Prairie Fiction: Life on the Bibliographical Frontier

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The Day I Set Prairie Fiction Back Five Years

In the spring of 1970, while viewing a centennial exhibit in the Winnipeg Art Gallery entitled '150 Years of Art in Manitoba,' I was startled by two pictures which changed my way of looking at prairie fiction. One was Paul Kane's 'Red River Settlement,' dating from 1848, the other a photograph of the same area taken by H.L. Hime at about the same time.¹ I was struck by the contrast between the starkness of the photograph and the relative lushness of Kane's painting: the foliage, the gracefully aged fences, the mellow tones, the brownish tint of the sky. As Charles W. Jeffreys said of Kane's prairie scenes, 'The topography may be North American but the atmosphere, both physical and mental, which bathes the scene is essentially European.'² Kane's training in Ontario and in Europe had inclined him to paint in this style, but also to perceive landscape in somewhat the same way. As he says in his *Wanderings of an Artist*, the Red River Prairie had for him 'the appearance of the cultivated farms of the old country.'³ Evidently Kane's habits of perception worked to obscure the particularity of the unfamiliar landscape.

Parallels between the painter's relation to his subject and the novelist's were hard to escape, though equally hard to define. Together the pictures drew my attention sharply to the fact that prairie fiction in English is also the story of an essentially European culture imposing itself on a very un-European landscape. That could be said, of course, of any area in the New World, but it struck me that the Canadian prairie represented an extreme case. The landscape and necessary way of life were more strange and different to the settlers than the forests of Upper Canada could ever have been, no matter how forbidding those may have seemed. Kane's painting would not have looked so odd in early Ontario. I was convinced that an understanding of the peculiar tensions and incongruities between the old culture and the new land was especially vital to a full understanding of prairie fiction.

To me this realization suggests the need for regional study of the fiction, not as the only approach to it but as one valid way of placing the novels in a context which reveals their meaning. As the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure says, 'all meaning is contextual,' and prairie fiction, like any litera-

ture, can fruitfully be examined in a number of other literary contexts: historical, generic, mythic, rhetorical, etc. What the regional context provides is a certain narrow intensity of scrutiny and at the same time an opportunity to go beyond fiction to the extra-literary context. It therefore demands of the critic who will comment upon the central works a much more comprehensive knowledge of the secondary, the peripheral, and the sub-literary, as well as of the history, geography, art, and general culture of the region. Regional studies inevitably become cross-disciplinary.

It may, at last, be apparent why I am making this appeal to bibliographers. One of the chief failures of the study of prairie fiction has been that most of the commentary has confined itself to recent novels and a handful of reprints. Malcolm Ross and Jack McClelland, with their New Canadian Library series, have done an admirable job of getting Canadian literature into the classroom, but they may inadvertently have led the critics to an unbalanced view of Canadian fiction. Too much of the criticism about prairie fiction at least, even when it has presumed to make regional generalization (and here I cannot exclude my own), has been done in relative ignorance of the literary, historical, and cultural context. The first step in curing our ignorance is to have regional bibliographies which facilitate all the other basic scholarship, and preferably bibliographies specially designed for particular disciplines. For the bibliographer this may to some extent involve sacrificing the rigours of his craft and attempting to second-guess the user – discovering, for example, what information the literary scholar will be looking for and in what form he will find it most readily usable.

I cannot presume to speak for all students of prairie fiction, but let us assume for the moment that I am typical. I would first want to know what prairie fiction consists of, what the basic author-title list would be, and already there are problems. The list will depend on whether prairie fiction is fiction written about the prairie, on the prairie, or by prairie people. For certain studies of cultural influence only the second or third definitions will do, but I think the setting provides the most generally serviceable definition. It keeps the emphasis on the region; it includes all the early work by travellers and colonists, and it does define. We may not always be able to tell where a novel was written, or to agree about whether a writer qualifies as a prairie person. If we use the first definition, almost half of the basic list can be found in Bruce Peel's monumental work, *A Bibliography of the Prairie Provinces to 1953*. Some additional titles can be found in R.E. Watters' *A Checklist of Canadian Literature and Background Materials, 1628-1960*, though Watters does not identify the settings of the novels. Other additions can be found in more specialized lists such as Gordon D. McLeod's 'A Descriptive Bibliography of the Canadian Prairie Novel,' Fee and Cawker's *Canadian Fiction*, and the National Library's *Manitoba Authors*. For fiction published since 1953,

you will probably send me to *Canadiana*, which is an invaluable resource but does not always indicate settings, and there are publications which escape even the National Library.⁴ It remains for the patient bibliographer to complete the job by combing the catalogues and trudging the stacks of major Canadian libraries and a few others such as the Library of Congress and the British Museum.

That is a large undertaking, but necessary for several reasons. Titles taken from catalogues, as you know, can be tricky. Peel 562, M.E. Bryan's *Wild Work: A Story of the Red River Tragedy* (1881), for example, sounds like about as safe a choice as a compiler could make, but it turns out to be about the period of post-Civil War reconstruction on the other Red River.⁵ As a typical student of prairie fiction I will also want to know what the books are about without having to find and read hundreds of minor works in search of the few that are valuable in themselves or relevant to my research topic. Annotations which identify specific types of fiction and subject areas such as homesteading, ranching, North-West Rebellion or urban life would be extremely useful.

I will also want to know something about the authors, which in some instances will be simple enough to provide, with the help of Peel, Rhodenizer, Norah Story's *Oxford Companion*, Conron, Klinck, and Sylvestre's *Canadian Writers*, McLeod's bibliography, Clara Thomas' *Canadian Novelists, 1920-1945*, and a few more limited sources such as *Manitoba Authors*.⁶ But some of the more obscure authors defy the usual methods of research. Take, for example, Frances Marion Beynon, whom I first saw listed as the author of a novel entitled *Aleta Day*. The first hint about her identity came from McLeod's bibliography, where he says that she is reputed to have been a journalist in Winnipeg when she published her novel, which was actually entitled *Aleta Dey*, and that she may have been the sister of one Lillian Beynon Thomas. Examining the novel, I discovered that the first name was Francis, and decided that the author could not well be anyone's sister.⁷ Finally, in an historian's bibliography, I stumbled upon an article by Ramsay Cook entitled 'Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism,' which confirms McLeod's speculations, despite the 'i' in Francis.⁸ Dozens of the minor authors remain similarly obscure to me, and it may be that only some combination of luck and cooperation will enable us to complete the information.

Like most students of contemporary literature, I tend to become fretful when presented with the complete publishing history of a novel, but I do have a limited and selective interest in such data. Most prairie novels, of course, have a one-line history, and even among those which do not, very few are likely to reach that stage of close textual criticism which demands strict purity of text and a knowledge of minor textual variants or of the technical

minutiae of editions. I would not, for example, care to be told about all the editions of Connor's *The Sky Pilot*. I would, however, want to know the extent of its readership and popularity, so I am interested in knowing that it had simultaneous first editions in Toronto and New York in 1899 and that it was into a seventeenth edition in London by 1910. I am curious about the fact that a 30-page fragment from the book entitled *Gwen's Canyon* was published a year earlier in Toronto, and amazed to learn that *Gwen, an Idyll of the Canyon* was separately published in Toronto and New York in 1899 (94 pages) and in London in 1904 (127 pages). When told, further, that the Reverend Charles Gordon used the piece as a homily in his sermons, I am almost shocked, since the imagery of *Gwen's Canyon* has such obtrusive sexual overtones that no post-Freudian critic can read it with a straight face. Any student would also want to know that *The Sky Pilot* had been reprinted by the University of Kentucky Press in 1970, as he would about any recent reprints which make basic texts readily available.

In general we want to know about first editions, whether there have been subsequent editions, Canadian editions, and gross variants such as abridgements. Naturally, we want to know where to lay hands on any complete text. The Canadian Union Catalogue is a prime source of all such information, but in the last analysis, the bibliographer must again trudge the stacks of various libraries. When poking around in libraries in Edmonton, Saskatoon, Regina, Winnipeg and Ottawa, for example, I discovered that everyone had about two feet of Harold Bindloss. One library might have the same number as the last with very few of the same titles. At the same time, I might not have discovered any additional novels, since Bindloss published his books under different titles in Britain and North America. I would not like to suggest, then, that the work for a user-oriented bibliography can be any less thoroughly and meticulously done. Only that the bibliography will have more effect on the quality of scholarship if the data is selected and arranged to answer the present needs of literary students in the field.

There are immediate rewards for thoroughness in digging out prairie fiction. While working at the National Library, for example, I returned to our Ottawa apartment one evening and told my wife I had just set prairie fiction back five years. She looked at me gravely for a moment and then said 'Yes, very likely.' To understand her attitude you must realize that for months she had lived with the fear that some night when the moon was full I would turn into a bibliographer. She had seen the symptoms – a tendency to linger around card catalogues in the evening, sudden ecstasies over unearthing some unreadable 19-page pamphlet about getting oxen across sloughs. What I had just found was a dated edition of W.H.G. Kingston's *Rob Nixon, the Old White Trapper*.⁹ Because the earliest dated piece of fiction in Peel was Alexander Begg's *Dot it Down*, I had for years been using 1871 as my starting date.¹⁰ Here

was a first edition of *Rob Nixon* dated 1866. Now the list of fiction from 1871 to 1970 which I had been compiling came out to a nice round hundred and five years.

'Is that Wallace Stegner's Address?'

It will be necessary to push back the boundaries of our ignorance a little farther, beyond the primary texts. Critical, biographical, and scholarly writing about the fiction can be found readily enough in standard literary bibliographies, though the limitations and irregularities of our periodical bibliographies, particularly since 1970, make it desirable to assemble and supplement their listings for prairie authors. The more difficult task will be to identify the background materials, the histories, reminiscences, and other documents, which will be helpful to the student of prairie fiction. No literary scholar will read his way through the material listed in Peel, and a comparable listing for the past twenty-five years has yet to be compiled. Some choices, such as the work of W.F. Butler and John McDougall, are obvious, but somehow the knowledge of the historian and the literary scholar must be brought together. As student of literature I need a thread through the labyrinth of biographies, reports, local histories, and extensive manuscript sources.

Any researcher who consults the *Union List of Manuscripts in Canadian Repositories* will find, for example, that the papers of Frederick Philip Grove are accessible in the Elizabeth Dafoe Library at the University of Manitoba.¹¹ But how will he find the few pages in the Saskatchewan Archives in Regina which describe the adventures of an insurance salesman rowing a boat down the North Saskatchewan from Fort Edmonton to North Battleford in the 1880's?¹² This salesman had to be unusually resourceful; because of the underwriters' regulations, after completing his sales pitch, he often had to catch his customer off guard and vaccinate him for smallpox. For the literary student this is the sort of detail which puts flesh on the bones of history, fills the silence surrounding the literature with the background noises of humanity. An historical milieu which could contain Big Bear, Louis Riel, and this insurance salesman is rich in all literary possibilities.

In the magnificent Shortt Collection at the University of Saskatchewan I stumbled upon a book manuscript entitled 'Forty Years in the North West' by W.J. Carter, probably written in the 1920's.¹³ Carter's section on the 'Riel Rebellion' gives an intelligent, literate, and relatively detached view of the quarrel between the government and the mixed-blood people, gathered largely from witnesses to the events. One is left wondering why, if such accounts were available as early as the 1920's, western Canadian school children were for so long treated to what might be called the Ontario Orange view of the Northwest Rebellion; why novels sympathetic to the Métis point of view did not begin appearing until the 1970's; why as late as 1947 Edward

McCourt would depict Riel (in a book aimed at a juvenile audience) as resembling Adolf Hitler.¹⁴ McCourt was to emerge only two years later as chief spokesman for prairie fiction with his *The Canadian West in Fiction*.¹⁵ The questions raise speculations about the whole relationship between Canada and its West, and I am confident they have answers somewhere this side of western separatism. What is important here is that they are questions about the intellectual and emotional climate in which the fiction has grown, and such questions must be raised if literary students are to understand the fiction fully. One means of raising them will be to lead the student and critic toward a manageable selection of such manuscript sources.

In addition to the cultural and historical background, prairie fiction needs to be located in its appropriate literary context. It is not immediately obvious why Canadian bibliographers should feel responsible for that task, but what follows is not altogether a digression. The most immediate and least considered element of the literary context has been the literature of the American West, in which a good deal of the basic bibliographical work has yet to be done. In 1976 I traveled the American West with the mixed motives of acquainting myself with their literature, rounding up stray prairie novels, and bringing Canadian literature to the Americans. The search for fiction about the prairie should, of course, have begun in the Library of Congress, but being western, I began in the Library of the University of Texas in Austin – rather auspiciously. On my first morning, as I passed the L.B.J. Library, a dove descended upon me and refused to leave. My first thought was that I should perhaps be taking more seriously my mission of bringing Canadian literature to the Americans. My second was that no librarian would give visitor's borrowing privileges to a man with a bird on his shoulder, even one who carried a letter of introduction from Bruce Peel.

The University of Texas has, in fact, a relatively small, miscellaneous assortment of manuscript materials by Canadian writers for which they probably paid too much. Their collection of published Canadian fiction is large but uneven and new. Their copies of F.P. Grove and Sinclair Ross novels, for example, are the New Canadian Library reprints. I did, however, discover a number of new titles for my list, including the usual allotment of *Bindloss*. My most important discoveries about prairie fiction, however, came from encountering the fiction of that very different West.

The contrasts are extensive and revealing, but the one which bears directly on our bibliographical needs is between the popular fiction of the two Wests. Americans take their fun seriously. John Cawelti's study of the formula Western, *The Six-Gun Mystique*, is a good example.¹⁶ Cawelti says the Western is not merely escapist entertainment; it also has the function of 'articulating and reaffirming primary cultural values' in its society. This contention is borne out by the pervasiveness of the values of the Western throughout

American popular culture, whether in a Max Brand story or a television police show set in New York. There appears to be no comparable literary form in the Canadian West.

One reason for this apparent absence is that popular fiction in the Canadian West seems to have ended around 1930. Before that time a writer like Ralph Connor could sell over five million copies of his novels. Since that time no connected tradition of popular writing seems to exist. This might be expected. The coming of moving pictures probably hit the publishers of entertainment fiction hard everywhere, and in Canada the industry would not have been as robust as in the United States.

To some extent, though, the absence may be only apparent. As I have said in *Unnamed Country*, the acknowledged tradition of prairie fiction is a highly academic one, created by critics and the academic community over the past twenty years.¹⁷ Novels like *Settlers of the Marsh* and *As For Me and My House* were all but forgotten until they were revived by McClelland and Stewart reprints and subsequently taught in university courses and written about in journals. Ross's novel, for example, sold only a few hundred copies in the original and was not reissued until it appeared in the New Canadian Library in 1957, while Nellie McClung's *Sowing Seeds in Danny*, first published in 1908, was into its seventeenth edition by 1947 and still being reprinted in 1965.¹⁸ One effect of the academic tradition has been the total dominance of the tragic view of prairie life, with little attention to the comic and none to the lighter, more popular writing which may have constituted the reading diet of most prairie people.

The appearance of sentimental comedies such as Ralph Allen's *Peace River Country* and Ross Annett's *Epecially Babe* (recently reprinted by Tree Frog Press) suggests that the lighter genre of popular sentimental romance from the days of Connor and McClung did not die entirely without issue.¹⁹ It has had, in fact, its culmination in W.O. Mitchell's popular *Jake and the Kid* stories and in *Who Has Seen the Wind*, the nearest approach we have to a national classic.²⁰

There are important questions here, questions of literary as well as cultural importance. Did the writings of Connor, McClung, R.J.C. Stead, Arthur Stringer, and others constitute a popular literature which articulated and reaffirmed Canadian primary cultural values? Was the Mounted Police story, a nearly formulaic genre, in some way a uniquely Canadian Western? Did indigenous popular fiction entirely succumb to the movies and American pulp fiction, or have we simply lost sight of it? To answer these questions we will have to re-examine all those dreadful sentimental romances, dig up all those hoary old Mounted Police stories, and pursue even more ephemeral and fugitive publications. Someone will have to search for and through several decades of prairie periodicals, retrieve scores of stories such as those Ross

Annett published in the *Saturday Evening Post*, in effect, find out what writing about the prairie region Canadians were actually reading and empathizing with. And we must recover this material not only for its value as cultural evidence, but for the sake of our more balanced understanding of the central, critically respected tradition of prairie fiction. I would like to know, for example, what the prairie farmer was reading in 1941 while Reynal and Hitchcock in New York were selling a few hundred copies of *As For Me and My House*.

From Austin, I was bound, via the homes of various poets, novelists, and scholars of Western American literature, to California, the famed Huntington Library, and later an appointment in San Francisco with Wallace Stegner, who from his life on two sides of the border should know as much about the contrast between our Wests as anyone. This appointment was jeopardized by the loss of his address, which I had jotted down on a piece of scratch pad and left somewhere in our travel trailer. From Phoenix to the Donner Pass whenever my wife or I saw a folded piece of 4 x 6 paper, we would ask anxiously, 'Is that Wallace Stegner's Address?' But then, funny things happen to you when cooped up for a year in a 28-foot trailer with hundreds of file cards. I became obsessed, for example, with the fact that the original edition of *As For Me and My House* had been 296 pages, while the New Canadian Library reprint was only 165. Similarly, the original *Settlers of the Marsh* was 341 pages while the reprint was 222. I became convinced that there was a conspiracy between publisher and editors to defraud the serious reader. It was not until I reached the University of British Columbia Library that I was able to solve the mystery – large type faces and wide white spaces.

The Huntington library has a Canadian Literature section about five feet long. It has, however, a splendid western American collection, and I did manage to add one title to my list of novels set on the Canadian prairie. The visit to Wallace Stegner was in all respects fruitful, even bibliographically. He explained that the original for Ray Henry in the 'Whitemud River Range' section of *Wolf Willow* was one Frank Otterson, whose brief unpublished memoir of the winter of 1906-7 he had found in the Saskatchewan Archives.²¹ By some chance, I had a copy of it with me and had speculated about that possibility. It confirmed my faith in research-by-accident.

'Containing as much matter as a Shilling Volume'

Even a dabbler in the bibliographical craft can see that there is much to be done. In any major library, one can expect to rescue at least one prairie novel from oblivion. Few will be of noticeable literary merit, but most will have something to contribute to a fuller understanding of this regional literature. In the Glenbow Library, for example, there is an anonymous 32-page pamphlet called *The Lone Chief; or The Trappers of the Saskatchewan*, a five-penny pulp novelette which boasts of 'Containing as much matter as a Shil-

ling Volume.²² The matter it contains is a wild adventure of Englishmen on the Canadian prairie among the Cree, Blackfoot, and Omaha Indians. It says something interesting about the way the old world saw the new, but indistinctly, because it is undated. It also announces that its implausible hero's adventures will be carried on in other novels. If they were ever printed, I suppose they might be in the British Museum. We are still at the stage where discoveries often raise more questions than they answer.

As you may have guessed, I am compiling, as a beginning, a user's checklist of prairie fiction which, under more skilled hands, might grow into the bibliography I believe we need. This book is to be arranged to suit literary scholars, though I hope others in the humanities and social sciences will find it useful. It will consist of a primary list of fiction, arranged alphabetically by author, including all substantial critical and biographical writings about the author, and as an appendix a list of background materials I have found useful when studying prairie fiction. There will also be a separate chronological listing of the fiction and an author-title-subject index to provide access to both fiction and background material by subject.

The main list will contain separately published works of fiction, either novels or collections of stories, originally written in English or translated into English, and set wholly or partly on the prairie. 'Prairie' I take to mean the main settled areas of the three prairie provinces excluding the northern bushlands and the Rocky Mountains. I will not list fiction written for a juvenile audience. Since the distinction is often a difficult one to make, I tend to be inclusive rather than exclusive, including any fiction which could reasonably be expected to appeal to an adult audience.

Author entries begin with a brief biographical sketch and, where more extensive information is available, an abbreviated reference to further sources. Information about some authors is scarce, but I have tried to establish at least where they were from and what contact they had with the prairie. Some novelists such as Edward McCourt have also written critical and historical books or articles, and these are identified at the end of the biographical sketch.

Each fiction entry will give publication data including the first edition, any Canadian editions, a selection of other editions, the most recent edition, any reprints in print, and unusual editions such as braille or tape recordings. Also, where a book has been published under more than one title, as the novels of international writers such as Harold Bindloss often were, I will note that, to save future scholars the frustration of searching out these twins.

Each main entry will be followed by a brief note indicating the time and place of its setting, the general subject of the fiction, such as ranching, homesteading, fur trade, or North-West Rebellion. I will also try to give a rough idea of the kind of fiction involved. Set categories are difficult to apply, but my

remarks should help the reader to make broad distinctions between such types as simple adventure stories and psychologically complex novels.

At the end of each note I will give one or more locations where the book can be found. For books held by most major libraries I will select one location in each of the five main regions of Canada. Critical and biographical writings about each author will be arranged alphabetically by critic. For books about individual authors I will include notes about their usefulness to the reader, but articles, introductions, and chapters in books are too numerous and too brief to make that practical. I will not include reviews, but I will bring together the items indexed in R.E. Watters and Inglis F. Bell's *On Canadian Literature, 1806-1960*, Inglis F. Bell and Susan W. Port's *Canadian Literature / Littérature canadienne, 1959-1963*, the periodical checklists in *Canadian Literature*, the *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, *Journal of Canadian Fiction*, and the *Canadian Periodical Index*.²³ I have added graduate theses and any other critical writings I have found.

The appendix of background materials is highly selective. Some of the selections may also seem arbitrary, but that is unavoidable. I could not read all the historical writings, and even if I had, opinion would still differ about which sources are usefully related to the fiction. I will list those which helped me to understand the fiction, and they should give the literary scholar a choice of places to begin.

I hope that I can also say something useful about manuscript sources and repositories, and about the libraries where I found particularly rich veins of prairie fiction.

The basic list itself should be helpful to literary scholars. Peel's bibliography lists a little over 200 titles which fall within my categories. I have discovered an additional sixty or so titles up to 1953. My list from 1954 to 1970 will ultimately include about 250 more titles. My annotations and indexing should be of particular value to non-literary scholars interested in the literature as social document.

I think we have an opportunity to make the prairie West a model for regional studies of Canadian literature. Not only do we have Mr. Peel's excellent bibliography on which to base our work, but the titles in that bibliography will soon be available on microfiche to any library with a serious interest in serving prairie research. And the prairie is an appropriate place to begin regional studies. It represents, as I have suggested, an extreme case of a general Canadian condition – the tensions and incongruities between the new land and the old culture. And as Dave Godfrey has said, it is the archetypal region of Canada: Britain settled Ontario, France settled Quebec, but we settled the prairies.

There have already been three more or less exploratory book-length studies of prairie fiction, and interest in the subject is high among Canadian literature

scholars. We are almost ready to get down to serious work, if the bibliographers will please come forward.

Notes

1. *150 Years of Art in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: The Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1970), pp. 29 and 32.
2. *Wanderings of an Artist*, by Paul Kane (1859: rpt. Toronto: Radisson Society, 1925), p. xxxiii.
3. *Wanderings*, p. 49.
4. Bruce Peel, *A Bibliography of the Prairie Provinces to 1953*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973); R.E. Watters, *A Checklist of Canadian Literature and Background Materials, 1628-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972); Gordon D. McLeod, 'A Descriptive Bibliography of the Canadian Prairie Novel' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1974); Margery Fee and Ruth Cawker, eds., *Canadian Fiction: An Annotated Bibliography* (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1976); *Manitoba Authors / Écrivains du Manitoba* (Ottawa: National Library, 1970); *Canadiana: A List of Publications of Canadian Interest* (Ottawa: Bibliographic Centre, National Library, 1950-).
5. M.E. Bryan, *Wild Work: A Story of the Red River Tragedy* (New York: Appleton, 1881).
6. Vernon B. Rhodenizer, *Canadian Literature in English* (Montreal: The Author, 1965); Guy Sylvestre, Brandon Conron, Carl Klinck, *Canadian Writers / Écrivains canadiens* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1964); *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature* (Toronto: Oxford, 1967); Clara Thomas, *Canadian Novelists, 1920-1945* (Toronto, London, New York: Longmans, Green, 1946).
7. Francis Marion Beynon, *Aleta Dey* (London: C.W. Daniel, 1919).
8. 'Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism,' in C. Berger and R. Cook, eds., *The West and the Nation* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), pp. 187-208.
9. W.H.G. Kingston, *Rob Nixon, the Old White Trapper* (New York: James Miller, 1866).
10. Alexander Begg, *Dot it Down* (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1871).
11. Grace Maurice, ed. and Robert S. Gordon, dir., *Union List of Manuscripts in Canadian Repositories*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1975).
12. Public Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina, 'Story of Western Canadian Pioneer who rowed a boat from Edmonton to Battleford,' by A. McTavish Campbell, s.h.s.8.
13. Shortt Library of Canadiana, W.J. Carter Papers, m.s. C550/1/24.1 'Forty Years in the North West,' by W.J. Carter.
14. Edward McCourt, *The Flaming Hour* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1947), p. 84.
15. Edward McCourt, *The Canadian West in Fiction* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1949).
16. John Cawelti, *The Six-Gun Mystique* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1975), pp. 31-33.
17. Dick Harrison, *Unnamed Country: The Struggle for a Canadian Prairie Fiction* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1977), p. 154.
18. Nellie McClung, *Sowing Seeds in Danny* (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1965).
19. Ralph Allen, *Peace River Country* (New York: Doubleday, 1958) and Ross Annett, *Especially Babe* (Toronto: Ryerson, New York and London: Appleton Century, 1942).

20. W.O. Mitchell, *Who Has Seen the Wind* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1947) and *Jake and the Kid* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1961).
21. Public Archives of Saskatchewan, 'Thirty Years Ago on the Whitemud River or the Last of the Open Range,' by Harry Otterson, ca. 1937, 22 p.
22. *The Lone Chief; or The Trappers of the Saskatchewan* (Glasgow and London: Cameron and Ferguson, n.d.).
23. R.E. Watters and Inglis F. Bell, *On Canadian Literature, 1806-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966); Inglis F. Bell and Susan W. Port, *Canadian Literature / Littérature canadienne, 1959-1963* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1966).