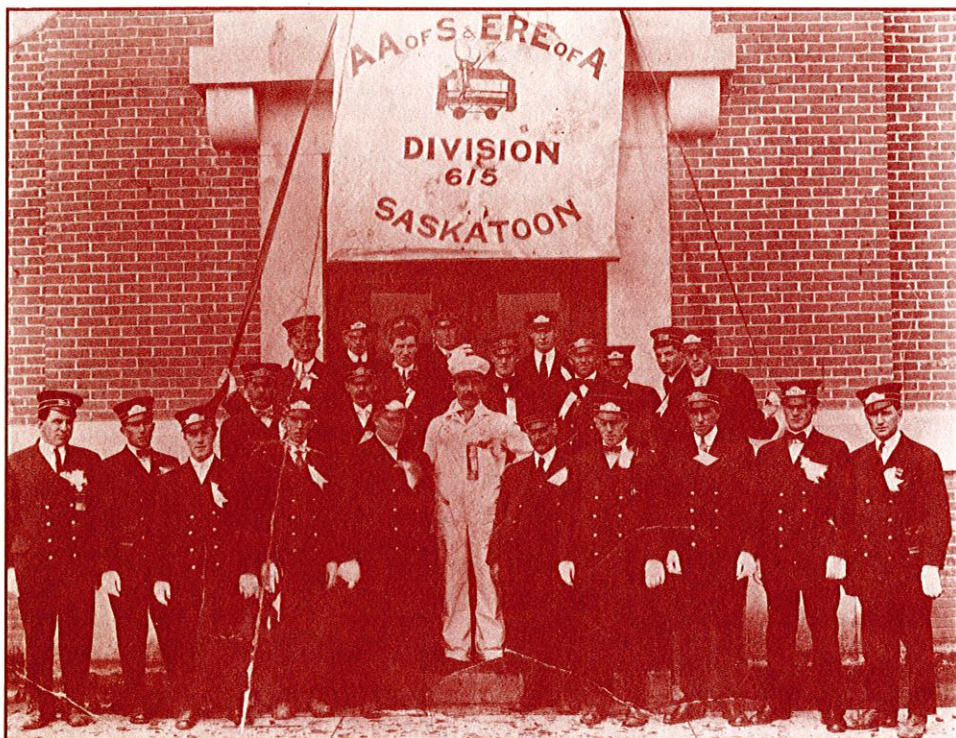


Saskatchewan History

Volume XL No. 3
Autumn 1987
\$3.00



Found: The Sixth Building to be Built in Saskatoon (The Trounce House Still Stands Intact on Its Original Lot in Nutana).

“L’Origine des canards gris”: conte folklorique métis et/ou étude en sociologie populaire.

Saskatchewan History

Volume XL

Autumn 1987

Number 3

FOUND: THE SIXTH BUILDING TO BE BUILT IN SASKATOON (THE TROUNCE HOUSE STILL STANDS INTACT ON ITS ORIGINAL LOT IN NUTANA)	Donald G. Irvine	87
"L'ORIGINE DES CANARDS GRIS": CONTE FOLKLORIQUE METIS ET/OU ETUDE EN SOCIOLOGIE POPULAIRE	Marie-Louise Perron	99
SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD		108
WORKERS CONTROL AND SASKATOON WORKERS, 1906-1913	David Smith	109
SASKATCHEWAN AND <i>THE PINK LADY</i>	John Stuart Batts	114
BOOK REVIEWS		120
Michael Taft, <i>Discovering Saskatchewan Folklore, Three Case Studies</i> . By Michael Hayden		
Easten Wayman, <i>Saskatoon's Electric Transit: The Story of Saskatoon's Streetcars and Trolley Buses</i> . By David E. Smith		
James Parker, <i>Emporium of the North: Fort Chipewyan and the Fur Trade to 1835</i> . By Glen Makahonuk		
Thomas H. McLeod and Ian McLeod, <i>Tommy Douglas: The Road to Jerusalem</i> . By George Hoffman		
Robert B. McKercher and Bertram Wolfe, <i>Understanding Western Canada's Dominion Land Survey System</i> . By Maureen Fox		
COVER PHOTOGRAPH: Saskatoon Street Railway Employees Union 1913. Saskatoon Archives Board, S-B6846.		

Editor: Glenda Leslie

Acting Business Manager: Maureen Fox

Correspondence should be addressed to: *Saskatoon History*,
Saskatchewan Archives Board, University of Saskatchewan,
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 0W0

Published three times a year by the Saskatchewan Archives Board:
Chairman, Dr. B. Zagorin. Members: Mr. Ron Hewitt,
Mr. Beattie Martin, Mrs. M. Powell, Dr. J. C. Courtney,
and Secretary and Provincial Archivist Trevor J. D. Powell.

Subscription rates: \$9.00 a year or \$3.00 per copy.

The Saskatchewan Archives Board assumes no responsibility for
statements made by contributors.

Copyright 1988

The Saskatchewan Archives Board
ISSN 0036-4908

FOUND: THE SIXTH BUILDING TO BE BUILT IN SASKATOON (THE TROUNCE HOUSE STILL STANDS INTACT ON ITS ORIGINAL LOT IN NUTANA)

By Donald G. Irvine

1883 was the first year that any buildings (other than sod huts or tents) were erected in what is now the City of Saskatoon (including Nutana and Riversdale). A total of six buildings were built. All but one of these have since been destroyed. The last of them, however (number 6), is still standing on its original lot (now 512-10th Street), in remarkably good repair. Yet this building, one of the best documented in the early history of the City, has been “lost” from our heritage until now. The history of this building will show how this has come about, while indicating, I think, the richness of its potential ongoing contribution to our cultural heritage.

The first shipment of lumber arrived in Nutana, as a raft floated down the South Saskatchewan River guided by a Swedish crew. From this lumber, six structures were produced in the first year, mainly by Archie Brown and his associates.¹ Five were put up in the early Fall of '83, and the sixth (by Archie Brown and W. Horn) later in the Fall of that year. Brown, in his reminiscences, complains of the sand ground into the lumber enroute over the various sandbars, and the dulling effect this had on his tools. (It may be well to comment, in passing, on the so-called “first house”² in Nutana. This was originally built where the parking lot now lies behind the O.K. Economy store at Broadway and Main Street, and much later was moved to the former grounds of the Western Development Museum on 11th Street West. This was actually the seventh building, and certainly not the first house to be built in Nutana. It too was constructed from the 1883 raft of lumber, using up all the remaining wood, in the Spring of 1884). Similarly, the well-known Marr House (a Heritage house nearby in Nutana) was not built until well into the year following the construction of the house to be described here.

This sixth building was what is usually called the Trounce House (or the Trounce Store). It was, however, built for John J. Conn, who never lived in it, but who stayed instead, at least part of time, in his sod house next to Willoughby's makeshift store/tent, both on the East bank of the South Saskatchewan River, opposite the present-day Bessborough Hotel.³ Conn was the first person to build any sort of house (the sod one) in what is today the City of Saskatoon. The Trounce house — the sixth wooden one to be erected in

the first days of the Temperance Colony — was, like most of them, “only a shell.” Since its owner stayed in his sod house, or out of town, this wooden frame house was consequently available for the Harry Trounce family to rent when they arrived in July, 1884. Shortly thereafter the Trounces purchased the house from Mr. Conn, for \$416.00, in the first real estate transaction within the Colony.⁴ They immediately had the interior lathed and plastered by Mr. Sandy Marr, who arrived shortly after the Trounces, and added storm windows, as well. Later on, a sort of lean-to addition was attached and the Trounces opened the first store (except for Willoughby’s one housed in a tent) in what is now Nutana — and indeed in all Saskatoon. It opened⁵ just after Dominion Day in 1885, the often-mentioned “Trounce’s Store” of early Saskatoon. Curiously, however, it did not look like the many copies of the photo of “Trounce’s Store” that one sees in early accounts of the city of Saskatoon. This will be discussed later in this paper.

The Trounces did quite well, initially, with their store, but there was a downturn in the economy of the little settlement with the end of the freighting of supplies and of the hospital activities associated with the Riel Rebellion. Then Mrs. Trounce died in childbirth, and Mr. Trounce went back to England only to die there within months. The store closed, and the building then remained as part of the Estate of H. Trounce, for several years, being under the trusteeship of the well-known pioneer, Thomas Copland, and rented to one “J. Thomson”. Then in 1893, Robert W. Caswell and his wife arrived in Saskatoon and rented this house. Bob and wife “Frankie” (nee Irvine) were the first couple to get married from among the early pioneers of Saskatoon. He had his farm on the West side of the River, and so commuted by ferry each day to and from his home, the Trounce house, in Nutana. Being persuaded that there was need for a store in the settlement, and noting the empty store

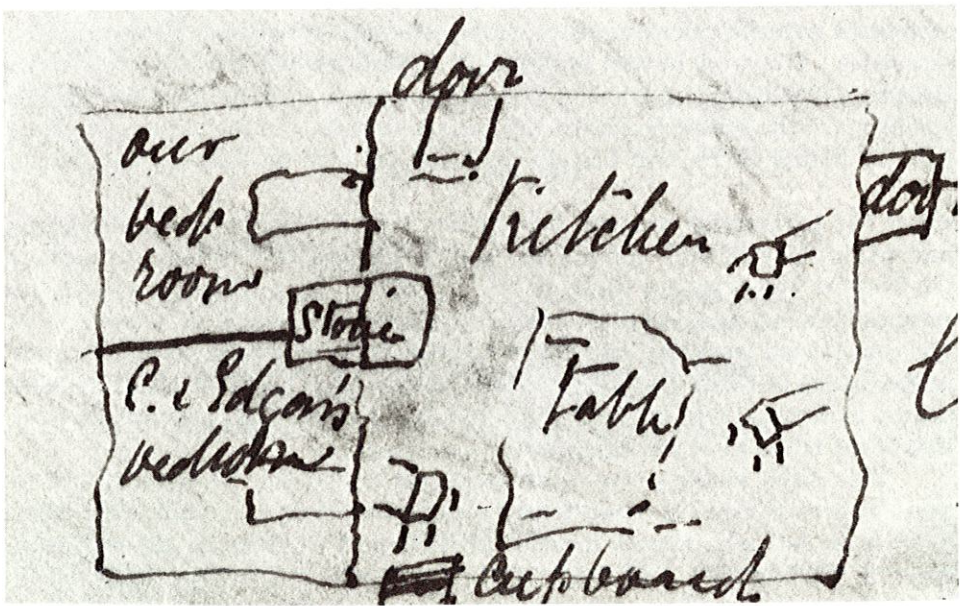


Fig. 1.
Mrs. Trounce's floor plan of their house, 14 July 1884.

quarters attached to the house he was renting, Caswell reopened the store established by the late Mr. Trounce. It was not very successful, since most payments for goods seemed to be in the form of butter, which had to be sold on the Vancouver market. Slowness of payment for the butter shipped, and over-anxious warehousemen in Winnipeg combined to force Bob out of his store and house, and he moved to Beaver Creek.

Three things are extraordinary about the Trounce house. First, it figured extremely prominently in the earliest accounts of Saskatoon. Second, it is in good condition and sits on the lot it originally occupied. There are ample details to prove its identity; yet it had become "lost" through some curious events. And third, this house is on the same property as the home of one of Saskatoon's most famous residents, the late Mr. Lyell Gustin.

THE TROUNCE HOUSE IS EXCEPTIONALLY AND RICHLY DOCUMENTED IN THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS OF SASKATOON

This house is outstandingly documented and described in terms of history, cost, structure, vignettes of family and vignettes of the early community. The person who built it, Archie Brown, has left us some details in his "narrative"⁶ and a later occupant, Robert Caswell, left us his very detailed memoirs, in five volumes.⁷ The first residents and storekeepers have left us a great many letters for the three years they were living in it, written mainly by Mrs. Trounce to her mother, but supplemented with some items by their elder daughter, and several letters by Mr. Trounce. At least one letter every fortnight emanated from this little house of three rooms, and remarkably, all these letters are in the holdings of the Saskatchewan Archives Board (Saskatoon office) as the Trounce Family papers. In describing this collection, which only relatively recently found its way to the Archives, Don Kerr has rightly said⁸ that "The [Trounce] letters are one of the best sources of information about daily life in pioneer Saskatoon and district . . ."

It is fortunate that the home about which we know the most in detail is the very one that has survived to this day, from the very first year of our community's life. This house was the scene of innumerable social activities, especially parties on Christmas Eve or New Year's Eve, and is referred to in several early memoirs and books.⁹ The Trounces were all musical, and their letters document such things as their participation in the "Sol Fa" singing classes, choir practice, the organization of charades, and even an interesting charade written by their daughter about everyday concerns in the first year of Nutana.¹⁰ In addition to the Trounce's contribution to the dramatic and musical scene in the early days of this community, they were involved in its religious life, and with the earliest schooling efforts, as well. But perhaps above all, they were enterprising and entrepreneurial. Mr. Trounce and his wife both write often about the business opportunities or financial troubles of the fledgling community. Mr. Trounce became deeply involved with supplying first the troops, and later the military hospitals, with freighted provisions ranging from hay to medical supplies and various foodstuffs. Later, he was the key man in the escort of Louis Riel from Saskatoon to Moose Jaw, en route to the prisoner's trial. During the trip, Harry Trounce slept on one side of Riel, with Captain Young on the other. He recorded this trip in one of his letters.¹¹

It was right after the Rebellion that Harry actually opened his store, in an

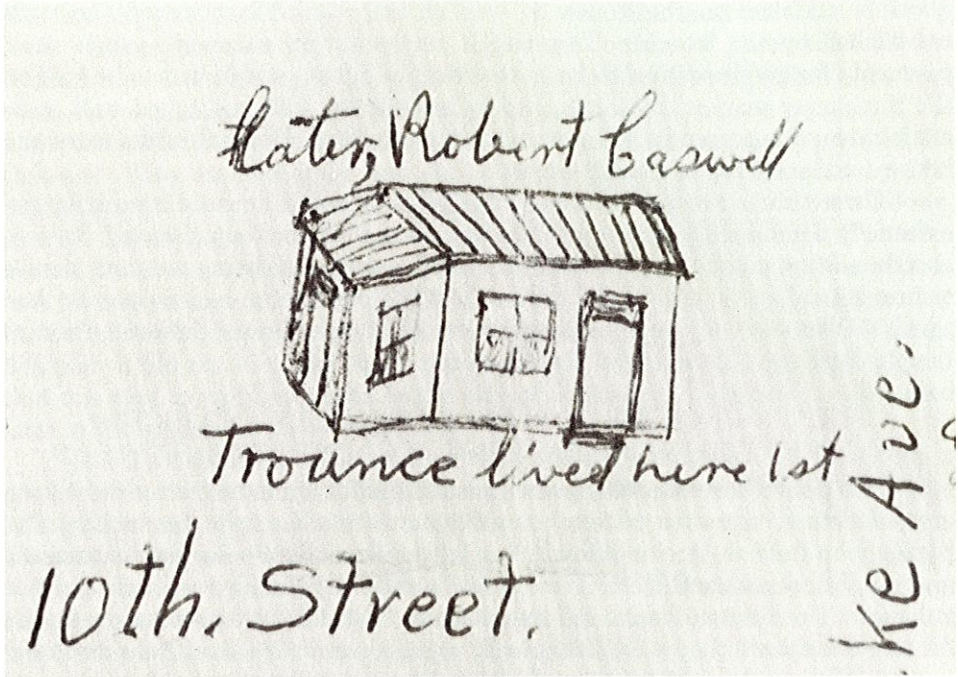


Fig. 2.
The Trounce House on Mrs. Maud McIntosh's map of Nutana as she recalled it being in 1885. Enlargement from original map.

Saskatoon Public Library, Local History Room.

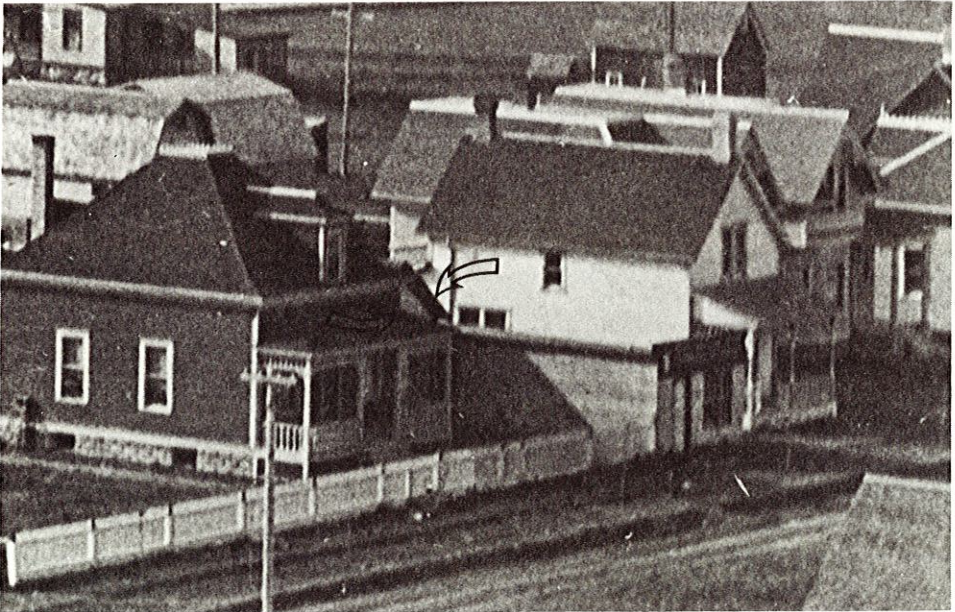


Fig. 3.
Enlargement of part of a photograph of Nutana taken from the water tower in 1910. The arrows indicate the Trounce House.

Saskatoon Public Library, Local History Room.

annex he had attached to their house, following up on a resolve he had formed during his freighting work earlier in 1885.¹²

THE TROUNCE HOUSE IS READILY IDENTIFIABLE

Mrs. Trounce sketched their house's floor and furniture plan, in a letter dated 14 July 1884. The anatomy of this little house was unique. It had two small bedrooms opening symmetrically off the "parlour" (which was also the kitchen/dining area) — one on either side of the central stove while the "parlour" curiously had not one, but two doors opening directly to the exterior. "I enclose a sketch (!) of our house, only a small one of three rooms, two doors leading straight into the house from the Prairie, or *street* that may be."¹³ The early sketch even locates each chair, the table, cupboard, and the location of the beds in each room, as well as who slept where! (Figure 1). The Trounce House was soon fitted with storm windows and with extra stove-pipe and "elbows" in an attempt to combat the winter cold.¹⁴

The building also was sketched, and annotated with the words "Trounce lived here first; later Robert Caswell," by Mrs. Maud McIntosh, on her "folk" map of Nutana of 1885 (Figure 2). Such details as the upstairs being really just a loft (where the babies were placed to sleep while their parents danced downstairs) are all well recorded.

The Assessment Roll of Saskatoon Public School District No. 13 of the North West Territories (Nutana) indicate that the Trounces owned lots 30, 31, 32 and 33 in Block 63 of the original Temperance Colony, now Nutana.¹⁵ There were in fact, no roads in the Colony when the Trounces arrived, but this location includes the property known as 512-10th Street East, today.¹⁶ In the June 1927 Special issue of the *Daily Star*, an article by Miss Eliza Eby, described the building in which she attended a Christmas Eve party 42 years earlier (i.e. 1884 or 1885). This article is illustrated with a photograph of the actual building, under the heading of "First Store." The text indicates that the building was moved back on the lot, to make room for the house erected for the Gustin family.¹⁷ The Gustins had converted the original building for use as a garage. The photo with the article shows a small building with two doors to the exterior, each flanked to the left by a window. Other prominent features were a loft door, a central chimney, and a square chimney-like vent at the back end of the house. The photo, obviously no more recent than 1927, is clearly of the same building one can see today if one goes to the back of that address.

The Trounce House is visible (but only on very close inspection) on a well-known photograph displayed in the Local History Room of the Frances Morrison Library in Saskatoon. The portion of the house visible in this photograph taken in 1910 from the Nutana water tower, corresponds with the known line of sight, from the tower to the location of the building (then Lot 33 of Block 63; now 512-10th Street East). The 1910 photo indicates that there were no buildings on Lots 30 and 31, but a rather large house on Lot 32 (and still there today) almost completely hid the small Trounce House on Lot 33. (See enlargement of detail, Figure 3).

The Nutana 1911 Fire Insurance Map shows a paired or duplex, one-storey structure on Lot 33, one-half of which would be the house, and the other, the store (Figure 4). Building Permits at Saskatoon City Hall indicate no further construction on this site, from the founding of the City until 1920¹⁸ when the

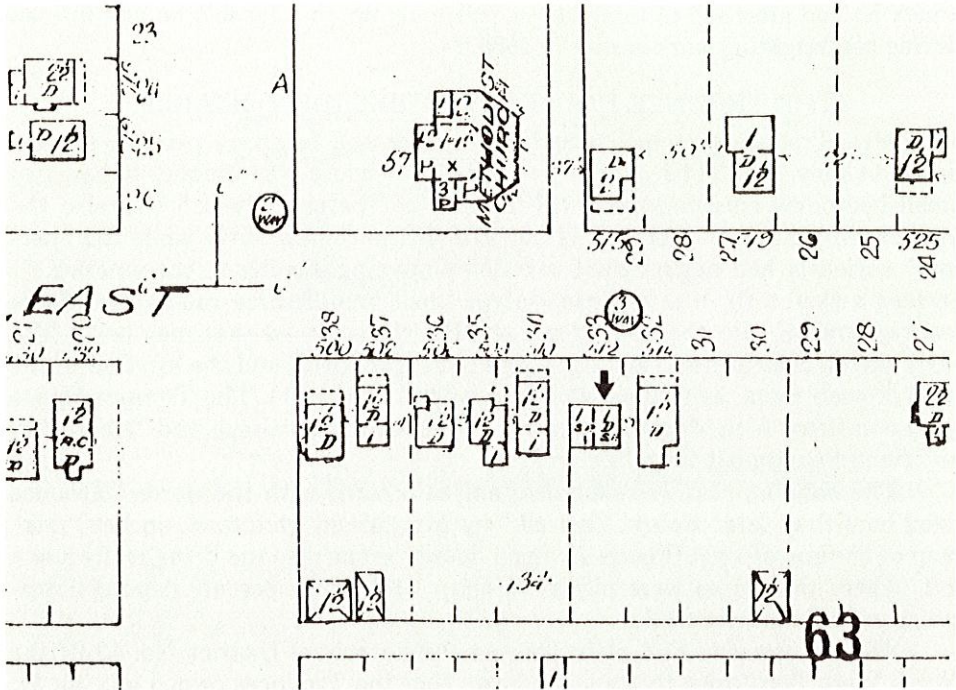


Fig. 4.
The Trounce House and Store, as shown on the 1911 Fire Insurance Map of Nutana.
City of Saskatoon, Engineering Department.

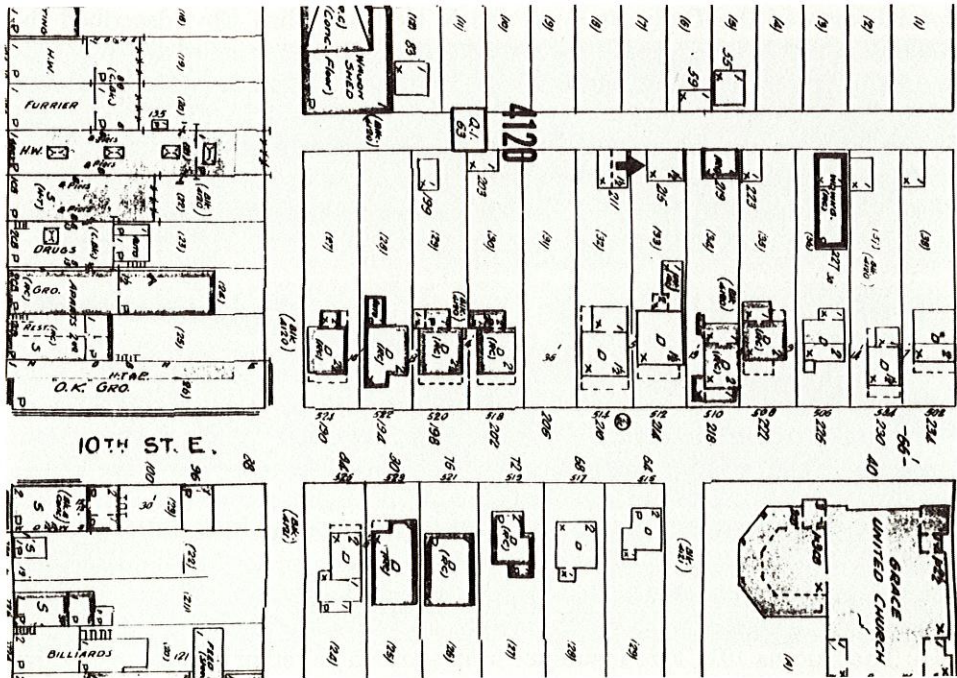


Fig. 5.
The Trounce House as shown on the 1931 Fire Insurance Map of Nutana (Saskatoon).
City of Saskatoon, Engineering Department.

main portion of the house at present near the front of this property, was built. This was no doubt when, as Miss Eliza Eby stated, the Trounce House was moved to the back of the same lot. The City of Saskatoon's files of Building Permits indicate no additions or alterations on this Lot until 1928¹⁹ when more studio space was added to the newer house; and no changes since that time. The 1931 Fire Insurance Map (Figure 5) clearly shows the Trounce House in its present location at the back of this property, the addition attached to its side having been removed sometime between 1911 and 1931.

The overall proportions of this house are consistent — from Mrs. Trounce's original sketch, through the Fire Map of 1911, the *Daily Star* illustration of 1927, and the 1931 Fire Insurance Map, to the present day observations.²⁰ Developing scales for the Fire Insurance (F.I.) Maps of 1911 and 1931, I determined the dimensions for the putative Trounce House, and then compared these with the actual measurements of the house as it stands now.

<i>year</i>	<i>data source</i>	<i>width (feet)</i>	<i>length (feet)</i>
1911	scaled from F.I. Map	15	21½
1931	scaled from F.I. Map	17½	20
Average from these maps:		16¼	20¾
1987	directly measured	16¼	20⅓

The identity of this original Trounce House with the building at the rear of 512-10th Street East is clearly established by comparing the 1927 *Daily Star* photo with my 1987 photos (Figures 6 a & b). The present doorways, the interior arrangements, as well as the chimney and square wood vent (both truncated under the "new" shingles) all correspond to available information either in Mrs. Trounce's letters, or in the 1927 newspaper clipping and its accompanying photograph. The combined evidence makes it quite certain that we are seeing the original Trounce House. It was, it is true, modified for use as a garage — but that was so long ago that the car could be housed *inside* just the parlour/kitchen, and so the damage to the interior structure was remarkably little.

The next extraordinary thing about this house is that such a characteristic one has been "misplaced" in the history of Saskatoon. It is, in fact, still on its original lot, in remarkably good condition, and yet is not in any listing of historic or heritage buildings or sites.

HOW THE BUILDING CAME TO BE "LOST"

How, then, can this building have been "lost" to our City's heritage? There are several contributing factors to this temporary loss. They seem to be the following, although there may be others as well. First, there were *two* very early stores on 10th Street — that is, physically facing what was to become 10th Street; and they were only one block apart, on the same side of that "street". One was Trounce's; the other was the Dulmages'. Early records do not make the locations any easier to decipher, because technically the Dulmage Store was on Broadway (on Lots 11 and 12, in Block 82), but these are long narrow lots, with the long axis on 10th Street. In fact, the Dulmage store was one half of their duplex, located well back on these lots, and facing 10th, not Broadway. Secondly, some early work on the history of Saskatoon labelled a by-now very familiar photo (Figure 7) of an early store, as "Trounce's" or "Frounies" (*sic*). This photograph first appeared in the Christmas 1903 Illustrated Supplement of

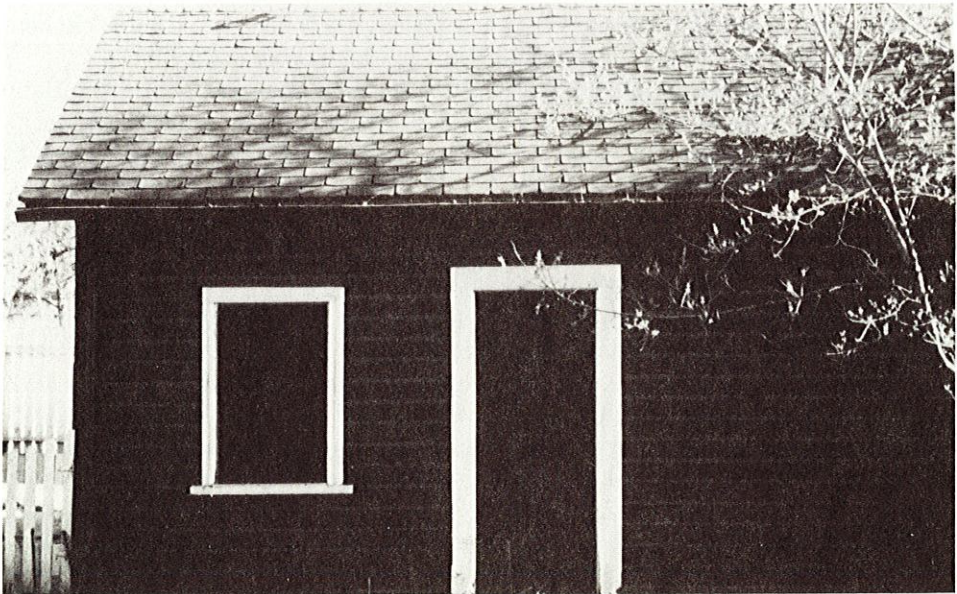
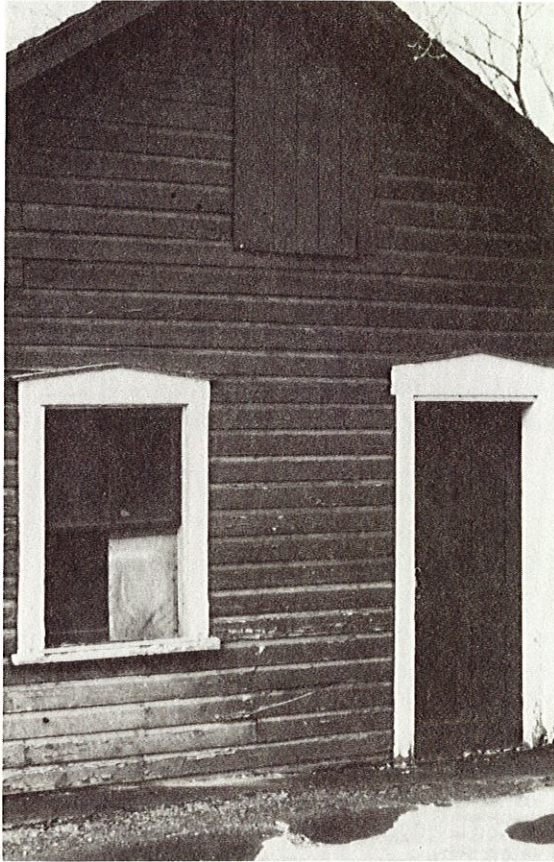


Fig. 6a and 6b.
Two views of the building at the rear of 512-10th Street East, Saskatoon, June 1987.

Donald G. Irvine.

the *Phenix*,²¹ where it was attributed neither to Trounces, nor to Frounies, nor to Dulmages, but simply referred to as “one of the first buildings erected in Saskatoon.” Clearly the two-storey building in this photograph, now formally archived,²² cannot be Trounce’s store, because (a) Mrs. Trounce states in a letter that they had no upstairs, (b) this is confirmed for both the Trounce house and its attached store, in the 1911 Fire Insurance Map,²³ and (c) Robert Caswell’s reminiscences corroborate an annotation on the folk map²⁴ that he also lived in the Trounce House and that it *still had the store attached to the house*. In his own words: “There was an empty store attached to the house I was living in and for which I was paying rent.”²⁵ That was in 1903, and the 1911 Fire Insurance Map confirms it was still there eight years later. While perhaps it does not matter, for our present purposes, just whose store this famous picture *really* depicts, it is virtually certain that it is the original Dulmage store (duplex) which is pictured there. Although rotated, it is in the correct location on the folk map and clearly labelled “store” on one end, and “dwelling” on the other (Figure 8). Its location corresponds perfectly with a large building shown well back of Lot 12 of Block 82, in the 1911 Fire Insurance Map (Figure 9). On this map, the outline corresponds extremely well with the well-known photo of “Trounce’s”/“Frounie’s”²⁶ store, including the lean-to with its prominent stove-pipe, at the back of the store end of the Dulmage duplex.

More confusion was introduced when the author of the folk map misplaced the real Trounce house both across 10th Street and across (East-) Lake Avenue from its actual location. Then, relatively recent accounts of the early history of Saskatoon corrected the location of the actual Trounce house and store to 512-10th Street East, but they further confused the issue by attributing to this address the much-reproduced photo. As a result, anyone looking for Trounce’s store would find nothing remotely matching the one in the familiar and archived

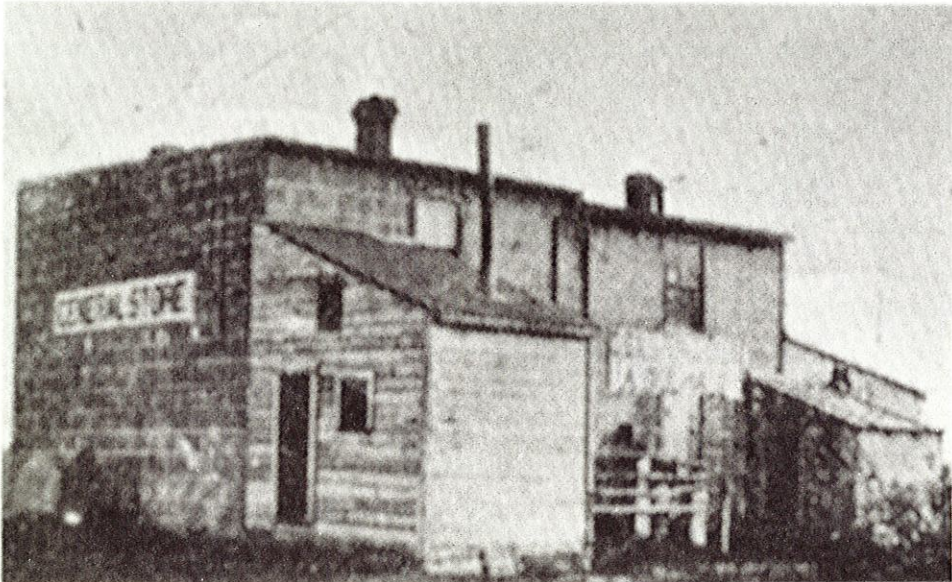


Fig. 7.
So-called “Trounce’s” (or “Frounie’s”) store as reproduced in several works on the history of Saskatoon.

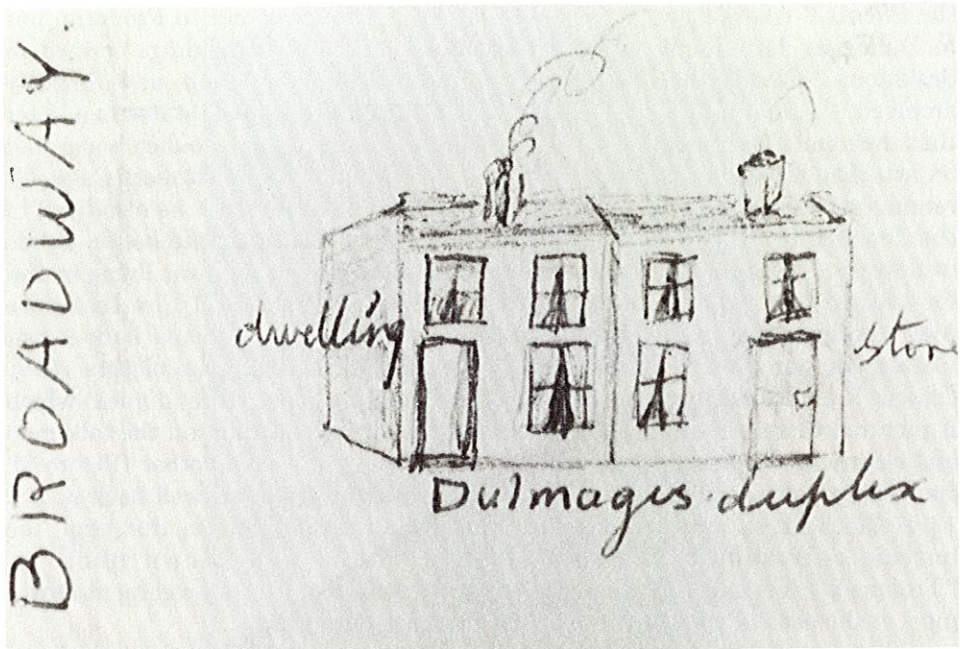


Fig. 8. Dulmages' duplex (dwelling, store) as shown on 10th Street East, in Mrs. Maud McIntosh's map of Nutana of 1885. Enlargement.

Saskatoon Public Library, Local History Room.

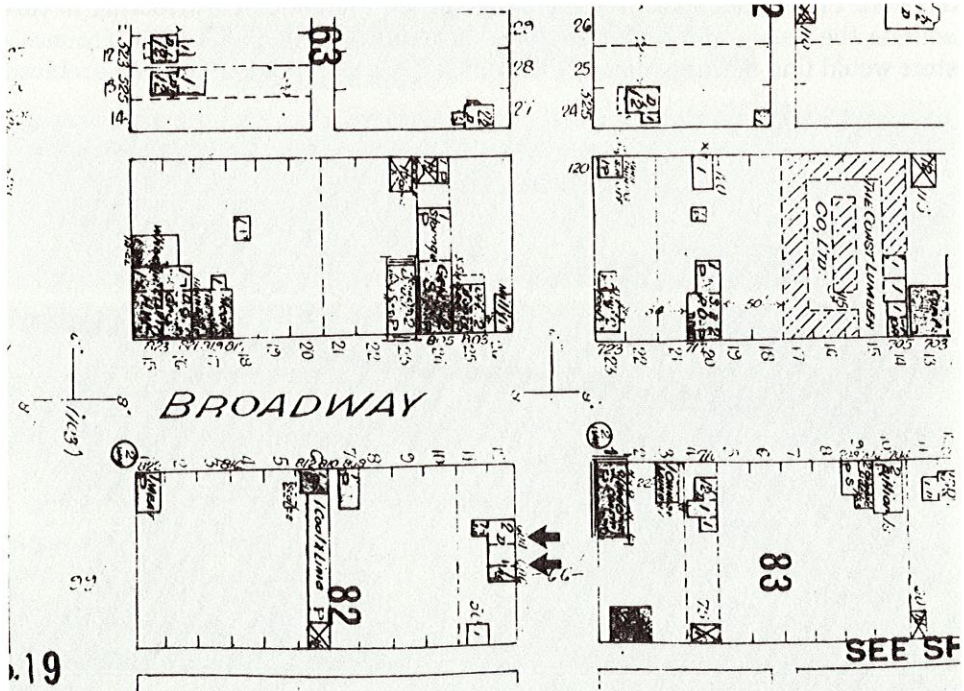


Fig. 9. Dulmages' duplex as shown on the 1911 Fire Insurance Map of Nutana.

City of Saskatoon, Engineering Department.

photo, whether today's searcher was looking where the house is indicated on the folk map, or indeed, at the correct location, 512-10th Street! Nor does Dulmage's store now exist. But what of *Frounies'* store? This is almost certainly one that never did exist. There is no record of anyone with a name like Frounie or Frouny in any of the early directories or other records of Nutana or Saskatoon. In fact, it seems certain that this name came about as the result of a misreading of the name Trounce. Even in print, the great similarity is clearly seen:

T	ROUN	C	ES
F	ROUN	I	ES

It seems that someone mislabelled a photo of Dulmages' store, as "Trounces" and then someone else misread this as "Frounies"!

The net result of all this has been for an exceedingly historic building, very fully documented in numerous archived documents, to have become lost, while remaining almost unchanged, standing on the same lot for 104 years.

TWO HISTORIC HOUSES ON THE SAME LOT

There is still another extraordinary aspect to this early building. This is its location: on the property of Lyell Gustin — the well known Lyell Gustin Studio — so important to the development of music in Saskatchewan and indeed Canada. Mr. Gustin's prodigious influence upon the development of music in Saskatchewan has been chronicled in an extensive book by Muriel Leeper, *The Gustin Influence*. It is only very recently that this pioneer of music education died, still at the studio in his 93rd year.²⁷

It is remarkable that the opportunity still exists at this time to make sure that the double heritage of this unique property is preserved for all future generations. I urge that this 1883 house, and probably the Gustin Studio as well, be designated a Heritage Property, without delay.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply indebted to the staff of the Local History Room of the Saskatoon Public Library system; to the staff of the Saskatchewan Archives Board, Saskatoon office; and to the staff of the Special Collections and Archives sections of the University of Saskatchewan Library. I am grateful also to the late Mr. L. Gustin, owner of the property on which Trounce's House stands, for his very cooperative attitude toward my research; to Mr. Peter Holdstock, Design Section, Building Department, City of Saskatoon, for providing copies of Fire Insurance Company Maps, and related information; to Lisa Loeffler, for careful and interested wordprocessing; and to my wife, Isabel, for her interest and suggestions.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ *Narratives of Saskatoon, 1882-1912* (Saskatoon, 1927), esp. "Narrative of Mr. Archie Brown, sent by him from California to Mr. S. R. Ross," 28-45.
- ² "First Saskatoon House Now Relocated as Pion-Era Exhibit," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, June 1963.
- ³ *Narratives of Saskatoon*, esp. 28-45.
- ⁴ W. Sally Potter Club (assisted by George Shepherd), *Saskatoon: This Serenity and the Surge* (Saskatoon, 1966), 7, 9.
- ⁵ Trounce Family Letters, 5 July 1885, Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Saskatoon.
- ⁶ *Narratives of Saskatoon*, esp. 28-45.
- ⁷ Robert W. Caswell, "Reminiscences", esp. book 3, SAB, Saskatoon.
- ⁸ D. Kerr, "The Trounce Family Letters: Saskatoon 1884-87," *NeWest Review*, May 1985, 13-16.
- ⁹ Robert W. Caswell, "Reminiscences," *Narratives of Saskatoon*; W. Sally Potter Club, *Saskatoon*; Gerald Z. Willoughby, "Playtime" in *Retracing the Old Trail* (Saskatoon, 1935).
- ¹⁰ Trounce Family Letters, 27 December 1885.
- ¹¹ "From Saskatoon to Moose Jaw with the Prisoner Riel," *Saskatchewan History*, XXXIV, 2 (Spring, 1981), 74-75.
- ¹² Trounce Family Letters, 13 May 1885.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 14 July 1884.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 5 September 1884 and 1 November 1884.
- ¹⁵ "Property Assessable in Nutana," Assessment Roll of the Saskatoon Public School District No. 13 of the North-West Territories for the Year 1903, pp. 8-18, University of Saskatchewan Library, Special Collections, Morton Papers #C555/2/5.15.
- ¹⁶ Fire Insurance Company Maps of Saskatoon, 1931. City of Saskatoon Engineering Department.
- ¹⁷ *Saskatoon Daily Star*, 30 June 1927.
- ¹⁸ City of Saskatoon Building Permit #5044, 1920.
- ¹⁹ *Saskatoon Daily Star*, 30 June 1927; City of Saskatoon Building Permit #13093, 1928.
- ²⁰ D. G. Irvine and I. D. Irvine, Inspection, measurement and photography of building at rear of 512-10th Street East, Saskatoon. May and June 1987.
- ²¹ *The Saskatoon Phenix*, Christmas Illustrated Supplement, 1903.
- ²² H. Trounce's Store (Nutana/Saskatoon), "Trounce's Store, one of the first buildings erected in Saskatoon in 1883 (now 512 Tenth Street)," Saskatchewan Archives Board *Star Phoenix* Collection, S-SP-B 1077-23.
- ²³ Fire Insurance Company Maps of Saskatoon, 1911. City of Saskatoon Engineering Department.
- ²⁴ Sketch or "folk" map of Saskatoon prior to the coming of the railway. Drawn by Maude McIntosh (nee Fletcher). Local History Room, Saskatoon Public Library.
- ²⁵ Robert W. Caswell, "Reminiscences," book 3.
- ²⁶ V. B. B. Peel and E. Knowles, *The Saskatoon Story, 1882-1952* (Saskatoon, 1952), 11; John Archer and J. D. Bates, *Historic Saskatoon: A Concise Illustrated History of Saskatoon* (Saskatoon, 1948), 11.
- ²⁷ "Gustin's Influence as Teacher Felt Across Canada" and "Gustin, Lyell Adams Raphael", obituary notice, *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, 10 February 1988; Muriel Leeper, *The Gustin Influence* (Saskatoon, 1982), vi, 105.

“L’ORIGINE DES CANARDS GRIS”: CONTE FOLKLORIQUE METIS ET/OU ETUDE EN SOCIOLOGIE POPULAIRE*

Par Marie-Louise Perron

The Origin of the Grey Ducks

The folktale entitled “The Origin of the Grey Ducks” draws its source from the oral traditions of the two groups responsible for the emergence of the Metis people, the French and the Indian nations. Built upon a structure of the traditional tale-type found in the French legend of the “Handsome Dancer”, this tale includes elements from Native literature where Raven is the pivotal figure. The presence of elements from both French and Native cultures, as well as the logical *denouement* bespeaks a tale designed to recall the founding of the Metis people, or the circumstances surrounding this event. This tale is also a moral tale and like the biblical story of the “Fall of Man”, pride is here again at the root of the subsequent upheaval of established order in the world.

INTRODUCTION

Le récit que j’appelle pour des fins descriptives “L’Origine des canards gris” fait partie du répertoire de littérature orale d’une informatrice dans ma propre parenté. Le répertoire comprend maintenant environ une dizaine de pièces que l’informatrice détient, à la façon amérindienne, de sa mère qui les détenait, elle aussi, de la sienne. La tradition se maintient donc depuis au moins quatre générations.

Le corpus de littérature orale de cette informatrice comprend des mythes de pure tradition amérindienne et d’autres pièces provenant de la tradition française. Celui qui nous concerne aujourd’hui est à mi-chemin entre les deux reliant ainsi l’informatrice à ses origines métisses.

Par une analyse structurale appliquée au trois récits, je propose de comparer les éléments constitutifs du récit *L’Origine des canards gris*, à deux pièces traditionnelles, l’une amérindienne et l’autre québécoise.

Ensuite, je propose d’analyser les éléments symboliques du récit comme une exploration de la société traditionnelle métisse à la lumière de la littérature historique parcourue sur le sujet.

D’abord les **récits eux-mêmes. Le premier et le troisième sont du genre que l’on racontait uniquement l’hiver, car selon les anciens, s’ils les racontaient l’été, les couleuvres pouvaient s’approcher pour écouter.¹ En fait, tous les trois portent des indices d’avoir été conté l’hiver.²

Le premier se trouve en deuxième lieu à l’intérieur d’un mythe qui en comprend les trois épisodes suivants: *La Libération du soleil*, *Le Déluge*, et *La Séparation fixée entre les animaux et l’homme*.³ Ce mythe provient d’une tribu habitant en bordure du fleuve Mackenzie au Territoires du Nord-Ouest. Dans

* Présenté au Colloque du Centre d’études franco-canadiennes de l’Ouest, Edmonton, octobre 1987.

les rapports journaliers écrit par les employés des compagnies de fourrure, cette tribu est connue sous l'appellation de *Castors*. Plusieurs éléments de ce mythe se retrouvent d'ailleurs dans le récit provenant de la tradition métisse.

Le deuxième récit, *Le Diable beau danseur*, est une légende très connue dans la tradition orale française. Les Archives de folklore de l'Université Laval comptent plus de deux cent versions de la légende connues à la grandeur du territoire québécois. Plusieurs analyses comparatives en ont été faites.⁴

Selon Le Moine,⁵ elle est aussi connue en Allemagne et l'on peut supposer qu'elle existe ailleurs en Europe.

L'analyse des éléments constitutifs révélera des affinités entre la légende du *Diable Beau Danseur* et le troisième récit *L'Origine des canards gris*.

Le troisième récit fait partie du répertoire de contes et légendes de Marguerite St-Arnaud, qui naquit au Fort Bon Espérance (Fort Good Hope) à la jonction de la Rivière des Indiens Lièvres (Hare Indian River) et le fleuve Mackenzie aux actuelles Territoires du Nord-Ouest. Il est peu probable que Mme. St-Arnaud l'eut entendu en cet endroit car elle le quitta à l'âge de deux ans pour aller avec sa famille habiter le village de St-Norbert au Manitoba. Néanmoins, le récit porte les indices d'une nordicité certaine: le personnage de Corbeau ne paraît point dans les mythes et légendes des tribus plus au sud, tandis qu'il fait partie intégrante de celles du Nord.⁶

LES RECITS

LE DELUGE (DEUXIEME EPISODE)

Après quelque temps, les eaux se sont déséchées. Tout de même, la situation demeura critique pour l'unique homme et sa femme ainsi que pour les bêtes qui avaient cherché refuge au sommet de la plus haute montagne. Ils cherchaient de peine et de misère les quelques racines qui auraient pu leur assurer une maigre subsistance. Pendant cet intervalle, l'épervier, l'émerillon et le canard de France⁷ se mirent d'accord pour changer leurs plumes de couleur car dans ce temps-là, toutes les espèces étaient blanches. L'on ne sait pas par quel moyen ils ont effectué ce changement.

Immédiatement après cet événement, Corbeau⁸ fit son entrée.

"Vient voir," dit Epervier. "Mes plumes ne sont-elles pas belles? N'aimerais-tu pas avoir un manteau comme le mien?"

"Garde donc la paix!" lui réplique Corbeau, "Toi et ton bec croche! Ne trouves-tu pas que le blanc est le plus beau de toutes les couleurs?"

Les autres qui avaient changé de couleur se sont disputés avec Corbeau afin de lui faire changer d'avis mais celui-ci demeura inflexible ce qui rendit Epervier fou furieux. Tout le groupe de couleur se décida alors de venger l'affront qui lui avait été fait. Chacun prenant dans son bec les restes de braises éteintes près du feu, ils noircirent Corbeau sur tout le corps, s'échappant par la suite à la manière propre à son groupe. Ceux qui savaient nager se lancèrent à l'eau tandis que d'autres s'éloignèrent en usant de leur vitesse supérieure de vol.

Corbeau, entretemps, toujours dans tous ses états de son aventure et déterminé à ne pas resté seul dans cette condition, se lança dans un groupe d'étourneaux qui se trouvaient dans les parages. Se jettant d'un bord à l'autre, il fit revoler la poussière de ses propres plumes et finit par réussir à les noircir

autant que lui. Depuis ce temps-là les étourneaux ont gardé cette couleur.⁹

LE DIABLE BEAU DANSUR (ABREGÉ)¹⁰

La fête se passait chez José Moreau à l’occasion du retour des Etats-Unis de Pierre, l’enfant prodigue. En plus, Blanche la fille de la maison, était grandie, prête à se marier. Elle était devenue d’ailleurs la plus jolie fille des alentours.

Après le souper, les voisins commençaient à arriver et avec eux, toutes sortes de jeunes gens du village entraînés par Dédé le violonneux du rang. La famille de José Moreau était du premier monde, la meilleur de la paroisse. Donc quand José voyait arriver le violoneux à la tête d’une bande de joyeux fêtards, il savait qu’il y aurait de la danse malgré toutes les interdictions du curé. Toute cette jeunesse était d’ailleurs des amis à Pierre. Avalant son ennui, il les souhaite la bienvenue.

Dès que Dédé le violoneux set mit à jouer, les chaises-mêmes ne tinrent plus sur place. Cédant à la tentation, José Moreau et sa femme ouvrirent le bal.

Pendant que la danse battait son plein à onze heures le soir, le bruit de grelots et le son d’une carriole sur la neige se fit entendre à l’intérieur. Trois coups à la porte et une personne fit son entrée. Les cheveux frisés, la barbe longue, noire et soyeuse, un étranger salua à la salle. Et son costume! Capot de castor, casque de martre velouté, mocassins de caribou brodés en dards de porc-épic. Il jeta son capot et son casque dans un coin, mais il garda ses gants en chamois noir.

Il se dirigea droit à la fille de la maison et lui demanda à danser. Malgré une certaine gêne, elle accepta.

Entretiens plusieurs personnes étaient sorties voir le cheval de ce beau monsieur. Et quel cheval! Evidemment à la taille de son maître avec un harnais gréé de boucles d’argent et tirant une carriole reluisante remplie de peau de buffles doublées en feutre rouge.

Dans la maison, la danse continuait, les meilleurs danseuses s’avouant vaincues par la beauté et l’énergie de l’étranger.

Le bruit de la veillée avait réveillé le bébé dans son berceau. La vieille Catherine le prit sur ses genoux et de la porte du cabinet, elle regarda s’exécuter les danseurs. Chaque fois que l’étranger passait devant eux, le petit se cacha le visage en hurlant, “Brule, brule!” Quand elle vit l’étranger offrir à échanger à sa partenaire de danse un loquet à diamants contre son collier à crucifix, Catherine se leva. Allant au bénitier de la maison, elle y trempa les doigts et revint faire le signe de la croix en la direction de l’étranger.

L’effet fut terrible! D’un bond, l’étranger traversa le plancher et s’enfonça dans la nuit à travers le mur de pierre.

José Moreau demeura inconsolable et le trou dans le mur ne put jamais être réparé malgré toute la bonne volonté des maçons des environs. Le curé vint bénir la maison mais le trou demeura. C’était un avertissement.

L’ORIGINE DES CANARDS GRIS¹¹

Les canards d’une race des plus communes,¹² vécurent heureux ensemble avec leurs compagnes. Le temps venu de marier leurs enfants, tous trouvèrent un excellent parti. Parmi eux, vécut une de ces familles qui se croyait très bien, sinon meilleure que leurs semblables.

Ceci fut en partie du au fait que, contrairement aux enfants de leurs

voisins, leur fille était d'une blancheur des plus pures. La vieille cane chercha alors pour la prunelle de ses yeux, un époux digne de la réputation de la famille. Elle vit d'un très mauvais oeil les jeunes mâles du coin faire la cour à sa fille car, selon elle, nul n'était à sa taille.

Un jour, un nouvel admirateur se présenta. Tout blanc, très élégant, il portait un habit de cérémonie à longs pans et des gants blancs. Il gardait toujours ses gants, même à table. Ce nouveau galant, malgré son élégance, attirait des chuchotements dans son dos. Il n'avait pas l'air d'un canard car il était plus grand et il avait la voix rauque.

"Et pourquoi est-ce qu'il porte toujours ces gants blanc?" se disaient les autres canards et quelques-uns posèrent carrément la question à la maman ambitieuse. Celle-ci, balbutia quelque chose comme, "Ah! mais il a plus de classe que vous-autres. Il est plus instruit et il en sait des choses sur le monde!"

Les autres canards trouvèrent cette réponse insuffisante et ils essayèrent d'en savoir plus sur cet étranger en l'invitant à la nage avec eux. Mais celui-ci s'esquiva toujours sous un prétexte ou un autre.

Un soir, au cours d'une veillée pendant que la danse battait son plein, la maman ambitieuse se décida à annoncer le mariage de sa jolie petite cane blanche avec le bel étranger.

Quelle célébration que ce mariage! C'était *l'événement* dans le monde des canards. Mais à la surprise de tous, tout de suite après le festin, voilà le marié qui annonce qu'ils quittaient, lui et sa femme, qu'ils ne resteraient pas vivre parmi eux.

La vieille cane était plutôt deçue, elle s'était tant faite pour sa fille. Mais on fit des adieux en grand style à la jolie cane blanche et son mari. Celui-ci n'avait jamais dévoilé véritablement où il restait.

Des mois passèrent sans nouvelles des nouveaux époux et tous les canards se posèrent des questions. La vieille cane disait à qui voulait l'entendre que cela ne lui faisait rien, que dans les *bonnes* familles, on ne se occupait pas de choses de si peu d'importance. Le principal était que sa fille avait fait un beau parti et que les conjoints étaient bien assortis.

Mais à la longue, elle-même commençait à s'inquiéter. Tard un soir, comme elle se trouvait toute seule, et comme il commençait à faire tempête, elle s'inquiéta de nouveau en pensant à sa fille. Tout d'un coup, un bruit se fit entendre à la porte. En ouvrant qu'est-ce qu'elle aperçoit là mais une petite cane noirâtre, qui entre aussitôt sans cérémonie. Elle semblait fatiguée en plus d'être détrempée et vêtue de haillons. La vieille cane prit son balai pour la chasser quand l'étrangère dit, "Maman, tu ne me reconnais donc pas?"

Ah! mais la surprise! La petite cane raconta alors à sa mère comment celle-là l'avait marié à Corbeau, qui s'était peint de chaux pour cacher sa noirceur. Et ces gants qu'il portait toujours, c'était pour cacher ses longues griffes.

La vieille cane prit en main sa fille en essayant de la laver et de la mettre au propre. C'est vrai qu'un peu de noir est parti, mais elle en garda toujours, surtout sur les ailes.

Cette petite cane fut la première d'une lignée de canards gris et ses enfants furent gris comme elle.

Les autres canards cependant furent gentils pour elle, la reprirent parmi eux et bientôt, l'on ne s'occupait plus des circonstances pénibles qui l'avaient fait rentrer chez eux.

ANALYSE STRUCTURALE DES TROIS RECITS

Beaucoup de personnes se sont déjà appliquées à élaborer une méthode d'analyse des récits narratifs et ce à travers le monde et touchant les récits provenant de multiples traditions. Lucille Guilbert dans son article "Le conte populaire et ses approches méthodologiques"¹³ denombre environ une vingtaine de chercheurs qui se sont penchés sur la question.

Puisque cette communication n'est qu'une amorce de recherche et qu'en plus elle touche des genres de récits narratifs provenant de trois traditions différentes, l'analyse structurale sera nécessairement simplifiée. Les récits seront donc examinés selon la structure suivante:

- I. Les Agents
 - A. Le/les acteurs
 - B. Le/la/les réacteurs
- II. La mise en scène
 - A. Le cadre physique
 - B. Le déclenchement
- III. Le dénouement
 - A. La découverte
 - B. Les suites

Une telle schématisation rend plus clair la structure de chaque conte ou légende et fait ressortir aussi les éléments communs entre les trois récits. Puisque le conte amérindien et la légende québécoise sont plus anciens que le conte métis, nous allons les examiner en premier.

Donc, en appliquant le schéma au premier récit, *Le Déluge*, nous voyons, en fait, un plan composé de deux parties quasi-identiques au déroulement enchaîné. Comme agents initiateurs de l'action dans la première partie se trouvent l'épervier, l'émerillon et le canard de France ayant le rôle d'acteurs tandis que Corbeau, lui, a le rôle de réacteur. Dans la deuxième partie, Corbeau devient l'acteur à son tour et les étourneaux, les réacteurs.

La mise en scène se passe dans un cadre naturel dans une période post-crétation où les lois ne sont pas encore fixées. L'orgueil des trois acteurs fournit le déclenchement de l'action.

La deuxième partie se déroule de la même façon que la première. Cette fois-ci, le réacteur de la première partie (Corbeau) devient l'acteur de la deuxième partie et animé par les mêmes sentiments que les premiers acteurs (la rage de son orgueil blessé), il agit sur un troisième réacteur (les étourneaux) avec les mêmes résultats qu'en premier lieu, l'établissement d'un élément nouveau de l'ordre naturel (la couleur noir pour les corbeaux et les étourneaux). Le récit ne porte aucun jugement sur les agissements des initiateurs de l'action même si les suites de leurs faiblesses comprennent des changements profonds à l'ordre établi. Nous allons nous apercevoir que ceci est aussi le rôle dans le conte métis tandis que le contraire paraît dans la légende québécoise.

Cependant, un examen détaillé de cette dernière démontre des éléments en commun avec la pièce amérindienne que nous venons d'analyser. Celle qui suit, *Le Diable Beau Danseur*, introduit en plus, des éléments qui réapparaissent ensuite dans *L'Origine des canards gris*.

En appliquant le schéma déjà proposé à la légende québécoise, nous voyons le Diable (l'acteur) agissant contre José Moreau par le biais de sa fille (les réacteurs). (Cette variation chez les réacteurs sera également présente dans le

récit métis qui suivra). La mise en scène place l'action dans une période d'actualité post-contact selon la description des vêtements portés par le Diable (capot de castor, casque de martre velouté et mocassins brodés en dards de porc-épic). De nouveau, l'orgueil fournit le motif pour déclencher l'action.¹⁴

Dans ce récit cependant et aussi dans le récit métis, un nouvel élément s'ajoute à l'action: la ruse. L'acteur (le Diable) tente d'atteindre son but en se faisant passer pour un personnage autre (le bel étranger) que lui-même. A cause de l'introduction de la ruse, le récit poursuit nécessairement un scénario qui comprend la découverte de la ruse. Aussi, dans ce cas-ci, la religion catholique joue un rôle clé dans l'action: en plus d'ajouter un ton moralisant à l'histoire (le prix de l'orgueil et donc de la désobéissance), elle porte un jugement clair sur les agissements des acteurs. A ce niveau, ce sont les forces surnaturelles du Bien et du Mal qui se disputent par le biais des actions humaines de José Moreau et son entourage. Les forces du Bien mises en branle par l'enfant (l'innocence) et avec l'appui de la religion (l'eau bénite et le signe de la croix) viennent finalement à bout des forces du Mal.

Il est intéressant à noter dans cette version de la légende que le personnage principal (le Diable) porte des vêtements en partie empruntés aux Amérindiens. Dans le récit métis, le personnage principal, Corbeau, emprunte son habillement à l'homme blanc et réussit sa ruse par ce moyen.

Nous avons donc, dans le récit métis, un scénario qui se situe à mi-chemin entre le récit amérindien et la légende québécoise. Dans la troisième pièce, le personnage principal (Corbeau) qui jouait deux rôles dans le récit amérindien, réapparaît dans le récit métis. D'une certaine façon, ce dernier pourrait se greffer au conte amérindien pour en faire un troisième épisode, le dernier, dans un cycle de Corbeau-trompé-devenu-trompeur où il se venge finalement du canard de France qui l'avait noirci dans le premier épisode du cycle.

En examinant les affinités entre le récit métis et la légende québécoise, nous apercevons là matière qui mérite une attention particulière. Parmi les éléments en commun se trouve les suivants:

- l'orgueil comme motif déclencheur de l'action
- la fille à marier
- le bel étranger qui paraît mystérieusement
- les gants qu'il n'enlève jamais
- la séduction de la belle
- la découverte de la ruse
- la communauté bouleversée par l'événement.

Malgré leur présence dans les deux récits, ces éléments ne sont cependant pas identiques quant à leurs effets. C'est précisément au niveau des effets que le conte métis emprunte parfois des détails chez les Amérindiens et d'autres chez les Français. Par exemple, contrairement à la légende québécoise où l'orgueil est présenté comme une transgression religieuse, le conte métis le présente comme un affront à la communauté. Ou encore, la séduction, demeurant une tentative seulement dans la légende québécoise, est réussie dans le conte métis. En plus, le résultat ou les séquels de la transgression et l'attitude de la communauté envers le transgresseur sont très différentes dans les deux récits. Dans les deux cas, l'équilibre de la communauté est changé. Mais tandis que la légende québécoise porte un jugement sévère sur José Moreau comme ayant mérité avertissement du Ciel, le conte métis n'indique aucune sanction contre la mère orgueil-

leuse et la communauté permet, en plus, la réintégration de sa fille malheureuse.

Les différences de comportement entre les personnages de la légende québécoise et le conte métis nous ont amené à songer aux implications sociologiques de ces deux pièces. Certes, en ce qui concerne le conte métis qui nous intéresse, il existe un grand nombre de témoignages sur l'origine et le comportement de ce peuple ce qui nous permet de mettre en parallèle les éléments du conte et les faits historiques.

La troisième partie de cette communication examinera donc le conte métis à la lumière de l'histoire ce qui nous incite à exprimer l'hypothèse que le conte serait, en quelque sorte, une relation de l'origine des Métis.

ANALYSE DES ELEMENTS SYMBOLIQUES AU TROISIEME RECIT

Comme le conte amérindien que nous avons vu en premier, ce récit se présente d'abord comme un conte animalier.

A un autre niveau encore, le récit se présente comme une parabole biblique. Les premières paroles, d'ailleurs, situent les personnages dans un monde utopique, un paradis terrestre. (Il existe cependant des indices que les peuples autochtones considéraient la période avant l'arrivée des Blancs comme un Age d'Or. Le géographe allemand Johann Georg Kohl en a recueilli des témoignages chez les Métis pendant ses voyages autour du Lac Supérieur au milieu du dix-neuvième siècle.)¹⁵

Mais à un troisième niveau, si l'on prend conscience des activités des personnes engagées dans la traite des fourrures, le tout se lit comme une relation de la mésaventure d'une tribu amérindienne au prise avec un Blanc qui se présente chez eux par intérêt commercial.

Le conte adopte un ton scéptique sinon ridiculisant envers la famille qui se croit "bien", ou en d'autres mots "mieux" que leurs prochains. Presque tous les auteurs témoins de la vie à cette époque¹⁶ ainsi que les ouvrages scientifiques de nos jours¹⁷ confirment l'égalitarisme de la société métisse tel qu'exprimé dans ce récit.

L'arrivée de l'étranger fourni plusieurs exemples de la vie sociale chez les Amérindiens (et plus tard chez les Métis). En premier lieu, l'étranger semble s'installer pour quelque temps, car les hôtes tentent de le faire participer à leur vie commune. Les documents historiques indiquent que les Amérindiens ont ainsi accueilli les Européens dans la période de contact. Puisque ces derniers étaient très souvent des commerçants de fourrures, ils demeuraient chez les tribus pendant un certain temps afin de cultiver des liens avec les personnes d'influence, et très fréquemment prennant épouse par le même biais.¹⁸

Donc, dans ce récit, Corbeau, portant des habits du Blanc et profitant de ses connaissances du monde extérieur, s'insinue au sein de la communauté, faisant fie de la méfiance des membres moins crédules.

La cérémonie nuptiale, telle que racontée dans ce récit, est une description fidèle du mariage "à la façon du pays" chez les Amérindiens et les Métis avant l'arrivée des missionnaires.¹⁹ Aucune mention de cérémonie religieuse: le mariage étant arrangé par les parents, les nouveaux époux sont présentés à la communauté au cours d'un festin organisé en leur honneur.

Retenons que le traiteur de fourrures Blanc passait habituellement l'hiver chez les Autochtones et qu'il partait vers son poste au printemps. Les rapports des commis dans ce commerce indiquent d'ailleurs que les femmes, même

enceintes, suivaient souvent leurs maris dans leurs déplacements usuels.²⁰ Il n'est donc pas surprenant de voir, dans le conte, Corbeau repartir avec sa nouvelle épouse.

Il n'était pas inhabituel cependant que les femmes soient souvent abandonnées au moment du retour de leurs maris au pays.¹² Au dix-huitième siècle au moins, la femme privée de soutien de la compagnie pour laquelle travaillait son mari, n'avait d'autre choix que de retourner chez ses parents avec ses enfants.²²

Le conte suivrait le fil d'une telle expérience chez une Amérindienne aux mains d'un Blanc. Dans ce contexte donc, le retour de la fille chez sa mère dans le récit est entièrement prévisible et qu'elle soit, en plus et tel que sousentendu, enceinte à son retour.

Le retour à la maison, du point de vue structural du récit, précipite la découverte de la ruse et ainsi le dénouement à l'action. En contraste avec la légende québécoise qui expose la ruse ouvertement, le conte métis le fait indirectement, de façon couverte: devenue grise elle-même en contact avec Corbeau, la petite cane met au monde, symbol du processus de métissage, des enfants qui ne sont ni de sa couleur d'origine ni de celle de leur père, mais d'une teinte entre les deux.

Finalement, le conte métis, comme le récit amérindien d'une part et en contraste avec la légende québécoise d'autre part, n'indique aucun jugement porté sur un transgressuer aux règles de la société, même quand la société s'en trouve, par le fait-même, profondément changée.

CONCLUSION

Le récit *L'Origine des canards gris* est unique parmi les contes métis que nous avons jusqu'ici recueillis ou entendus. Sans être un conte-type animalier provenant d'une tradition purement amérindienne, ce récit porte néanmoins des indices de l'avoir côtoyée. En même temps, par un habile mélange d'éléments provenant de la tradition française, le récit métis se situe à mi-chemin entre les genres de littérature orale des deux groupes.

Si nous appliquons aux trois récits une structure générale, les affinités et les différences en sont apparentes. Ceci pourrait s'illustrer selon la grille suivante:

	AGENTS	MISE EN SCENE	DENOUEMENT
AMERINDIEN	animaux	la nature	changement de l'ordre naturel
QUEBECOIS	homes	la société humaine	punition d'un membre de la société
METIS	animaux	la nature et la société humaine	changement de l'ordre naturel

Enfin, vu à la lumière des témoignages historiques sur la traite des fourrures, le récit métis dessine un tableau fidèle de cette société depuis ses origines.

A un autre niveau, il semble aussi suggérer que l'Orgueil, dans le cas des Amérindiens, changea à jamais la société tout comme le péché originel, également l'Orgueil, changea la vie des hommes qui suivirent Adam. Le monde du récit métis, bouleversé par la même transgression, se trouve ainsi obligé de faire de la place à un peuple nouveau ayant des affinités aux deux races d'origine. Le récit suggère également que puisque que les effets de la transgression sont irréversibles, il vaut mieux accepter son sort dans un esprit de fraternité.

Une communication comme celle-ci ne peut prétendre à autre chose qu'une mince amorce de recherche sur la littérature orale des Métis. Nous espérons que la recherche viendra ajouter à l'information sur ce sujet, jusqu'ici, trop peu connu.

NOTES

- ** Ces récits existent en anglais seulement avec quelques nominatifs/expressions écrit en français. Les traductions sont de l'auteur. Le terme *récit* est utilisé pour signifier plusieurs genres provenant de la littérature orale, y inclus le mythe et la légende.
- ¹ Archives de la Saskatchewan, Ruth Matheson Buck papers, R-20, II, 4, p. 2.
 - ² L'informaticrice identifie son récit comme étant l'une des histoires que sa mère lui racontait l'hiver. La légende du Diable beau danseur a été publié dans *L'Événement-Journal* à Québec le 2 décembre 1945.
 - ³ Archives nationales du Canada, Correspondance de George Keith à Roderic Mackenzie, le 7 décembre 1808, MG 19, C1, Vol. 51.
 - ⁴ Archives de folklore, Université Laval, études rédigées par Marcel Bélanger, Marcel Dumais, et Rémi Morin entre autres.
 - ⁵ James Le Moine, *The Legends of the St. Lawrence* (Quebec, 1898), 32-34.
 - ⁶ Interview avec William Asikinack, professeur en littérature amérindienne au Saskatchewan Indian Federated College, Regina, Saskatchewan, octobre 1987.
 - ⁷ En français dans le texte.
 - ⁸ *Ibid.*
 - ⁹ Le récit continue en un troisième épisode qui décrit la séparation finale entre l'homme et les animaux. Ceci est provoqué par Corbeau qui possède de la nourriture, mais refuse de la partager. Pire, il se pavane devant les autres qui meurent de faim. Donc, sa réputation de troubleur de la paix s'établit.
 - ¹⁰ Légende de l'Islet, province de Québec, communiquée par le Dr. J.-E.-A. Cloutier et retransmise dans *L'Événement-Journal* de Québec le 2 décembre 1945.
 - ¹¹ Collection personnelle, récit No. 85R-7C0 de l'informaticrice Mlle. Josephine Perron, 69 ans, recueilli à Naicam, Saskatchewan en 1985.
 - ¹² L'informaticrice semble indécise quant à la couleur de ces canards. Elle a communiqué le récit sous forme manuscrite et la page porte des traces d'effacements à l'endroit où elle indique la couleur. Elle écrit *blanc* pardessus l'effacement. Ceci prend de la signification quand l'on se rappelle qu'au premier récit, toutes les espèces étaient blanches au début.
 - ¹³ Dans Lucille Guilbert, "Le conte populaire et ses approches méthodologiques," *Canadian Folklore canadien*, 3, 1 (1981), 16-45.
 - ¹⁴ À première vue, il semblerait que la désobéissance serait le motif principal du déclenchement de l'action, mais un examen plus en détail de la légende nous a convaincu que c'est l'orgueil qui a poussé José Moreau à la désobéissance. Notons, entre autres, les mentions suivantes: sa fierté au retour de Pierre, l'enfant prodigue; la beauté de sa fille; son statut parmi ses voisins etc.
 - ¹⁵ Johann Georg Kohl, *Kitchi-gami: Wanderings Round Lake Superior* (London, 1860), 368.
 - ¹⁶ Le Chevallier, et de Trémaudan ainsi que la plupart des missionnaires colonisateurs sont de cet avis. Ces derniers, d'ailleurs, se plaignent souvent dans leur correspondance à leurs supérieurs qu'ils ont assez de misère à faire accepter aux Métis l'autorité des religieux.
 - ¹⁷ Diane Payment, *Batoche 1870-1910* (St.-Boniface, Manitoba, 1983); Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S. H. Brown, eds., *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg, 1985); Grace Lee Nute, *Documents Relating to the Northwest Missions 1815-1827* (St. Paul, Minnesota, [1941]); Victor F. Valentine, *A Social and Anthropological Study of the Metis Population of Northwestern Saskatchewan: Preliminary Report* (Regina, 1953), entre autres.
 - ¹⁸ George Simpson, *A Journal of Occurrences in The Athabaska Department of George Simpson 1820-1821 and Report*, ed. by E. E. Rich (Toronto, 1938), ainsi que ceux d'autres officiers de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson en fournissent des détails très francs.
 - ¹⁹ Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg, 1980). Van Kirk consacre un chapitre de son ouvrage sur le rôle des femmes dans la traite des fourrures à la question du mariage "à la façon du pays."
 - ²⁰ Daniel Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels* (Toronto, 1904), 93.

²¹ Maximilian, comte de Wied-Neuwied écrit à ce sujet, "La Compagnie (de Pelletries du Missouri) entretient, dans ces divers postes de commerce, une foule d'employés qui épousent, pour le temps de leur séjour, des femmes indiennes qu'ils abandonnent ensuite sans façon, dès qu'ils sont transférés dans quelque autre endroit." *Voyage dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique du Nord, 1832, 1833, 1834*, 3 vols. s.ed, 1840, 1841, 1843, p. 63

²² Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, 49.

Contributors

Donald G. Irvine is a Research Scientist at the Toxicology Research Centre, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Marie-Louise Perron is Staff Archivist with the Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina.

David Smith is a student in the College of Education, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

John Stuart Batts is an Associate Professor of English, University of Ottawa.

Michael Hayden is Professor of History, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

David E. Smith is Professor of Political Studies, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

Glen Makahonuk is a member of the staff of Special Collections, Library, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

George Hoffman is a History and Social Studies teacher in Weyburn, Saskatchewan

Maureen Fox is Staff Archivist with the Saskatoon Archives Board, Saskatoon.

Saskatchewan Archives Board

Staff changes

Colleen Kustaski, for several years a Clerk-Steno in the Saskatoon office of the Saskatchewan Archives Board, will be leaving the staff to meet new challenges in Ontario. Over the years, Miss Kustaski has been responsible for the typing of articles and book reviews printed in *Saskatchewan History*, for maintaining the subscription list and for many hours of proof-reading. While her valuable contributions to the journal will be missed, we wish her well in the future.

Errata

In the last issue of *Saskatchewan History* an error was made in the caption of the photograph on page 79. The spelling of the name should be Miss Edith Shepperd. On page 49, line 12, "on" should read "of"; on page 53, line 11, "agricultural" should be "agriculture," and on page 55, line 3, "unheaval" should be "upheaval." We apologize for these errors and any inconvenience they may have caused.

WORKERS' CONTROL AND SASKATOON WORKERS, 1906-1913

By David Smith

In 1906 Saskatoon was a small prairie town of three thousand people. By 1912 Saskatoon was a growing city of twenty eight thousand. During these years, the city was connected to the national rail network as the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern passed through on their way to the Pacific. Four bridges were built within the city to cross the South Saskatchewan River, two hospitals were put up, and the provincial university was established in Saskatoon.

Such urban amenities as cement sidewalks, drainage, sewer, water and electrical systems were created. At the heart of the city economy rose large warehouses making Saskatoon the major distribution centre for central Saskatchewan's farm economy.¹

The city particularly grew between 1910 and 1912. During these years the city's total tax assessment grew by nearly 350 percent, and the revenue from building permits rose by 1000 percent. The land surrounding the city within a six-mile radius was subdivided into lots in 1910 and the next year the city's boundaries were increased. Some indication of the size of the ill-fated real estate boom can be deduced from the increase in real estate firms. In 1908 Saskatoon had a total of 28; by 1912 this figure had risen to 267. Five years of good crops prompted Quaker Oats Company among others to expand into the city.² This growth was sharply checked, however, by the recession of 1913 when Saskatoon's over reliance on an unstable grain economy and the speculative real estate boom of 1912 were exposed.³

One consequence of the great boom from 1906 to 1912 was the development of an urban working class, with building tradesmen, printers, city workers, and railway shopworkers. This development was soon followed by labour union activity aimed at regulating the workplace for the sake of better wages, working conditions, and job security.⁴ The workplace control exercised by Saskatoon unions can be divided into two categories: control by skilled workers in the primary labour market and control by less skilled workers in the more seasonal and competitive secondary labour market.⁵ This study will concentrate on the Saskatoon Typographical Union (Local 663 of the International Typographical Union) and city electrical engineers and machinists who represent the skilled workers. The secondary labour market to be examined will be the City sewer and street railway workers.

A number of workplace strategies of control were employed by Saskatoon skilled workers such as regulation of hours, wages, apprenticeship, job placements, and the promotion of the union label. The contract agreements of this time tended to place a priority on hours and wages. The other forms of control

were introduced through the administration of the contracts.

One of the first victories of the Saskatoon Typographical Union (STU) was the eight-hour work day. The local struck an eight-hour committee on 5 January 1906 to negotiate with the management of the city's two daily newspapers, the *Phoenix* and the *Capitol*. Management suggested that the current nine-hour day be decreased by fifteen minutes a month until the eight-hour day was reached. This was found to be acceptable by union members.⁶ By 12 May 1906 the eight-hour day was in place.⁷ This time corresponds to the beginning of Saskatoon's boom period mentioned above. This agreement made the typographers one of the first groups of workers in the city to enjoy a shorter work day.

Most Saskatoon workers, skilled and unskilled, worked from nine to eleven hours a day.⁸ A few skilled workers, however, managed to imitate the printers in getting a reduction of the working day. City electrical workers managed to achieve eight hours in January 1913.⁹ Local 227 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers agreed to a nine-hour day with the Masters Painters Association in 1912.¹⁰ In these agreements the question of hours focused more on overtime and holidays where it seems that some concessions were won. The prevalence of hours clauses in skilled workers' agreements also marks them off from the less skilled.

Because Saskatoon's growth was tied to an unstable farm economy, the labour market was subject to abrupt price changes and seasonal employment. This made wage regulation, especially with regards to inflation, a constant concern to all workers. One of the first tasks of the STU was to appoint a scale committee to regulate their piece rate pay. This happened every year in the surviving union minutes from 1906 to 1913. Some years it was done more than once, and even when one of the scales was in effect for a period of three years,¹¹ the committee continued to review it.

From 1906 to 1910 relations between the STU and the employers were good. This is evidenced in the early recognition of the union by the employers and the written contracts which existed between the two. From 1910 on, however, relations were not so smooth. At the 2 July 1910 union meeting it was moved that a wage grievance be referred to the International Typographical Union (ITU). This was also done with individual wage disputes between members and employers.¹² In April of 1911 the manager of the *Saturday Press* notified the union that he wanted to pay the women working in the bindery department by a different system than the rest of the unionized workers. This met with the disapproval of union members.¹³ Since this incident was not mentioned again in the minutes it seems likely the union's will prevailed.

By the 1913 recession, conflict worsened. In May 1913, a newly formed employer's association, led by a Mr. Aikens, notified the union that the wage scale negotiations should go to a board of arbitration. This was rejected by the union and a stalemate ensued. The employers then asked for a thirty day extension of negotiations. The union granted only fifteen days. At the end of the fifteen days the new contract was rejected by the union and the aid of the ITU was called upon.¹⁴ At this point, unfortunately, the union records break off, (nor is there any local press coverage), so there is no indication of how this dispute turned out. The tone of the union minutes suggests that the STU had the upper hand as the employers always came to the union not vice versa. Similar evidence of the importance and patterns of wage bargaining by piece rate can be found for

other skilled trades such as the painters, machinists, and engineers.¹⁵ Again negotiations went more smoothly during the boom period prior to 1913.

Saskatoon's printers also moved to control the supply of skilled labour by stricter control of the union itself. One way this was accomplished was the regulation of union membership. Another was to control the entry of apprentices. Both of these exclusionary practices in combination with a closed-shop policy established the STU as the sole marketer of printers' labour-power in Saskatoon.

Although initiation was waived at the first meeting of the STU on 1 August 1906, the founding members moved that application forms be printed up.¹⁶ This marked the beginning of an escalating exclusion policy by the union. By May of the following year applications were subject to investigation by the Executive Committee.¹⁷

For the next four years examining applications seems to have been a formality. But in August 1910 action was taken to refuse an "O. Miller" membership and the *Phoenix* was asked not to give him any work on the grounds of misrepresentation.¹⁸ Similar action was taken against a "Mr. T. A. Curry" in 1912.¹⁹ By 1911 union membership had increased sufficiently to allow a separate selection committee.²⁰

Besides controlling the intake of union printers the STU moved to regulate its ongoing members' behaviour. In September 1909 fines were levied against truant members who missed union meetings.²¹ A similar policy was adopted for late dues payers. All dues had to be brought up to date before a union card would be granted for the purpose of travelling or transferring membership to another local. This policy led to the suspension of "Bro. Clarke" in 1909.²²

The STU also regulated job positions within the newspaper offices. In March 1911 it came to the union's attention that a card carrying member at the *Capitol* held another printing job. The union deemed this unconstitutional. The offending member, "Mr. Bradford", had to quit one of the positions immediately.²³ By doing this the STU ensured that no union member went without a job while one was available.

A final control strategy peculiar to the skilled trades was the regulation of apprentices. Saskatoon printers were dissatisfied with the city apprenticeship system as early as 1907. In December of that year a regional ITU organiser named Pettipiece spoke to the local in regard to this problem. He stressed that all apprentices must be registered with the union and that only the foremen should have the power to engage or dismiss apprentices.²⁴ This was the beginning of a closed-shop policy in Saskatoon's printing industry. Thereafter, a register of apprentices was kept.

This regulation was soon tested as the *Phoenix* tried to hire an unlimited amount of apprentices. The STU soon stopped this.²⁵ So powerful was the local that the *Star* requested that it be allowed to put an apprentice on the mono-type.²⁶

The printers were not the only skilled trade in Saskatoon to limit entry into the profession by regulating apprenticeship. The City electrical workers had a clause in their bylaw (their work was governed by a municipal bylaw as opposed to a contract) which limited the number of apprentices to half that of journeymen.²⁷ The local machinist union also set journeymen standards in their contract.²⁸

Besides promoting the Union label the main control strategy beyond the workplace was the political lobby. In 1913, for example, the STU learned that the City of Saskatoon was sending its printing business out of the city. The union petitioned against this and received assurances this practice would cease.²⁹ Earlier, in 1908, the STU had lobbied the provincial government about its practice of having school books printed in out-of-province non-union shops.³⁰ A similar protest letter was sent when it discovered the *Encyclopedia Britannica* was printed at non-union shops.³¹

The focus of this lobby activity can be seen as a logical continuation of skilled workers' attempts to control the labour market. First by making themselves the exclusive source of skilled labour in Saskatoon and then trying to dominate the main sources of employment. In the STU's case this meant trying to dominate newspaper, commercial, and government printing.

In looking at semi or unskilled workers in Saskatoon, partial records exist for two groups: the Saskatoon Federal Labour Union, Local 12801 (City Sewer Workers) and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electrical Railway Employees of America, Division 615 (City Street Railway Workers). The strategies these workers used to regulate their workplace, though containing some element of exclusivism, centred more on the immediate issues of wages, safer working conditions, and job security.

Given the seasonal and cyclical unstable nature of Saskatoon's economy, it is not surprising to find wages the priority issue for the city's less skilled workers. When no amicable contract agreement could be reached between the City and the City Sewer Workers, the dispute went to a federal board of conciliation in 1909. This marked the first time that Mackenzie King's Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907 was used in Saskatoon.³²

In the Conciliation Board's fifteen meetings it found wages to be the most contentious issue. The union demanded a five cent per hour raise to twenty-five cents per hour while the City held firm at an offer of twenty-two cents per hour. Although some concessions were made on working conditions the Board suspended the proceedings when no agreement on wages could be reached.³³

Beyond wages, the union tried to get some assurances about conditions. They demanded more cribbing in trench work and, ironically for sewer workers, more adequate sanitation at the job site. The union also wanted a reason to be given in firings and insisted that the province's new Workmen's Compensation Act be applied more fairly.³⁴ For City Sewer Workers control issues focused on the immediate, on wages and conditions.

While many of the City Sewer Workers' demands centred on the dangerous nature of their work, City Street Railway Workers' demands focused on job security based on seniority. Section Three of their agreement with the City of Saskatoon gave a preference of runs to the most senior man in the shop. If the City protested on grounds of incompetence the union would have to agree before the employer could refuse the choice of run. This union veto applied to all defined grievances.³⁵ Seniority in choice of work and a union veto gave the City Street Railway Workers a great deal of power in maintaining job security.

Once past the issue of wages there was a divergence in the strategies of workplace control used by skilled and unskilled workers. The skilled trades of Saskatoon pursued control through the principle of exclusivity. They regulated entry into their profession, the workplace, and even tried to regulate the market

through lobby activity aimed at consumers and governments. By doing so, skilled workers limited employers' labour market power and enhanced their own.

Unskilled workers had no such power. Instead they concentrated on the immediate issues that helped them cope with the inflationary, seasonal, and unstable nature of Saskatoon's economy. City Sewer Workers used the dangerous and unpleasant nature of their work to gain concessions in job safety. City Street Railway Workers used the fact of providing a valuable service to a growing city to gain in the area of job security. Precisely because these workers had no exclusive skill to ensure job security they had to have it explicitly stated in their contracts.

All sectors of Saskatoon's economy expanded between 1906 and 1912, including the creation of a waged working class, some of whom brought trade unionism in their immigrant baggage.³⁶ And, while these founding years marked the emergence of a city business elite, they were also marked by the first challenges of an emerging labour movement.³⁷ This working class challenge manifested itself in the struggle by both skilled and unskilled to control the workplace.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Don Kerr and Stan Hanson, *Saskatoon: The First Half Century* (Edmonton, 1982), 62.

² Bruce Peel, *The Saskatoon Story* (Saskatoon, 1952), 73-74.

³ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁴ Glen Makahonuk, "Labour in a Prairie City", in H. D. Dickinson and R. Russell, eds., *The Politics of Work in the West* (Saskatoon, 1985), 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶ Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Saskatoon Typographical Union No. 663 (STU) Minutes, 5 January 1906.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 12 May 1906.

⁸ Makahonuk, "Labour in a Prairie City", 19.

⁹ SAB, City of Saskatoon, Box 15, Wage Schedules: Agreement with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 3 January 1913.

¹⁰ *Labour Gazette*, Volume XII, 1911-1912, 280-281.

¹¹ SAB, STU Minutes, 1906-1913 *passim*.

¹² *Ibid.*, 2 July 1910.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1 April 1911.

¹⁴ SAB, STU Minutes, 16 June 1913.

¹⁵ SAB, City of Saskatoon Wage Schedules, Box 15.

¹⁶ SAB, STU Minutes, 1 August 1906.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 5 May 1907.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 October 1910.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 6 December 1912.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1 April 1911.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 3 September 1909. See also 3 May 1913.

²² *Ibid.*, April-July 1909.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1 April 1911.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 5 December 1907.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, 1907-1910 *passim*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 27 July 1912.

²⁷ SAB, City of Saskatoon, Box 40, Bylaw 673.

²⁸ SAB, City of Saskatoon, Box 15, Wage Schedules

²⁹ SAB, STU Minutes, 8 March 1913.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 17 August 1908.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 4 February 1911.

³² Makahonuk, "Labour in a Prairie City," 32.

³³ *Labour Gazette*, Volume X, 1909, 455-459.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ SAB, City Saskatoon, Carton 10, 1910-1914, City Clerk Correspondence File. Agreement between Municipal Railway and Amalgamated Association of Street and Railway Employees of America, Division 615.

³⁶ Makahonuk, "Labour in a Prairie City," 38.

³⁷ Kerr and Hanson, *Saskatoon*, 70.

SASKATCHEWAN AND *THE PINK LADY*

By John Stuart Batts

In North America, places and tunes have often had a close relationship in the realms of popular song. Most of us could intone a phrase of "California, Here I Come" or "I left My Heart in San Francisco." However, we may be unable to recall a prairie melody or fathom a link between Saskatchewan and New York's Broadway. After all, cities and areas in the United States rather than in Canada have provided the titles for the "pops" in this century. Notwithstanding the amusing lyricism of William Smith of Swift Current, whose song opens: "Saskatchewan, the land of snow / Where winds are always on the blow, / Where people sit with frozen toes / And why we stay here no one knows," there are in the English-speaking world no Canadian songs as well known as "Pasadena," "The Yellow Rose of Texas," "Carolina Moon," "Beautiful Ohio," "Way Down Yonder in New Orleans," "New York, New York," "Chicago," and many more. To say this is no disparagement to the vigour of songs such as "Let's All Meet in Moose Jaw" in Gwen Pharis Ringwood's play *Mirage*.¹ Generally, if Canada has come into the title, the sense of place is unspecific; think, for example, of "Land of the Silver Birch" or Bobby Gimby's "Can-a-da" or again the older songs/music like "Canadian Capers," "Maple Leaf Rag," "Canadian Sunset," etc. Yet over three generations ago there was briefly an exception and it sang of Saskatchewan.

In the spring of 1911 theatre-goers in the United States began singing a catchy tune with lyrics entitled "The Girl By the Saskatchewan," — the hit song of the musical, *The Pink Lady*, starring Hazel Dawn which ran for 312 performances at New York's New Amsterdam Theatre from mid-April until late July.² The response when *The Pink Lady* opened a year later in London's west end was equally encouraging. It ran for 124 performances at the Globe Theatre, Shaftesbury Avenue, between 11 April and 27 July 1912. "By the Saskatchewan" was recorded on both sides of the Atlantic. It can be found among the "Vocal Gems, Part I" of *The Pink Lady* issued in 1911 by His Majesty's Voice (HMV) and featuring the Victor Light Opera Company with orchestra (C-10032-1). In England, it appeared on Part 2 of a "Selection from *The Pink Lady*" recorded by the Mayfair Orchestra (HMV0685, C-147 No. 5538).³ Not least a part of the fascination of this song is now a non-Canadian writer could come up with the key name "Saskatchewan" and make it such a popular success.

The Pink Lady was a musical comedy based on a French farce and was the result of a collaboration between two established theatre figures of the day, Ivan Caryll and C. M. S. McLellan. It was the biggest musical hit of the season in New York's theatres, running well into the 1911-12 season.⁴ The *New York Times* reviewer suggested that this show achieved a goal that works of the epoch

rarely possessed, namely, that the fun and the songs “developed logically out of its situations” and he went to the unusual lengths of distinguishing between the individual inputs of the composer and the lyricist: “Mr. Caryll’s contribution to the piece is not nearly so great as Mr. McLellan’s. He has written music which has a breezy swing . . . Perhaps the most popular song . . . will be “The Girl By the Saskatchewan” which has a really haunting refrain.”⁵

This pre-Hammerstein-and-Rogers partnership of seventy years ago was the result of an unusual collaboration. The pseudonymous Ivan Caryll (1861-1921) had been born Felix Tilken in Belgium, where he had trained at the Liège Conservatory. Later he studied music in Paris, where one of his teachers had been Camille Saint-Saens. Having tried his hand at writing music for the French stage, he crossed the channel to London to be conductor of the Gaiety Theatre, a house devoted to musicals. There he began adapting French operettas for the English audiences and soon won acclaim for his music in the lighter vein, such as *The Lily of Leoville* (1886), *Little Christopher Columbus* (1893), *The Shop Girl* (1895), *The Gay Parisienne* (1896), *The Circus Girl* (1900), *The Duchess of Dantzic* (1903), *The Toreador* (1903), *The Earl and the Girl* (1904), *The Little Cherub* (1906), and *Our Miss Gibbs* (1909). Caryll was clearly a seasoned theatre man when he settled permanently in the U.S. in 1911, the year of *The Pink Lady*.

Caryll’s partner, C. M. S. McLellan (1865-1916), had used the pen-name “Hugh Morton” in writing the libretti of earlier musicals such as *The Belle of New York* (1901) and *The Girl from Up There* (1901). He wrote both the book and the lyrics for *The Pink Lady* and was praised especially by the anonymous *New York Times* reviewer for approaching closer “to the French vaudeville than any dramatic writers who have made literal translations of the successes of the Nouveantes and the Palais Royal.”⁶ *The Pink Lady*, using the story of the French farce (*Le Satyre*) appears to have been his first collaboration with Caryll, though the two of them subsequently worked together on *Oh! Oh! Delphine* (1912), which was based on another French farce by Georges Berr and Marcel Guillemaud.

However, none of this suggests an obvious link with the Canadian prairies. Nor does the material of the musical appear immediately enlightening, because the setting and plot of *The Pink Lady* are both in the manner of sophisticated French farce, and its local action gives little scope for bringing in references to Canada’s newest province.

The curtain rises to a forest scene in Compiègne, France, where a satyr is reputedly on the loose, stealing hugs and kisses from comely passersby. This is the gossip of all the patrons at “Le Joli Coucou” restaurant. The fragile plot introduces Lucien Garidel, soon to be married to Angèle; at this moment he is taking his former girl-friend, Claudine (the “Pink Lady”), to this restaurant. Calculating on one last fling with his old flame, he is much surprised when Angèle appears there on the arm of another man. The latter pair sing “Love is Divine,” at which point it is left to a third couple of diners to make a comment on the tangled affairs. Désirée and Bébé sing the lyric which is the focus of this article. Their sentiments, expressed in differing ways, are that once you have met a girl by the Seine, it becomes almost impossible to remain true to an old love “by the Saskatchewan.” With Claudine’s arrival at the table, Lucien introduces her to the curious Angèle as “Mme. Dondidier, wife of an antique-furni-

ture dealer." This subterfuge gives the remainder of the lightweight piece what action there is.

Perhaps as it should be, the music casts its charm on the whole affair. The infectious score has been widely praised. And Act One features the key number, "one of the gems of the work,"⁷ a duet "The Girl by the Saskatchewan" sung by Désirée and Bébé, two minor characters, who sing their own words to the melody of both the verses and the chorus. Bébé sings of his dilemma: he's summoned by the belles of Paris, yet he has given his word to remain faithful to the distant and unnamed beloved by the Saskatchewan. Yet the allure of the French maidens is so attractive that he is clearly a man of two minds. The texts follow below:⁸

- Bébé:
1. By the banks of the Seine,
With girls so beautiful,
It gives one pain to remain,
Quite dutiful.
And yet I've sworn by the stars above,
Throughout my life to reserve my love
For a girl by the Saskatchewan;
 2. But the girls by the Seine
All come canoodling,
They're bold and vain,
With a taste for snoodling,
Their lips are red, and their eyes are bright,
And they've got a style that removes from sight,
A girl by the Saskatchewan,
Yes, a girl by the Saskatchewan.

For her own verses, Désirée, siren-like, sings of the need for young people to suppress suffering and to chase enjoyment — a "gather-ye rosebuds" theme to counteract the young man's loyalty to a far-off beloved. She even saucily suggests that sending a telegram of farewell to the Saskatchewan girl might soothe Bébé's qualms:

1. When you live by the Seine,
You suffer awfully,
If you refrain
From enjoying, quite lawfully.
The sweet gay life in a gay, sweet way,
And save your love till you're old and grey,
For a girl by the Saskatchewan,
For a girl on the Saskatchewan.
2. On the banks of the Seine
There's love awaiting you,
To quell the pain,
That's exasperating you,
So skip with joy as you laugh, Ha, ha!
And wire a quick little cool Ta, ta!
To the girl on the Saskatchewan,
To the girl [by] the Saskatchewan.

Both B  b   and D  sir  e sing the refrain, but again to different words. Where B  b   asks that his Saskatchewan love be returned to him while he is still struggling to be true, D  sir  e urges B  b   to abandon his scruples and stop grieving, because whilst he's in Paris he should "stray with me."

B  b  : Flow, river flow / Down to the sea,
 Bright sea, bring my loved one home to me.
 True, dear one, true, / I'm trying hard to be,
 But hear me say
 It's a very long, long way,
 From the banks of the Seine
 For a girl to go and stay,
 By the banks of the Saskatchewan. (chorus)

D  s: Come, faithful one, come stray with me,
 This is springtime up in gay P  ree.
 You need a rest, from your fidelity,
 For hear me say
 It's a very wrong, wrong way,
 When you live on the Seine
 To sit grieving all the day,
 For a girl on the Saskatchewan. (chorus)

The lovers' sentiments are trite enough even in the world of musical comedy. Yet one immediate reflection must surely be: where else can one encounter a link between the Seine and the Saskatchewan? Only in the never-never land of operetta may be answer enough, but this does nothing to explain the lyricist's precise choice of "Saskatchewan" as an identifiable geographical point of reference. Could it be that for the writer this was some way-off Timbuctoo or a Canadian Cockaigne? Puzzlement can only be reinforced, too, when one considers the rhythmical awkwardness occasioned by the polysyllabic "Saskatchewan." Surely the alliterative gain is outweighed by the cumbrousness! Then again there is the forced rhyme of "banks of the Seine" with "Saskatchewan" — unless one supposes a stage pronunciation that would render the province as "Sas-katchew-ayne!" How then can one possibly explain the prominence of the key word in the hit song? What had brought "Saskatchewan" to the pen of McLellan and why had he judged it apposite?

The answers cannot be definitive; indeed, the essential question itself is literary-cum-speculative. Where facts are sketchy rather than sacred, comment is indeed free, so one may surmise. There is no suggestion that the author had seen either branch of the Saskatchewan River or that he possessed any personal knowledge of the Prairies. The only certainty is that B  b  , visiting near Paris, has a girl who lives on the banks of the Saskatchewan and for whom he feels a loyalty now being tested by D  sir  e's blandishments. However, it is tempting to see implied values behind the contrast. If one gives way to the fancy, the paradigm may run along such lines as these: Paris/France is the home of all that's dazzlingly naughty but nice, pretty girls, lovers and mistresses, sophisticated living, scintillating Springtime with breezes whispering of Louises, the glamour of the Follies and the Moulin Rouge, of blissful, stolen weekends among settings of architectural grandeur, etc. By comparison, perhaps, the banks of the Saskatchewan possess either none or the opposite of the foregoing

qualities: it is the wilderness repository of straightforward, homespun values and behaviour, uncultivated and uncultured, even if untouched by folly or Follies.

If such notions of contrast for the song's context are no more than whimsical, a more mundane reflection might be that McLellan, a professional wordsmith if not a poet, had somewhere encountered the name "Saskatchewan" and liked it. It has a ring to it, even if both denotation and connotations are unknown. One does not need to postulate immediately that he had read about the Barr colony or that he was particularly aware of the founding of the new province in September 1905, for the name had been used for a generation prior to that as an administrative district of the North-West Territory.⁹

The obvious possibility for clues is the source for the musical, the French farce, *Le Satyre*.¹⁰ As in *The Pink Lady*, the action of tangled loves and confused identities is set in the forest of Compiègne. Beyond that, however, little enough is to be found. There are but two references of consequences and both are tangential. The French writers use the word "Canada" in Act I, Scene vi and in Act Three, Scene xix. The first context requires some explanation: two friends, Verdousier and D'Esplanonville, have accompanied Raymonde Garidel to Vieuxmoulin, where she searches for her husband. Lucien Garidel had left Paris that morning on his bicycle ostensibly to visit his friend Cornailles; but D'Esplanonville is of the opinion that Cornailles does not exist and that Lucien is a philanderer who persistently deceives his wife. Not that he himself is an objective judge of motive, for he has invited Raymonde to be his mistress; but the latter has stated that she will not take a lover until she is certain that Lucien has cheated her. Now the trio have tracked the supposed womaniser to an auberge, where Lucien had briefly appeared that morning and ordered a late lunch for two at 1:30. Whilst preparing to mask themselves and to identify (if possible) Lucien's bicycle, which has been left somewhere nearby whilst its owner supposedly walks in the forest, Verdousier reflects on his own love, Gisèle de Malpertuis, for whose hand he had asked when her parents were about to leave for Canada. The young pair had agreed to marry on her return, but Gisèle's parents had been detained, then had become infirm, and Gisèle will not leave them. D'Esplanonville enquires if Verdousier had thought of joining her abroad, but the hapless swain explains that he cannot travel over sea and reflects stochically that this very day he has reached his 35th birthday. Immediately thereafter Lucien Gardiel is seen entering the inn and major interests take over (I-vi). The usual escapades of farce dominate until at the climax, while Lucien is trying to discover the identity of his wife's lover, his suspicion falls on Verdousier. The arrival of a cryptic telegram from Gisèle in Canada (III-xix) aids somewhat in the finale of revelation and reconciliation. Perhaps no more needs to be said; the suggestions in *Le Satyre* of a beloved across the seas gives no hint of Saskatchewan.

Le Satyre had been presented for the first time at the Palais-Royal Theatre in Paris on 4 December 1907, but no published edition seems to have appeared before *The Pink Lady* made its debut. There is no question that McLellan was using the material of Berr and Guillemaud's farce, but on the specific point of "Saskatchewan," no indebtedness is to be traced.

Two extreme possibilities may be considered. At the very worst perhaps McLellan was no more than the humblest journeyman scribbler of lyrics who might pick up words or phrases with no more than a jackdaw's discrimination. If

such is the case, then one might be left with the uncomfortable feeling that the *Pink Lady's* use of Saskatchewan is on a par with the Universal Pictures' post-war feature film about the Prairies, *Saskatchewan* — in which, so the story goes, the exteriors were shot in the Canadian Rockies!¹¹ At the other extreme it may be that for McLellan "Saskatchewan" had a poetic ring, a resonance that served better than simply an absent love in Canada. And many points between such extremes may have equal claim. Nonetheless, one may even wish to believe that the key word inspired both the lyricist and musician Caryll to excel themselves and write a song of exceptional attractiveness.

Today we may have forgotten that on account of this musical, pink became the prevailing style in women's clothes in 1911.¹² At best only an older generation may be able to hum the haunting melody of the "Pink Lady Waltz." Regardless of just how it came about, it is worth considering, especially on the Prairies and in an age of "heavy metal," that there once was a time when "On the Saskatchewan" seemed to be on everyone's lips.¹³

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Gwen Pharis Ringwood, *Mirage, The Collected Plays of Gwen Pharis Ringwood*, ed. Enid Delgatty Rutland (Ottawa, 1981). Having attended the premier of this play at the Greystone Theatre, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, in May 1979, I can attest to the impress of that song, even though the published text of the musical does not include "Let's All Meet at Moose Jaw." A book-length study of the dramatist refers to this play as a "musical;" see Geraldine Anthony, *G. P. Ringwood*, Twayne's World Author Series 602 (Boston, 1981), 177.
- ² *The Pink Lady, A Musical Comedy in Three Acts*, book and lyrics by C. M. S. McLellan, music by Ivan Caryll (London, [1912]). In New York this musical was produced by Marc Klaw and Abraham Erlanger; Herbert Gresham staged it and Julian Mitchell was credited with the staging of the musical numbers. For some details of its impact from 13 March 1911 onwards, see David Ewen, *The Complete Book of the American Musical Theatre* (New York, 1958), 51; and Gerald Bordman, *The American Musical Theatre, A Chronicle* (New York, 1978), 264.
- ³ *The London Stage, 1910-1919: a Calendar of Plays and Players: vo. I*, comp. J. P. Wearing (Metuchen, N.J., 1982), 224-25, gives some details of the London production. Also see *London Musical Shows on Record: 1897-1976*, comp. Brian Rust with Rex Burnnett (London, 1977), 220.
- ⁴ Bordman, *American Musical Theatre*, 264.
- ⁵ *New York Times Theatre Review* (14 March 1911), 11:2.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ J. Walker McSpadden, *Light Opera and Musical Comedy* (New York, 1936), 238.
- ⁸ "By the Saskatchewan" (*The Pink Lady*) was separately published (New York, 1910). This particular song, in the key of D Major, is written in common time; the sprightly movement of the verse, characterized by dotted eighth notes, gives way to a more flowing melodic line and a stately rhythm in the chorus. "Saskatchewan" is always pronounced as four syllables. In the piano score, *Selections from the Musical The Pink Lady*, selected and arranged for the pianoforte by H. M. Higgs (London: MCMXII), 6-8, this number appears in the key of E^b major.
- ⁹ In 1903 Revd. Issac M. Barr (1847?-1937) brought some colonists from England to settle near what was to become the Alberta/Saskatchewan border.
- ¹⁰ Georges Berr and Marcel Guillemaud, *Le Satyre: Pièce en trois actes* (Paris, 1913). I should like to acknowledge the help of Northwestern University Library, Illinois, who kindly sent me their copy of this rare book.
- ¹¹ *Saskatchewan* (1954) was a film by Hollywood's Universal Pictures and starred Allan Ladd and Shelly Winters.
- ¹² Peter Gammond and Peter Clayton, *A Guide to Popular Music* (London, 1960), 41.
- ¹³ I am indebted to the late Allan Anderson of Winnipeg and Ottawa, a former diplomat and musical enthusiast, who knew this song well, presented me with his copy, and first set me puzzling over its origins.

BOOK REVIEWS

DISCOVERING SASKATCHEWAN FOLKLORE, THREE CASE STUDIES.
By Michael Taft. Edmonton: NeWest Press, n.d.

This short book begins with two introductory chapters on the nature of folklore and Saskatchewan folklore respectively. There follow three chapters that are the case studies. The final chapter is a very short conclusion that sums up the author's "folkloristic" classification of the three case studies.

The first introductory chapter will be of use to those who know nothing about the formal study of folklore and who wish to understand the methods of academic folklorists. The second introductory chapter contains bits and pieces of Saskatchewan folklore that may be of interest to those just beginning a study of the subject.

The three case studies are most interesting for what they tell, rather than for how the author categorizes. The categorization tends to be dull, repetitive of the introduction and somewhat patronizing of the reader. A pleasant feature of the second and third case studies is the photographs that are included.

The first of the three case studies is the account of an evening of informal storytelling in a rural home near Borden. The stories the people tell are interesting — especially for anyone who wishes to know about day to day life in that area of Saskatchewan in the first half of the twentieth century. The author's conclusion is that such story sessions keep traditions alive and keep a community united.

The second case study is a fascinating attempt to uncover the levels of meaning of the annual pilgrimage to the shrine dedicated to The Blessed Virgin under the title of Our Lady of Lourdes at St. Laurent. Since the author interviewed only Indian and Metis pilgrims the reasons for the participation of other groups remains obscured. This is a matter that deserves further study.

The final case study is the account of the lace making activities of the Buydens family of Hudson Bay, Saskatchewan. The story of the family is presented largely in their own words and the reader obtains a feeling for the spirit of the family and its desire to maintain its Belgian tradition.

When all is said and done, the reader of this book has obtained some information on the lives of a few of the ordinary people of Saskatchewan along with an introduction to the formal study of folklore. The two aspects are not well melded. The book would have had more meaning if it had contained many more examples of Saskatchewan folklore.

Michael Hayden

SASKATOON'S ELECTRIC TRANSIT: THE STORY OF SASKATOON'S STREETCARS AND TROLLEY BUSES. BY Easten Wayman. Hawkesbury, Ontario: Railfare Enterprises Ltd., 1988. Pp. 96. \$24.95 (available in Saskatchewan from Saskatoon Transit, 301-24th Street West, Saskatoon, Sask. S7L 6R8).

Some day, after the greater mysteries of the world are revealed, some one might like to explain the fascination the streetcar holds for a minority of men

throughout the world. The peculiar charm of traction is limited to males (as a former member of the Streetcar Club of North American, this writer can at no time recall exchanging photographs of rolling stock with a female), while it is international in appeal, as evidenced by street railway societies in Western Europe, the United States, South America and Japan. Why this should be so, and why vehicles that run on rails or are attached to overhead wires should command more interest than, say, gasoline or diesel powered buses is curious. Psychologists and sociologists no doubt could offer answers, although it may be no more than a phenomenon destined to disappear, an interest of the "over-40s" who remember the streetcar but who are themselves in decline. The continuing enthusiasm for steam locomotives on the part of the young, however, suggests a different conclusion: lack of familiarity breeds strong interest in transportation relics. These are matters the work under review wisely does not ask, let alone attempt to answer, which is probably just as well since they would detract from what is an engaging pictorial and historical investigation of Saskatoon's sixty-year acquaintance with its streetcars and trolley buses.

Easten Wayman's affectionate account of Saskatoon's electric transit is deceptive, for among the hundreds of black and white and color plates of rolling stock photographed on city streets long ago, there is much hard information. Out of that detail several key points emerge. From the inauguration of the street railway on January 1, 1913 until the last run of the trolley coaches on May 10, 1974, the original routes (Mayfair-University, Pleasant Hill-Exhibition, 7th Avenue-19th Street — later extended to Avenue H) changed relatively little. Short extensions occasionally were made but compared to the proliferation of bus routes into the city's new suburbs in recent years, the streetcar lines appeared immutable. Moreover, except for the Sutherland line (1913-36), Saskatoon's streetcars did not venture far beyond the city limits. It would be hard to say of Saskatoon, as S. B. Warner in his pioneering work *Streetcar Suburbs* said of the growth of Boston, Massachusetts: "The structural patterns of the new suburbs were largely determined by the streetcars." Mr. Wayman does say that "the growth of the city after 1913 could be traced simply by following the streetcar tracks. Ninety percent of the population of Saskatoon lived within a quarter mile of a streetcar line." In other words, there was plenty of space to fill within the city without extending beyond it. The difference between Saskatoon and Boston, or any other older city in a longer-settled area lay in Saskatoon's absolute newness; rather than allowing the population to distribute itself over a larger area and to make rural or quasi-rural living possible for the urban worker, Saskatoon's electric transit routes pulled the city together. Always, the focus was the downtown core. Indeed, one of the arguments against a belt-line (for example, along 2nd Avenue, 25th Street, Clarence Avenue, 8th Street, Broadway, the Traffic Bridge and 2nd Avenue again) was the centrifugal effect it would have on traffic since it would require stub lines to feed into it. Rather than lead the city's development, Saskatoon's street railway appears to have followed the urban growth that had already occurred. Thus, the author notes: "Growth of the North Park and Pleasant Hill districts resulted in the need for route extension." The relationship between the pattern of the city's growth and its transit system, particularly when that system was municipally-owned from the outset, is a subject that needs study. Mr. Wayman has nothing to say about this matter but

has made a contribution by implicitly noting the signal importance of the original streetcar lines to Saskatoon's development.

The central subject of the volume (in photographs and text) is the rolling stock. Between 1913 and November 1971, when the last streetcars were replaced by trolley coaches, the Saskatoon Municipal Railway (it was renamed the Saskatoon Transit System in 1949) operated a variety of cars over its lines. Two of the first three purchases were of U.S. origin (the St. Louis and Carolina cars), while the last purchase, in 1941 from the London Street Railway, was composed of five Peter Witt-type cars manufactured in Cincinnati. In the interval cars built in Preston, Ottawa and Hamilton were acquired. The variety of rolling stock and the different Canadian companies who supplied some of them indicate a more diversified and competitive market for urban transit in the early decades of the century than is seen today when the work-horse of almost every Canadian city's transit system is the diesel bus built by General Motors.

It is clear that Mr. Wayman considers the story of the streetcars in Saskatoon a successful chapter in the history of the city's municipal transit, and from the evidence he presents there is every reason to agree with him. In 1934, a three-man commission investigated the organization and operation of the system; in addition to finding the system sound, the commission also compared its operation to that in other prairie cities. On such measures as population per track mile and car miles per car hour, the Saskatoon system led those of the other cities. Wayman says that part of the credit for the record of sound performance must go to men like George Archibald, who served as superintendent of the street railway from 1915 to 1947. Despite his identification with the streetcars, it was Archibald who, as early as 1938, became convinced that streetcars "in small urban centres were uneconomical and unpopular, and their future seemed doomed." Following the Second World War he set about modernizing the system by gradually replacing each streetcar line with either trolley or motor buses.

In the era before mass automobile ownership, people in urban areas depended upon public transit, and that meant the streetcar. All members of the family used it, including dad. While the statistics are not easy to find, I suspect far fewer men ride public transit today, favouring instead the car, and this may be one reason some men at least have a sentimental attachment to the streetcar.

David E. Smith

EMPORIUM OF THE NORTH: FORT CHIPEWYAN AND THE FUR TRADE TO 1835. By James Parker. Regina: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism/Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1987. Pp. viii-208. Illustrations. \$15.00.

Fur trade historiography has had many important contributions from such authors as H. A. Innis, E. E. Rich, A. S. Morton, A. J. Ray, Jennifer Brown and Sylvia Van Kirk, as Patricia A. Myers explains in her article "The Literature of the Fur Trade History Since 1967." James Parker's *Emporium of the North*, according to historian Dr. L. G. Thomas, is another valuable contribution even though it first appeared as a University of Alberta M.A. thesis in 1967.

Emporium of the North is an examination of the social history of Fort

Chipewyan on Lake Athabasca from its establishment in 1788, when Peter Pond first entered the area, to 1835 when the rivalry between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company had been finally resolved in the latter's favour. Fort Chipewyan was not only the headquarters of both fur trade companies but also the first European settlement in Alberta. It became a vital base of operations for explorers Alexander MacKenzie, John Franklin, George Back and John Richardson. Thus the Fort itself became, as Alexander Mackenzie termed it, the "Emporium of the North"; hence the title.

Parker's approach to his study is more descriptive than analytical. This is clearly seen in the opening chapters which not only trace the various locations of the Fort but also describe the methods of constructing it. In short, the Fort was located on a prime fur area and built in an utilitarian fashion with few material comforts.

The same descriptive procedure is followed in his account of the problems associated with transportation and the supply of provisions. The latter problem was solved by the improvements made in fishing and hunting techniques, the raising of garden produce and an agreement with the Indians to supply pemmican. The transportation problem was solved when George Simpson became governor of the Northern Department in 1821 and decided to replace canoes with York boats which were more durable and could carry more cargo with less crew than the canoes.

The most interesting section of *Emporium of the North* is the description of the men who served the Fort, their living and working conditions, their relationship with Indian women and their wages. Unfortunately Parker's brief description of conditions provides little analysis of the social relations of production in the fur trade. His thesis is confined to the relations of exchange between the two major Indian peoples — the Cree and the Chipewyan — and the two fur companies until their merger in 1821, when a monopoly was reestablished under the Hudson's Bay Company. Parker does not discuss the fur trade economy in terms of a class relationship or labour relations system. Historians like Grace Lee Nute have noted the importance of the "class consciousness" of the voyageurs, especially in their relationship with the bourgeoisie. Most voyageurs and labourers were subjected to a harsh and cruel management which tried to extract the most work for the lowest possible wage.

Parker also has failed to use labour economic studies like H. C. Pentland's Ph.D. thesis, completed in 1960, in order to obtain a better understanding of the makeup of the labour market, its operation, and the buying and selling of labour power in the period 1650 to 1860. In fact, Parker's detailed tables of the Athabasca wage scheme, which include a useful explanation of the types of currency and their conversion values, do not explain how the market operated, especially in light of the prevailing economic thought of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776). George Simpson was well aware of the market and "the exorbitant wages" that servants could negotiate from the Company. In his *Athabasca Journal* Simpson notes that the contracts of both officers and men should be renewed when the labour market was working to the advantage of the Company.

It is also somewhat surprising that Parker does not mention that the conflict over wages sometimes resulted in a strike or mutiny. For example, in 1794 the voyageurs at Rainy Lake carried out a strike for higher wages.

Although the strike was defeated, it nevertheless indicated that the voyageurs were prepared to take action to rectify a perceived injustice.

To say that Parker's study "has stood the test of time", as L. G. Thomas claims, is somewhat premature, especially when considering some of the recent, excellent studies that have been published on the social history of the fur trade. Most of these studies, as Patricia Myers points out in her historiographical essay, have gone far in developing new interpretations and methodologies in the writing of fur trade history. The works of Jennifer Brown and Sylvia Van Kirk on women in the fur trade and Carol M. Judd and John Nicks on the labour force would have contributed to a better analysis of the social history of Fort Chipewyan. Nevertheless, *Emporium of the North*, with its interesting array of maps and illustrations of trade items and traders, can be considered an important source for students of the fur trade and western Canada.

Glen Makahonuk

TOMMY DOUGLAS: THE ROAD TO JERUSALEM. By Thomas H. McLeod and Ian McLeod. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1987. Pp. 341. \$24.95

Few Canadians need convincing that Tommy Douglas was not an ordinary politician. It is clear as well that scholars and journalists realize his significance. No less than four books already have been published on all or parts of Douglas' remarkable career.¹ The latest of these is *Tommy Douglas: The Road to Jerusalem* by Thomas McLeod, a former associate of Douglas, and his son, Ian McLeod, a political journalist.

The book concerns Tommy Douglas' life and times: his labour roots in Scotland, the early years in Winnipeg, the time at Brandon College, his Baptist ministry in Weyburn during the depths of the depression, the founding of the Farmer-Labour party and the CCF, his role as an M.P. after 1935, the 1944 Saskatchewan election, the Douglas administration after 1944, medicare, his selection as national leader of the New Democratic party, the great Waffle debate, and his last years inside parliament and out. All of this is told in an engaging manner, and the result is the best overall study of Douglas to date.

Some parts of the book are especially interesting. Chapter 10, "Return to the Prairies," is a convincing explanation of Douglas' challenge to George Williams' leadership of the Saskatchewan CCF. It is based on research in the CCF papers and it is the best published version of that significant part of CCF history. Chapter 17, "Planning for Development," is an account of the role of the Economic Advisory and Planning Board set up by the Douglas government after 1944. Tom McLeod was secretary of the planning board and parts of the chapter read as a memoir of those heady days. Chapter 21, "New Start, False Start?" describes the beginning of the New Democratic party. Here the authors clearly sympathize with Douglas and not with David Lewis, Stanley Knowles, and the union leadership. We are left with the impression that Douglas had

¹ Besides the book under review, these include: Doris French Schackleton, *Tommy Douglas* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1975); L. D. Lovick (ed.), *Tommy Douglas Speaks* (Lantzville, British Columbia: Oolichan Books, 1979); Lewis H. Thomas (ed.), *The Making of A Socialist: The Recollections of T. C. Douglas* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1982).

reservations about the new party and had surprisingly little influence on the party's formation.

It was social gospel that brought Tommy Douglas to politics. The authors, as the subtitle of the book indicates, recognize that and emphasize its importance in Douglas' thought. They contend that to the end "his roots remained firmly in the social gospel" (p. 304) and mention that during his last years he was encouraged by the resurgence of social activism in the churches, particularly in the Catholic Church which often had been a bitter foe of the early CCF. One cannot doubt the importance of the social gospel in Douglas' career, but some questions remain unanswered and more detail is required. What exactly was the theology of this social gospel advocate who began his ministry at a time when much of the strength of the old social gospel had faded? Did Douglas move beyond the social gospel, and was he influenced by the greater realism of the Christian Left of the 1930's? Did the religious issues of the 1949's, the 1950's, the 1960's remain relevant to him and influence his outlook?

Some parts of the book are disappointing. The chapter on medicare, surely an important part of any book on Tommy Douglas, contains an adequate summary of events but is not based on extensive research in the available primary sources. The result is an account which offers little that is not already well-known.

It is also unfortunate that the McLeods did not attempt a more in-depth portrayal of the private Douglas. They are content to describe him as a simple, humble, unassuming person. Yet they point out that in 1927 as a young student minister in Carberry, Manitoba, Douglas attracted crowds to his services by dramatizing the Book of Esther in place of a sermon and by advertising his sermon topics (one topic was "The Woman who was a Hustler in the Church") in the local paper. And by 1932, less than two years after arriving in Weyburn, Douglas was not only the local Baptist minister, but also was president of the Weyburn Independent Labour party, was writing a Master's thesis, had established a relief depot in his church, had started a boys' club, was a member of a service club, was teaching a course in Economics (which he had produced from his own university texts) to students who could not afford to go away to university, was directing and playing a leading role in a drama production and was preaching on Sunday afternoons at rural points which had no resident minister.

This suggests an imaginative, ambitious man, with a great capacity for work, dedicated to his church and community. It also suggests an out-going personality, an uncommon boldness, a certain cockiness. These traits remained characteristic of Douglas. They help to explain his great political skills, his courage at the time of the medicare crisis, and his unbelievable boldness during the October Crisis. They might also explain Douglas' embarrassing arrangement with Social Credit during the 1935 election and his unwise decision in 1959 to debate Ross Thatcher in Mossbank.

From his days as a student leader at Brandon College to his harsh attacks on the multinational oil companies as NDP energy critic in the 1970's, Tommy Douglas cannot easily be described as a simple and humble man. Like most public figures, he was a complex individual. That, of course, does not detract from his greatness.

George Hoffman

UNDERSTANDING WESTERN CANADA'S DOMINION LAND SURVEY SYSTEM. By Robert B. McKercher and Bertram Wolfe. Saskatoon: Division of Extension and Community Relations, University of Saskatchewan, 1986. Pp 26. Illustrations. \$5.00

This is a comprehensive and interesting publication on what might be thought to be a rather dull topic — the system used for the survey of Dominion land in western Canada. Those who live in western Canada are familiar with the basic terms of the survey, such as township, range and meridian, although smaller units like legal subdivisions might not be generally understood.

All residents of the prairie provinces are probably well acquainted with grid roads, and might have wondered why such roads seem to be more widely spaced in some areas than in others. Jogs and correction lines are taken for granted, but perhaps not appreciated as the manifestation of the reconciliation of a regular one mile square grid with a curved surface. This little book explains it all.

The text proceeds from the general to the specific, from the basic global geographic grid of parallels and meridians to the use of the same grid as east-west and north-south reference points for the survey.

Townships, sections, quarter-sections, legal subdivisions and quarters of legal subdivisions are explained with meticulous care, and no possible question is left unanswered. The logic of the reconciliation between converging meridians and a grid which required that all townships and subdivisions thereof would be equal in area, and the achievement of this requirement by correction lines and (inevitably) disappearing sections with distance north of the east-west base line, is explained clearly. The reasoning behind the positioning of survey markers (monuments) is also given.

Exceptions to the survey, for example, river lots and the land around Hudson's Bay posts, are touched upon, as is the theoretical allocation of sections within a model township. The mystery of why some townships have a more closely spaced internal road system is explained as a function of the slight differences between successive surveys undertaken as the total area under survey was extended westward. Each of the western provinces is dealt with separately when the differences between the surveys is discussed.

This publication is carefully written and very readable. One could give it to an interested student of Grade 6 upward, and any adult who needs to understand the survey could not do better than to become familiar with its contents. A useful summary in tabular form of some of the most essential information appears on the last page.

The graphics are good and are a valuable reinforcement of the text; the one aerial photograph is a living map illustrating many of the features of the survey.

The book ends rather abruptly with the end of the subject matter. Perhaps a final paragraph is not necessary in a publication of this kind; however, it could be the only book on the subject which many people will ever read, and I would have liked it to close with some acknowledgment of the magnitude of the undertaking, and the ingenuity with which it was carried out. After all, if one is able to locate a piece of land only 10 acres in extent by the use of a sequence of 18 characters — for example SW LS10-NE5-26-17 W3 — within a surveyed area of thousands of square miles, this is indeed an achievement.

Maureen Fox

AVAILABLE FOR PURCHASE FROM THE SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES BOARD

DIRECTORIES:

SASKATCHEWAN EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE DIRECTORY, 1905-1970.	\$ 3.00
SASKATCHEWAN EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE DIRECTORY SUPPLEMENT, 1964-1977.	\$ 3.00
DIRECTORY OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND FEDERAL ELECTIONS FOR THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES AND SASKATCHEWAN, 1887-1966.	\$ 1.50

SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY:

Vol. I, No. 1; Vol. VIII, Nos. 2 & 3; Vol. IX, No. 3; Vol. XI, Nos. 1 & 3; Vols. XII - XIV (3 issues each); Vol. XV, Nos. 2 & 3; Vols. XVI and XVII (3 issues each); Vol. XVIII, Nos. 2 & 3; Vol. XIX, No. 3; Vol. XX (3 issues); Vol. XXI, Nos. 1 & 2.	\$ 1.00 per issue
Vol. XXVI, No. 3; Vol. XXVII (3 issues); Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 2 & 3; Vol. XXXIX (3 issues), Vol. XXX (3 issues); Vol. XXXI (3 issues).	\$ 1.50 per issue
Vols. XXXII and XXXIII (3 issues each).	\$ 2.00 per issue
Vols. XXXIV - XXXVII (3 issues each).	\$ 2.50 per issue
Vols. XXXVIII and XXXIX (3 issues each).	\$ 3.50 per issue
Vol. XL, Nos. 1 & 2.	\$ 3.50 per issue
Cost of back issues to Volume XL, Number 2.	\$123.50
SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY INDEX, 1948-1977.	\$ 3.50
SASKATCHEWAN HISTORY subscription for 3 issues.	\$ 9.00

SASKATCHEWAN ARCHIVES REFERENCE SERIES:

1. GUIDE DE SOURCES HISTORIQUES DE FRANCOPHONES AUX ARCHIVES DE LA SASKATCHEWAN.	\$ 6.00
2. EXPLORING FAMILY HISTORY IN SASKATCHEWAN.	\$ 3.00
3. EXPLORING LOCAL HISTORY IN SASKATCHEWAN.	\$ 4.00
4. HISTORICAL DIRECTORY OF SASKATCHEWAN NEWSPAPERS, 1878-1983.	\$ 4.00
5. COMMUNITY AS CLASSROOM: A TEACHER'S PRACTICAL GUIDE TO ORAL HISTORY.	\$ 3.00
6. CARING FOR OUR PAST: DOCUMENTING SASKATCHEWAN'S MULTICULTURAL HERITAGE CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS, 1985.	\$ 5.00
THE SASKATCHEWAN ORAL HISTORY CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS, 1981.	\$ 3.00

Send to: Saskatchewan Archives Board
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
S7N 0W0



Saskatchewan
Archives
Board