{8}" = 1'$

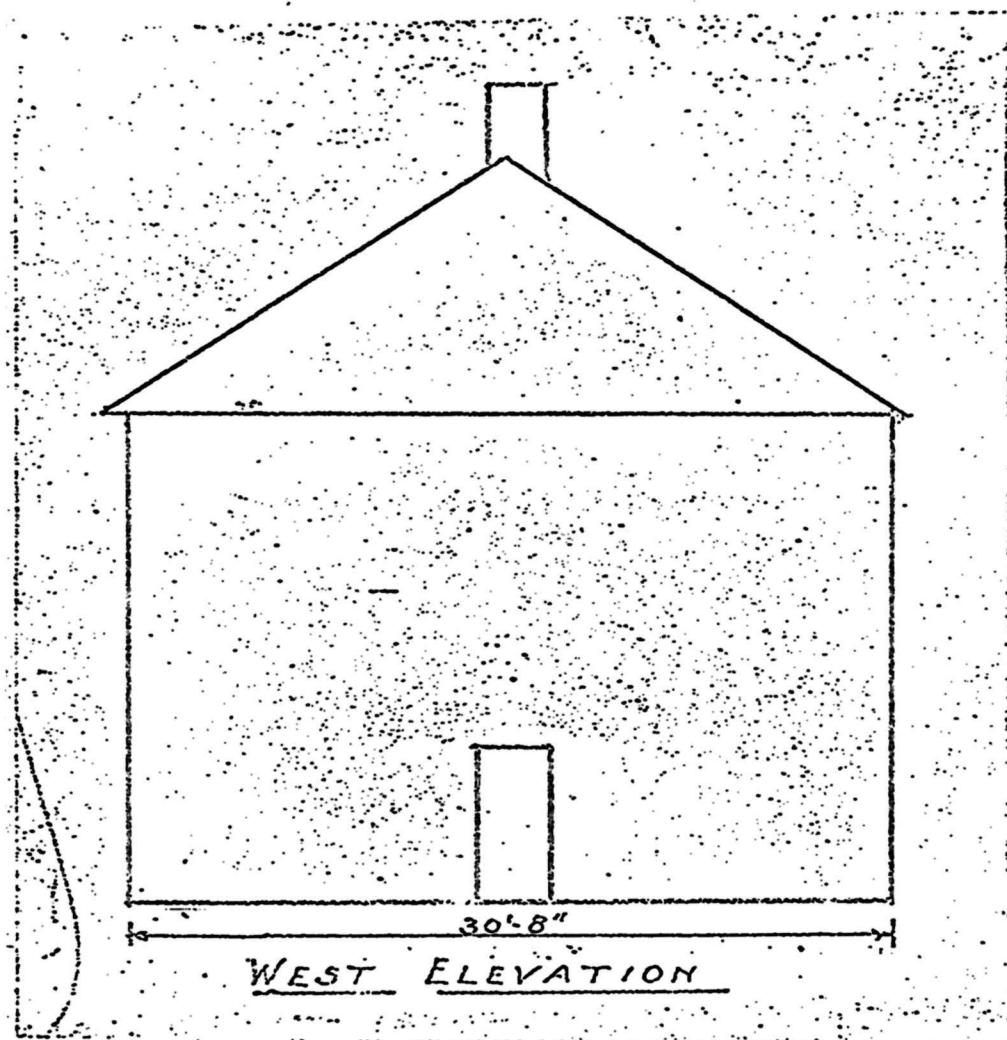


2. WAREHOUSE: EAST ELEVATION

SCALE: $\frac{1}{8}" = 1'$

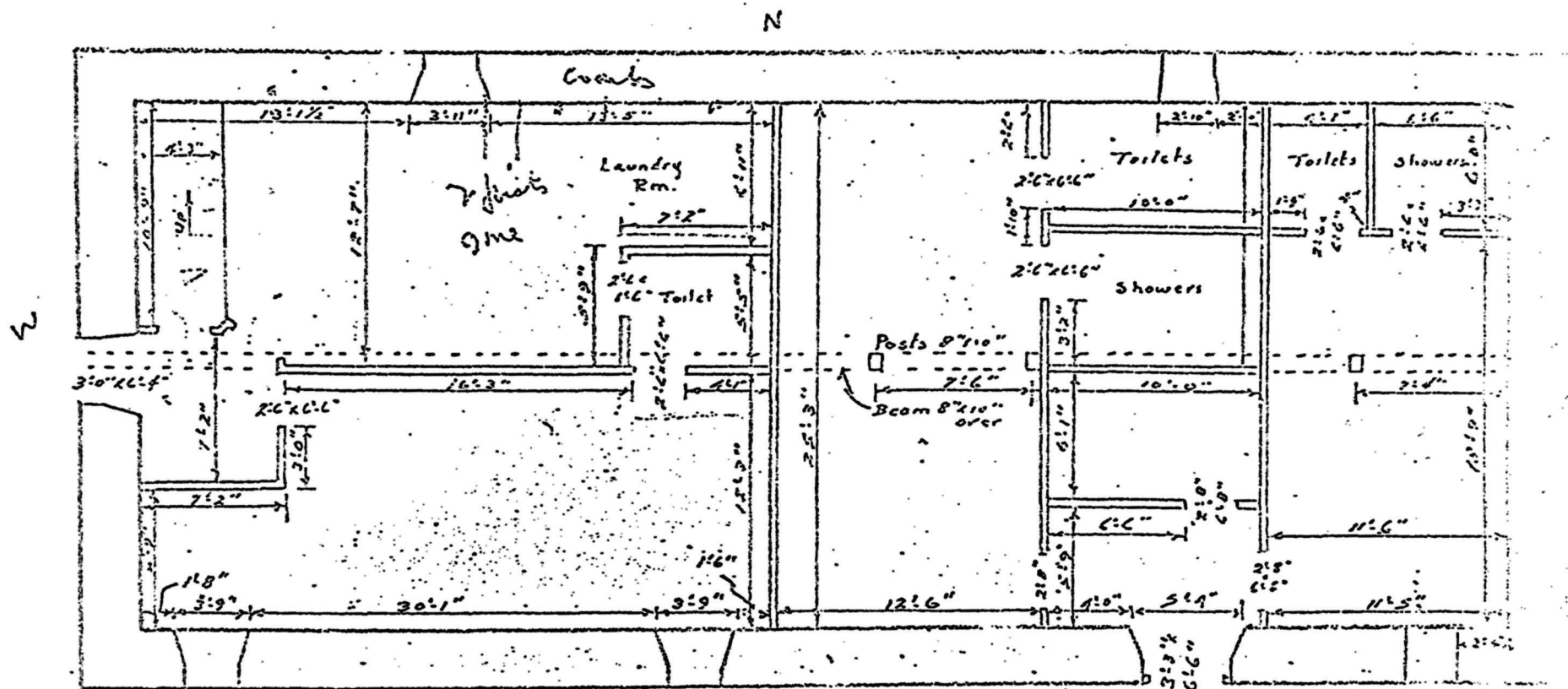


3. WAREHOUSE: NORTH ELEVATION
 SCALE: $\frac{1}{8}" = 1'$



4. WAREHOUSE: WEST ELEVATION

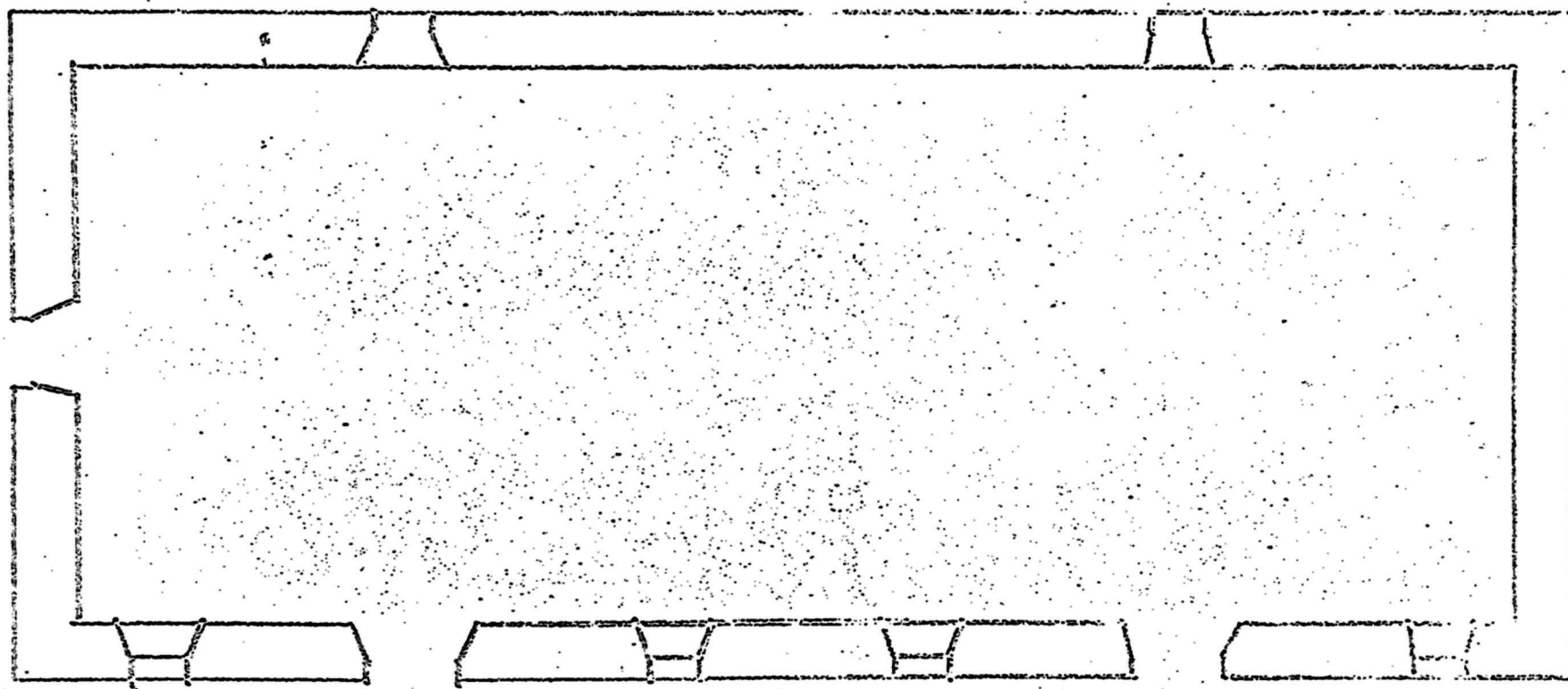
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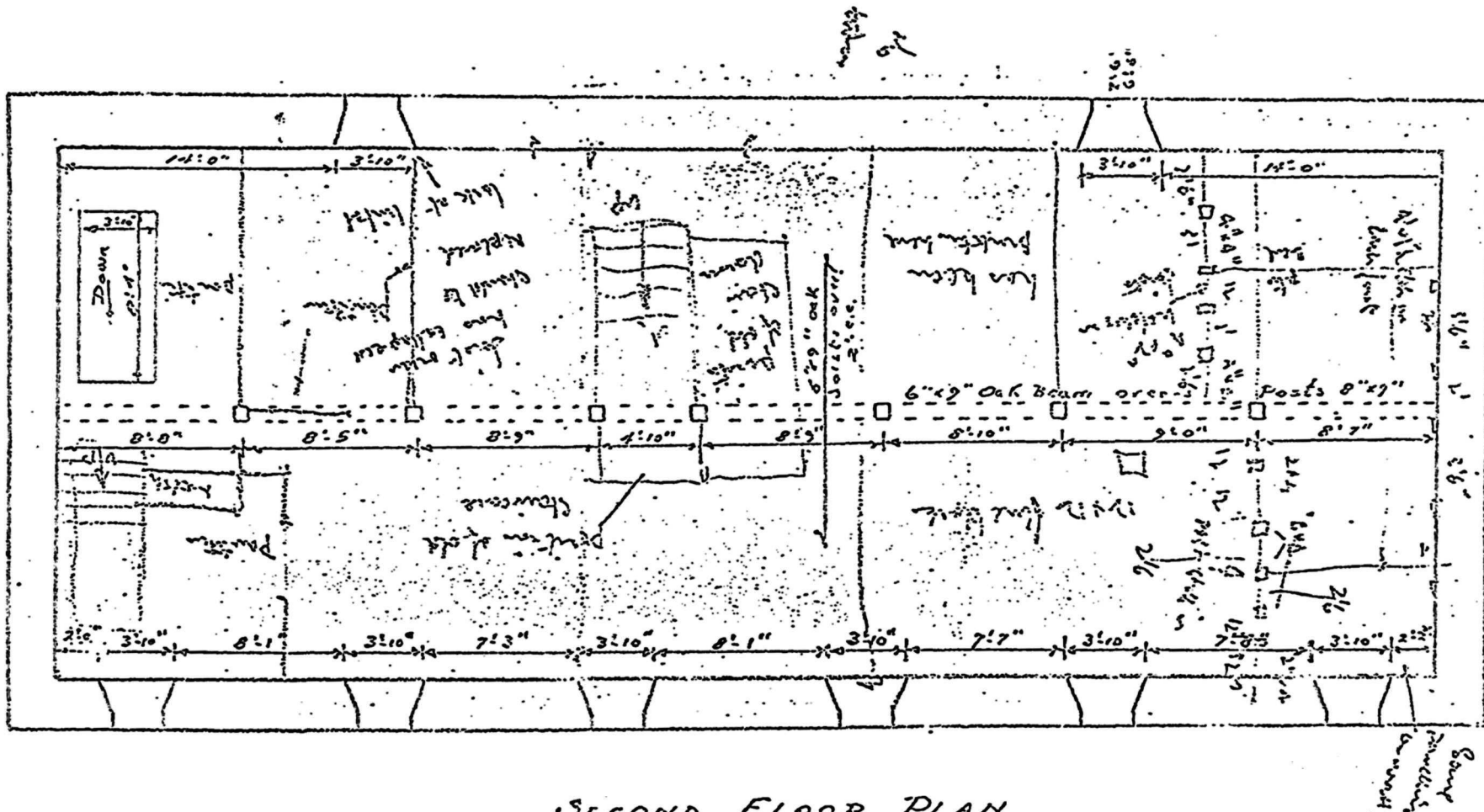
FIRST FLOOR PLAN

5 WAREHOUSE: FIRST FLOOR PLAN

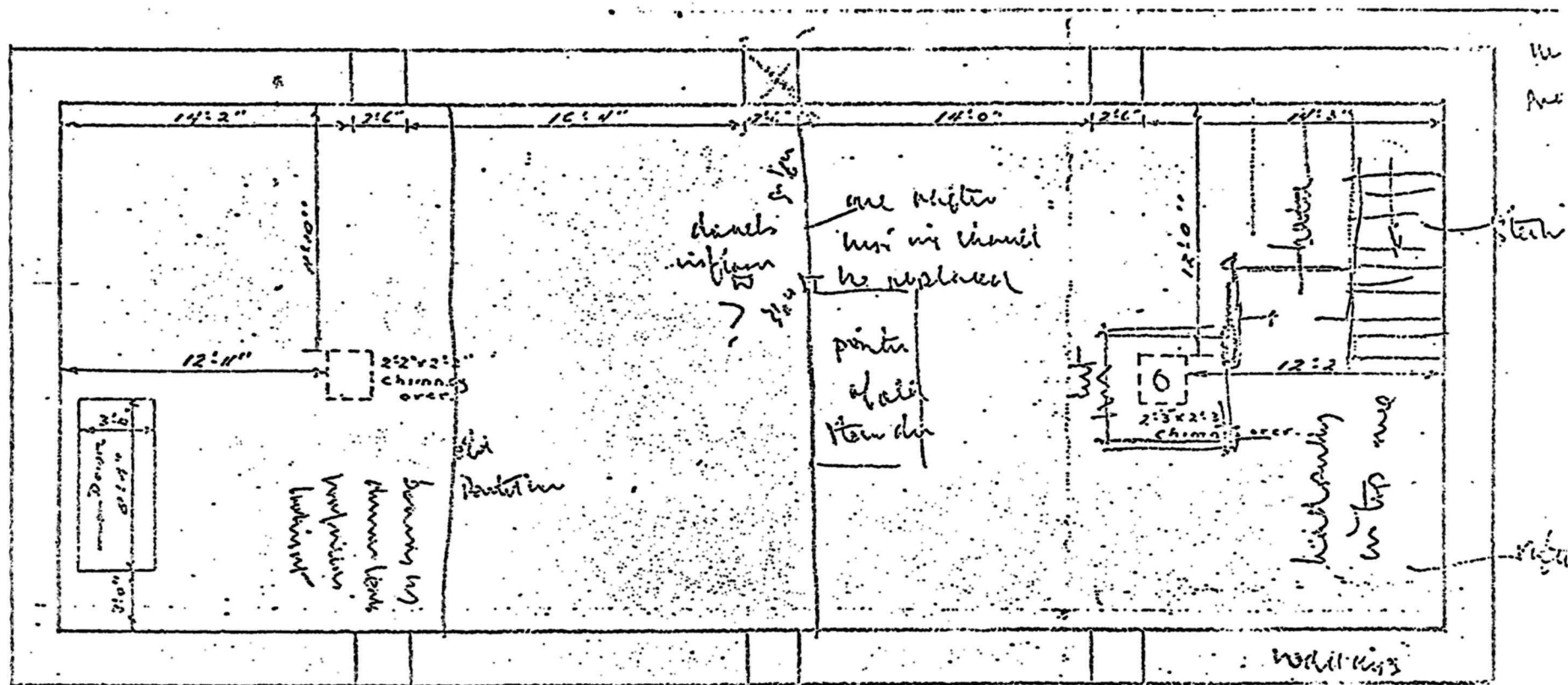
SCALE: $\frac{1}{8}$ " = 1'



6. WAREHOUSE: FIRST FLOOR PLAN
SCALE: $\frac{1}{8}$ " = 1'

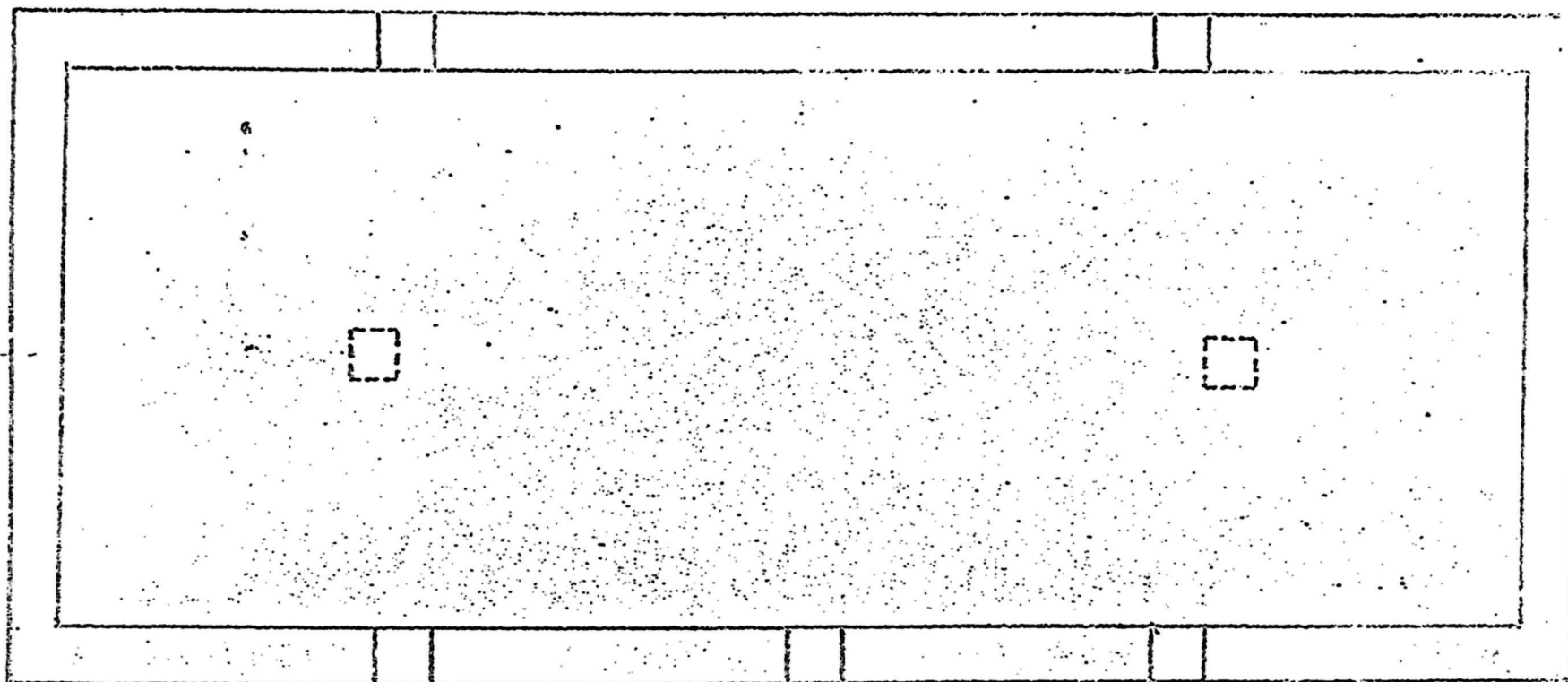


7. WAREHOUSE: SECOND FLOOR PLAN
SCALE: $\frac{1}{8}" = 1'$

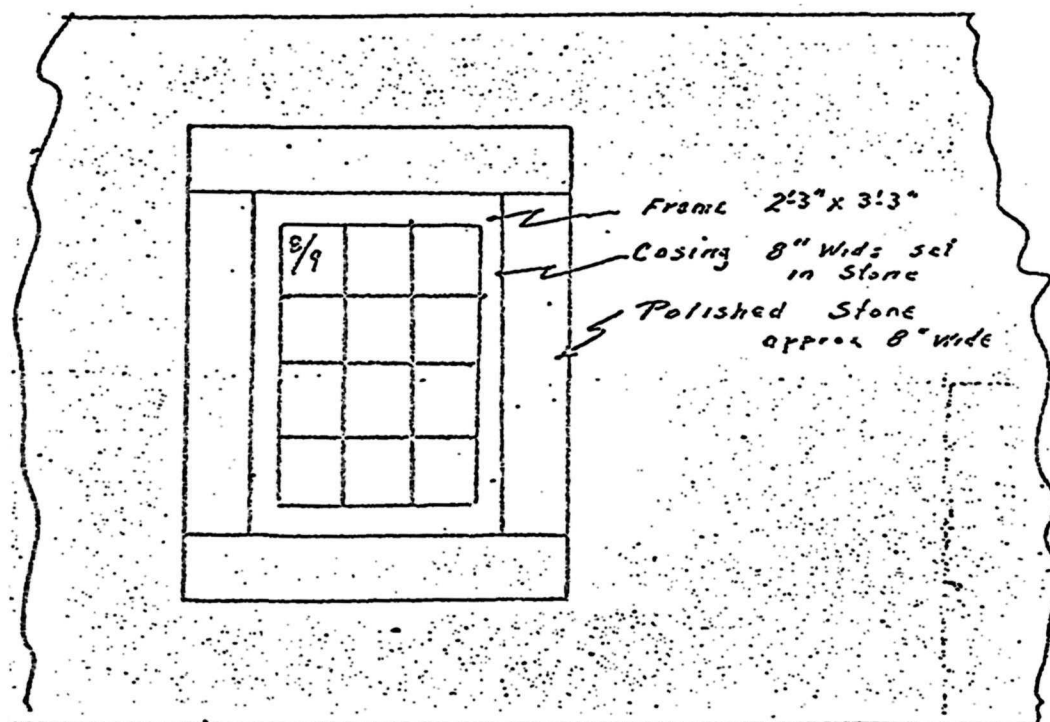


THIRD FLOOR PLAN

3. WAREHOUSE: THIRD FLOOR PLAN
SCALE: $\frac{1}{8}" = 1'$



9. WAREHOUSE: THIRD FLOOR PLAN
SCALE: $\frac{1}{8}" = 1'$



10. WAREHOUSE: WINDOW DETAIL
 SCALE: $\frac{1}{2}" = 1'$

APPENDIX F

Selected orders from the daily order books of the Manitoba Penitentiary, 1874-1875.

Warden Samuel L. Bedson issued specific orders to his turnkeys and steward every day of the week and kept copies of these orders -- up to ten per day -- in a number of bound folio volumes. These orders, of which the following are a very limited sample, are preserved at Stony Mountain Penitentiary in Manitoba.

4 November 1874:

When turnkeys are in charge of prisoners working outside I have noticed on several occasions that the prisoners turn their heads and look round at any thing which may catch their eye or ear. If I find no notice taken by turnkey I will punish such turnkey instead of the prisoner.

9 November 1874:

Convict La Roque will be paraded at 7 a.m. for corporal punishment in yard tomorrow. All turnkeys and doctor to be present, except one turnkey on duty in each ward and one at door.

24 November 1874:

In future convicts will shave on Sundays from 8 to 10-30 a.m.

8 December 1874:

The Head Turnkey will in future see that the Bell is raised at dusk which will be from 4:30 p.m. to 5 p.m. and that all turnkeys with convicts will return from their work. Convicts to be locked up in their respective cells until bell rings for locking up.

12 December 1874:

Turnkeys when bringing in their group of convicts must not unsling their carabines until such time as their convicts are safely placed in their cells or in the wards.

18 December 1874:

During the excitement of the coming elections no officer of the prison will on any pretext whatever be about or enter into any saloon or tavern, under a penalty of instant dismissal and fine not exceeding the month's pay.

appendix f continued (2)

23 June 1875:

No officer having convicts in charge should for an instant lose sight of them and be not further than 20 paces from his gang.

2 July 1875:

Turnkeys in future must not permit strangers to loiter about convicts when at work. 20 yards at least must intervene between the former and the latter.

31 July 1875:

The meals will in future be laid on the different tables in each ward five minutes before the bell rings for meals. The Steward will superintend each table. The cook and assistant to Steward will lay the different class meals at the proper place of each convict sitting at table, each convict to always occupy the same place. When a Convict is deprived of his supper, it will be laid by Steward as usual, and after all Convicts sit down to table such supper will be removed from such convict by the Head Turnkey and given over to Steward.

Turnkeys bringing in convicts from work will march them to their places at the different tables and when in position will give the Command "SIT" when they will be seated to their individual meals.

11 August 1875:

Turnkeys must pay more attention to Warden when ever he happens to pass by a gang of convicts when within about 20 paces the officers should call his gang to "Attention".

1 September 1875:

Turnkeys when calling each other in the presence or hearing of convicts will do so as Mr. or Turnkey so-and-so and not as at present only using the surname.



The Manitoba Gazette

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

Gazette de Manitoba.

PUBLIÉE PAR AUTORITÉ.

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

WINNIPEG, FEBRUARY 14th, 1885.



PROCLAMATION.

JAMES O. AIKINS.

PROCLAMATION.

CANADA—PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God of
the United Kingdom of
[L.S.] Great Britain and Ireland,
Queen, Defender of the
Faith, etc., etc., etc.

To all to whom these presents
shall come,—

GREETING:

L. W. COUTLÉE,
Deputy-Attorney-General. }

Whereas suitable buildings have
been prepared at Lower Fort Garry,
in the Parish of St. Andrews and
County of Lisgar in this Province,
for the temporary accommodation,
care, keeping and maintaining of
lunatics, idiots, and persons of
unsound mind within the Province
of Manitoba.

PROVINCE DE MANITOBA.

WINNIPEG, 14 FÉVRIER 1885.



PROCLAMATION.

JAMES O. AIKINS.

PROCLAMATION.

CANADA—PROVINCE DE MANITOBA.

VICTORIA, par la Grâce de Dieu,
Reine du Royaume-Uni
[L.S.] de la Grande-Bretagne et
d'Irlande, Défenseur de la
Foi, etc., etc., etc.

A tous ceux auxquels les pré-
sentes parviendront,—

SALUT:

L. W. COUTLÉE,
Député-Procureur-Général. }

Attendu que des bâtisses conve-
nables ont été préparées à Lower
Fort Garry, dans la Paroisse de St.
Andrews, Comté de Lisgar, dans
cette Province, pour l'accommoda-
tion temporaire, le soin, le main-
tien et l'entretien des lunatiques,
des idiots et des insensés de la
Province de Manitoba.

Now Know YE, that by and with the advice and consent of Our Executive Council of Our Province of Manitoba, and in virtue of the provisions of Chapter 58 of the Consolidated Statutes of Manitoba and of Chapter 15 of the Statutes of Manitoba, passed in the 46th and 47th years of Her Majesty's Reign, and of all other power in us vested, We do hereby proclaim and declare the temporary buildings which have been so completed and prepared as aforesaid at Lower Fort Garry, to be the Lunatic Asylum for the Province of Manitoba, and do hereby appoint Wednesday, the eighteenth day of February instant as the day when the same shall open for the reception of lunatics, idiots and persons of unsound mind, and from and after the date last aforesaid, all persons now confined under commitment for lunacy, idiocy, or for unsound mind, or hereafter committed to confinement for the causes as aforesaid shall be confined at the said temporary asylum at Lower Fort Garry aforesaid under the provisions of the acts herein above in part recited.

SACHEZ MAINTENANT, que par et de l'avis et du consentement de Notre Conseil Exécutif de Notre Province de Manitoba, et qu'en vertu des dispositions du Chapitre 58 des Statuts Refondus de Manitoba, et du Chapitre 15 des Statuts de Manitoba passés dans les 46ème et 47ème années du règne de Sa Majesté, et qu'en vertu de tout autre pouvoir à Nous conféré, Nous proclamons par les présentes et déclarons que les Edifices temporaires qui ont été ainsi complétés et préparés comme susdit à Lower Fort Garry, seront l'Asile des Aliénés de la Province de Manitoba, et Nous fixons par les présentes Mercredi, le dix-huitième jour de Février courant, comme le jour où les dites bâtisses seront ouvertes pour recevoir les lunatiques, les idiots et les insensés, et à la et à partir de la date susdite, toutes les personnes maintenant, détenues sous prévention d'imbécillité, folie et idiotisme, ou qui seront ci-après soumises à détention, pour les causes susdites seront détenues dans le dit asile temporaire à Lower Fort Garry susdit, en vertu des dispositions des actes ci-dessus mentionnés.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent, and the Great Seal of Our Province of Manitoba to be hereunto affixed. WITNESS Our Trusty and Well-Beloved, the Honorable James Cox Aikins, Lieutenant-Governor of Our said Province of Manitoba, Member of Our Privy Council for Canada, etc.

EN FOI DE QUOI, Nous avons fait rendre Nos Présentes Lettres Patentes, et à icelles fait apposer le Grand Sceau de Notre Province de Manitoba. TÉMOIN Notre Fidèle et Bien-Aimé l'Honorable James Cox Aikins Lieutenant - Gouverneur de Notre dite Province de Manitoba, Membre de Notre Conseil Privé pour le Canada, etc., etc.

At Our Government House, in Our City of Winnipeg, this Fourteenth day of the month of February, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five and in the forty-eighth of Our Reign.

A NOTRE Hôtel du Gouvernement en Notre Cité de Winnipeg, ce quatorzième jour de Février, dans l'année de Notre Seigneur mil huit cent quatre-vingt-cinq, et de Notre Règne la quarante-huitième.

By Command,

Par ordre

D. H. WILSON.
Provincial Secretary.

D. H. WILSON.
Secrétaire-Provincial.

APPENDIX H

Statistical tables, Manitoba Penitentiary, 1875 and 1876.

39 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 14.)

A. 1876

SICK REPORT, Manitoba Penitentiary, from 1st January to 31st December, 1875.

Diseases.	Remaining.	Admitted.	Discharged.	Died.	Remaining.	Remarks.
Abscess.....		3	3			
Anusarct.....		2	2			
Contusions.....		4	4			
Cystitis.....		1	1			
Debility.....		1			1	
Diarrhoea.....		10	10			
Dysentery.....		3	3			
Erysipelas.....	1	3	4			
Frost-bite.....		1	1			
Fever (typhoid).....		1	1			
Hæmaturia.....		2	2			
Heart disease.....	1	1	1	1		
Influenza.....		4	4			
Mania.....	2	2			4	
Malingering.....		2	2			
Ophthalmia.....	2	4	6			
Pathosis.....		1		1		
Pleurisy.....	2	3	5			
Pneumonia.....		3	1		2	
Syphilis.....		1			1	
Wounds.....	1	1	1			
Whitlow.....		6	6			
Totals.....	8	65	63	2	8	

DAVID YOUNG, M.D.,
Surgeon Manitoba Penitentiary.

39 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 14)

A 1877

CRIMINAL Statistical Return of the Manitoba Penitentiary, from January 1st to December 31st, 1875.

Description.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Description.	Male.	Female.	Total.
<i>Race.</i>				<i>Employment.</i>			
White	17		24	Labourers.....	14		24
Half-breed.....	6			Carpenters.....	1		
Indian	2			Butchers.....	1		
<i>Country.</i>				Miners.....	1		
England.....	4		24	Arewers.....	1		
Ireland.....	1			Stonecutters.....	1		
Canada.....	15			Spinners.....	2		
United States.....	4			Joiners.....	2		
<i>Religion.</i>				Engineers.....	1		
Episcopalian	13		24	<i>Crime.</i>			
Roman Catholic.....	9			Larceny.....	12		
Wesleyan	1			Cattle stealing.....	2		
Presbyterian	1			House breaking.....	1		
<i>Civil Condition.</i>				Grievous assault.....	1		
Single.....	19		24	Stealing from the person.....	1		
Married.....	5			Attempt at murder.....	1		
<i>Education.</i>				Murder.....	1		
Read and write.....	16		24	Stabbing and wounding.....	1		
Read only.....	1			Perjury.....	1		
Neither read nor write.....	7			Felonious assault.....	3		
				Possession of stolen property.....	1		
				Horse stealing.....	1		
				<i>Sentence.</i>			
				2 years.....	13		24
				3 do	5		
				4 do	2		
				5 do	3		
				10 do	1		
				14 do	1		

J. L. BEDSON.

39 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 14.)

A. 1876

RETURN showing the Movements of Prisoners in Manitoba Penitentiary
from January 1st to December 31st, 1875.

Distribution.	Common Prisoners.			Convicts.			Remarks
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	
Remaining 31st Dec., 1874	4		4	18		18	* 4 Lunatics.
Admissions	16	.....	16	6	.....	6	
Total	20	.....	20	24	.....	24	
Discharged by expiration of sentence.....	15	.....	15	3	.....	3	
Escaped.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	
Pardoned .....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	
Died .....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	
Total	15	.....	15	7	.....	7	
Remaining 31st Dec., 1875.....	*5	.....	5	17	.....	17	

J. L. BEDSON.

RETURN of Value of Labor performed in the Manitoba Penitentiary from
January 1st to December 31st, 1875.

Description of Labor.	Number of Days' Work.	Rate.	Total.	Remarks.
		cents.	\$ cts.	
Repairing Clothing	378	50	189 00	
Orderlies in Wards	914	50	457 00	
Steward's Assistant	365	50	182 50	
Baking	365	50	182 50	
Cooking	365	50	182 50	
Washing	164	50	82 00	
Carpenters	48	50	24 00	
Brick laying	939	50	469 50	
Garden	626	50	313 00	
Officers' Cottages	726	50	363 00	
			\$2,415 00	

J. L. BEDSON.

39 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No.14.)

A 1876

SHOEMAKING DEPARTMENT, Manitoba Penitentiary, in account with
Dominion of Canada, from March 26th to December 31st, 1875.

Dr.	\$ cts.	Cr.	\$ cts.
To cost of Materials	415 09	By 49 pairs leg-boots on hand	147 00
		78 pairs ankle do	195 00
		Unpaid accounts (private)	*6 62½
		Prison work	209 22
		Cash on hand for private work	61 63½
		Materials and tools in hand	91 85
Balances to Cr	286 2½		
	\$701 33		\$701 33

* Since paid.

J. L. BEDSON.

RETURN showing summary of Punishments inflicted in the Manitoba
Penitentiary during the Year 1875.

Month.	Admonished.	Reprimanded.	Bread and Water.	Deprived of Supper for Night.	Deprived of Bed for Night.	Dark Cells.	Reduction of Class.	Extra Oukum to pick.	Loss of Remission.	Bail and Chain.	Corporal Punishment.	
											Number scattered.	Lashes inflicted.
January	17		6				1		3			
February	12		2	1							1	6
March	11											
April	8								1			
May	6			1					1			
June	13						1		2			
July	9		1	3		3	3					
August	9		2			1	3					
September	1			1		2						
October	7	1										
November	6	1							1			
December	4		4				1		1			

J. L. BEDSON.

39 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 14.)

A. 1876

RETURN showing different Offences committed by Convicts confined in the Manitoba Penitentiary, from 1st January to 31st December, 1875.

Year.	Speaking to other convicts.	Making signs to other convicts.	Insubordinate conduct.	Attempting to escape.	Inattention at work.	Damaging property.	Pilfering.	Assaulting officers.	Disrespect to officers.	Threatening officers.	Assaulting other convicts.	Petty offences.	Escaping.	Remarks.
1875.	24	9	9	1	20	4	16	.....	19	4	.....	60	1	1273

J. L. BEDSON.

RETURN showing the number of days remission of sentence earned by Convicts confined in Manitoba Penitentiary, from 1st January to 31st December, 1875.

Year.	Number of days earned.	Remarks.
January 1st to December 31st, 1875.....	414	

J. L. BEDSON.

40 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 15.)

A. 1877

**CRIMINAL Statistical Return of Prisoners in the Manitoba Penitentiary from 1st
January to 31st December, 1876.**

Description.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Description.	Male.	Female.	Total.
<i>Race.</i>				<i>Employment.</i>			
White	6		6	Labourers	3		3
Half-breed				Carpenters	1		1
Indian	3		3	Blacksmiths	1		1
	9		9	Clerks	2		2
<i>Country.</i>				Tailors	1		1
England	3		3	Farmers	1		1
Ireland	1		1				
Canada	3		3	<i>Crimes.</i>			
Russia	1		1	Felony	1		1
France	1		1	Uttering forged cheques	1		1
	9		9	Larceny	3		3
<i>Religion.</i>				Disgraceful conduct	1		1
Episcopalian	5		5	Insubordination	3		3
Roman Catholic	2		2				
Presbyterian	1		1	<i>Sentences.</i>			
No religion	1		1	5 years	2		2
	9		9	2½ do	1		1
<i>Civil Condition.</i>				2 do	2		2
Single	7		7	Courts martial	4		4
Married	2		2				
	9		9				
<i>Education.</i>							
Read and write	6		6				
Read only							
Neither read nor write	3		3				
	9		9				

(Signed)

J. L. BEDSON,
Warden.

LOWER PORT GARRY,
6th January, 1877.

40 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 15.)

A. 1877

Return showing the Movements of Prisoners in Manitoba Penitentiary from
1st January to 31st December, 1876.

Distribution.	Prisoners.			Remarks.
	Male.	Female.	Total.	
Remaining 31st December, 1875.....	22	.....	22	
Admissions during the year.....	9	.....	9	
Total.....	31	.....	31	
Discharged by expiration of sentence.....	12	.....	12	
Escaped.....	1	.....	1	
Died.....	3	.....	3	
Total.....	16	.....	16	
Remaining 31st December, 1876.....	.....	.....	15	

(Signed) J. L. BEDSON,
Warden.

LOWER FORT GARRY,
6th January, 1877.

Return showing different Offences committed by Convicts in the Manitoba Penitentiary, from 1st January to 31st December, 1876.

Months.	Insubordinate conduct.	Speaking to other convicts.	Attempting to escape.	Assaulting Officers.	Disrespect to Officers.	Making signs to other convicts.	Intention at work.	Damaging property.	Pilfering.	Threatening officers.	Assaulting other convicts.	Petty offences.	Hesitating to obey an order.	Escaping.	Total of offences for each month.	Remarks.
January.....	.....	4	1	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	1	.....	14	
February.....	2	5	.....	.....	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	11	.....	.....	24	
March.....	.....	5	.....	.....	2	2	3	3	2	3	.....	5	.....	.....	25	
April.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	13	1	.....	20	
May.....	5	2	.....	.....	.....	1	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	.....	22	
June.....	4	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	14	
July.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	15	.....	.....	19	
August.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	3	1	.....	9	
September.....	.....	2	.....	.....	2	3	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	10	1	1	20	
October.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	3	
November.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	1	.....	3	.....	.....	9	
December.....	.....	5	.....	.....	3	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....	11	
Total.....	12	33	1	.....	11	8	16	9	6	4	1	83	6	1	190	

(Signed) J. L. BEDSON,
Warden.

LOWER FORT GARRY,
January 6th, 1877.

40 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 15.)

A. 1877

RETURN showing summary of Punishments inflicted upon Convicts in Manitoba Penitentiary from 1st January to 31st December, 1876.

Date.	Admonished.	Reprimanded.	Deprived of Supper.	Bread and Water.	Confined in Penal Cells.	Loss of Remission.	Reduction of Class.	Ball and Chain.	Deprived of Bed.	Corporal Punishment.		Remarks.
										Lashes awarded.	Lashes inflicted.	
1876.....	80	43	13	15	1	8	6	1	1	74	27	

J. L. BEDSON,

(Signed)

Warden.

LOWER PORT GARRY,
January 6th, 1877.

RETURN showing the number of days' remission of sentence earned by Convicts confined in Manitoba Penitentiary from 1st January to 31st December, 1876.

Year.	Number of days earned.	Remarks.
January 1st to December 31st, 1876.....	200	

(Signed)

J. L. BEDSON.

Warden.

LOWER PORT GARRY,
January 6th, 1877.

RETURN of Convicts committed during the year to Manitoba Penitentiary who have served terms in other Penitentiaries.

Name.	Penitentiary in which previous sentence was carried out.	Remarks.
John Laconte.....	Kingston	

(Signed)

J. L. BEDSON,

Warden.

LOWER PORT GARRY,
January 6th, 1877.

40 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No.15.)

A. 1877

RETURN showing Value of Unproductive Labour performed by Convicts in Manitoba Penitentiary, from January 1st to December 1st, 1876.

Description of Labour.	Number of Days.	Rate per Day.	Total Amount.	Remarks.
		\$ cts.	\$ cts.	
Repairing clothes.....	310	0 50	155 00	
Ward orderlies.....	732	0 50	366 00	
Washing clothes and bedding.....	104	0 50	52 00	
Cooking.....	366	0 50	183 00	
Baking.....	208	0 50	104 00	
Cutting wood.....	620	0 50	310 00	
Hauling wood.....	161	0 50	80 50	
Drawing water.....	161	0 50	80 50	
Cleaning prison yard.....	310	0 50	155 00	
Cleaning Turnkey's quarters.....	52	0 50	26 00	
Steward's Assistant.....	356	0 50	178 00	
Carpentering.....	250	0 50	125 00	
Root house.....	15	0 50	7 50	
Garden.....	145	0 50	72 50	
Repairing oven.....	6	0 50	3 00	
Cleaning out latrine, drains and well.....	48	0 50	24 00	
Cleaning chimneys and stove pipes.....	10	0 50	5 00	
			1,922 00	

(Signed)

J. L. BEDSON,

Warden.

LOWER FORT GARRY,
January 6th, 1877.

RETURN of Prisoners who Died in Manitoba Penitentiary during the Year 1876.

Names.	Crime.	Sentence.		Remarks.
		Years.	Months.	
Joseph Baudoin.....	House breaking.....	5	.....	
George Hodgson.....	Cattle stealing.....	2	.....	
Charles Howard.....	Mania.....			

(Signed)

DAVID YOUNG, M.D.,

Surgeon.

LOWER FORT GARRY,
January 6th, 1877.

40 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 15.)

A. 1877

RETURN of Cases Treated in Hospital of Manitoba Penitentiary, from January 1st
to December 31st, 1876.

Disease.	Remained.	Admitted.	Discharged.	Died.	Remaining.
Abscess		1	1		
Asclitis		1	1		
Bronchitis		2	2		
Coarctation		1	1		
Debility		2	2		
Diarrhea		5	5		
Hematuria		1		1	
Influenza		4	4		
Mania	4		2	1	1
Malignant		1	1		
Mammary abscess		1	1		
Neuralgia		1	1		
Peritonitis		1		1	
Pneumonia	1	1	2		
Pleuro pneumonia	1		1		
Syphilis		1	1		
	6	23	25	3	1

(Signed)

DAVID YOUNG, M.D.,

Surgeon.

✓ LOWER FORT GARRY,
January 6th, 1877.

BALANCE Sheet showing Expenditure on, and Produce from, Prison Garden, Manitoba Penitentiary, for the Year 1876.

Expenditure.	Amount.	Produce.	Quantity.	Price.	Amount.
	\$ cts.			\$ cts.	cts.
145 days' labour at 50 cents.....	12 50	Beans, French, in pod.....	57 quarts.....	0 05	2 85
Garden seeds.....	26 90	Beans, Windsor.....	18 do.....	0 05	0 90
12 canvas seed bags.....	3 60	Beets.....	30 bushels.....	0 30	9 00
		Carrots.....	91 dozens.....	0 05	4 55
		do.....	59 bushels.....	0 25	14 75
		Cabbages.....	450 heads.....	0 10	45 00
		Cauliflowers.....	305 do.....	0 15	45 75
		Celery.....	100 do.....	0 15	15 00
		Cucumbers.....	2 bushels.....	1 50	3 00
		Lettuce.....	27 dozens.....	0 05	1 35
		Onions.....	526 do.....	0 05	26 30
		do.....	631 bushels.....	1 00	63 10
		Parsnips.....	71 do.....	0 75	5 32
		Peas, in pod.....	125 quarts.....	0 05	6 25
		Potatoes.....	66 bushels.....	0 30	19 80
		Parsley.....	150 do..... per bunch	0 05	7 50
		Pumpkins.....	3 do.....	1 00	3 00
		Radishes.....	43 dozens.....	0 05	2 15
		Spinach.....	93 do.....	0 04	3 72
		Sage.....	30 bunches.....	0 05	1 50
		Squash.....	11 bushels.....	1 00	11 00
		Turnips.....	362 dozens.....	0 10	3 62
		do.....	27 bushels.....	0 25	6 75
		Tomatoes.....	1 do.....	1 00	1 00
		Seeds—French beans.....	45 pounds.....	0 05	2 25
		do Peas.....	45 do.....	0 05	2 25
		do Radish.....	8 ounces.....	0 20	1 60
		do Lettuce.....	8 do.....	0 10	0 80
		do Spinach.....	12 do.....	0 10	1 20
Balance to Cr.....	242 64				
	315 64				315 64

40 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 15.)

A. 1877

appendix h, continued

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LOWER FORT GARRY,
6th January, 1877.

(Signed)

J. L. BEDSON,
Warden.

40 Victoria,

Sessional Papers (No. 15.)

A. 1877

SHOEMAKING DEPARTMENT, Manitoba Penitentiary, in account with the Dominion of Canada, from January 1st to December 31st, 1876.

Dr.	\$ cts.	Cr.	\$ cts.
To cost of Materials.....	223 70	By 2 pairs laced boots.....	12 50
		17 pairs ankle boots.....	42 50
		65 pairs Oxford shoes.....	227 60
		Prison work.....	67 02½
		Private work.....	60 14
Balance to Cr.....	233 72½	Materials and tools on hand.....	60 85
	450 61½		450 61½

BOOTS AND SHOES REMAINING ON HAND, DECEMBER 31st, 1876.

	\$ cts.
1 pair laced boots, at \$6.00.....	6 00
45 pairs Wellington boots, at \$3.00.....	135 00
69 pairs Blucher boots, at \$2.50.....	147 50
41 pairs Oxford shoes, at \$3.50.....	143 50
	432 00

(Signed) J. L. BEDSON,
Warden.

LOWER FORT GARRY,
January 6th, 1877.

STATEMENT showing Revenue of Manitoba Penitentiary for the year ending June 30th, 1876.

Dr.	cts.	Cr.	\$ cts.
To Deposit in Ontario Bank to credit of the Hon. the Receiver-General....	344 62	By Shoe Shop, convict labour, &c.....	344 62
	344 62		344 62

(Signed) J. L. BEDSON,
Warden.

LOWER FORT GARRY,
January 6th, 1877.

40 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 15.)

A. 1877

Account of Manitoba Penitentiary for the Year ending 30th June, 1876.

Dr.	\$ cts.	Cr.	\$ cts.
To Amount of vote for year 1875-76, as per Estimates.....	27,000 00	By Expenditure, viz:—	
		Rations.....	4,227 51
		Fuel and light.....	3,661 46
		Clothing and bedding.....	917 24
		Furnishings.....	933 51
		Cleaning.....	233 75
		Buildings.....	467 51
		Utensils and tools.....	193 81
		Washing.....	155 01
		Printing.....	151 78
		Blacksmith.....	130 03
		Stationery.....	193 24
		Uniforms.....	361 30
		Medical attendance.....	731 00
		Medical comforts.....	217 98
		Medical board.....	35 00
		Shoe shop.....	979 79
		Mileage allowance, and clothing to discharged convicts.....	300 47
		Garden.....	16 23
		Stables.....	99 25
		Postage and telegrams.....	87 53
		Freight.....	79 25
		Paint and oil.....	25 00
		Roman Catholic chapel.....	3 60
		Armoury.....	14 25
		Contingencies.....	136 00
		Expenses, G. McMicken, Esq., visiting.....	169 04
		Salaries.....	5,890 52
		Balance.....	6,532 12
	27,000 00		27,000 00

(Signed)

J. L. BEDSON,
Warden.

Return of Officers of Manitoba Penitentiary, Lower Fort Garry, 30th December, 1876.

Rank.	Name.	Age.	Where Born.		Religion.	Date of Appointment.	Salary per annum.	Conduct and Efficiency.
			Town.	Country.				
		Yrs.					\$ cts.	
Warden	Samuel L. Bedson	34	Berley	England	Church of England	23rd May, 1871	1,400 00	
Head Guard	Michael W. Sheehan	43	London	do	Quaker	5th July, 1876	600 00	
Accountant and Storekeeper	George E. Adshel	39	Macclesfield	do	Church of England	14th May, 1874	540 00	
Steward	Montague Mann	25	Brentwood	do	do	29th Feb., 1875	580 00	
Gate Keeper	Philip White	35	Glasgow	Scotland	Presbyterian	14th July, 1872	480 00	
Day Guard	Davis Little	36	Marshfield	England	Roman Catholic	8th June, 1875	480 00	
do	Encas D. McDonell	30	Pt. Fortune	Canada	do	21st Sept., 1876	450 00	
Night Guard	Michael Wagner	47	Minchin	Bavaria	do	26th Sept., 1876	480 00	
do	Henry Walker	30	Manchester	England	Church of England	21st Oct., 1876	480 00	
Messenger	Samuel McCormick	24	London	Canada	Wesleyan	26th Sept., 1876	240 00	

(Signed)

J. L. BEDSON,
Warden.

LOWER FORT GARRY, January 6th, 1877.

40 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 15.)

A. 1877

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- MG 29 F 29 Diary of M. Bell Irvine.
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- RG 6 Papers of the Department of the Secretary of State.
- RG 9 British Military Records.
- RG 13/1872-3 Uncatalogued, unarranged papers of the Department of justice.
- WO 1/557 British War Office records respecting the 1846 expedition to Red River.

Public Archives of Manitoba:

- Warden Bedson's Letterbook, 1871-1877.
- Gunn Family Papers.

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- National Historic Sites Service Records: Xerox copy of original diary kept by Dr. David Young at Manitoba Asylum, L.F.G.

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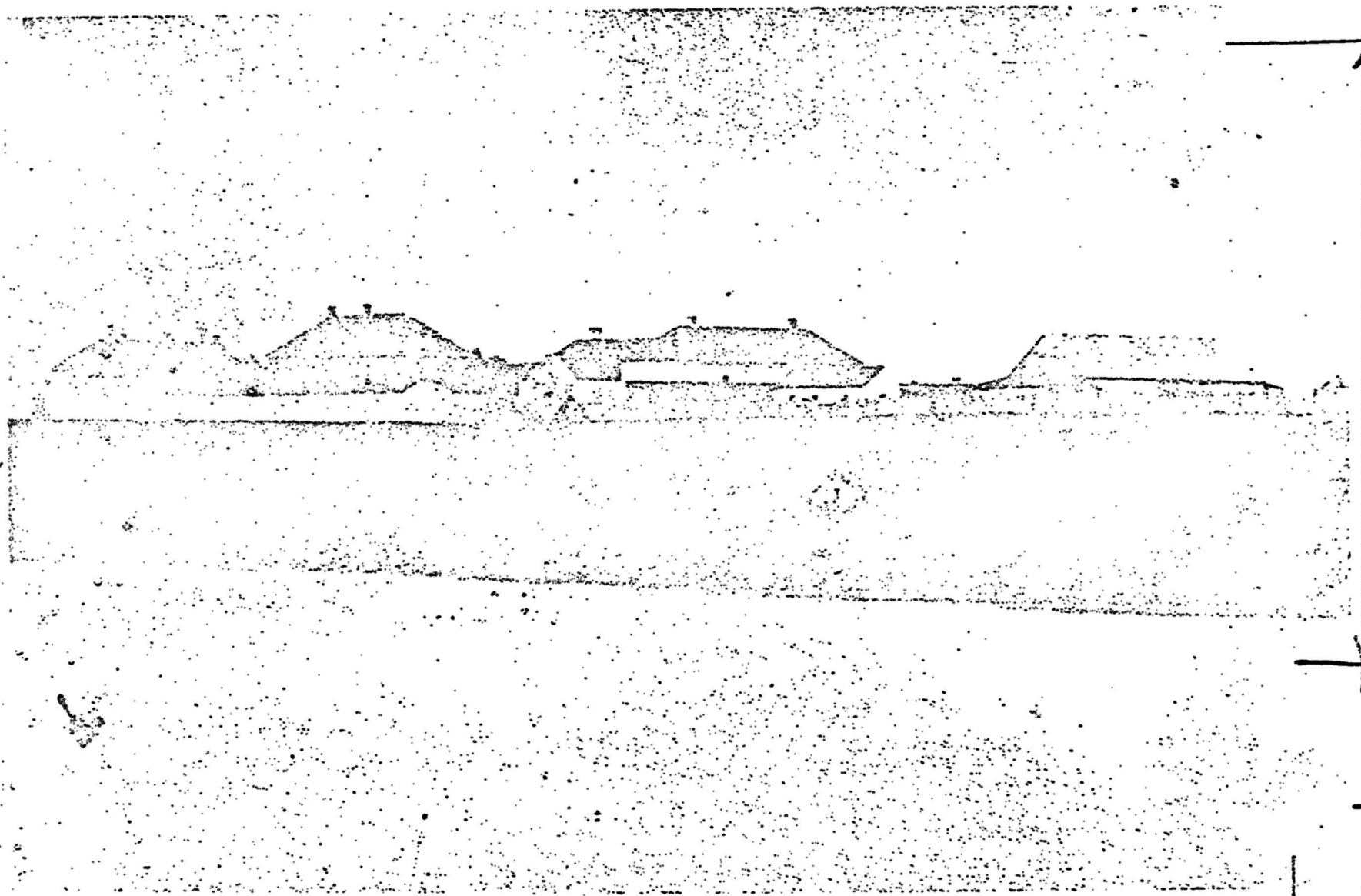
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Penitentiary Comp. - x, Lower Fort Garry [c. 1876]



Penitentiary Building, Lower Fort Garry. North view. [c. 1935]