

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF LIFE WRITING:
A GROUP BIOGRAPHY OF
ADELE, CRAIG, LAURA, HENRIETTA, LUCY, AND
MARY PIERCE
1915-1940

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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The Theory and Practice of Life Writing:
A Group Biography
of
Adele, Craig, Laura, Henrietta, Lucy, and Mary Pierce
1915-1940

by

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A thesis submitted to the
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Dissertation Abstract

Personal histories, public events, geographic location, and cultural forces interact at the level of family and community to make group biography legitimate as both literary and historical work. My work constructs the lives of a family; its greatest significance is its inscription on Canadian history and culture of women whose stories have not been told outside their family and of a man whose public story has not been told within the context of his family life. A. Craig Pierce is a significant figure in Alberta agriculture, through farming practice and participation in the Progressive movement between the World Wars. My work seeks to place him in the midst of his family—his wife Adele, and their daughters Laura, Hetty, Lucy, and Mary—and is undertaken in an attempt to resist the inclination of group biography to grant a constant centrality to one member of the group; instead, I incorporate a shifting focus appropriate to an ensemble cast in an attempt to shape each of the women as a rounded character of equal importance to the man in the house. Through reading a variety of verbal and non-verbal texts, including journals, letters, photographs, and needlework, I give a material existence to a specific familial past at the same time that I delineate the individual entities within the symbiosis of family.

This experiment in the theory and practice of life writing opens with a theoretical and anecdotal framework for use by life writers, tracing a project from conception to conclusion and considering the involvement of the writer in the process by including my self-reflexive participation in the text. It then provides a temporal and spatial setting,

followed by an exploration of the project's primary documentary source, before it progresses to shaping the lives of its subjects. Educational and family background, including birth order, are given lengthy consideration in these segments. Finally, six appendices supplement the project: a physical description of A. Craig Pierce's journals; a transcription of the 1919 journal; a reproduction of selected journal pages; family tree charts; an exercise in the analysis of material possessions as text; and the ethics protocol and consent form for the project.

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My thanks also are offered to my editors, Lisa Bryce and Leila Bryce, for their meticulous attention to stylistics; to my technical assistant, Carla Morton-Stowe, for her invaluable work with the photographs; and, Donna Hennig and Stacey Mateika at Red Deer College for their patient assistance with last details. I have benefitted more than once from financial help given strategically in times of serious need by my great-aunt Mabel Humphries Knudson; my step-father and his wife, Mervin and Kay Clark; and my

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Lastly, I am profoundly grateful to the six subjects of this document, my grandparents Adele and Craig Pierce, and their daughters, Laura, Hetty, Lucy, and Mary, to whom all of us in the family are indebted for our sense of history and responsibility, and whose example of abiding love for each other has extended through succeeding generations. It is to them, and to my own lovely children, Laura and Benjamin, that this work is dedicated.

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CHAPTER ONE

A Six-Part Practical Guide for Life Writers

Introduction

“we speak of ourselves every time we have not the strength to be silent”

Anatole France

The critical position taken in this work is both experiential and analytical. The project crosses generic lines: it contains biography, memoir, theory, and the narrative qualities of fiction, but is not strictly a fiction. This is because I have undertaken a group biography for a group of which I am a part in an intimate way, but from which I attempt some critical distance balanced by an acknowledgement of my participatory belonging in the story. Still, the project does have thematic unity, is thematic montage, to borrow a term from film. Margot Peters writes that “implicit in group biography will be the notion that the individual is less than the whole, that the sum is greater than any of its parts” (41). Certainly, the individual is not as fully understandable outside of the whole, and the sum makes sense of the parts.

A desire for understanding, not for information alone, is what draws readers to biography because readers seek an understanding that is applicable to their own lives. A family or group biography has obvious benefits for these readers because, while not everyone has held political office or starred in movies, everyone has had a family of origin and is part of some group. Paradoxically, expanding the examination to include a number of people offers a closer examination of each person involved, and not a less extensive consideration of any of the group. In other words, in order to see a person most

clearly, that person must be seen in relation to others; the camera shot must be a medium- or long-shot and not a close-up at the start. Group biography offers a gallery of close-up portraits, as well as the family or team picture, all of which are in sharper focus than can be the case in individual biography. In the case of this project, my goal has been to situate each of my six subjects as an individual within the unit of my larger subject: their nuclear family. In order to do this, I have had to contend with two fundamental problems: “focus and proportion are particularly difficult to achieve in group biography with its complex of subjects” (Peters 49). Each subject has equal right to the position of prominence and to a share of the undivided attention of the reader; each is as important to the whole as every other.

My project incorporates a shifting focus in order to create a rounded character; the shift is accomplished by devoting a chapter to each figure in the family rather than dealing with all of the family all of the time. These chapters necessarily overlap in terms of time and cast of characters, but not in terms of events, so are not to be seen merely as rehashing the same material from six perspectives. Each person’s chapter is concerned with the shaping events and moments that contribute to the construction of the biographical project of that person’s life. For example, the Pierce girls were all in school at the same time, and so each girl’s chapter chronicles the school years; however, it does not content itself with simple repetition. Although the period of time is the same, the experiences are very different, and it is the commentary on the experiences of each that differentiates her chapter from those of her sisters. Without individualized chapters, someone’s events would have to be subordinated to someone else’s because the

governing factor would be time. Six chapters develop as six parallel and confluent universes.

I wanted to see how each of these six people fit into the shape of this family, how each was complete within another completeness, and subsequently how any person fits into the shape of a group. Presented with “the formal and contentual difficulties of managing a large cast of equally important characters in one biography” (49), I devised the solution of six personal chapters. These are unlike self-contained biographical essays such as find themselves in encyclopedias because the interconnectedness of the characters is always explicit, and also because the overarching biography of the family is always implicit. The chapter foci keep any given member of the family from disappearing behind the others as happens in daily life. We all have lives outside our families, where we are ourselves in the workplace and among friends, but when our families are observed there is usually one person who has prominence. This is a skewed perception of family because it denies the symbiosis of family. In the case of my six subjects, there is no question that both publicly and privately, my grandfather is the pre-eminent one. He was the most public figure, with the most documentary evidence to prove it, and even within his extended family is seen as the centre of that circle of six.

I have had no desire to diminish his importance either publicly or privately. Instead, I have sought to elevate the other five characters to full partnership in the story, to create an ensemble cast. This is what is unique about this project. My six subjects are constantly intersecting and creating the larger subject of the family without ever disappearing themselves. The chapters to follow are an extended experiment in this

approach to group biography. This first chapter traces a project from conception to conclusion and considers from the start the involvement of the researcher/writer in the process. The next two chapters address my primary documentary source and prepare both a temporal and a spatial setting in which the ongoing family story can take place; the social and cultural milieu is written with a subjective Prairie perspective situated in Prairie history. Among the appendices to be found at the end are an example of the analysis of material possessions and a set of family tree charts beginning with my grandparents' families of origin and concluding with the generation of their great-great-grandchildren who are being born now. These charts include only the names of those who are connected by blood to my grandparents; the choice not to include the names of my father and uncles or of my brothers' and nephews' wives and partners is made solely to ensure clarity on the point of descent. Both men and women are omitted from the charts, and their absence certainly is not meant to suggest they are unimportant. My father and uncles are vividly present in the stories of their wives.

The people whose stories make up this study presented a range of problems. Obviously, I could never pretend critical detachment, particularly because of my intimate connection with these people. Instead, I decided to embrace my subjectivity as a component part of the undertaking. Anatole France declared, "The good critic is [one] who relates the adventures of [the] soul among masterpieces" (656), and insofar as my family is a masterpiece worth writing about, the adventures of my soul during the process are evident. I have at every moment been aware of my family, living and dead, watching over my shoulder, and have felt an extraordinary burden of responsibility, one I would

not have felt to any other subjects. While working with one's own family as subject guarantees making a contribution of some originality, sole ownership of a subject (in a scholarly sense) is countered by a complete dearth of anything on which to build. I have had no previously written constructions to refute or single facets to develop further. All of the facets of all of the subjects must be here. In all six of these cases, I had to discover things previously unknown. My privileged position in relation to my subjects has been an advantage at times, in that I sometimes knew where to look or whom to ask. Still, ethics and selectivity demand that not everything can be here (see Appendix F). If there is the possibility of harming the living and doing no considerable good to the biography, I believe the choice must be made to protect lives still being lived. These choices have been part of the selection process.

I approached my grandfather's chapter with awe and trembling. One of my goals was to communicate, to those outside the family, how his descendants esteem him. It was equally important to me to make a case for his place in other written histories by exploring his political involvements and agricultural innovations in Alberta and in Canada. Most importantly, I wanted to make him real for myself. This is also true of my grandmother and Laura, my eldest aunt. In the case of my grandmother, I wanted to find out how she and my grandfather made such a partnership of their marriage, and how she developed as the forceful and opinionated woman I have always perceived her to be. The major interest in my aunt's life was the mystery of her health, a mystery that became far more complex as I investigated, and which emerged as a far greater influence on the development of the family than I had imagined. Her early death and her childlessness

mean that she has vanished from the family in a physical sense, and that absence is still profoundly felt. Communicating that gap was a central concern. These three were different investigations from the other three because these three people were strangers for me, and while I felt an obligation to them, I was not constantly in the grip of my own feeling for them but rather aware of received feeling for them as the result of a lifetime of knowing *about* them.

The last three sisters are part of my own memory. One of them is my mother, and I had anticipated her chapter being the most difficult to write. I was mistaken. Hetty's was the easiest. Mary's was the most fun. The fact that she is the last of the girls living has meant that I have felt self-imposed constraints at the same time that I have been able to enjoy knowing her more fully. By far, the most emotionally costly part of this enterprise was researching and writing about Lucy. I was not prepared for how deeply writing her story would affect me, given that I had known it all my life. But knowing a thing and writing a thing are not the same. It may have been the first time I ever directly encountered the circumstances of her life, having always filtered her life through my mother. At the end and sum of it all, I most assuredly have responded to Helen Buss' will "to advocate a more self-conscious and complex exploration of the researcher's subject position, her assumptions, biases and desires, as part of archival research" (*Archives 2*).

The Guide

In an effort to organize the mass of critical material that exists on the subject of life writing, I propose a process which sorts that material by identifying its central concern. I suggest a six-part practical guide for use by biographers, from conception through

completion of the biographical project, from the accumulation of primary and secondary materials through to closure. The guide is useful for those working both with single lives and with groups, such as families or groups of artists; it also has applications for the variety of generic possibilities (meaning autobiography, biography, memoir, journal, correspondence, travelogue, film, creative non-fiction and so on) under the life-writing umbrella. The six points are:

1. sources
2. interpretive aids
3. keys
4. selectivity
5. configuration
6. cures

For each of these six points, I offer considerations drawn from theorists, critics, and practitioners concerned with telling and writing lives, along with anecdotal references from my practical work, to exemplify the utility of the scholarly dicta. These considerations discuss what things may be read as textual sources, what to look for when sorting through the evidence, and the importance of being analyst rather than annalist of our subjects' lives. At each stage of the process, life writers need to be creative, at the same time they are theoretically grounded, in order to demonstrate both serious scholarship and art. This six-part approach provides the foundation for an emotionally- and intellectually-satisfying product that is respectful of the life, and does it justice.

Traditionally, biographers have turned almost exclusively to written sources, such as journals, letters, and newspapers, as repositories of fact. Privileging verbal texts in this way, unfortunately, leads to a pair of serious shortcomings; first, it excludes potential subjects; second, it ignores potential sources. It perpetuates the marginalization of those

who have limited access, or are deprived of access, to the production of those materials. By broadening the criteria for textual consideration, we can bring a measure of equality to our work without compromising the integrity of our work. The lives of working- and poverty-class people, of women, of the illiterate, of those who simply did not choose to write, all have value, and are worthy subjects for us to consider. Reconsideration of the boundaries, of what is “text,” makes possible the inclusion of diverse materials and liberates the life writer from a necessarily constrained exercise. The historian R. G. Collingwood says “Anything is evidence which enables you to answer your question” (281).

Part I: Sources

The first responsibility and right of the life writer is to gather the sources; these include conventional language texts, and also a rich variety of what have been called traces (by Ricoeur) and relics (by Gadamer). The idea of traces creates the image of a tracker who detects the faint scent of the quarry in the bush or the detective who finds a matchbook in the flower bed. Hunting and sleuthing are what we do at the start. Leon Edel promises that “the right doors will open if the right questions are asked” (161); our task is to bring all the doors together in one room (rather like a non-threatening version of the fairy tale “The Lady or the Tiger”), and thereby increase the chances of getting an answer. We have to consider the social and cultural milieu; after all, people do function in time and space. Shirley Neuman reminds us to consider “race, nationality, religion, education, profession, class, language, gender, sexuality, a specific historical moment and a host of material conditions” (“Poetics” 224). Material conditions beyond the abstract of

annual income, reaching to the concrete reality of running water and electricity, sharing bedrooms, sharing bath water, walking or riding to school and what distance, all add to the texture and colour of the story we are trying to tell. Imagine no running water in a house into which there comes a baby a year in the time of cloth diapers; imagine the endless round of heating and hauling water, while the next pregnancy is already under way and the one before is dragging on your skirts, and picture the hands that do all that scrubbing. Confirm an informant's recollection that she had a long walk to school, and laugh when you walk it yourself in ten minutes.

Although it is useful to make a reference chart of the births, deaths, and weddings which affect our subjects' lives, it also is important to leave enough blank spaces for the story to come. Not only are the events of a life important, but also the physical and mental health and processes (Wagner-Martin 11-13) of the subject. The stories of women, in particular, need to be mindful of the matters of the body because women cannot ever get away from their explicit bodies; women always are in the body, counting its days and subject to the fact of violence from within (in the case of hormonal ebb and flow) and the possibility of violence from without (in the case of gender-centred assault). The experiences of puberty are important to males and females alike when it comes to physical metamorphoses and their concurrent psychological agonies. But writing about women is incomplete without direct confrontation with menstruation; not only is it useful to know when menarche or menopause occur, but to remember, in the life of an early twentieth-century boarding-school girl for example, that menstrual cloths had to be laundered, and probably laundered by someone else. Sidonie Smith astutely calls blood

“the metonymic marker of woman” (3), because for most of a woman’s life she is bleeding or not bleeding; it advances or recedes but it never goes away. Two situational questions women continue to face, with uniform certainty, are “what were you wearing” from investigating officers and “when was your last period” from attending physicians. Inextricable from the body, for subjects of either sex, are the activities of the mind, both intellectual and emotional. One does not have to be housed in an asylum to experience mental suffering sufficient for consideration as a real factor in decision making and behaviour. One does not have to be a degree holder to demonstrate an active and hungry mind.

Trends in politics and music situate the subject, not merely who was President or Prime Minister or Chancellor but voting statistics for the specific locality in which the subject(s) lived; not only knowledge of major compositions and performers of the day (be they Handel, Gershwin, or The Tragically Hip), but what sheet music is found in the piano bench, and what 78’s or CD’s are in the cabinet. One of the most effective moments in James King’s biography of Virginia Woolf, because it places the Woolfs so bizarrely in their bizarre time, is when he describes Leonard and Virginia inadvertently driving along in solitary possession of a Bonn motor route lined with adoring fascists waiting for their Fuhrer (525). The anecdote from 1935 provides a stark subjectivity which breaks down the barrier of objective historical separation as far as possible. Surely there was a brass band enthusiastically standing by, tubas and trumpets at the ready. If the soundtrack of a time and its composers held no meaning, then Wagner would not be the issue that he is in Israel, and the Bavarian State Opera orchestra would not have refused

to play Scott Joplin as recently as 1988. Paul Ricoeur reminds us that the text is “communication in and through distance” (*Hermeneutics* 131); it follows logically that the more texts we consider, the more thorough the communication can be, as we heed Ricoeur’s admonition to “struggle against cultural distance and historical alienation” (185). We need to consider the major movements of the day, as well as the reactionary counter movements, and to know what books the subject kept on the shelf; we need to look in the cupboards and drawers and closets.

For example, almost no one darns socks anymore; but to inspect the contents of a woman’s mending basket, to rub your thumb on the smoothness of the darning egg (if you’re lucky), to see the colours and quality of the threads, is to struggle against historical alienation. At the same time, these literal materials inform that woman’s life in economic and practical terms. The cottons and wools are text, because they speak to the functionality or leisure of the work; not all needleworks are “created equal”: darning and petit point have very different stories to tell, about keeping feet warm and household adornment. Likewise, determining what passenger vehicles and machinery and implements a person used provides important clues as to the finances and labour of a subject. What we want to do is bring together as many pieces as possible, “all of which,” as Elizabeth Cohen says, “can be read as texts for the reconstruction of a conceptual whole” (85).

Obviously, photographs reveal a vast variety of information. We can see with our own eyes the measurable physical attributes of the subject, as well as make note of the posture and positioning of the subject in relation to others and to things. We can see what

they have, and can theorize on these potentially very revealing observations. Photographs can help to establish provenance as well. My sister has a lovely pin that is a family heirloom, although we did not know its origins. When I was sorting through photographs for my work—because my sister had worn the pin just recently—I recognized it at the throat of our great-grandmother. I excitedly showed the portrait to my sister, who paused for a moment and said, “Well, that explains why it never sits right – I’ve been wearing it wrong.”

Part II: Interpretive Aids

Along with the surface facts a photograph offers, there are its many subtleties to be considered; pictures do not necessarily wear their stories on their sleeves. Useful interpretive theories, such as Terry Barrett’s and Richard Chalfen’s, discuss portraiture and casual photography, and offer assistance in decoding images. Barrett warns “Photographs that are made in a straightforward, stylistically realistic manner especially need interpretation” (33), because “they have the capacity to lull us into believing that they are evidence of an impartial, uninflected sort” (33). Because he is right that “there is no such thing as an innocent eye” (34), life writers must be sure not to look with a naïve eye. Likewise, we have to employ other interpretive strategies at our disposal. In the case of family stories, birth-order theory and genogram are particularly helpful, but they have applications for so-called single lives too. Early life is “the great biographical gap” (Blake 82) because details are almost always sparse; however, childhood is the time when the subject is in process, is becoming, and therefore childhood is a significant time for biographers. The privileging of verbal sources has the natural result of a biographical

neglect of childhood since small children produce few or no artifacts of that sort. Compounding the problem are the sparse and spotty holdings of the subject's own memory and the unfortunate loss of the relics which are the "childish things" that get put away and cast off. Photographs, therefore, offer substantial assistance in the reconstruction of a subject's formative years.

Birth-order theory introduces possibilities for a profiling sketch based on many variables, such as place in the "family constellation" (Leman), time lapse between births, serious illness or special-needs children, and gender, which need to be factored into the biographer's assessment of the subject's nature and nurture. The first-born personality is markedly different from the last-born personality; they are created things dependent on parental expectations, real or perceived demands, parental and sibling attention or the absence thereof. Large families develop psychological and social issues less likely to be experienced in more limited numbers; the only child is a person also psychologically apart. According to Dr. Kevin Leman, "Your birth order [...] has a powerful influence on the kind of person you will be [and] [...] the type of occupation you choose" (9).

Equally revealing is the genogram, a charting method set out in McGoldrick and Gerson for use in family psychotherapy and behavioural assessment. The genogram is a modified family-tree-type diagram, and employs a series of symbols to indicate more than biological and legal connections. The chart can reveal trends which otherwise may go unconsidered, such as levels of education, successive marriages, alcoholism, suicide, or profession. People are affected by the permission-granting acts of others; my grandfather dropped out of university and similarly all four of his daughters began but did not finish

post-secondary programmes. A few of his grandchildren are high-school dropouts (including myself), as are some great-grandchildren. A more dramatic example of permission-granting acts is suicide, which is not such an aberrant behaviour if it has been observed as an option for others in intimate contact through family or other association. Alcoholism as a family trait points to the role of genetic factors, as well as social conditions. In my maternal lineage, substance abusers are well represented in all of the last six generations (at least). In my paternal family connections, divorce is the signature habit. On that side, there are eight cousins; we have had nine divorces, plus one cousin who chose never to marry at all but promises she would have divorced if she had, and one first marriage of endurance but we credit our sister-in-law with that; there is one subsequent marriage that ended in death, not divorce, and one long-term common-law partnership. Add all that to the divorce of our paternal grandparents, and take it to a psychologist. It adds up to a lot of wedding presents.

Other aspects of our joint maternal-paternal heritage have to receive equal consideration, however, because they colour the story significantly. There are many things that are neither genetically nor socially reducible but still are profound influences on development and ways of seeing. Two of four sisters in my mother's family were young widows: one at the age of twenty-four and one at thirty-four; another of the sisters died at forty-three. In the next generation, two of six females were widowed—both at the age of forty; and in the next generation of six females (of which only two have established committed relationships so far), my own daughter has already been widowed at twenty-one. We carry an enormous burden of generational sorrow due to events

beyond either prediction or deterrent; growing up in a tradition of mourning has a shaping effect. This is the utility of the genogram, and its cousin the sociogram (which theorist Margot Peters employs when considering Bloomsbury): bringing together events and tendencies and relationships in all their diversity for subsequent scrutiny and interpretation.

Part III: Keys

Somewhere within all the resultant physical and circumstantial evidence now within the biographer's scope lies the key to the subject, the one thing that acts as Rosetta Stone to bring everything else into alignment and focus. From the opening frames of *Citizen Kane*, everybody, in the audience and on the screen, knows that "Rosebud" is vital; but those within the film look in the wrong places, and give up too soon, because no one would think of a wooden sled as text. The one piece of material evidence that is the key to Charles Foster Kane is overlooked and destroyed because of its deceptive simplicity and apparent lack of secrets. The wooden sled is the only artifact of Kane's past that he valued in all those crates of his mother's worldly goods. Ironically, it is the one thing that connects Kane's dying thought with the single most significant morning of his life; understand that morning, and understand Citizen Kane.

Many theorists note, almost in passing, the existence in every life of a Rosebud morning. Lois Banner calls it the "random event" (168); Felicity Nussbaum calls it the "crisis moment" (134); Elspeth Cameron, the "set point"; John Sturrock, the "liminal event" (111); for Paul Ricoeur, it is the "founding event" (*Time* v.3 106) and the "axial moment" (106); and Ira Nadel remarks on Plutarch's "concentration on the illuminating

incident” (17). If it is found, it yields at once both the moral and the metaphor of the story about to be written. Hayden White believes that “every historical narrative has [...] the desire to *moralize* the events of which it treats” (18; emphasis his); certainly, we cannot pretend, even to ourselves, that we are copying out an uninflected truth. The biographer’s subjectivity is an acknowledged presence in the work; we are storytellers and, as Walter Benjamin says, “every real story contains something useful” (86).

Part IV: Selectivity

Once the sources, the texts, traces, and relics, are collected; and the interpretive theoretical aids have been employed; and the Rosebud has been found; the process of selectivity begins, because, once we know where we are going, we know what we need to get there. Initial collection of materials is an omnivorous undertaking; selection is a discriminating exercise that requires both sensitivity and mercilessness, and which, Gadamer reminds us, needs to result in the “harmony of all the details” (259). Poring over the materials I had collected in my exploration of my maternal grandmother’s life, I concluded that her perception of her physical self was a major factor in her adult life. Because of this, I selected two particular photographs from the family collection that would demonstrate her transformation more vividly than I could describe. The first of these is her graduation portrait, taken in a studio when she was twenty. She is dressed in a formal gown, with carefully coiffed hair, and is draped languidly across an ornately carved chair, gazing confidently into the camera lens. The next, taken almost twenty years later when she is seven-months pregnant with her fourth child, shows a woman wearing a heavy coat in spite of the August heat, surrounded by her three daughters, and

standing behind a wheat stook. These two photographs, set beside each other, show a woman (who once engaged so intimately with the camera), whose body changed so dramatically she quite clearly no longer wanted to be looked at. Aside from a letter written soon after the first baby's birth, in which she laments her "sloppy" body, there is no evidence that she wrote about her feelings concerning her body; the early twentieth century was not a time when those sorts of things were widely discussed. The camera did that work for her. The biographer also has to be aware of the "cultural process of inclusion and exclusion" (Epstein 219), a "disciplinary technology [which according to William Epstein] must be disrupted" (229). This means, for example, we have to resist the tendency to write within the margins of tradition for its own sake, and consider writing about the traditionally untalked-about, not for the purpose of sensationalism or shock but in order to serve best the subject as well as the object. This does not mean, however, that we forsake necessarily ethics and propriety (Wagner-Martin 13-15).

Part V: Configuration

At this point, the process requires a conceptual shift; we are no longer wandering hunters and gatherers, but instead become herders and growers, in a theoretical-anthropological sense. Configuring the project, anchored by the key, is work of a very different kind than research; here is where the biographer attends to art. Margot Peters' encouragement to "impose some kind of pattern" (50) is not a constraint; as Leon Edel explains, "every life takes its own form—find the ideal and unique literary form" (30). There is not a necessarily "correct" generic form and, in fact, Robert Skidelsky urges us to "be more audacious in treatment of the subject" (14). One of the issues with which we

need to take particular care is the ordering of content; we all no doubt have read biographies that are thinly disguised lists of events. Chronological order is not a requirement, and, in fact, can be detrimental, because the narrative can fall into the trap of sequential listing: this happened, then this happened, then this happened; in that case, we may as well publish our daytimers, and save ourselves the trouble. Unless we have the delightful whimsy of Saint Gall's chronicle (whose recorder probably was ignorant of his poetry), whose sole entry for the entire year 732 reads, "Charles fought against the Saracens at Poitiers on Saturday" (qtd. in White 11), there is little chance that unmediated calendars will meet with much critical or commercial success.

Anyone engaged with the biography of one's own ancestral family recognizes more intimately than most the "polarity of familiarity and strangeness on which hermeneutic work is based" (Gadamer 262). Gadamer's hermeneutic circle is perfectly suited to the discussion of writing lives. He explains "the movement of understanding is constantly from the whole to the part and back to the whole. [The] task is to extend in concentric circles the unity of understood meaning" (259). For example, in Chapter Four, the understanding of Adele Moore Pierce's life as it develops in 1924 must move to an understanding of her brother Malcolm Moore's illness and death in 1923 in order to return with a greater understanding as to why events developed as they did for her in 1924. The large scope of her whole life has to be built on the understanding of its parts; close examination of 1923 leads back to an expanded concentric circle with sharper focus. Each circumstance points both backward and forward as it explains one thing and inquires after another.

Philippe LeJeune insists that we must question the “‘natural’ status implicitly granted chronological order” (71), and certainly we know the validity of this from experience; we consistently interrupt chronology when we tell a story orally because we are reminded of things as we go, reminded not by time but by relationships of things to each other. Collingwood says that “memory is not organized, not inferential” (252); indeed, it may not be inferential, but organized differently is not the same as not organized at all. Memory is organized; it merely refuses to be catalogued artificially along date lines. Rather, it is referential, a sophisticated and intricate system of cross-references, a filing system unique to the clerk. Chronological configuration relieves some of the artistic responsibility caused by disruption; if we are going to take people out of time, we have to be careful not to create (too much) confusion in readers. If they have to be in several “whens” at once, a comfort level can be maintained by the affinity of the details, unless, of course, the story is better served by assuring the reader’s discomfort.

When we do forsake chronology, Ricoeur assures us that the “resonance-effect compensates for rupture-effect” (*Time* v.2 104-5). Remember the list of young widows I provided earlier; their losses span a half-century, but rupturing time to bring those events together in four lines has a rhetorical power that resonates sufficiently to extirpate the liberty taken with the clock. My grandfather’s life is best understood through his love of travel and of spaces; his journeys provide the anchor to the story. While we must choose a “principle of configuration” (*Time* v.2 25), the principle does not have to be chronology, and an understanding of the lived life with which we work will make that choice clearer. Perhaps an arrangement anchored by geography or trauma will be best; we

can tell our story in a variety of ways without compromising the end result. In fact, careful considerations of the alternatives can help us make a choice which best marries form and content. Neuman stresses “felicitous style and narrative shapeliness are not incompatible with factual accuracy” (“Life-Writing” 361).

Part VI: Cures

Finally, when the project is concluded, the biographer can experience the cure; perhaps even realize why the project was undertaken in the first place. No matter whose stories biographers tell, they also are telling their own stories in some sense. Hélène Cixous speaks of writing as search, and it is to be hoped that by the last page the writer has found something. Freud spoke of analysis as a “talking cure,” and life writing is also analysis, for subject, reader, and writer alike. People tell their stories because, as Freud posited and Peter Brooks concurs, they have “the desire of narrating [...] to be heard, recognized, listened to [...] understood, [...] the desire to tell” (53-4); they have the repetition compulsion. It is, I think, the hidden reason why victims of abuse experience the phenomenon of choking: they want to tell but they cannot. Telling is fundamental to us as people; we use language to make the abstract real for ourselves, to grant some degree of permanence to our stories, to validate our experience, and to connect ourselves to others through our stories. A written life potentially can do all of these things for the triad which participates in the text. Until I undertook to write about my mother’s nuclear family, my grandparents and eldest aunt were abstracts for me; during the research and writing of their lives, they became human for me, albeit humans of my own making to a large extent, but they are people who are understandable to me now. This process has

cured, so far as is possible, what for me was a curious and uncomfortable absence from my life.

What life writers can offer is the opportunity for understanding that John Sturrock sees in the shift from “ardent immediacy of experience to cool mediacy of language” (140). One of the things readers want from life writing, regardless of where they fit in the subject-reader-writer trinity, is resolution of “our own sense of fragmentation” (Nadel 9). For readers interested in the talking cure or the reading cure or the writing cure, life writing is a satisfying enterprise. These six steps provide a guide at the same time that they accommodate the freedom essential to the production of a life, written or lived.

CHAPTER TWO

The Journals: As Text, As Autobiography

The two-fold purpose of this chapter is first to situate my grandfather's journals in my process of life writing in general and writing this project in particular, and also to provide for readers preliminary access to my primary documentary source for the project. Inevitably, this discussion of the books' contents begins to construct the characters that make up the experiment in group biography to follow. In this way, readers also are witness to more of the process than is generally the case when reading a life, and thus become participant in the process. This degree of transparency allows readers to observe the developmental stages of the project as part of the project; that is, engaging with the materials of biography is part of biography, rather than preliminary to biography. Here, I explore my response to the journals and identify aspects of their widely varied content, aspects that I later use in the characterization of my six subjects. The unusually large number of volumes allows readers to observe and consider change in the Pierces and their world.

ACP's journals span 1 January 1919 (see Appendix C) through 1944 plus 1951-1952 and 1954-1955, ending with 11 April (see Appendix C); in all, his written record of thirty years survives. Presumably, because of the large period of time covered, the seven volumes for 1945-1950 and 1953 existed, but these are missing and most likely permanently lost. And, because he also kept such an extensive photographic record of his life and travels before buying the farm in Alberta, it seems reasonable to imagine that he was a life-long journal keeper. Fascinating as it would be to read about his travels

through Panama and Jamaica, Colorado and Kansas, Oregon and Alberta, for which pictures tell part of the story, these too are most regrettably lost. However, those which have been preserved, in the dark basement at the farm for over half-a-century and now housed and microfilmed at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, are a wealth of information and a family treasure in themselves. Even before I reached adolescence, I was doomed to be a life writer by the fact that I have no first-hand knowledge of four people whom everyone else in my house could remember and therefore had to find these people for myself. I love looking at the names in generations of entries handwritten in the backs of published family histories and in carbon copies of carefully typed family trees. When my research began decades ago in my childhood, sitting at the dining room table with those documents, all I cared about were the names. A name is enough to prove that people existed, and for me history began in the generation immediately before me. There was no difference between my own father and my centuries-past ancestors; they were all in the same place for me, names on pages in the book cupboards, all of them people I never knew.

In other words, all of the past is together, located immediately before I have memory; there is a very sharp boundary between the present and the past, and it is the line between what I remember and what I do not remember. There is no transition into history for me, as there is for many people, in that while others learn their family stories from the mouths of parents and grandparents, in order for those stories to become their own, many of my sources were already in history themselves. I have no memory of my mother's father, of her older sister, of my own father, and only three flashes of my

mother's mother. I believe that it is precisely because my siblings have these people in their memories, even if only minimally, that I have felt especially cheated of them, and have sought to find them all my life, have felt that somehow the universe conspired against me.

It is a tremendous disadvantage not to know. Simply reading names from family trees provided a kind of comfort for me for a time, and I took pleasure in knowing when people had lived and what they were called; for a few years I regularly would pore over those lists and compile lists of my own to name up to a dozen children—as if using a name brings a person to life and would anchor me in my family. Names have always mattered to me inordinately much. Photograph albums kept in those same cupboards as the family trees could put faces on the more recent of those names, but to have movement they have to be complemented with stories. If I put the photographs and the names and the anecdotes together and flip the pages fast enough, the people will move, giving the illusion of life like those novelty books, with a picture in the top right corner of the page, we had when we were children. The loss of the past is never satisfiable, but the means by which I attempt to satisfy it become more sophisticated as time and experience pass. The desire to know people I cannot know is what brings me to life writing.

My grandparents, my aunt, my father, are people kept from me, willfully kept secret from me it seems by forces I do not know and cannot identify, but to whom I have chanted all my life “give me my grandfather, give me my grandmother, give me my aunt, but most especially give me my father.” A malicious universe will not give me my father. This is the psychological basis for my vocation. There is no other sensible choice for a

person who has been dependent on books for her stories and data for her history, no other choice but to make my past myself. The transitional moment, from a passive need to know to active participation in knowing, is ACP's journals. These documents are the evolutionary moment from fixed data, such as photographic images and dates of birth or death, to fluid movement and speech, such as memories contain. They are where the past begins to wiggle around a bit and show signs of life. This transition can happen because each day's entry describes people moving about from place to place and doing the most ordinary things, things that make it clear that the dead have not always been dead. There was a time when they had the flu or went to town and got their hair cut or had a turkey dinner. It is the promise perceived in the movement of people about the world that if they moved they also thought and felt; intellectually, if I know enough about movements I can draw reasonable conclusions about thoughts and feelings, never being so presumptuous as to claim definitive knowledge or experience of those specific thoughts and feelings. Nevertheless, given enough information, I can know what I would think and feel in those situations, and in some cases actually can think and feel now about events that took place before my memory. The combined weight of these intellectual and visceral responses to my data is as close as it is possible for me to come to my own unremembered past, a past which would be far less approachable, almost unapproachable in fact, without my grandfather's journals.

That very personal impulse to know these people is what took me into the basement to bring up the journals in the first place. It has been a life-long process: learning that data will lie on the table as long as it is allowed to; that data does not care

about a researcher's need for it to speak or do something, anything, and subsequently of learning how to make the data speak or move for a private purpose; and finally of recognizing the value of the moderately resurrected data for a public purpose. These data are the materials in the lab to my Dr. Frankenstein. My virtual creature may not move smoothly, but it moves. For many years, I have been aware that my mind equates intellectual understanding with a measure of control; while I cannot stop things from having happened, if I can understand them, I am helped to control their impact on me and to experience a kind of vicariousness in and through the events of a past which is mine, but which I do not remember. Dealing with my historical and intimate amnesia in this way extrapolates to a material and disciplinary contribution to public knowledge, a contribution that is made possible through the portal ACP's journals provide. I can enter and participate with the past in a *Being John Malkovich* kind of way, a way which allows me to situate myself in another circumstance, all the time knowing I am an observer there, but nevertheless an observer who can bring an enhanced understanding of myself back to the present with me at the same time that I bring an enhanced understanding of the past.

Unlike human subjects, journals as subjects are able to maintain a compartmentalization of different kinds of information. These kinds of information need to be reconciled in any discussion of the journal writer, but not necessarily of the journals themselves. The multiple personalities of the books' entries do not need to be fitted into a fixed shape, but rather can remain parts permanently. Unedited journals are granted this permission; when edited in order to present a version of a human subject's identity, the

books are made to speak in a way which satisfies the editor's interpretation of the writer. Editorial choices can silence some of the voices speaking in the pages of a journal, just as they sometimes do in letters, and even in full-fledged biographical works. The journaling self remains fragmented and therefore each aspect can be observed more clearly, with "public coherence only arrived at through assiduous editing by later generations" (Nussbaum 130). Diary does indeed "work against a fixed identity" (132) because identity, while informed by diverse factors, speaks with a composite voice, is the sum of its parts. The difference between journaling and writing autobiography is not so much the writer's concern with public consumption of the recorded information as it is concern with public interpretation of the recorded information. The purpose of journaling can in the end be just as public as writing autobiography, but it is a question of representing a fixed identity that makes the difference. "If we crave significance for ourselves as historical beings, we can have it only by an intelligent and sequential ordering of what we retain or can recover of our past" (Sturrock 20), or if we wait for someone else to take the source materials and do the ordering for us. The historical ACP, along with his wife and daughters, is constructed as a significant historical being in chapters to follow. The historical significance of his journals is made only implicitly or secondarily in those chapters, and here they are to be considered for themselves.

As physical objects, the books do not have uniform characteristics, but they do have many similarities (see Appendix A). While they vary in size, with the exception of three books, they are predominantly red, many of them marbled. Several of the early volumes have space for three days' entries per page, so that a calendar week is accessible

at a single look. This six-day format is interesting because it means that there is not even space for Sunday entries, Sunday being set aside from mundane use. Occasionally, however, ACP would compensate for this restriction by indicating part of Monday's space for Sunday's activities. These activities most often were not labour-related, but social. He would write that he had been to church and with whom, and even where since he sometimes attended services in Drumheller as well as at Wesley United in Calgary; he also would note a special dinner or guests at home. There are seasons on a farm where Sabbath observation is not so diligent, outside of strict religious sects, and in harvest, work went on as usual on the Pierce farm, but at other times, the day of rest was conscientiously kept. Hired hands were not compelled to attend church, nor were MAM and the girls. MAM almost never went, in fact, but most of the time at least one of the daughters accompanied her father to church. Extremely rarely, and only for very special occasions, the whole family attended together. Two of these events are the 1932 collective baptism of the girls, aged sixteen, fourteen, twelve, and eleven, at the United Church in Drumheller, and their similarly combined confirmation five-and-a-half years later in January 1938 at Wesley United in Calgary ("ACP Journals" 28 Aug 1932, 9 Jan 1938). The fact of these two religious milestones occurring at the ages they did helps to demonstrate MAM's and ACP's relaxed attitude about religious observance; the United Church practices infant baptism, yet the girls were not hurried into denominational life. According to my mother, this was a conscious decision on her parents' part because they wanted the girls to be in a position to understand and choose for themselves. Obviously, they would be guided by the preference of their parents unless they were particularly

rebellious, and each girl likewise would be guided by the actions of her sisters in this group activity. Nevertheless, the intent to extend freedom to choose and the respect for individual choice, as nearly as it can be supposed, are what have the most relevance here.

The journals come with publisher-provided reference pages of such practical application as time zones, terms and sittings of courts, postal rates, and so on; later editions allow space for Sunday entries as well. Particularly evident in early editions are other papers ACP tucked in the back of the book, items such as invoices and, since all of the entries are kept in ink, ink blotters which advertise one or another business with which he dealt. Also at the back of the books are memorandum pages ACP utilized as accounting space for calculating employees' wages and expenses, such as what was paid for tobacco and laundry and insulin. Almost none of the journal entries have proper English syntax, but instead are sentence fragments; they are written for the purpose of recording facts rather than for carefully crafted narrative storytelling, and only occasionally and later offer glimpses of recorded feeling. The choppy phrases also suggest a writer impatient to be getting on to some other activity, wanting to get the facts down but no more (see Appendix B). Almost all of the entries are written in third person, the writer using "A.C.P." and occasionally "Pierce" to designate himself when writing about the farm, and only rarely does the "I" record anything. The writerly detachment of this strategy makes him no more important than anyone else mentioned in a given entry, which combines with the fact of his carrying out menial tasks such as sewing grain sacks to create an egalitarian tone; the third-person speaker also helps to maintain emotional distance because the writer is not omniscient.

Very often, ACP sidesteps, identifying himself through the fragments he writes, simply recording “to Calg. in P.M. in Pontiac” for example and not bothering with subject and predicate, or making his fragments in such a way as to have the object become the subject, as in “Hetty to Tech” instead of “I drove Hetty to school at Tech.” Journal writing is inherently subjective, but by resisting identifying himself as subject, most of the time ACP is able at least to attempt a more objective historical eye. There are frequent abbreviations, such as “m’f’g” for “manufacturing,” and some idiosyncratic spelling, such as “buss” instead of “bus” until very late in his life. ACP never went back and corrected name spellings when he discovered he was mistaken and, for example, had misspelled a new hand’s name for a few days, but simply spelled the name correctly in future entries. The ratio of business to personal entries changes somewhat over the years, but until the very last few volumes, it is the farm and what goes on there that is central to the journals’ purpose. In fact, there are some very odd omissions in content, such as the youngest daughter’s wedding, because the wedding took place in the eastern United States and her parents were unable to attend, so there is no mention even of the wedding taking place. These journals are not for the purpose of recording what goes on elsewhere but either what happens on the farm or where ACP is, and most often these two are the same. In early years, there are no winter entries at all; life stops after harvest when ACP is not on the farm, and only very sporadically does the journal even go with him when he leaves the farm. Later, he develops a greater tendency to record life as it happens away from the land, and the last few years are year-round records kept regardless of ACP’s location.

Although there is evidence that shows ACP used the entries for his personal reference, such as writing a memo to pay quarterly taxes written in advance on the date the payment was to be made, it is quite clear that these records were kept with the knowledge that they would be read by someone other than the writer, and therefore were written with at least some awareness that they were speaking to history. Remembering that “articulation of the event is itself an evaluative act” (Nussbaum 137), it is plain that ACP considered what he wrote to be significant. Paul Ricoeur writes of “a narrative received from the mouth of one of our ancestors” as a porous frontier and a bridge (114) because it is an inflected history, inflected even if only an unembellished fact is related because the fact is already inflected by virtue of being told, everything told already deemed worthy of being told. It is frontier and bridge because it provides access to fuller understanding by being a set of pre-confirmed clues, and in the case of journals whose writer is identified, are more than “documentary traces detached from their authors” (114) because they cannot be detached from their authors. The selectivity evident in any use of the ancestor’s documentary record therefore has to be perceived not so much as a devaluation of some data but a choice of best data for a limited purpose, a selection of the best among equals for a more specific task than the initial utterance addressed and recognizing also that it does not necessarily follow that everything worthy of note was in fact noted. Any choice is a good one because in this context there is never the possibility of gleaning something that the ancestor felt to be of no value. Conversely, leaving any example out means daring to silence the ancestor and might suggest daring to contradict the ancestor as well. Nevertheless, mediation is required in any application of these

written texts that does something other than prepare a transcription, and even that interferes with a reader's direct engagement because the penmanship is part of the text (see Appendix C).

In these thirty years of recorded events, there is information of value to sociologists who would examine the employer-employee relationships and the various intra-family interactions, and who might be intrigued by the openness with which a male writer includes women's health issues in his journal. Living in a house with five women would make it impossible for a man not to know about so-called "woman trouble," but ACP's accounts treat it as matter-of-factly as any other health subject, mentioning for example that Mary was sick with cramps ("ACP Journals" 11 Mar 1944). These physical reports allow the writer to keep his distance in an emotional sense, but there are others concerning his daughters that reveal feeling in spite of his careful method. For example, not only did ACP report "Hetty's party in P.M." ("ACP Journals" 2 Dec 1922) when she turned four, but ten years later he writes "kids had a party—their first with boys" ("ACP Journals" 27 Dec 1932), and the names of all the guests are listed, making this event as significant for the father as it was for the daughters. The inclusion of the fact that this was their first mixed party betrays his emotional response to the gathering. There is a wonderful sequence of events recorded in 1934 which would speak to the heart of most parents whose children are growing up and away. ACP was the only one in the house with a driver's licence and was therefore the designated driver as well as the family historian. Over a matter of days, he drove "Hetty & Lucy to dance at Kirby" ("ACP Journals" 27 Jun 1934), "Lucy to Robison's for dance" ("ACP Journals" 28 Jun 1934),

“Hetty to Rosebud sports & Hymas dance” (“ACP Journals” 29 Jun 1934), “Mary to camp” (“ACP Journals” 30 Jun 1934), always “shopping” with MAM, and then later in the year, helplessly, “all females to different places” (“ACP Journals” 2 Nov 1934). He recorded family holidays, taken every summer, into Montana or the mountains; he recorded every tummy ache and plainly was not shy about summoning the doctor to the house.

Pursuant to this detailing of health matters is the value to medical historians of the way symptoms have been diagnosed and illnesses treated, illness ranging from boils to skull fracture to miscarriages; these journals document nephritis, broken arms and feet, sciatica and lumbago, and flu, all with treatments, types of health-care practitioners, the frequency of physician house calls, and occasionally costs of treatment. In fact, the very first entry in thirty-five years of events concerns ACP’s original right-hand man, Cecil Crawley, and his appendicitis. If a family unit is a representation of a functioning society, even more so is a large working farm, and therefore it also is interesting to sociologists. A large farm is a more sophisticated and complex society than a single family because it has owners and workers in a more clearly delineated organization than a family and therefore adds a greater dimension of social class. More explicitly political are the kinds of entries which detail United Farmers of Alberta membership drives and Victory Bond sales and War Services drives and other political movements such as the Progressive movement headed by Premier John Bracken of Manitoba, which are discussed more specifically in the Social and Cultural Milieu chapter. Anyone interested in the political lobby for fair prices for the prairie farmer during the 1930’s will be interested in details recorded in

these journals; especially significant is the cohesive effort made by the Bracken Committee that sent a twenty-four-member delegation to Ottawa in March 1939, a group which included ACP. Of the most historical significance is the extent of ACP's record of the agricultural milieu as it evolved over three-and-a-half decades. This includes not only the political figures and efforts of the period, but more importantly the meteorological data of temperature, rainfall, and wind; production information on strains of grain and their yield, as well as machinery employed. It is the detailed picture of rural men's life written from a male perspective that provides the greatest case for the significance of these volumes, and which the next pages of this chapter will demonstrate.

The first entry for 1921 details the family's arrival on the farm for the crop year. They were met at the train in Drumheller by an employee with a "sled for trunks etc. Miss Young along to cook. Iva Patchen came out from Drum to work in the house. Very warm. Plenty of snow but melting fast" ("ACP Journals" 16 Mar 1921). The need for the sled to haul trunks means this was a full-house move; the cook was hired specifically to feed the hired men and worked from the cookhouse. Over the next three weeks, all activity centred on preparations for spring fieldwork. On March 23rd, one of the horses was taken to be shod, the fanning mill was set up on the 31st and ran for six days on seed wheat; on April 17th, the men got the pickler working. A fanning mill was used to separate the wheat from the chaff and the pickler was the seed-cleaning plant of the day. On April 18th, the men

Started at 9:30 on 10 [the NW quarter of section 10] and seeded 50 acres, not one stop from seeder trouble or wet ground. The most auspicious start I've had in eleven years. Fine day—a little shower in late evening. Crawley and I

seeding. Frank pickling. Dan harrowing. ("ACP Journals"
18 Apr 1921)

Throughout the journals, each entry for the farm includes the name of each man working and the equipment or task to which he was assigned. Apparently, things did not go as well as might be hoped with Miss Young, who had come out to the farm with the family, because a month after her arrival there was a "rumpus with cook at farm" which was followed a week later by Miss Young's departure and the arrival of Mrs. Marquardt to replace her ("ACP Journals" 22 Apr 1921). Mrs. Marquardt lasted all of one week and left without notice, and Miss Jamieson came to do the cooking. Eventually, Mrs. Phillips came to the farm and stayed for many years, earning \$300 per year, the same annual wage as the headman. Her daily routine is succinctly described during the gruelling pace of spring seeding, when she served "breakfast at 5 A.M., supper over at 9:15, [...] lunch in field" ("ACP Journals" 14 May 1938); what is not described is how early she had to get up to have breakfast ready to serve at 5 A.M., how late she stayed up to clear away a supper that ended at 9:15, and how much more complicated it is to send an adequate lunch to the field instead of serving it at the table.

Back out in the fields, in May, 1921, Red Bobs [a strain of wheat] was seeded and oats were hauled and fanned. Three men spent three days close to the Victoria Day holiday putting in the enormous garden necessary to sustain a farm; the May long weekend is still the traditional date for planting gardens on the Prairies. In 1921, the herbicides and pesticides were not as sophisticated as they are now, and in June men were "mixing poison" to use for grasshoppers and also "pulled mustard in oats" by hand ("ACP Journals" 25 Jun 1921). The men also had to spend time "picking rock on

[section]” (“ACP Journals” 14 May 1921), a large field northeast of the home buildings. Even forty years later, that same field still required hours of labour picking rocks, but then it was done by ACP’s grandchildren equipped with a tractor and a stoneboat which was a flatbed dragged behind the tractor and onto which we threw the rocks. It was tedious, hot work, and I remember my city-cousin Lorne delivering hilarious impromptu lectures on the nature of rocks to help us pass the time. In May, 1921, ACP started another, more pleasant tradition, when he “took family around to see crop” (ACP Journals” 22 May 1921). To this day, it is traditional to get in the car at intervals during the growing season and “go lookin’.” It is always exciting, unscheduled, and strangely solemn; everyone who is around at the right moment, adult and child, goes along to see if the crop is thick enough, tall enough, has enough moisture, or too many bugs. So much hinges on the observations in that slow, stop-and-start drive along the lanes and machinery tracks around and through the crop.

Harvest began in early August 1921, cutting and stooking oats. On the 18th, there were eleven men working with the horse binder and stooking; they started threshing the Red Bobs seeded in May and managed 355 bushels in a day. Finally, on October 22nd, the last of the hay was hauled and there was a snow flurry at night. That year, fresh pork cost twenty-two cents a pound, overalls were two dollars a pair, and two pairs of cotton gloves cost fifty cents. The cooks were paid a generous fifty dollars per month during the heavy spring work from March to July. In April of the following year, ACP bought 200 bushels of oats at forty-one cents a bushel and started seeding the next day with “Crawley pickling, Pierce engine, Codnor drills, Gatine horse drill” (“ACP Journals” 26 Apr 1922).

In May, there was “The day of the big wind all day—no one outside—field work impossible” (“ACP Journals” 26 May 1922). Convinced of the overall benefits of windrows, ACP took advantage of the federal government’s programme and started planting trees on June 17th, 1922. The seedlings were planted and watered by hand. Planting continued into the 1960's, but was carried out by machine by then.

ACP was so convinced of the efficacy of shelterbelts that he invited the Dominion Experimental Station at Lethbridge, Alberta, to conduct a formal study into crop yields on his farm. The procedure consisted of taking samples at various distances out from the trees toward the centre of the strip and also measuring the height of the crop. The study spanned the years 1949, 1950, and 1951, and produced extremely gratifying results (Department of Agriculture documents, Pierce collection). A crop of Thatcher wheat was thirty-eight inches high and yielded fifty-seven bushels per acre at a distance of thirty feet from the trees but was three inches shorter and yielded only thirty-six-and-a-half bushels per acre at a distance of one-hundred-eighty-five feet. Victory oats yielded one-hundred bushels per acre at a distance of thirty feet from the trees and only eighty bushels at one-hundred feet. Based on a loss of two-and-a-half acres for the trees in a forty-acre strip of land, the yield would have to increase only 6.7% to compensate for lost land. The study concluded that the evidence proved a 30% increase in crop yield and that the taller the trees on the windward side of the field, the greater the benefits. ACP’s foresight resulted in the no-doubt deeply satisfying journal entry “no soil drifting here” on April 3rd 1932, because the trees not only held moisture, but also made it more difficult for wind to get down and move the dirt.

By July 3rd, 1923, ACP noted “Wheat heading out” (“ACP Journals” 3 Jul 1923), meaning that the crop was mature enough to begin developing into kernels. This stage has to be reached in early July in the central region of Alberta or the crop will not have time to progress to maturity. My mother always said “if it isn’t in the head by Stampede Week it isn’t going to make it,” Calgary Stampede Week starting the second weekend of July every year. Harvesting began in 1923 with “Hope, Pierce, Westover and Scott cutting Section, Gatine cutting oats on Section, Bud chores and moving bran, Crawley unloading Stewart loader, 4 stookers on Section, Hot” (“ACP Journals” 29 Aug 1923). The process followed these steps: the crop is cut, then horse-drawn binders bundle the grain, men stook the bundles, and then later (after they have dried thoroughly) pitch them into a horse-drawn rack which takes the grain to the thresher. October 19th was a “perfect day” (“ACP Journals” 19 Oct 1923), with an impressive 1714 bushels threshed. Threshed grain was moved either in horse-pulled wagons or in grain tanks hauled by Caterpillar tractor. Threshing was finished in November and the taxes for 1921 and 1922 were paid, totalling \$3005 (“ACP Journals” 26 Nov 1923). The highlights of harvest the following year were that 1850 bushels were threshed in a single day and the price of wheat went up seven cents (“ACP Journals” 12 Sep 1924). A dozen men, some horses, and a few pieces of equipment accomplished that threshing feat; sixty years later, three men with two combines and a truck could harvest 8000 bushels in a single day.

The extraordinary weather conditions with which farmers are forced to contend are consistently recorded in these journals. On May 29th, 1925, there was a “dust storm in P.M. and all night—very bad” and on June 8th it was “very windy all day—worst dust storm

ever at 6:30—so dark had lamps lighted. House full of dirt” (“ACP Journals 29 May 1925). The following year, even though there was a “hard rain all day” on June 19th, “starting at 5 A.M.—best rain since 1923,” only a week later there was a “Very hot day. Hot wind. [...] Hottest June day in 28 years of weather bureau” (“ACP Journals” 26 Jun 1926). The following year, ACP again was concerned about the crop’s need for moisture, but then on July 6th, there was “rain in late P.M. and all night—A life saver” (“ACP Journals” 6 Jul 1925; see Appendix C) and the saved crop which resulted was hauled to the rail siding day and night for a full week the following December. As early as May, 1930, as the drought of the Dirty Thirties took its grip, the farm suffered a “bad dust storm all P.M.” and the next day it was still “too dusty for field work in P.M., very bad dust storm from north” (“ACP Journals” 21 May 1930); the “best rain for over a year” (“ACP Journals” 9 Jun 1931), merely half-an-inch, fell on June 9th, 1931. In October, a day’s combining yielded only “5 to 8 [bushels] an acre” (“ACP Journals” 11 Oct 1931). In May 1938, there was “a violent wind and dust storm from the North, looked like a cyclone—dark as night—blew granary into potato patch” (“ACP Journals” 12 May 1938). The unpredictable, irrational behaviour of the weather is a fact of life for farmers, but while it has the power to discourage, it fails to defeat except in the most extreme and prolonged circumstances of crop failure. Hot as it was in June, 1925, it was just as severe in the opposite direction in winter 1923, with temperatures on a single day as cold as “35° to 52° below [Fahrenheit] in Drum. Warmed up during day to 10° below” (“ACP Journals” 14 Feb 1923). In July, 1933, the temperature was an “Extremely hot 102” degrees (“ACP Journals” 25 Jul 1933); in December there was a day when it was “Warm

during day but turned very cold between 7:30 & 9:00 P.M. Dropped 50° in 1½ hours” (“ACP Journals” 17 Dec 1933; see Appendix C) and only three days later it was “0° at 6 P.M., 40° at 8 P.M. and 7° below at 8 A.M.” (“ACP Journals” 20 Dec 1933) the following day, “Remarkable” (“ACP Journals” 1933). On December 30th, 1938, ACP recorded “Thermometer up 50° in 32 minutes. -10 at 9:30 [and] +40 at 10:00” (“ACP Journals” 30 Dec 1938). All of this temperature fluctuation means that life in Alberta takes place in a climate that can fluctuate from fifty below to one hundred above, one-hundred-fifty degrees Fahrenheit in annual range, and fifty degrees in a winter half-hour.

The 1939 crop year, after a decade of impossible agricultural conditions, is one in which ACP’s journals demonstrate the dogged determination and eternal hope of the farmer, attitudes that have led to them being called “next-year people.” Drought was so severe on the Prairies that he elected to try growing a winter crop and seeded in late summer 1938. This strategy has the crop germinate and begin its above-ground growth and then have its development arrested until spring thaw, thus benefitting from increased moisture levels from the snow and avoiding particularly scorching conditions in summer. On this occasion, however, the attempt failed and made for a spring that stretched the farm’s resources of people and equipment to their limits. On May 5th, 1939, as the winter crop should have been nearing maturity, there were “two disc plow units making breaks to stop drifting” (“ACP Journals” 3 May 1939) in an area where windrows had not yet been raised. Three days later they looked “over Section to see wind damage—winter wheat on S[outh] ½ of Section looked bad in spite of furrows plowed” (“ACP Journals” 8 May 1939), and after another four days “Smyth started to plow up winter wheat with one-ways

at 11 A.M., Jack on night shift” (“ACP Journals” 12 May 1939). The next day other hands were “moving wheat out of granary into wagons and fanning and treating in P.M.” (“ACP Journals” 13 May 1939), getting ready to seed yet another crop in the face of reality. By the 16th, they were “one-waying out winter wheat at night and seeding spring wheat in day time” (“ACP Journals” 16 May 1939). Because of such a late start, it was not until December that they “finished picking-up swath and all combining for the year” (“ACP Journals” 8 Dec 1939). And by then, there was a war on and the Depression was over. In 1942-43, all the bank notes on a half-section of land were paid off (“ACP Journals” 23 Jul 1943) and the renegotiation of ACP’s 1918 purchase contract with Mr. Dougan was completed (“ACP Journals” 6 Feb 1942); there was enough moisture after all those years of drought to result in “mosquitoes worst ever seen on farm” (“ACP Journals” 8 Jul 1942).

While agriculture dominates the content of these journals, they also present a picture of a cosmopolitan writer. The radio played an important role in ACP’s life because of the access it granted to a variety of interests. Not only did he listen to election returns, but he listened regularly to broadcasts from the Metropolitan Opera and mentions hearing *L’Africaine*, *Tannhauser*, *Aida*, *The Barber of Seville*, *Othello*, *Manon Lescaut*, and *Lucia di Lammermoor*, as well as individual opera stars such as Ezio Pinza, Lily Pons, and “Debut of new star Miss Chinga” (“ACP Journals” 6 Feb 1937). He also enjoyed listening to sports events and each year listed the various teams playing in the annual New Year’s Day Bowl games and the outcomes of those games, including exact scores; the annual Army-Navy football game is also an annual event for him. When he

could, he attended college football and basketball games while on trips to the United States to see his daughters at college; in Canada, he coached a high school girls' basketball team and on more than one occasion went "to see the Edmonton Girl Grads play basketball" ("ACP Journals" 26 Feb 1927). The Grads are the most well-known female basketball team in Canadian history, and in fact the most winning women's team in basketball, retiring with a win-loss record of 502-20. After graduation from university, the founding team members wanted to stay together and keep playing, which they did as the evolving team continued travelling and playing from 1915 until 1940. What these journals portray is a farmer, certainly, but not a stereotypical farmer, not a "dumb farmer" as urban condescension occasionally suggests exists, and definitely not a person who was "just" a farmer. They provide a strong source and foundation for research of many kinds, not the least of which is a reevaluation of perceptions of the Prairie farmer.

CHAPTER THREE

The Social and Cultural Milieu

After the Pierces of the journals began to take shape as individuals and as a family, it became important for them to have space in which to exist. My decision was to layer this space in order to make the scope compatible with the way life is lived and perceived, and so municipal, provincial, and regional conditions and sensibilities are represented here. Where people live contributes significantly to their way of being. The more we can know about population, politics, and practical matters that make up daily life, the better we can understand the people who live that life. The journals inform the social conditions to create an impression of the times that seems less mediated because of the intimacy of individual names and faces. There is of course distance and detachment, but the appearance of these is diminished by a marriage of private and public documents. This chapter, then, is a companion to the previous one, and together they make the place and time ready for the characters to appear. The place and time must necessarily be interpreted just as much as the biographical subjects must be. Along with providing a stage for my players, I wanted the project to remember that the dynamic space in which they lived is the place where most of the family still lives. Thus, in more ways than one, we live in the world they built for us, and I wanted to make that connection: the momentum of family development is connected to the momentum of spatial and social development.

There were approximately half-a-million people living in Alberta when Craig and Adele Pierce arrived in 1918. Eighty-five years later there are nearly a million people

living in Calgary alone. The province was just over a decade old and was in a period of rapid internal expansion; the flood of people migrating to the province from all over the world needed schools, hospitals, and transportation and communication infrastructure. Alberta's serial prosperity and promise have made it an immigrant province from the start. While large numbers of Albertans in any census will claim to be born outside the province, either elsewhere in Canada or outside the country, the early years of population migration into Alberta particularly weighted the balance heavily toward most residents having been born in other places; but Alberta was established as a place of origin before long, and by 1940 over half of Albertans were born in Alberta (Cole 47).

As might be expected, all of this high-speed development resulted in creation of "a high level of public and private debt" (Bell 10). At the time, because of its predominantly agricultural demographic, Alberta had Liberal government that unlike Conservative government traditionally has a free-trade platform favoured by farmers over the Conservative preference for high-tariff barriers; truly free trade still would be to the farmers' advantage, but protectionism creates the necessity of subsidies. Once barriers and subsidies are in place on one side of a border, their implementation on the other side becomes a necessary defence. To address the specific concerns of rural people, the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) was formed by a 1909 merger of two other farmers' organizations, but only in order to lobby government rather than attempt to form government. The belief among farmers was that they "were over-charged by middle-men for their purchases, and underpaid for their sales of grain, if not cheated" (Monto 2). The continuously discouraging level of grain prices might best be explained by the fact that in

September, 1921, a carload of wheat sold for \$1.47 per bushel (“ACP Journals” 7 Sep 1921) while the price per bushel in 1992 had risen to only \$2; in early 2002 the price was around the \$4 mark—it can be a very volatile market, but in this recent case the increase is a direct result of three consecutive years of drought, creating the irony of high prices for crops which cannot be produced. A new grain loader cost \$575 in 1923 (“ACP Journals” 27 Aug 1923), and a comparable one would cost \$4000 in 2002. In other words, the seven-fold increase in the cost of a modest piece of equipment has been paired at best with a less than three-fold increase in the selling price of a bushel of wheat. In 2002, the price tag on a new, average-sized combine is \$250 000; the largest deluxe ones cost the farmer \$350 000. Ironically, the industry for which these implements are made and for which they are essential cannot afford to buy them new. Alberta farmers today face the same fundamental cost struggles they faced a century ago.

The province’s current status as a petroleum-industry power had its beginnings in 1914 when a Turner Valley well began pumping oil, and agriculture was no longer the sole business in the province. But it was only after the Leduc oil strike in 1947, Alberta’s first major strike, that the industry gathered momentum as an economic force, a momentum which continues to build and which has made Calgary a corporate centre of power. Nevertheless, the national East-West division, which has its origins in agriculture, and is demarcated for Westerners by the Manitoba-Ontario border, has never been overcome, and continues to function in Canada. Industry and manufacturing were fostered in Central Canada, while raw materials of all kinds were mined and produced in the West. By a logic that defies explanation, Western producers paid the freight for their

raw goods to the East, and also paid the freight for returning manufactured goods West. The Prairies have felt themselves unfairly used since Canada's beginnings when three strokes of the Federal pen—creation of the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) in 1874 to secure order in the west, negotiation of Treaty 7 with Plains First Nations in 1877 in order to appropriate the land, and establishment of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in 1881 to move people and goods back and forth across the national expanse—put John A. MacDonald's national vision in motion: populate the West so it can feed the East and buy Eastern goods. Western farmers still feed the country and pay for the privilege of doing so from a population base too small to make any difference in deciding who will occupy 24 Sussex Drive, federal elections being decided before the polls even close in the West. This imbalance in power and responsibility is the root of Western alienation and the seedbed of Canadian political radicalism, which is exclusively fostered on the Prairies with the obvious single exception of French-Canadian nationalism. There is not a nationally functioning political party born in Canada that was not born in the Prairies. The "Progressive" which is now part of the Progressive Conservative Party comes from the Prairies, as do the New Democratic Party which began as the CCF in 1932 with its founders J.S. Woodsworth of Manitoba and Tommy Douglas of Saskatchewan as its leaders, Social Credit which also was founded in 1932 by Alberta's William Aberhart, and Canadian Alliance which began in Alberta as Preston Manning's Reform Party.

Although historically non-violent, the Red River Rebellion and the Riel Rebellion notwithstanding, Prairie political activism has nevertheless been highly visible and vigorous. Manitoba was the first Canadian province to extend suffrage to women in 1916

and was followed within months by both Saskatchewan and Alberta; also in 1916, Alberta appointed the first female magistrate in the British Empire; in 1917, Alberta elected the first women to a legislature in the British Empire, before women even had the right to vote federally; the day after these two women were sworn in, one of them, Roberta MacAdams, became the first woman to introduce a piece of legislation in the Empire; in 1921, governments in British Columbia and Alberta appointed the first women as cabinet ministers in the Empire. Three of these “first” women, Alberta’s Louise McKinney (MLA), Emily Murphy (Magistrate), and Irene Parlby (Cabinet Minister), launched the renowned Person’s Case in 1927, along with two other Alberta women: Nellie McClung (MLA) and Henrietta Muir Edwards, co-founder of the National Council of Women. Women had been persons legally in Alberta since 1917, but in 1929 the so-called Famous Five won their case, not in Canada’s Supreme Court which had found against the plaintiff, but in their subsequent appeal to the British Privy Council, and thus women throughout the British Empire became persons under the law.

Predictably, these political activists were from the ranks of reformer parties, with the exception of Nellie McClung who was elected to the Alberta Legislature in 1921 as a Liberal opposition member. The political affiliations of Roberta MacAdams and Louise McKinney were with the Non-Partisan League, a group concerned with issues and not party allegiances or policies, when they were elected in 1917; Irene Parlby was a UFA candidate in the 1921 Alberta provincial election. Parlby was also president of the United Farm Women of Alberta. Another group organized among rural women was the Alberta Women’s Institute, established in 1909 and expanding to two-hundred-twelve branches

by 1917 (Cole 2). Although perhaps it is true that “Women’s Institutes were more about housekeeping and had less interest and involvement in political affairs than the UFWA” (Langford 25), it is important to acknowledge the contribution of Women’s Institutes on a variety of women’s issues. On a very basic level, WI meetings, held in private homes throughout farming communities and which I know from my childhood, created a network of survival for a group of women who found themselves socially and intellectually isolated. Aside from accomplishing the very necessary social function of its regular gatherings, WI agendas included talk about health care, education, the Dower law (to create a wife’s legal right to her husband’s property acquired during marriage and to prevent a husband’s disinherit his wife), and other politically important topics of concern to women; on the practical side, the organization established “rest rooms” in towns, places where farm women could go to refresh themselves and their children during their occasional trips to town for shopping. At the same time, however, in spite of enormous progress, women still had to deal with the prevailing attitude of men such as that of the Vice-Principal Academic at Western Canada High School, who wrote in his 1936 address to the students that “Good pies will do much more to further happiness in a home than the knowledge of Latin or trigonometry” (*Vox Discipuli* 1935-1936: 59).

The UFA, itself having been formed from two other groups, merged with the Alberta Non-Partisan League in 1919, the year of organized labour’s six-week Winnipeg General Strike which made news headlines around the world, and became part of the national Progressive movement; ACP spent several days in 1920 recruiting members for the UFA. After WWI, commodity prices for farm products dropped while production

costs increased. The Progressives sought removal of import duties on manufactured items and lowering of freight rates for agricultural produce; the feeling among those involved with agriculture was and is that Canada's founding political parties would always privilege corporate interests in Ontario and Quebec and never concern itself overmuch with farmers' issues in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. The Progressive movement sought to break the grip of party politics, instead advancing the concept of "delegate democracy wherein those elected to Parliament would voice the concerns of their constituents without an obligation to support a political party" (Bell 12); clearly, this dream has never seen more than a glimpse of fruition, with Members of Parliament still expected and pressured, by party Whips no less, to support their party's line and seldom being freed formally to vote according to conscience. Progressive ideology led to the provincial election victory of the United Farmers of Ontario in 1919, the United Farmers of Alberta in 1921, and the United Farmers of Manitoba in 1922. The Alberta UFA government quickly created the Alberta Wheat Pool in 1923, with a mandate of "orderly marketing" (Bell 12); the Pool made partial payment to farmers on delivery of their grain to the elevator and full payment was calculated after the grain was sold. This partial-payment practice not only put money in the farmers' pockets sooner and therefore gave them expendable income sooner; but also, the strategy meant that the price paid in the end was based on the market and went to the farmer instead of to traders profiting from speculation on the Grain Exchange.

Regrettably but inevitably, the UFA began to function as a traditional party rather than as a delegate democracy because it was functioning within a structure devised for

the practice of party politics. Without fundamental change to the framework, that framework over time will force those within it into compliance with its form; in other words, this is an instance where form dictates the limits of content. The UFA elected a Calgary lawyer as its leader, rather than a farmer, and as a party rather than a movement still managed to win two more elections in 1926 and 1930 but with a smaller majority each time. However, wheat prices had begun to drop in 1929 and the Depression was underway. As a result, “There was only one government in Canada, provincial or dominion, to survive a Depression election—that of [Progressive leader] John Bracken of Manitoba in 1932 (and again in 1936)—and it was a coalition” (Rea 148). Prairie farmers were in the midst of a combined economic and environmental catastrophe, and urban unemployment in Alberta was at 25%; the financial situation was ripe for someone with a convincing plan for fiscal recovery. Calgary high school principal and radio evangelist William (familiarily known as “Bible Bill”) Aberhart like many others had read and embraced C.H. Douglas’ economic theory known as Social Credit. The basic premise is that there is not enough money in circulation to buy everything that is available to be bought; interpretation lay in what to do about this fact, and part of Aberhart’s plan was for government to pay every adult Albertan a non-currency purchasing power of \$25 per month, a substantial sum in the Dirty Thirties. This was a popular plan. Still, regardless of its popularity, no standing party would incorporate the concept into its platform, and Aberhart, who had wanted to expedite change without formally entering politics, discovered that if he wanted his plan implemented he would have to do it himself.

Alberta Social Credit was born, and although it would never exactly carry out its foundational policy, it would form the government in Alberta from 1935 to 1971. When its candidates won the 1935 election, they were a leaderless caucus initially because Aberhart had not run, but one of them stepped aside to facilitate Aberhart's entry into the Legislature via by-election, and reluctantly, he officially entered the world of party politics. During the next several years, Social Credit enacted a wide range of Acts directed at wages, debt control, taxation, licensing, and price control, all of which demonstrated that "in a social credit system, production and distribution are to be communal matters regulated by the government" (Bell 114). As its name might imply, Social Credit has a distinct socialist flavour, although some "described [certain of the government's policies] as fascist" (Bell 114). Its policies did not find favour in Calgary's exclusive Mount Royal district where only 20% of the vote was cast for Social Credit in 1935, whereas it received 68% among the working class in other regions of the city (Bell 92).

A WI report on the development in Alberta's farmhouses in the early 1940's indicates that

only 55% have electric light, 4.3% have bathrooms, 2.5% have flush toilets, 17.17% have a refrigerator, 18.1% have a telephone, 1.9% have a vacuum cleaner, only 10% have furnace heating and 57% are heated with wood. (Cole 52)

On almost all of these points ("almost all" of them only because the dates when refrigeration and vacuum cleaners were purchased are unknown), the house on the Pierce farm at Drumheller was well ahead of the average in the addition of modern conveniences. It had a telephone listing for the first time in 1922. In June, 1925, the

house was optimistically busy with plumbers and “light wiring men” (“ACP Journals” 5 Jun 1925); but commercial electricity did not come to the farm until late 1948 when the Canadian Utilities Company ran an experimental line ten miles from Drumheller out along the highway to a point just south past the farm.

Calgary had had electrical power since 1887, although of course not for everyone and not all the time because it was a luxury; when power came to smaller communities, they had electricity provided for perhaps two or three hours once or twice each day. However, while they waited for utilities to reach them, some farmers had their own wind-charged 32-volt batteries, and ACP was one of those. My eldest brother explains

There was a wind charger in the yard to the NE of the house and the battery room was what is now the upstairs bathroom. In there, there were square or rectangular shaped glass jars and the wires used to run from the charger into the jars (one wire into the first jar and then from there on from jar to jar). There was a whole mess of them and they were all hooked up in series.

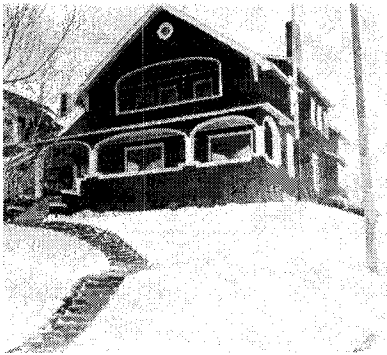
The gallon jars were the batteries and were full of acid. Eventually the battery room was renovated into a roomy full bathroom; the plumbing installed in 1925 was for the main floor and eventually serviced a tiny corner space requisitioned from the pantry to install a sink and toilet. A “pipeless furnace” was purchased at the Marshall Wells store in Drumheller and installed in the cellar during the first week of November 1940 (“ACP Journals” 4-8 Nov 1940); “furnace control chains” were used to open or close the draft in order to create more or less burn. The chains could be installed in order to be controlled from the main floor, approximating the function of a thermostat. The “ventilator from living room over furnace to kid's bedroom” (“ACP Journals” 16 Nov 1942) was installed

later in November 1942. The house was heated with coal until the late 1950's when a forced-air oil furnace replaced the coal heat that had circulated up through floor grates my siblings and I knew as children. Our grandfather's eagerness to upgrade things notwithstanding, in some cases acquisition of improvements could not be hastened no matter how innovative the householder: if there are no telephone lines in the district, a telephone in the house is a pointless embellishment. Other things, such as plumbing and wind generators, require a combination of money and a progressive attitude.

By the time the Pierces acquired a permanent city residence, Calgary had a streetcar system (established 1909), a library (1912), a radio station (1922), five hospitals (1890-1926), the Provincial Institute of Technology (1916), Alberta College of Art (1926), and at least seven movie theatres. Since its incorporation as a town in 1884 (the year ACP was born) Calgary has experienced spectacular population growth ("Frontier Town"). Throughout the twentieth century, almost every decade has seen a population increase of at least one-third; during the hard economic years of the Depression and the 1980's population growth was only around 6%. Although it will never equal the 960% increase of the first decade of the century, Calgary still added approximately another 200 000 people in the last decade. It is a cosmopolitan city, known for its high energy that never seems to wane; its attractiveness as a place to which to relocate means that it continues to have all the same logistical issues of rapid population growth combined with the need for infrastructure to support that growth that Alberta has known from the beginning. Ironically, in spite of abundant evidence to the contrary, Calgary and the West in general continue to be perceived by many as a vast backwater inferior in every way to

Central Canada. As Canada is in the contemporary American mind, mired in a combined ignorance and attitude of superiority, so the West is to the East within Canada.

City living in Calgary's Mount Royal was a completely different kind of life from life on the farm. This prestigious section of the city is where, after ten years of rental accommodation for winter residence, Craig and Adele Pierce decided to buy a city home; it was their permanent address from late 1928 until the family unit began to disperse as the girls married or went to college. The house on the corner at 1223 – 19th Avenue West



(Plate 3.1), had crystal doorknobs, front and back stairs up to the second floor, and a fireplace in the master bedroom, where “the privilege of the sick was to be put in mother’s bedroom” (Conover Interviews). The house on the corner is no longer there. None of the three houses the Pierces occupied after the girls started school is still standing, as Calgary constantly concerns itself far more with expansion than preservation. Nineteenth Avenue is called Cameron Avenue now and the house on the corner has been replaced by a condominium: where one family lived, there is now space for many. Almost all of the houses on 19th Avenue are no longer there; on the north side are 1960’s brick apartment buildings and on the south side are the 1990’s idea of beautiful living, what Mary Pierce Conover describes as “some damn modern thing” (Conover Interviews). The streets are still winding and narrow, and the trees are still mature but progress has been here and wiped out the grace that used to be lower Mount Royal. The primary motive for maintaining a year-round city residence was the issue of the girls’ schooling. By the fall of 1928, they

were aged twelve, ten, eight, and seven and already had been schooled in the city for two years; the elder three had begun schooling at Kirby school in the country, but “there was no way in hell [their] folks were going to allow [them] to be educated in a one-room



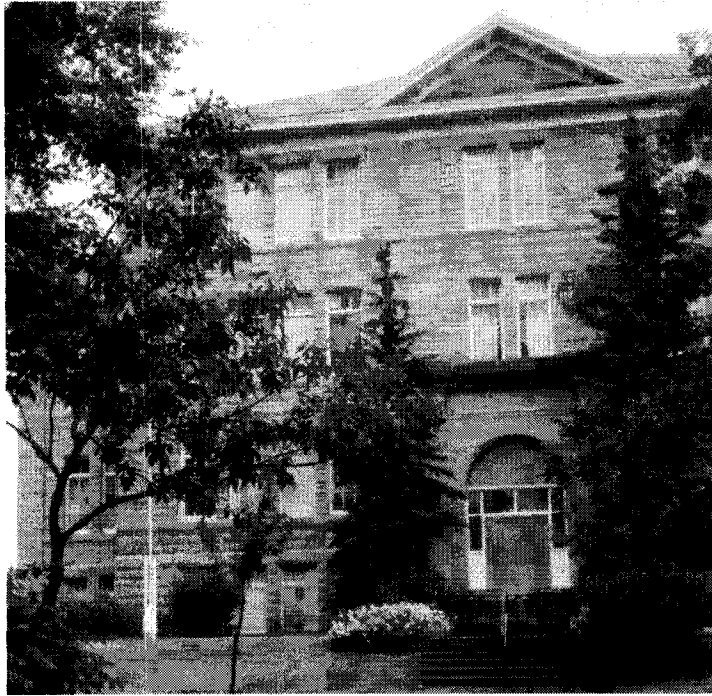
school” (Conover Interviews). The school was located approximately five miles from the farm and doubled as the community’s church (Plate 3.2), with local men taking turns leading the service.

Laura had completed grades one through three at Kirby, and Hetty and Lucy had each completed grade one there. For the first two years the girls were in the Calgary



School Board system, the family rented a house at 1929 – 5A Street West; while there, Laura attended Earl Grey (eight blocks from home), and Hetty and Lucy were at Cliff Bungalow (only two-blocks walk) (Plate 3.3) for one year. Both schools were located in Mount Royal; Cliff Bungalow is still open but operates as a Montessori school. By the time Mary started grade one in 1927, all four girls were at Earl Grey; following the move

to 1223, the girls were sent to Mount Royal School only five blocks from home until they each completed grade eight, and had to attend King Edward School (Plate 3.4) sixteen blocks away for grade nine before they went on to Western Canada High School. Mary admits “actually [her] mother was a snob,” who “was upset when [they] had to go to



King Edward [elementary-junior high school] [...] because [they] had to go to school with the riff raff” (Conover Interviews). After all, King Edward was two blocks over on the west side, the wrong side, of 14th Street, meaning it was not in Mount Royal. All of the other schools the girls attended in

Calgary were located in a very small and very upper class area. If their mother could have wielded any influence to circumvent this ruling, she most certainly would have, but the Pierces were not yet prominent enough in the city to have matters of this sort handled for them.

Drumheller was a different story, and ACP apparently made significant use there of his personal influence at about this same time on behalf of his nephew Joseph Audley Pierce, Jr., in January 1929. Junior had arrived from Pittsburgh the previous summer, ostensibly to work on the farm for the season and return home; however, he remained in

Canada through the fall, and committed a substantial robbery at the Alexandra Hotel in Drumheller. The front page newspaper account in *The Drumheller Mail* (10 January 1929: 1) refers to him as a “Pittsburgh college student” who had come to work in the area during harvest and then been employed at some unnamed job in town, but without explanation as to why he was in Alberta and not in Pennsylvania mid-way through the academic year; indeed, there is no known explanation for this since ACP’s journals offer none, and no one remembers. He earned \$2 a day plus room and board for twenty-four days of harvesting in September and then disappeared from the journal record. The lack of any mention of Junior through October to December 1928, when he was still in the near vicinity, is suggestive of something, certainly, but it is impossible to know exactly what. The paper reported that, “being out of employment and short of money, he succumbed to temptation” (*The Drumheller Mail* 10 January 1929: 1). The paper does what no newspaper, no matter how reputable or disreputable, would consider doing now: it makes no mention of what everyone in town undoubtedly knew: the defendant was Craig Pierce’s nephew. Clearly, the unemployed-and-out-of-cash angle quite simply was less than the whole truth. Junior’s agreement to plead guilty, make restitution of the \$200 theft, and leave the country “to go back to his parents immediately” (*The Drumheller Mail* 10 January 1929: 1) in exchange for suspension of his twelve-month sentence, could only have been accomplished through his uncle’s influence. If he’d been a less noteworthy person’s nephew, he would have served his year in jail and then likely been deported. As it was, two days after conclusion of his trial on January 8th, ACP escorted him by train all the way home to Pennsylvania (“ACP Journals” 10 Jan 1929). On the

same day the report appeared in the paper, Junior left Calgary for good. His father met them at the station in Pittsburgh on the 13th; we can assume it was a rather grim homecoming. ACP visited with his family for a few days and returned home to Calgary having done his duty to his older brother by keeping his only son out of jail.

For the next dozen years, the Pierce girls lived relatively unaware of the degree to which they were privileged people. More than once they remarked that the Depression had no real effect on them, although they did recall men coming to the back door asking for a meal in exchange for carrying out some small task. Both Hetty and Mary said that their mother never sent a man away unfed. Almost certainly, the girls were sheltered so far as possible from the financial impact of the worldwide depression which was compounded by the dismal agricultural conditions of the Dirty Thirties; however, while they were spared the fears and losses experienced by so many on the prairies, there had to be measureable financial realities which impacted their lives. Mary says “the only thing I recall about the Depression was I wanted a bike and we couldn’t afford a bike and then I got a bike [...] I did not feel it. I don’t recall the bread lines” (Conover Interviews).

The Mount Royal house was bought on the eve of the stock market crash of 1929, amid seemingly stable economic times, where farming expenses and income were increasing roughly at an equivalent rate; there was “relative prosperity on the prairies in the late 1920s—based on good, stable grain prices and above average yields” (Rea 133), and perhaps fiscal prudence during that decade helped somewhat to minimize the potential for disaster when the sudden and dramatic change came. An earlier period of strife, when “the price of wheat, which had stood at \$2.82 / bushel in September 1920,

had suffered a long, frightening slide to \$1.11 / bushel in December 1921” (Rea 98), showed how uncertain a market there was for grain and the memory would not have faded although security had returned. Prices for agricultural products and prices paid for manufactured goods were nearly the same ratio in 1926 as they had been in 1913. However, “At harvest time, 1930, a common grade of wheat sold for \$1.40 per bushel, but by early spring 1931, the price had dropped to 40 cents, dropping further to a low of 16 cents” (Monto 37). This mathematical reality “caused the net income per farm in Alberta to drop from \$1,975 in 1927 to only \$54 in 1933” (Bell 14). Mary recalls that their mother “was very frugal” (Conover Interviews), but the Pierces made only personal use of their non-grain farm products in the city; they did not sell garden produce, meat, or dairy products out the back door. Mary relates the story of how

Daddy would come in from the farm on Friday night [...] and bring [...] milk and cream and [there would be] a hundred million at least of glass quarts and a funnel and my mother would scald them. (Conover Interviews)

Adele would make and sell doughnuts, but that money was donated to Wesley United Church (Conover Interviews). The impact of any economic stressors there may have been was absorbed by the parents, allowing the girls to remain blissfully untroubled by uncertainty; Hetty said she knew at the time things were difficult for others, but that it really did not affect them. Insulated from real deprivations by virtue of family money (though not enormous wealth, on both sides) and upper-class neighbourhood, “The Pierce Girls,” as they were known, enjoyed the 1930’s, strange as it may sound.

The girls “didn’t even make [their] own beds [... but] Thursday was the maid’s day off—then [they] had to do the dishes” (Conover Interviews). They attended Western

Canada High School (Plate 3.5), which according to the school yearbook by 1939 had a staff of fifty and over fifteen-hundred students and was the largest school in Western



Canada (*The Acatec* 1938-1939: 5, 15). It also was located in lower Mount Royal and “as close as you came to private school” (Conover Interviews), where the entire academic-student

population was as privileged and white as they were. The school had no written dress code, because it had no need for one; the students just dressed in a certain way. “The boys wouldn’t dress casually [...] shirts and ties and suits [...] not everybody but an awful lot”; those who did not wear suits wore a “shirt and tie and sweater” (Penley Interview). In 1937, Dunn’s Tailors sold suits and coats, made only of “All British Woolens,” for \$15.95, \$18.95, and \$21.95 (*The Acatec* 1937-1938: 154). Western Canada was strictly an academic institution until 1935-36 when the school began offering technical courses, such as cooking, sewing, metals, woods, and electricity. Because of their uniqueness, the technical programmes drew students from all over the city, but the academic programmes remained strictly regional (Penley Interview). Mary remembers no people of colour whatsoever, but the yearbooks spanning the five years (1934-39) when the Pierce girls were students there do have one or two non-European faces, the children of prosperous Asian business people. Calgary was a very white city at the time, and

although it remains so when compared to much larger Canadian urban centres, the city has a vigorous ethnic and racial mix two generations later.

During the 1930's, the school paper included the occasional racist reference, such as one about "not-too-bright Eskimos [.... and] North American Indian[s]" in a so-called humour piece on the correlation between intelligence and high brows, easily disproven by the so-called fact that "Eskimos" and "Indians" have the highest foreheads on earth (*The Western Mirror* 2.6 [18 January 1937]: 6). The picture of an extraordinary racial imbalance at the time, the school at the turn of the twenty-first century has become a very broadly diverse racial community with an equally mixed class representation drawn from high-performing academic students across the city. None of the Pierce girls ever indicated that either of their parents led them to believe they were racially superior to any other people, all the hired household help were white and "treated like family" (Conover Interviews), but they lived in a world with built-in structures of apartness pertaining to race and class. ACP's college fraternity, for example, had no issues of race at the time he joined because "When Phi Delta Theta was founded college men were mostly of one race, creed and color" (Havighurst 82) so exclusionary policies were moot. However, "a century later the college population was as varied as the census [....] and [American] west coast chapters became concerned about the membership of Orientals" (82); those chapters passed racist resolutions in 1910 and 1912.

In the mid-1950s, those same chapters were thoroughly pressed (on threat of losing their campus charters) to rescind these rules and complied at the 1956 General Convention, strategically wording their new membership restriction which "eliminates

any reference to race, color or creed but stipulates [...] all members [...] must be acceptable to *all* chapters” (83-4), thus deftly circumventing university regulations and maintaining in practice their exclusive membership rolls by saying it without literally saying it. There is no source of information to indicate what Craig Pierce had to say about this issue which was of specific relevance to him; while he did not end his association (on the contrary, far from it) with the fraternity on the basis of this “Knotty Question” (82), he was a member of the non-exclusive Renfrew Club in Calgary, where he played bridge with Mr. Goldberg (“ACP Journals” 13 Dec 1937). Since he once also harboured bootleggers overnight in 1919 (“ACP Journals” 25 Nov 1919), he apparently did not embrace all of the attitudes of his rather temperate and racist fraternal organization. Rather, he lived in the world and that was the way of the world; just as “A widespread fraternity exists in the stream of life, and the currents of history flow through and around it” (Havighurst 82), so those currents flowed around him. Admittedly, this sparse information does not satisfy, and, in fact, dissatisfies in its potential reading as a gloss of unpleasant possibilities, and some more explicit statement of his thinking is much to be desired.

The most awkward piece of evidence on the issue of race that exists for the Pierces is in a letter Laura wrote at the age of eleven to her mother, in which she writes of their cat “Niger.” It took several readings before realization dawned on my temporal distance: my assumption that this was a clever naming of a cat after the African river was mistaken and that far more likely this is a misspelling on the girl’s part, that the undoubtedly black cat was named “Nigger.” Mary is unable to confirm this because she

does not remember the cat, although she thinks there was a workhorse on the farm named “Nig.” Unfortunately, this sparse information is everything available to me that addresses issues of race, including the question of lands, rights, and perceptions of Prairie Aboriginal peoples, and disappointingly does not allow for any conclusion beyond an unhappy acceptance that here is an example of unconscious malice, the kind of social practice in which people engage as a result of unexamined cultural norms, a passive, received racism. However, in this household, based on the daughters’ recollections, social class does seem to have been a far greater concern than race, and that for Adele far more than for Craig. This is consistent with Alberta itself, which is far more classist than racist. Financial prosperity is the first measure of a person here, a measure that has its roots in the Protestant work ethic, and race is a secondary measure.

Neither of these issues had any bearing on the girls’ social lives, since no one of difference ever entered their sphere. All of their dates came for them by car, never on foot, and never by streetcar (Conover Interviews). They always went to the very regular dances at Penley’s Academy, “formal big dances” (Penley Interview) sponsored not by the school but by any of the various clubs and fraternities or sororities at school; it would “never occur to [them] not to be going” (Conover Interviews). Some of the social rules included the fact that “Girls couldn’t go without dates, even groups of girls. Frequently [they’d] have corsages [...] and a long dress. Fellas just wore suits” (Conover Interviews). The girls could get a \$2.50 student special at Locke’s Permanent Wave Shoppe, or other waves for up to \$6.50, and if they needed a hat they could pop into the Darling Hat Shop for “The Smartest in Millinery” with prices ranging from just \$1.88 to

\$4.88 (*The Acatec* 1937-1938: 155, 159). For the price of “50 cents per couple,” the dances featured an orchestra, perhaps “Larry Seville’s [...] ‘Hi-Hatters’” (*Western Mirror* 2.7 [25 January 1937]: 1), never records, and sometimes with a singer, and refreshments downstairs at intermission. Did they have dance cards? “Oh gosh yes.” These were formal, printed cards; each evening had a set number of dances. The rule was that a girl danced at least the first and last dances with her date, and also spent the intermission in his company. If another boy wanted to ask a girl to dance, he first had to ask her date for permission to ask her; if the date was agreeable, the girl then could be asked and did not feel compelled to accept even though her escort would allow it (Penley Interview). The orchestra would have played Artie Shaw tunes (once Shaw “overthrew Benny Goodman to become the popular leader of the thousands of jitterbugs and swing fans”), Jack Leonard songs with Tommy Dorsey’s band, Bing Crosby of course, and Ella Fitzgerald (*The Acatec* 1938-39: 78). The songs would have included covers of Rudy Vallee’s “Vieni Vieni,” and other songs with the trend of “foreign titles,” such as “Ti-pi-tin” and “Bei Mir Bist Du Schoen”; and “beautiful Scottish lyrics were caught in the swing-man’s noose [...] ‘Loch Lomond’ and [...] ‘Swingin’ Through the Rye’” (*The Acatec* 1937-38: 19). When they danced,

The dignified waltz and the customary fox-trot were shelved, to be replaced by a bedlamish combination of a gymnastic display and nature in the raw [...] crazy hooting crowds [...] hopped, skipped and jumped around Penley’s and St. Mark’s yelling, ‘Praise Allah!’ and ‘Truck in behind!’ [...] the names of the alleged dance steps that made up the miscellaneous collection known as the ‘Big Apple’ [...] were: truckin’, shaggin’, Susie Q., peckin’, and posin’. (*The Acatec* 1937-38: 23)

Penley's School of Dance was on 8th Avenue, west of Eaton's; after the dance, in the tradition of dating youth, they'd go to a favourite spot, such as a café. "On 4th Street [which is still a major restaurant strip] there was a place. It was all counters and of course a big Wurlitzer [juke box] and we'd always go there after Penley's" (Conover Interviews). Students at Western Canada also had after-school dances, called "Lits" (no one can tell me why), which would run for an hour or so starting at 4 o'clock. As with the dances at Penley's, Lits would be sponsored by student groups. This "sock-hop" type gathering was not exclusive to Western Canada High School, but Crescent Heights High School never hosted a dance. William Aberhart was principal there from 1915-1935, before his political career made him Premier of Alberta, and exercised such rigid control over his students' social lives that he even dictated how they spent their off-campus, out-of-school hours. Ken Penley remembers a Crescent Heights boy who formed a band with his friends and played at Penley's one night. On the next day of school, Aberhart summoned the boy to his office where he was "threatened with expulsion" (Penley Interview)—and the band never played again. Aberhart was "associated with a number of fundamentalist churches before he and his colleagues established the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute in 1927" (Bell 13), and although not ordained, Aberhart did preach in churches on a pulpit relief basis; he also had a weekly evangelistic radio broadcast starting in 1925 and continuing even after his election—a conflict which would be unacceptable in today's political climate. The broad audience appeal of the programme and of Aberhart's personal style meant there was a ready-made network prepared and attentive when Aberhart began to promote Social Credit theory over the air; Northern

Alberta, however, did not have radio reception for the programme, and Social Credit's share of the popular vote there was correlatively low (Monto 42).

In contrast to those governed by Principal Aberhart, there were no edicts against dancing and social activities for Laura, Hetty, Lucy, and Mary. The Pierce girls never had a curfew, never went straight home after a dance, and in fact would have been "mad if [they] did" (Conover Interviews). "Sometimes [they'd] go park—but [they] were very pure" (Conover Interviews). Mary insists that kissing was the limit of these parking interludes, that no boy ever even attempted to touch her "below the neck":

Nobody had sex with anybody—no no no no no [...] I had lots and lots and lots and lots of boyfriends but nobody ever laid a glove on me—ever—he didn't even try—and we used to do a lot of parking but there was never any of this back-seat stuff [...] It did not exist [...] We didn't drink either—no drinking and no sex and no attempt at sex. (Conover Interviews)

But casual sex did not exist to such an extent that their parents never talked to them about it. Mary admits that there were "fast girls," and when one "went to get her appendix out [they'd] think 'hmmm'" (Conover Interviews). Their mother told the Pierce girls she trusted them, even when they "were out until all hours [... and] were every direction, driving in cars, going to dances, [... she] trusted [them]—sometimes with fear and trembling, but [she] trusted [them]" (Conover Interviews), and of course she knew all their friends; this was the mother's territory and their father "didn't butt into [their] social lives" (Conover Interviews).

Just as the Depression and date sex "did not exist," neither did homosexuality. Mary recalls one boy at school who

to the best of [her] knowledge was the only gay person [they] knew [....] Gay hadn't been invented yet [....] [He] was effeminate—that's all [...], but in retrospect [she] [didn't] think at the time that [they] thought he was gay or whatever [....] No, [they] just thought he was effeminate—*real*. (Conover Interviews)

Apparently, this young man benefitted from the general ignorance of his schoolmates in that he was not harassed; since “gay hadn't been invented yet,” neither had gay bashing—at least not within this very limited scope. To Mary's knowledge, no one ever beat him up or gave him any trouble for his difference. Anyone else whose orientation was outside the narrow norm either lived in opposition to that orientation, or functioned underground, or both. To the list of descriptors “white” and “privileged,” add “straight.” Everyone was heterosexual, so much so that the term had no purpose.

During their high school years, the two younger girls were in a state of constant social motion. The norm was for groups of friends to plan activities together. Many Sunday evenings would find “twenty-five boys and maybe five girls, maybe just Lucy and [Mary] and [their friend] Margaret” (Conover Interviews) at the Pierce house. Craig and Adele would be out playing bridge, and at home “Gord Humphries [whose brother married my mother] would be playing the piano and [they'd] dance and [Mary] remember[s] sitting around the dining room table playing cards” (Conover Interviews). Craig and Adele would call promptly at ten o'clock, just before heading home themselves, to tell the girls it was time to break up the party. Craig and Adele's social set was drawn primarily from the ranks of Craig's business contacts; the husbands of many of the couples with whom they associated had offices in the Lancaster Building, downtown on the corner of 8th Avenue and 2nd Street. The ten-storey sandstone brick

building housed lawyers, accountants, insurance agents, grain-trade companies, and various energy-resource companies, and was located near the Grain Exchange building.

The Lancaster (Plate 3.6) listings in *Henderson's Calgary Directory* show it to be a



convenient one-stop industry and commerce hub, where a man could walk the halls and find an office door lettered with the name of someone in whatever profession or occupation he found himself in need, and consequently also encounter an addition to the social life of his family. In this community of the prosperous the parents socialized with whomever the husband conducted his business, and their children all attended the same school and the same parties.

There is no question that the Pierce girls were immensely popular; the high school yearbooks and newspapers clearly support the image Mary paints of the younger girls as the focal point of the “innest” crowd there was. For the academic year 1937-1938 there are only six issues of the weekly *Western Mirror* that mention neither Lucy nor Mary. Laura and Hetty, though, did not have a role in this social whirl; the older sisters were, for different reasons, moving in a less carefree and heady round of events.

And soon, they all were. Saturday nights spent “hanging on the radio [...] for the Hit Parade” (Conover Interviews) came to a dramatic halt at the end of August 1939.

These friends spent the first night of World War II all together, stayed up all night at a friend's house, "and the next day all the guys went out and enlisted"; "[the girls] went to college and they went to war. Everybody went to war" (Conover Interviews) (Plates 3.7-3.10). All my uncles went to war.



R. Gordon Humphries



Lorne S. McMurchy



Henry M. Conover



James J. Jardine, Jr.

CHAPTER FOUR

Dramatis Personae 1: Margaret Adele Moore Pierce

MAM is the first of my six subjects by birth, born in 1882 in the bituminous-coal country along the Allegheny Plateau of south-western Pennsylvania; her father was general manager of the River View Coal Mining Company. Her birthplace was a quasi-town called Catfish Camp, located along a tributary of Catfish Creek that, according to local tourism brochures, was “the first county created after the signing of the Declaration of Independence” and was “the only county established during the Revolution.” The town was “originally the village of Delaware native-American chief Tingoocqua, who had been nicknamed ‘Chief Catfish’.” MAM shares her birth year with James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and Igor Stravinsky (and therefore Modernism itself). Oscar Wilde made his 1882 lecture tour in the United States at the same time that Jesse James was shot and killed in St. Joseph, Missouri. With one foot on either side of the chasm, as always happens in times of change, the world was on the verge of one of its periodic major perceptual adjustments. In the United States, the Supreme Court upheld an Alabama law that punished illegal interracial sexual activity more harshly than illegal intra-racial intimacies; Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act that would keep Chinese labourers out of the country for ten years. Ironically, while lawmakers sought to secure a racial dark age in the U.S., Edison himself turned on the lights in New York Central Station, the first commercial electric lights. The tuberculosis bacillus was isolated in 1882. FDR and Eamon de Valera share MAM’s birth year too. Italy entered into an agreement with Germany and Austro-Hungary to form the Triple Alliance; the British occupied Egypt: old empires manoeuvring to maintain their dominance in a world that was producing a new

generation of revolutionary thinkers. In this microcosm of 1882, world politics, science, and the arts clearly had identifiable components set in place for dramatic and large-scale change.

The comparatively unworldly Catfish Camp had three successive locations all in what is now the townsite of Washington, Pennsylvania, located about twenty miles south from the outskirts of modern-day Pittsburgh: Sharls' Farm, Allison Avenue, and the present location of the Immaculate Conception Roman Catholic Church. At some point, the Moore family moved to Kittanning on the Allegheny River (where Dellie's parents had been married), eighty miles to the north-east of Washington, but relocated to Buffalo in 1890 when she was eight. Her dearest friendship, with Lucy Allen, for whom she would name her third daughter, was formed during her years in Buffalo; Lucy became a photographer and later married Frank Sipprell, a moderately-renowned photographic-portraitist who would later make many of the photographs of Adele and particularly of her children. It is one of the most profound disappointments of my research that I have been unable to trace the existence of any letters Adele undoubtedly wrote to describe her life in the west to her best friend.

The Moores lived in a large three-story frame house at 618 Richmond Avenue, a broad street bordered by house after enormous house with hitching posts along the street for carriage horses, but they summered in a bungalow at 9 Hurst Avenue in Chautauqua. These houses survive but have long been out of the family. A few blocks from the Richmond Avenue house is the imposing, dark-red brick United Methodist Episcopal Church with its glorious rose window, where the family would have attended services. The Chautauqua house with its low-roofed veranda and leaded-glass windows now seems located in a time capsule along the narrow, winding, tree-lined streets, planned for horses rather than

automobiles, on the shores of Lake Chautauqua. In the full summer shade of those trees, the town is now a cultural centre and enjoys summers of intellectual and artistic lectures, courses, and performances which have made the name Chautauqua so well known; the houses are rented for the season by the privileged few who can afford the leisure to enrich themselves for months at a time in peaceful (almost carless) surroundings. This house was built by the family and is the only survivor of three matching homes. The other two were located side-by-side on Water Street by the Allegheny River in Kittanning (one-hundred miles south of Chautauqua) and were the homes of Dellie's maternal cousins; both of these houses disappeared some time after the mid-1960s. The Chautauqua house is where Dellie, as MAM was sometimes called, awaited the births of her first and last children.

She lived on Richmond Avenue until 1898 when she was sixteen, during which time her brother Mac was at Yale, while Al and Arthur, the two elder brothers, were established in their banking and coal-executive careers; then she returned to Washington for four years as a boarding student at the Washington Female Seminary, serendipitously located on Maiden Street. The school was established in 1835 when "a number of prominent men in the town, who wished to begin a school for the advanced education of their daughters, met at the home of Congressman McKennan" (Branton 3). The buildings were three stories and included "forty lodging rooms" (Branton 12); approximately one-quarter of the one-hundred-forty-member student body were boarders (Branton 39) and "most of the rooms accommodate[d] two pupils, but [were] furnished with single beds" (*Catalogue 1902-03* 18). Applications to the boarding department had to be "accompanied by suitable references" (*Catalogue 1902-03* 18) and parents were "requested to furnish the Principals

with lists of the persons with whom they [were] willing to have their daughters correspond” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 18). When Adele entered the Seminary, its education buildings were brand new: “Roman Classic in design, of vitrified brick with moulded brick trimmings” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 6). Graduates of the college preparatory programme were guaranteed admission to the Freshman class at Vassar (*Catalogue 1902-03* 7); but Adele registered in that stream for only her first year (*Catalogue 1898-99* 36; *Catalogue 1899-1900* 35; *Catalogue 1900-01* 30; *Catalogue 1902-03* 23). Her remaining three years were not academically less demanding, however; of between thirty and forty girls in a Freshman class, only about one-third to one-half would complete the Senior year.

In Adele’s class of thirty-four students who were together for three years of the programme, twenty-one completed the fourth year and graduated (*Catalogue 1907-08* 64). Adele’s grades are unavailable but she did graduate; her diploma is dated 3 June 1902 and the calendar sternly warns “that it should be clearly understood [...] that a certificate [would] be given by the school only for work which [was] thoroughly satisfactory” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 7). The *Annual Catalogue for 1902-03* boasts that the school’s “graduates, numbering hundreds, and its students, numbering thousands, [...] occup[ied] places of influence in this and other lands” (6). Applicants had either to present certificates from previous schools or pass entrance examinations to gain admission (*Catalogue 1902-03* 7); the difference between the College Preparatory Course and the Regular Course was “mainly in the greater variety of subjects” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 8) rather than intellectual rigour and discipline: the College Preparatory Course was much narrower, focussing especially on language study (English, and three of Latin, Greek, French, or German) and

Mathematics, with very little Science or History (*Catalogue 1902-03* 15). The Regular Course served to “give mental discipline and culture to students who [did] not intend to pursue their studies further” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 8). The faculty list consisted exclusively of unmarried women; only the principal, matron, and resident nurse were married women; J.M. Blose, the pipe organ instructor, likely was the sole male on campus and the Board of Trustees, of course, was entirely made up of men (*Catalogue 1902-03* 3-5).

This was not a school for “finishing” and teaching young ladies the domestic arts; they were not taught how to look after husbands and families. On the contrary, the prospectus expressly states that domestic things such as “dressmaking [...] should be attended to at home, as [it took] the time of the pupils from recreation and study” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 19). By graduation, the Regular Course girls (*Catalogue 1902-03* 14) had eight semester courses of either Latin, French, or German; eight for the English Language and Literature requirement which included three terms of Rhetoric, four of British Literature (two of which were Shakespeare in the senior year), and one of American Literature; and eight semesters of the Bible: two each of Life of Christ, Old Testament History, Poetic and Prophetic Books, and The Epistles. Students completed five or six Mathematics courses, including three in Algebra, two in Geometry, and perhaps an elective in Trigonometry; three terms of History, including one in the Constitutional History of the U.S. The school also was equipped with a laboratory where the students carried out experiments in conjunction with the four Science courses they completed in Physics, Botany, Physiology, and Chemistry, while Geology, Astronomy, and Psychology additionally were offered as electives. Finally, the curriculum requirements were rounded

out with one term of study each in Ethics, Political Economy, Mythology, and Art History. The in-class load per week was eighteen and nineteen hours in the two freshman terms; nineteen and eighteen in the sophomore year; nineteen in both junior terms; and at least sixteen or more electives in each of the senior terms.

The seminary prospectus outlines a daily regimen (*Catalogue 1902-03* 17) that began with breakfast at 7:00, ended with the “Retiring bell” at 9:30, and included a substantial two hours of “Physical culture and out-door exercise.” Aside from bath and bed linens, girls were expected to bring from home “Six table napkins and napkin ring,” “Spoon, knife and plate for personal use in room,” and a “Linen scarf for bureau and washstand” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 19). The prospectus also contains the caution that “As a matter of good taste we recommend the strictest simplicity in dress and ornaments. Low-necked and sleeveless gowns are not suitable for school girls” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 19). The fees schedule indicates that basic “Board with furnished room, light, heat, washing (one dozen garments per week) and Tuition in English, Latin, Greek, French, German and Scientific Studies” were billed at \$300 per year plus an additional \$75 per year for girls enrolled in the Regular or College Preparatory Departments (*Catalogue 1902-03* 20), not an insignificant sum. Additional fees were levied for extra-academic accomplishments such as those offered to students enrolled in Music and Art. Lessons in Piano, Pipe Organ, Voice, or Music Theory were charged at rates between \$20 - \$75 per year; Art (oils, watercolours, and pastels) and Drawing (pencil, pen, or crayon) were \$50 each per year; Elocution was also \$50 per year (*Catalogue 1902-03* 20). The prospectus proudly points out that “Many eminent persons visit[ed] the Seminary from time to time and the young women [had] the

benefit of special addresses from them” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 19). Sadly, none of these noteworthy individuals are listed by name.

Almost without doubt, however, these “eminent persons” were male, and the unornamented, sleeve-bedecked young ladies listened very politely to the “special addresses” delivered for their edification. Their thoroughly restricted social contact, both in the form of visitors and correspondents, makes clear the degree of control the girls lived under during school terms but this would have been little different (if at all) from the experience of most well-bred young ladies at the time, whether at home or away. The girls would not have felt imprisoned or unduly restrained; homesickness likely would have been the greatest problem for those who boarded on Maiden Street. Travel home for weekends was out of the question in terms of logistics so that their cloistered living in a homogeneous society would necessarily have been an intensely formative period. Certainly, the regulations at Washington Female Seminary reflect “the codes and practices of a particular instrument of social control—the American prep school” (Brookeman 58). In the same way that college preparatory schools for boys were “created [...] to educate, socialize, and monitor the male offspring of the professional and business classes” (Brookeman 59), so too was “Sem” created, its students “transported from [...] home—parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, servants black and white—to a reductive world composed of [...] peers and faculty [...] [and the] deliberate isolation of the middle-class child from surrounding society” (Brookeman 60). The section of the seminary prospectus outlining the mandate of the boarding department is headed “Home Department” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 18) and makes

explicit the “official image of the prep school as an idealized family standing *in loco parentis*” (Brookeman 61).

The Seminary’s Home Department’s goal was to attend to the “health, character and general culture of pupils [...] [and] to develop in students the power of self-control and self-government” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 18). The prospectus promises that dormitory life “[was] made home-like and the restrictions imposed [were] only such as [were] necessary for the welfare and comfort of all” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 18); nevertheless, “No pupil [was] retained who [was] unable to adapt herself to the requirements of the school” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 18). Given the carefully itemized restrictions concerning visitors, correspondents, clothing and personal decoration, and that students were “required to attend religious service in the company of a teacher” (*Catalogue 1902-03* 18), it is quite clear that the school’s administration anticipated the students’ self-control and self-government would take a prescribed form. Still, all of this policing notwithstanding, living in a community of women, seeing educated women educating others in turn, would have been an empowering and stimulating experience. The girls from Washington Female Seminary would be at least as well-equipped with an intellectual confidence for their lives as they were for the domestic realm by their training at home; these young women left school firmly aware that they were not, to use the vernacular, “no minds.” They were thinking women with sufficient formal preparation to engage in conversation with formally educated men and women; their attitudes and beliefs about themselves and their abilities would introduce a tangible measure of equality into their lives.

Perhaps this is a contributing factor to Adele's remaining single for many years after her graduation. The family story is that "she was having too much fun to get married." This scripted response is given verbatim when the question is raised with senior family members. No doubt it is more complicated than that, but the statement has a basic truth to it. Adele remained unmarried for thirteen years after leaving the seminary; she was beautiful, socially more-than-acceptable, had opportunities. Of special worth in American social standing is the military connection of the family. MAM was, in her own words, "descended from the Revolution" (MAM 2 Apr 1957), and was in fact a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution; her father had served the Union under Sherman, Burnside, and Grant in the Civil War, was present at Lee's surrender, and been wounded at South Mountain. Her photo album records casual daytime outings with mixed groups of friends and has enough snapshots of two young men in particular as to make it likely they were serious contenders for her hand. They were both students at Cornell University in Ithaca, located on the tip of one of the Finger Lakes in central New York State, and so may have been Buffalo boys, although LeMoyne was a Washington, Pennsylvania name as well and spellings are variable entities. Luis de Lemoine and "Prep" [possibly John C.] Moyer were both Mechanical Engineering students (Dean); something about engineers obviously appealed to her—she eventually married a former student of Civil Engineering. She also evidently was liberal enough not to mind too much if they neglected to earn degrees, since neither Luis nor her future husband completed theirs.

Adele's photo album, acquired in July 1902, is not entirely trustworthy because there is some year hopping in the arrangement of the photographs, but all of the pictures are taken

between 1900-1910. The most fascinating component is the juxtaposition of pictures taken on picnics, with ladies in long dresses and men in stiff collars and tight-coated suits, with contrasting rustic photographs of a log cabin in the Rocky Mountains of southern Alberta, as well as snapshots of a Yale Commencement placed with another of three men in a CP boxcar moving camp. Although the events at Yale and those in the boxcar are separated by eight years in time, they are shuffled together in the album in a way that demonstrates the two poles of Adele's life taking shape. She was a city-bred young lady, educated, and acquainted with well-bred, Yale- and Cornell-educated young men; she was accustomed to comfort and security. But she possessed some inner quality that made the innovative courting methods of a Lehigh University dropout too much of a lure to resist. Beside the photos of city boys with their college letters on their chests are pictures of a stubble-faced, work-booted, adventurer wearing gauntlets and a battered hat, who had already been to Panama and back and had now gone west.

The album makes the choice before her as immediate as it must have been in her own mind, even though the process lasted a decade or more. When those pictures began to arrive from Oregon and Alberta, they offered her the excitement of the unknown at a time when she had had more-of-the-same for long enough. If she had not been confident in her self she would not have continued as a spinster to the age of thirty-three. As it was, she had the luxury of waiting afforded to her by her economic class and her multi-faceted self-confidence: aside from her educational and physical excellences already noted, her fortuitous birth-order advantages of being the baby as well as the only daughter meant that "the little princess" was extended a more-than-usual right always to go home. She went

home to live in Buffalo when she left Washington; her sixty-one-year-old father died the following year, when she was twenty-one, and she would have felt a sense of duty, as the only female child, to remain with her mother. By the time she went north after graduation she may well have met Craig Pierce (the adventurer-to-be), who was an eighteen-year-old private-school student in Pittsburgh with two years to go before his graduation. She either knew him then or met him within a very few years when she and her mother returned to live near family in Kittanning; it is very near his home territory of McKeesport. He always said it took him ten years to convince her to marry him—therefore they knew each other by 1905 at the latest. Surprisingly, Adele was not unusual in her single status: according to the 1907-08 Seminary alumnae list (by which time they were all at least twenty-five-years old), only five of twenty-one graduates from 1902 had metamorphosed into Mrs. Somebody.

The family's geographic connection was strong enough for Adele's father to be buried with her mother's people in the Allison family burial plot in Kittanning; in the hilltop family circle there is also a low grey-granite stone inscribed simply "ADELE DIED FEB. 10 1882." This female relation (most probably her mother's sister) died while Dellie was in the womb; she shared this name when she was born five months later. Although it is not uncommon to find names recycled in this way, there has to be a profound strangeness in visiting a cemetery to see a stone with your own name and year of birth displayed, a shocking, capitalized announcement that "Adele died." The surviving Adele was the last of four children (at least of those who survived and are known): she had three older brothers: Arthur Allison (born 1872), Thomas Allison (born 1874), and Malcolm (born 1880). The oldest boys, Arthur and Al, were ten and eight when she was born; Mac, with whom she

was especially close, was only two. The childless six-year gap is an unfillable silence but it is unlikely that those years passed for Laura and James Moore without a miscarriage or stillbirth or two.

The anxieties of maternal and child mortality which were such a tangible reality in the late nineteenth-century surrounded Adele's own birth especially because the family had intimate experience with the death of babies. Three of the children born in her Uncle Thomas' house, in the few years around Mac and Dellie's births, were cousins who did not live: Nellie was five months old when she died in 1881, Royal was born six days after the second Adele and died at the age of nine months in 1883, and Mary M. made it all the way to her sixth birthday before her death in 1885. The first Adele must have died unmarried (since there is no surname on her gravestone), and there is also a John B. Allison whose dates are unknown; their parentage (but not their affiliation with the family) is indefinite but I suspect, because of the positioning of their graves and the design of their headstones, that they are adult siblings of Adele's mother. The fathers of all these dead children were physicians; medical father- and son-in-law who could not save the family's own babies and make them thrive. When Adele was having her babies, thirty-five years later, these same fears were expressed in letters sent and received. After her first child's birth, messages arrived from friends and family who were "So relieved and delighted when it was all over dear" (Hayward 23 Sept [1916]), "so glad the strain is over" (A.A. Moore 9 Sept 1916), and "so glad it's over and you are all right" (Sipprell n.d. [10 Sept 1916]). Adele wrote to her sister-in-law Pearl Pierce that she "[didn't] believe in getting things like the crib, carriage Etc before hand—Too often the first baby doesn't stay in the world very long" (MAM n.d.

[Nov 1916]); later, when her baby Laura was four months old, Adele wrote to Pearl again that she “wouldn’t leave her for long at a time for anything as the baby of friends of mine turned on his face and was smothered last month and he was just a little older than Laura” (MAM 9 Jan 1917).

These six letters to Pearl are generous with information about prenatal nutrition, breast care, and the experience of labour and delivery. Pearl was pregnant with her first child, due a few months after Adele’s, and the letters are filled with that enthusiastic willingness to inform the uninitiated that only the suddenly and fully wise can demonstrate. Adele recommends a serial called “Diary of an Expectant Mother” appearing in the *Pictorial Review* starting in January 1917 and encourages Pearl to “write and tell me all your feelings” (MAM 9 Jan 1917) and to ask “Anything in the world” (MAM n.d. [4 Oct 1916]) because she herself “would have been glad to have had any one to ask who had recent experience” (MAM n.d. [4 Oct 1916]). Adele reported that her morning sickness lasted only for the first trimester (MAM n.d. [4 Oct 1916]), and for her last trimester she became a devotee of “Tokology,” the science of parturition and obstetrics, which at the time advocated a dietary system she believed to be “the right dope” and which she subsequently adhered to “pretty conscientiously—ate hardly any [red] meat and just scads of fruit [...] instead of eating solids I filled up on fruit—ate apples by the ton” (MAM n.d. [4 Oct 1916]). The object seems to have been as much to keep the baby’s birth weight down as it was designed for maternal nutrition; later in the same letter she noted “It certainly paid me to take care of myself though. The other women there had eaten unwisely and had great big

babies, two were still born [sic] because they were so big” (MAM n.d. [4 Oct 1916]). There was always that fear of infant mortality.

But also present is Adele’s own body consciousness. In one of the letters to Pearl, she confides that

The hardest part to me has been looking so sloppy. You know you will never be the same shape again and I am so big and fat. Simply can’t wear a thing I ever had before and I never had any breasts to speak of—now they are large and I weigh 30 pounds more than when we were married. Of course, I am wonderfully well—but 168 is some weight! (MAM n.d. [Nov 1916])

The postpartum realities of shape combine with the metabolic slowdown consistent with her mid-thirties age and reflect with an unpleasant suddenness back to her wedding-day body of only one year earlier. The immediacy of these physical events had a compounded psychological presence she describes so vividly in this letter. One day she is a bride and in less than a year she has the loose-muscled jelly belly and ample leaky breasts of a recently delivered nursing mother. Possibly she also feared her adored husband’s reaction to her altered, and perhaps permanently changed, appearance; that he might physically reject her in



her sloppy condition is not an unlikely concern for her to experience, especially since he had not seen her for several months including the entire time she was visibly pregnant. Photographs of Adele with her baby (Plate 4.1),

however, show a beaming mother as genuinely engrossed in her accomplishment as her letters suggest. She repeatedly remarks on “the most enthralling subject in the world—babies” (MAM n.d. [Nov 1916]), that her Laura “is the prettiest baby I ever saw” (MAM n.d. [Nov 1916]), and that baby’s care is “the most important” (MAM 9 Jan 1917) of her duties.

In the absence of a huge epistolary archive, surely a biographer can draw some conclusions about a woman's relationship with her own body by reading pictorial artifacts such as the Sipprell portrait of Adele admiring her little daughter and the hundreds of other pictures in a family collection. Jennifer Craik says that

The body, as a physical form, is trained to manifest particular postures, movements and gestures. The body is a natural form that is culturally primed [...] [and] we use the way we wear our bodies to present ourselves to our social environment, mapping out our codes of conduct through our fashion behaviour. (4-5)

The validity of Craik's cultural anthropology is well-taken. Far from discounting the microcosmic usefulness of photographic evidence, she simply reinforces Terry Barrett who says that “Each photograph embodies a particular way of seeing and showing the world” (33). Craik and Barrett both would have the reader/viewer be mindful that, in Barrett's words, “All photographs describe [...] the surfaces of people and objects” (53); the reader is responsible to look past that surface and see more deeply into the text. In the context of the madonna-with-child icon shown here (Sipprell, Buffalo 1917), the surface irresistibly leads viewers both to follow the mother’s gaze thus to adore the child and also to engage with the direct look of the baby; our eye is drawn away from the “sloppy” surface which is the mother’s altered body by her posture and by the fact that she is

oblivious to the viewer and gazing directly at the child; the imposing figure of the mother is effectively diminished by the imposing confidence of the infant looking outside the frame.

Susan Sontag quotes Kafka, who said, "Photography concentrates one's eye on the superficial. For that reason it obscures the hidden life which glimmers through the outlines of things like a play of light and shade. One can't catch that even with the sharpest lens. One has to grope for it by feeling" (206). Here, the undeniable superficial beauty of the nest-like composition is skillful enough to obscure the hovering mother's feelings about her body behind her equally relevant feelings about her baby. Richard Chalfen explains that in "[social deliberations], we must include socially preferred compositions such as who gets into the photograph (or kept out of it), who stands next to whom, everyone looking at the camera, where the photograph is taken, and so on" (73). Obviously, fertility and reproduction are prime subject matter for "socially preferred" photographic content because of the myth-making value of glowing motherhood (here captured in the home with a deceptive appearance of spontaneity) as a fulfillment for women. This portrait represents the greater myth as much as it represents the particular woman with her individual baby.

However, if you saw another portrait (Hallam, Washington Pa. 1902), which is probably Adele's graduation portrait taken when she was twenty, in the context of this critical discussion, it is important to note retrospectively the pre-sloppy body; the most significant and telling non-verbal communications devices at work in this photograph are the eyes and arm position. Undoubtedly the photographer has artfully arranged the scene

and, as Barrett says, "Knowledge of the history, the politics, the religious and intellectual milieu of the period in which the photographer was working is important to a fuller understanding of the photograph" (79). Photographer and photographed co-author these



texts just as they did in the mother-and-child portrait. Nevertheless, unlike her self-effacing gaze in the maternal image, where her newly-minted maternity accedes that privilege to the newborn, Adele is the one arresting attention by means of her languorous posture (Plate 4.2). She possesses such a high degree of body confidence in this image that her naturally dreamy eyes embody a heavy-lidded eroticism; this subject exhibits an awareness that the looker takes pleasure in the looking and therefore so

does the looked-at. Her self-awareness and self-presentation, in this picture and the one to follow, exemplifies Bailey's observant description of a turn-of-the-twentieth-century woman. He describes a generic

"Big American Girl" [...] determinedly self-assured, part college girl, part fashionable beauty, [...] [with] her pompadoured head [she is] followed everywhere by male admirers. This new American girl was not just exceptionally pretty, she could look you in the eye, had a firm handshake, and strode from the nineteenth century into the twentieth century emancipated, confident and chic. (qtd. in Craik 73)

Unlike the graduation portrait, Adele is accompanied in a 1904 non-studio picture, this time with the previously abstract and invisible appreciative audience—in the form of Luis de Lemoine—moving inside the frame (yes, he is on his knees, a position from which all

the better to adore her), conjoins with a statement of detachment through the fact that the centre of attention within the frame continues to look out in order to ensure she also continues to be the centre of attention outside the frame. She is more concerned here with being looked at than she is with the identity of the looker (Plate 4.3).



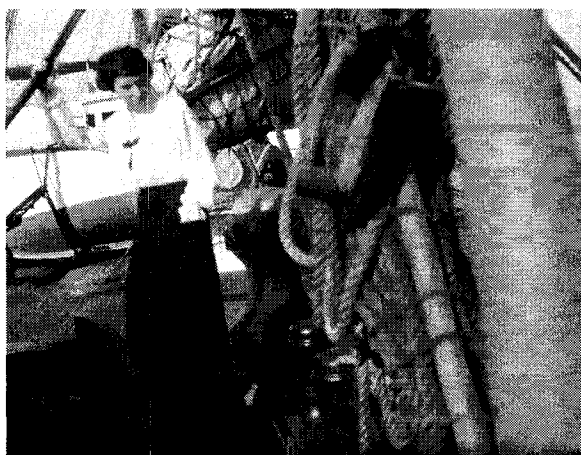
When Adele is thirty-three-years old, her noticeable engagement with the camera continues; this picture (Plate 4.4) is taken on her wedding day in December 1915; her



unabashed look is complemented by the openness of her arm position. Her hands rest loosely in her lap; they are not clasped or clenched. Her new husband, far from exhibiting a proprietary grip on her shoulder, rests his arm in a casually familiar and comfortable way. She is not challenging the

camera with her gaze; she is comfortable and confident before the camera's gaze. The

companion snapshot, presumably taken by her husband, is set on-board ship during the



wedding trip (Plate 4.5); note the continued openness of her body position and her one hand reaching upward to the rigging—even though her face betrays an understated unwellness which may be caused by the fact that she is already pregnant. We have now seen her through

thirteen years of relationship with the camera in which she is consistently self-assured, a confidence which is apparently unaffected by her initiation into conjugal relations with her husband.

Her extant letters make clear a vigorous love for him. As was the custom, she travelled home to her mother for her “confinements” when she could; but she “[wrote] to my beau every day” (MAM 4 Oct 1916) and “almost broke my heart wanting Craig after the baby came [...] and cried every day just wanting him so. But now I am strong again and he is coming soon so you can imagine I am wild with joy. He is pretty crazy, too” (MAM 4 Oct 1916). To connect her returning strength in the same sentence with his imminent arrival provides a physical quality to their mutual excitement; to be strong again means to be recovered from childbirth means to have stopped bleeding means to be free to have sex again. She was “too flustered to do anything as the time drew nearer for my Craig” (MAM n.d. [late-Oct 1916]) and “got fairly silly with excitement by the time he landed” (MAM n.d. [late-Oct 1916]); in fact, she was so agitated that her breast milk failed for the day when he

arrived. Wonderfully, she freely declares that she is “more than a little looney about him. Really I think it is almost suffering to care so much – I want him with me every minute” (MAM n.d. [late-Oct 1916]). Their youngest daughter remembers that every letter or domestic note her father ever wrote to her mother was apostrophed simply, “Dearest.”

Ten years after the wedding, however, the folded arm position in an informal picture



(Plate 4.6) tells a different story. It brings a concrete reality to Cixous’ conviction that a woman’s “flesh speaks true [...] she physically materializes what she’s thinking; she signifies it with her body” (321). Here, Adele is forty-three-years old, has moved

from Buffalo, New York to an Alberta farm, and has had four (female) children between September 1916 and October 1921: four babies in five years. Those arms say it all; this picture is taken during summer on the prairie—she is not protecting herself from a cold wind. This image and the 1902 portrait shown together might be captioned comically: “Do you think she liked city life or country life better?” But, beneath the surface amusement, the subject who was accustomed to issuing the invitation to “look at me” is now the subject who resists the gaze, who shrinks from it, who now asks, “Don’t look at me,” and also issues the order, “Don’t touch me.” Having had no opportunity to control her “sloppy” body, because she openly desired her husband, who clearly proved her fears of rejection groundless, and was coincidentally an extremely fertile chick, she appears in this photograph stripped of the overtly-physical confidence she wore with such comfort

before she inevitably became trapped in the cyclical round of gestations. She had written confidently, and obviously mistakenly, to her sister-in-law that she had “some good dope to prevent that if you care to know something harmless and very simple” (MAM n.d. [Nov 1916]). Harmless and simple it may have been whatever it was, but effective contraception it clearly was not. While Adele formerly has been seen as a dominant figure in photographs, the character in command in this picture is her eldest child whose arm position is a communicator of defiance and/or authority; this is the same little person whose eyes insisted on dominating the mother-and-child portrait.

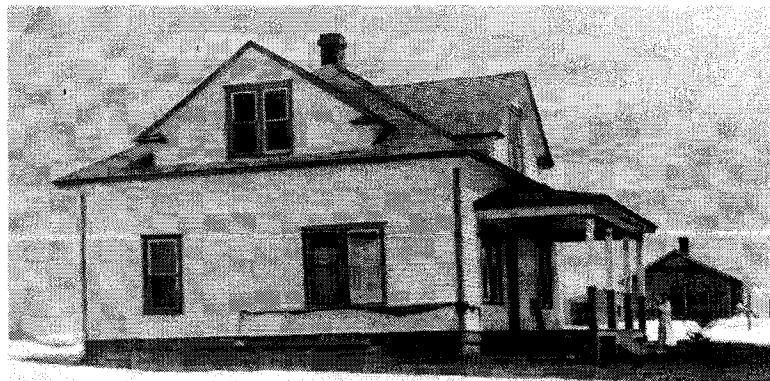
By comparison with the vast majority of prairie farmwomen, Adele had so many advantages as to be a woman of leisure. She was never without help in the house; always there was at least one hired girl throughout her married life, plus a cook on the farm. Although she did do the cooking for her own family always, she did not have to cook for the field hands, and she never had to be a field hand herself. In a community of women who did every single household task from cooking to washing to preserving on their own, plus had to add their labour to that of the men during harvest or tend to the livestock chores, she was by comparison an extraordinarily privileged and pampered woman. But she did not come from this kind of world. Urban and rural communities arguably are less distanced now, almost a century after she made the move, and in addition to differing sensibilities they were utterly different cultures then; and she would have been utterly unprepared for the life she inadvertently got when she married her adventurer.

Although he provided for her every comfort possible (including winter quarters in the city and frequent journeys home to her mother) and eased her isolation and work so

far as he could, she was still an educated eastern princess thrust into surroundings which were the antithesis of everything that was familiar to her. From the long-established



neighbourhoods of Richmond (Plate 4.7) and Hurst (Plate 4.8) Avenues where she was born to wear furs (Plate 4.9) she moved into (Plate 4.10)



a house such as this was and still is—I can’t describe it for you never lived this way and can’t imagine it—no water in the house, every drop has to be carried from the wind mill and all to be emptied again, coal fires, coal to carry and ashes to empty, oil lamps, all such things and worst of all the outside toilet away off from the house, almost an impossibility in bad weather [...] The walls were so awful I could not live with them so we have been doing them [...]—but ever so many places the plaster is off & of course they will all have to be done over. The roof leaks & the newly painted walls & ceilings are getting streaked. (MAM May 1919)

She was optimistic, however, and went on to describe plans for improving the house, about getting the lumber hauled and hiring a carpenter and plasterers for the top floor to have “some more windows cut, partitions, etc” (MAM May 1919). The “bright little spot with two windows [which] will be Craig’s office” (MAM May 1919) is a tiny room I remember well from my childhood. It was located on the main floor of the house, in the north-west corner off the living room, and still contained his massive oak roll-top desk; I remember playing school there, beating my dolls with a ruler for being stupid. I wish I knew how Adele dealt with her frustrations, and her intellectual needs; by all accounts, it was a completely non-violent household—except for later years when the girls predictably developed territorial issues of their own.

The children were supposed to be born back east, with “Mamma,” but her second daughter, Hetty, was born in Canada as a result of travel restrictions imposed during the influenza epidemic of 1918. Adele was such an American chauvinist that it was extremely important to her that her children be born in the United States. Perhaps her overt hatred for

Canada developed out of her wretched expatriate existence in the early years and she never recovered from it. She was outraged when Hetty eventually opted for Canadian citizenship by voting in an election; how anyone could forfeit American citizenship was beyond her comprehension. One of my very few memories of her is crossing the Canada/U.S. border and hearing her elaborate inhalation as she exhorted us, “Oh children, smell that air!” My sister remembers watching Grandma and her eldest daughter, our Aunt Laura, leap to their feet at the start of a televised baseball game and place their hands over their hearts for “The Star-Spangled Banner.” Her ardent nationalism left no space for lesser considerations such as party politics.

Laura was born in a hospital but the others were born at home: Hetty in Calgary because of the flu; Lucy in Richmond, Virginia at Uncle Arthur’s because of the winter cold; and Mary in the cool of the Chautauqua summer house because of the autumn heat. When he had to remain behind because of harvest and other farm obligations, Craig travelled east later to help bring Adele home, a trip that became more complicated with each birth. On the return trip after Laura was born, they found themselves snowbound for an extra three days on a train near St. Paul, Minnesota in March 1917 (Pierce family photographs). Of course, the babies went with Adele when she went East each time but help was hired to make the journey with her. Nevertheless, the logistics of being on board a train for at least four days and three nights with diapers (cloth, of course) to manage had to be daunting. When she was just three-months pregnant with Lucy, in August 1919, Adele made the trip (with three-year-old Laura and eight-month-old Hetty) and Craig joined her in January. In the midst of all these trips, at some point during 1919 or 1920, Adele’s dear brother

Malcolm was admitted to a state mental institution in Allentown, Pennsylvania; during his time at Yale around the turn of the century he had been infected with syphilis, and although he had endured the so-called arsenic cure before his marriage, he was one of the unfortunate “one-third of [antibiotically] untreated patients [who] will develop tertiary syphilis, which may develop after years to decades of latency and manifests as gummatous, cardiovascular or neurosyphilis” (McNamara). Because of the prolonged period of latency, Mac’s wife was uninfected; but when the latency ended, his deterioration was sudden and severe. It is likely that Adele’s early departure for the east in August 1919, during her third pregnancy, was precipitated by the turn in her brother’s health, namely the “dementia with changes in personality and intellect” (McNamara) of neurosyphilis. Her brother in an asylum, Craig and Adele left Richmond to return by train (with a three-and-a-half-year-old, a fourteen-month-old, and a six-week-old baby) on March 20, 1920 and arrived in Calgary on the 25th (“ACP Journals” 20-25 Mar 1920). Not surprisingly, as a result of combined physical and emotional stresses, Adele was not-quite-well when they arrived. Six days later, she “went to Holy Cross Hospital for curetment [known now as a D&C] ” (“ACP Journals” 31 Mar 1920) and was there until April 5th. Craig and a hired nurse stayed at the Empress Hotel tending to the children (“ACP Journals” 1 Apr 1920).

The day Adele was discharged, Laura was taken to the Isolation Hospital because of measles; the hired nurse went with her. Three days later, Hetty too was admitted with measles; they remained there until April 17th (“ACP Journals” 5, 8, 17 Apr 1920). The attending trauma of these medical crises, for every one of the family, is incalculable. If Adele’s milk could be interrupted for a day by happy excitement when Laura was two

months old (MAM n.d. [1916]), she must have experienced physical symptoms during all this upheaval. Perhaps her breasts were painfully engorged during her own six-day hospitalization; maybe her breasts were pumped; who knows how the baby was fed and by whom. Undoubtedly, Adele did not visit the older girls in the Isolation Hospital, out of concern for her own health and the baby's. Laura and Hetty were very little girls, only three-and-a-half-years and sixteen-months old, sick and frightened by the separation which lasted almost two weeks. They would not have seen their mother after she went into the hospital herself and so already would have been distressed when immediately after her return they were taken away themselves. The whole family would have been dis-eased in every way possible. A year earlier, with only two little ones and only head colds to manage in the comfort of her mother's presence, her last extant letter to Pearl opens with the remark that "so much has happened there is no use in my trying to tell you reasons for not writing" (MAM May 1919). What stories she might have written in May of 1920.

The manifestation of MAM's experiences is evident in August 1921, when Adele was thirty-nine-years old and seven-months pregnant with her last child; just before her



departure for Chautauqua on the 27th ("ACP Journals" 27 Aug 1921), she is photographed (Plate 4.11) with her three daughters and two other women. It is likely they have just delivered a meal to the fields, as

happened through my childhood and still occurs, in order that there be minimal time lost from harvest. She strategically hides her persistently gestating body inside a heavy coat and behind a stook of wheat sheaves, barriers to an intrusive technical eye. In October, Craig's last journal entry for 1921 states that he "got wire saying fourth daughter had arrived" ("ACP Journals" 22 Oct 1921). The family anecdote is told that he remarked, "You'd think one of them could have been a boy." The next journal entry is made when the family returns to the farm the following March ("ACP Journals" 22 Mar 1922) so it is impossible to know with certainty how soon after the telegram came that Craig went to join his family; but it was most probably very soon because there are no further entries and Craig faithfully kept the journal current when he was on the farm. How they gained contraceptive control over their very fruitful union is unknown. But given their undisguised love for each other and their impressive tendency to conceive, it is most likely that they simply had to keep away from each other. Having had her babies so closely together, with little recovery time between, and considering her age, there must have been legitimate concern for her physical well-being, and perhaps also for her mental welfare.

When Malcolm's disease reached its natural and inevitable conclusion Adele was nearby, having made yet another trip east at the end of July 1923 ("ACP Journals" 28 Jul 1923; see Appendix C). I suspect that she was notified of his worsening condition and impending death, and returned to be with their mother; he died 23 September 1923 at the age of only forty-three. Adele returned to Canada at the beginning of November ("ACP Journals" 2 Nov 1923). It is impossible to know if she visited Mac during any of these journeys but I find it hard to believe that she did not. Allentown is not so far from Buffalo

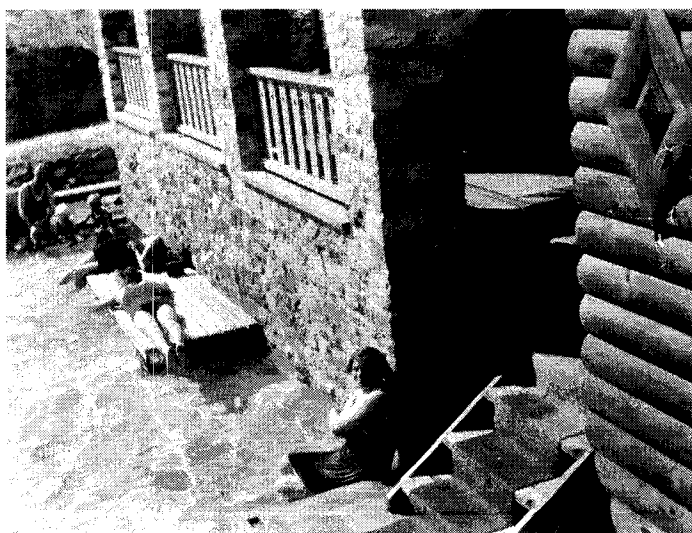
where their mother and brother Al lived; from Richmond where their brother Arthur lived and where Adele spent the winter of 1919-20; or from Kittanning where Adele and their mother spent the winter of 1921-22. He was her favoured brother, but the extraordinary stigma of madness comes together with the extraordinary stigma of venereal disease perhaps to create too powerful a social force to overcome. There is no mention of his illness (or of any illness concerning him) or even of his death in ACP's journals. Mac's wife's fury at her circumstances of loss and feelings of humiliation resulted in her precipitous departure with their five children from Pennsylvania to Connecticut immediately following his admission to Allentown; the children (except for the youngest on one occasion) never saw their father again, did not hear their mother speak his name for twenty years after his death, and do not know what she did with his ashes. Perhaps his sister experienced such a shame and anger response that she too stayed away. But I prefer not to think so.

Soon after Adele's return to the farm the weight of all these events began to take their toll on her. When Mary was two-and-a-half in March 1924, life-style arrangements began to evolve once more. Adele was in the Holy Cross Hospital once again, this time for two weeks to undergo an appendectomy ("ACP Journals" 15 Mar 1924). A week after her discharge, she was admitted to the hospital in Drumheller for "gastritis and rest" and remained there for another two weeks ("ACP Journals" 6-17 Apr 1924). At the end of the first week, she still was not eating; the children were taken to visit her once each ("ACP Journals" 13 Apr 1924). On May 10th Adele went to a physician in Calgary, accompanied by her husband, and she stayed behind in a hotel while he returned to the farm ("ACP Journals" 10 May 1924). She remained at the hotel for two weeks with only one visit from her family

("ACP Journals" 16 May 1924). I have puzzled over the meaning of these rest stays in hotels, with a sense that there was something I did not know. I guessed that the weight of the evidence suggested a breakdown of some kind but the strands were too indefinite to justify any claims; I wanted something more concrete than a nebulous notion of post-partum depression. But my source materials were not responding to "the torture" (Collingwood 270). Still, I understood and agreed with Peter Brooks' assertion that "something must have happened because of the results that we know" (28). With the advantage of details (K. Warner) about Adele's brother Malcolm, I know now what the "something" was and feel more confident in supposing that her brother's death precipitated a rather serious depression that was perhaps complicated by the overall mental strain of her generative activity. The peak of grief processes occurs approximately six-months after the event; Adele's occasions of rest-on-doctor's-orders date five to seven months after Mac died. Later in 1924 there was a five-day visit to friends in late July—very odd timing for a farm-family holiday in those years and even now—and at the end of October the entire family left for Chautauqua for the winter ("ACP Journals" 28 Oct 1924). They were gone for almost five months ("ACP Journals" 17 Mar 1925). In August of 1925, again on the orders of her doctor, she spent another week in Calgary at a hotel ("ACP Journals" 21 Aug 1925); two months later she left with the children and a helper to go East for the winter ("ACP Journals" 18 Oct 1925). The children were nine, seven, six, and four and the helper is clearly a luxury engaged for Adele's sake, a luxury unless she is too unwell to manage their care on her own. After two months, Craig arrived to be with his family and return with them at the end of the following March ("ACP Journals" 30 Mar 1926). At the end of October Adele

and the girls moved into a rented house in Calgary (“ACP Journals” 30 Oct 1926); the three older girls were ten, eight, and seven and, although Kirby School (which the children had attended) was available within distance of the farm, the decision was made to educate the girls in the city. After this, they only summered on the farm; including the 1916-17 year in Saskatchewan, Adele had been a prairie-farm wife for only nine years—with substantial blocks of time away during that period. She was not cut out for it.

At the start of 1928 she went East alone to spend time with her eighty-one-year-old mother (“ACP Journals” 2 Jan 1928). She was gone for a month, and it must have been a precious trip; they had been alone together for twelve years after Adele’s father died and before she married Craig. In April she made the trip again when her mother died (“ACP Journals” 16 Apr 1928). That summer she and Craig took Jim and Junior (two visiting nephews), and Smyth (the farm foreman) on a short trip to the mountains. At the



age of forty-eight, she was aware of the continued danger of conception; although she dons her bathing costume (Plate 4.12) to have a soak in the beneficent hot springs, she is manifestly uncomfortable with the attendant physical exposure. She presses up

against the bathhouse wall and wraps her arms across her chest in an effort to minimize her visibility. It is a few years yet before she recovers a relaxed tolerance of her body. In

the meantime, Adele continued to summer on the farm for a few years, until the girls could do without her supervision, and then even those compromises were suspended. She rarely even went there afterwards. Hetty remembered her mother

telling about the water being frozen in the morning, and of sawing a piece of meat from a frozen hind quarter. [...] [And of] the reverse in summer, when the struggle was to keep food from spoiling in the heat. We had a screened cupboard with a gunny sack draped over it. The sacking was kept wet, and the evaporation helped to keep things cool. And there was the water trough for milk and butter. (Clark 1)

The farmhouse was first listed in the telephone directory for 1922—the number was R606—but did not have running water or electricity until “1944 when we got a wind charger” (Clark 3). It was heated with coal well into my childhood; there was a coal room in the basement, with a window to the outside through which the delivery truck could dump its load. At the time Adele gave up rural life, the house was still almost twenty years from developing any appreciable conveniences at all. In 1938, when her husband held the prestigious position of President of the Calgary Board of Trade, he hosted a large contingent of business people for a luncheon and tour of the farm (“ACP Journals” 10 Jun 1938; Pierce photographs). She did not attend. While I find her absence noteworthy, to say nothing of odd, there is no indication that a quarrel of any kind erupted over this episode. Craig’s journals merely record the names of neighbour women who prepared and served the lunch; he certainly would have recorded her presence if she had been there. It would appear that this is a prime example of his acceptance and accommodation of her lack of affinity for rural life. Apparently he was able to recognize that her rejection of farm life was not also a rejection of him.

After her return to city life, and with the girls getting older and more independent, she and Craig enjoyed short annual vacations to the mountains or to the Pacific Northwest region alone together. She apparently was no longer willing to forsake a more cosmopolitan life in the city. She enjoyed movies very much and Craig's journals are full of entries which mention her going to various movie houses in the afternoon, often two or three times a week; and she played a great deal of bridge (they both did). Women of her privilege and her time for the most part did not seek employment outside the home, but often they participated in various committee and charitable works. Adele, however, did not; she was a member of no committee and joined no organizations, other than the Women's Institute while she was living on the farm. Her daughter Mary explains simply that "she wasn't a joiner." The prairies' "Famous Five" notwithstanding, "civil liberties remain theoretical as long as they are unaccompanied by economic freedom" (de Beauvoir 679) and the vast majority of Adele's peers were not formally prepared to wield economic influence. Persons with no practical means of precipitating change are theoretical persons, not active subjects. While it may seem that I lose interest in Adele after her child-bearing years, the more accurate and unfortunate truth is that the world in which she lived lost interest; just as it lost interest in every other woman of her kind, fraudulently having educated and prepared her for something that never transpired and that it never intended to deliver. A woman (then as now) with no marketable skills has no functional free agency and therefore, especially once her reproductive function is concluded, no future; she becomes a person "With no future, [who nonetheless] still has about one half her adult life to live" (de Beauvoir 575). This is not, however, to suggest

by any means that Adele's post-reproductive life was lived in a somnambulist state or that she suffered from neglect; certainly, she was denied nothing.

Her very necessary (and in her case valued) role within the confines of domestic arrangements at the time was, as the girls grew into womanhood, to run the house, always cooking her family's meals but always having cleaning help. Her responsibilities evolved and included the maintenance of order in the increasingly busy and varied lives of the five others with whom she shared life: the work-intensive period of birthing, of establishing an order, and of basic survival which marked her early married years were successfully concluded and she became an overseer. In the Calgary years, ACP's Journals record almost daily excursions to go "shopping on 11th" where within a block there were grocery, bakery, butcher, and greengrocer shops. Adele sewed, since four daughters required numerous dresses for numerous occasions, and she read extensively, especially enjoying humour (such as Robert Benchley) and mysteries (nothing too gory, according to Mary). She is remembered by her niece as "vivacious" (Warner interview) and by her nephew as a woman with a great sense of humour, always laughing (Moore interview). She was prone to acts of kindness: in May 1919 her farm cook was eight-months pregnant and living in a twelve-by-twelve shack; even with the house in the condition Adele described to Pearl, she invited Mrs. Edwards to come there to have her baby (MAM May 1919). Her first son-in-law, Hetty's husband Jack, familiarly referred to her as "Mama Toots." She held all of her opinions very strongly and was not perhaps the most forgiving of women. I recall travelling through Fernie, British Columbia, where my grandparents had once experienced a winter road accident; as we drove past the sign at

the town limits, she prompted us, “Sneer, children, sneer,” and forty years after her death I am still unable to keep my upper lip from curling in derision any time I travel through Fernie. She once asked my cousin and me which of her two miniature sets of dishes we would like to have; I chose the Blue Willow tea set, which I still have; Mary Sue chose the cast-iron stove and pots. Too young to understand that she was making plans for bequests, I innocently thought she had asked out of curiosity. My mother was away from us to be with her when she died and when the neighbour woman who was tending to us answered the phone and turned to tell us the news, I ran through the house until Ruth cornered me in the pantry. I suppose I thought that if she could not catch me, she could not tell me; and if she could not tell me, then it was not true. I remember vividly being outraged and thinking, “What right do you have to tell me my Grandma is dead?” I was nine.

Epilogue

Rural life was an aberration rather than the norm for MAM. After her exile ended,



she returned to the world of furs. I remarked to my sister that in this picture (Plate 4.13) Grandma is not dressed appropriately for the occasion; she replied that, since she had no recollection of anyone ever calling Grandma “an outdoor enthusiast,” it is the setting and not the wardrobe that is inappropriate. She said that MAM in hiking boots with a rope slung over her

shoulder would look stranger than MAM in a fur coat on a mountainside, not overdressed for a casual and genteel excursion in the mountains. One last picture, taken when the subject is seventy-years old, shows that as she aged she recovered her openness to the camera. She has a busy crop of grandchildren growing (including myself, to whom she referred as “Bloody Mary”). At last, her arms are not folded across her body to conceal time's effects on the body, she does not tuck one hip behind the nearest available grandchild to shield herself, her eyes still look directly at the lens. Observe the position of her feet and see that she even is stepping toward the camera, once again as comfortable and unafraid of it as she was almost fifty years before (Plate 4.14).



CHAPTER FIVE

Dramatis Personae 2: Andrew Craig Pierce

The hills of Elizabeth Township, of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, look like tightly-clustered turtles—terrain that secludes and secures some people, that crowds and insulates others. Southwestern Pennsylvania is farming country; a haven for people such as the Amish, it was created with more pastoral-farming methods in mind than those which use mechanical horsepower instead of living beasts. These rolling hills around Pittsburgh and McKeesport are not accessible to farming with massive fuel-burning machinery because the fields are too small and the grades too steep for large and ungainly equipment. It could not be less like the vastness of the prairie land and sky that ACP encountered when he first travelled west in 1907 or into southern Alberta in 1909. The sky in Alberta is so enormous that it frightens some newcomers who are unaccustomed to feeling so exposed, the way rabbits and mice feel when a hawk is in the air. On clear days, which are the rule here, visibility is reported at nine-hundred-ninety-nine miles. The prairie is not a place for the myopic: it is a place for people who cannot bear confinement and who have an internal sense of vision, qualities which sometimes demand this kind of spatial freedom as a form of expression.

ACP's early life was lived as a Pennsylvania farm boy, the youngest of three sons born to Joseph and Henrietta Pierce, and then as a prep-school boy and as a university student. His father was sixty when Craig was born; Henrietta was thirty-eight. There was a ten-year gap between Craig and his older brothers, William Torrence and Joseph Audley; Craig's twin brother was stillborn; all of these statistics contribute to an

understanding of the very strong maternal-filial bond Craig shared with his mother. These boys were the sixth generation of the family to live in the region, descended from James and Sarah who arrived in time for their first child—Craig's great-great-grandfather Andrew—to be born in 1743; these three were also the last of this branch of the family to live in rural Pennsylvania, but there are still distant relations, connected through James' and Sarah's other nine children, living in close proximity to that original site near McKeesport. In fact, the 1790 land grant to James' and Sarah's son Elisha is now the property of the Pennsylvania Department of Parks, Recreation, and Conservation, from the 1958 gift of a seventh-generation descendent who was raised on the farm, and it is maintained as a working historic site. The historic atmosphere of the vicinity is continued in the cemetery of Round Hill Church, located just down the road from where Craig and his brothers grew up, and which is salted with the remains of their relatives and ancestors: tombstones and monuments variously spelling the name "Peairs," "Pearce," "Peirce," and "Pierce."

Photography had emerged as another way to contain history, and Craig's first



formal portrait (Plate 5.1) was taken at the Dabbs Studio in Pittsburgh, where "Instantaneous Portraits of Children [was] A Successful Specialty," when he was about two years old; child portraits are a department-store-bargain commonplace financially available to almost every family a century later but were a marker of wealth in 1886. Already, his very direct and intense

gaze is evident; it is a look that remains unchanged throughout his photographed life: he consistently looks very hard and very far into the distance. Certainly, his post-education and pre-marriage years demonstrate an energetic eagerness to go places far outside his family's experience and realm. His less adventurous brothers, Will and Audley, remained



in Pennsylvania, and became city people; Audley graduated from Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania, and then the University of Tennessee law school. Craig is the only one of the boys educated at Shady Side Academy, an all-male Pittsburgh preparatory school established in 1883 and still extant as an independent coeducational institution. Halfway through his studies there (Plate 5.2), he was already training as a surveyor at the age of eighteen.

Late in Craig's father's life (or perhaps shortly after his death in 1903), the family moved from the farm and went to live in the house at 5899 Bartlett Street in Pittsburgh. The Bartlett Street house is preserved in a box of photographs. It is a large two-story brick house with three chimneys and leaded panes in the attic dormer windows; a paved sidewalk leads up to the roofed veranda that stretches across the front of the house. Although the work involved in surveying the mountains of Colorado had to be difficult and not for the faint-hearted, Craig's prep-school and university education plus the size of this house on Bartlett Street demonstrate that he was a privileged young man born into the ranks of the working wealthy. His travels were not made out of economic necessity

but rather were undertaken at the behest of an internal impetus, out of a desire to go, which persisted throughout his life. He takes shape for me as a man restless in body and mind—not a discontented restlessness but a high-energy intellectual curiosity and physicality that drove him to go and see and do: endlessly interested in developments of all kinds.

Henrietta had moved to 5517 Black Street by the time Craig entered Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, as a civil engineering student in the autumn of



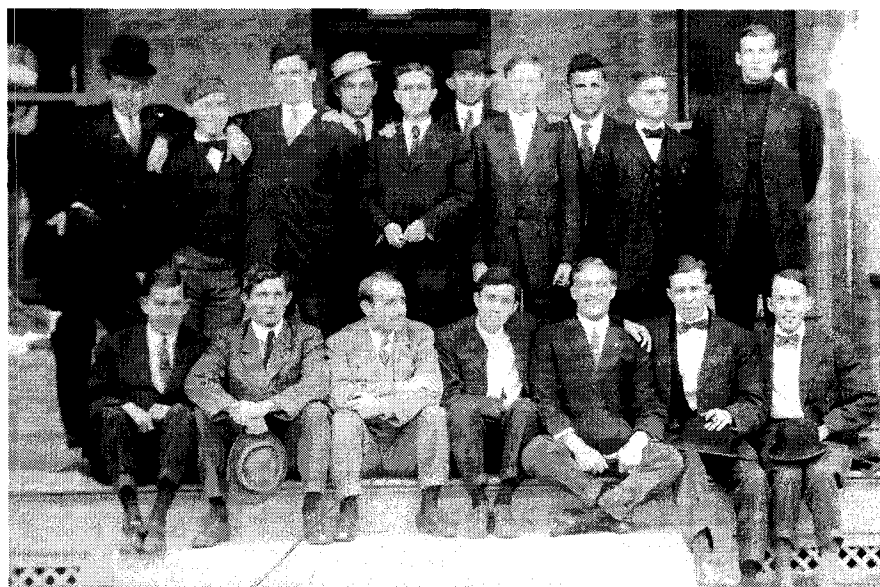
1904 when he was twenty (Plate 5.3). He completed the first two years of his four-year programme but did not choose to return and complete the degree. In a full-page newspaper article by Grant MacEwan (once mayor of Calgary, Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta, and a much-published Alberta historian) ACP is said to have come to Alberta “In 1909, a year after graduation [...] as a member of a survey crew working near Gleichen” (3). His daughters

always believed he was a *bona fide* civil engineer, but no one knows if he led them to believe that or if they made the assumption themselves, assuming that if he started something, he must have finished it. Possibly, he phrased his remarks as “after I left university” or even “when I was finished university,” which is not technically untrue, and allowed the assumption to be made that he left with a degree. But according to the

archives at Lehigh University and West Virginia University, he did not; nor did he graduate from a few others I queried on the basis of very thin evidence, such as the University of Tennessee, the University of Pittsburgh, Oregon State University, the University of Missouri at Kansas City, and the University of Kansas at Lawrence. After Lehigh, the only subsequent opportunity he had to complete the remaining two years of his degree were the academic years 1907-08 and 1908-09; it seems extremely likely that he did not graduate, and if he had, we would see his degree framed on the wall of some family member's home.

Photographs showing him with the football squad (Plate 5.4) (the handsome man at the centre of the back row—fourth from the right) and the Phi Kappa Sigma fraternity, at West Virginia University in 1908, suggest he may have studied there; however, the university reports that, while he transferred credit from Lehigh and was admitted to the institution, he never enrolled in classes. His daughter Mary remembers him telling the





story that he was the only person ever pledged to some particular fraternity chapter without ever attending the university; Phi Kappa Sigma (Plate 5.5) (the tallest man in the picture—standing at the far right) at WVU must be the society of which he spoke. After he left there, there is never a time when his years are unaccounted for, at least, not for long enough to complete his studies. There are many photographs of the Cheat River area near Morgantown and Arthurdale, West Virginia; they show a formal camp setting with large tents, and I am convinced that ACP was engaged in some sort of engineering work there. The Cheat River is not only a very popular wilderness area known for its white water; it also serves as the water supply for the city of Pittsburgh. Perhaps, he supported his varsity-sports habit by working on the project. His daughter Mary and his nephew, James Moore, remember often hearing stories about “Uncle Craig” being what was called a “tramp athlete” (Conover and Moore Interviews). Jim believed that Craig attended Lafayette College because he was certain that Craig had played basketball there;

however, Lafayette has no record of him. The facts from West Virginia add credibility to Jim's recollections. Craig appears to have moved from campus to campus in order to offer his athletic services wherever he could. Mary says that he had a "bad reputation [...] not as a bad scholar [...] as a playboy [...] good-time guy" (Conover Interviews). She says "he went to a lot of universities" and that he "tried to get into the University of Washington in Seattle" (Conover Interviews). The University of Washington has no record of him at all, neither does Oregon State University. It is conceivable that he did indeed spend two years in West Virginia; he just never went to class.

Lehigh University required applicants to pass a series of entrance examinations; to qualify for admission to civil engineering in the School of Technology, Craig was required to complete successfully seven separate exams: English, American History, Algebra, Geometry, Plane Trigonometry and Logarithms, Elementary Physics, and German. During his two-year tenure at Lehigh, ACP completed basic first-year studies in Mathematics, Physics, English, German, Chemistry, and Drawing; there were also lectures in "Physiology and Hygiene, and systematic exercise in the gymnasium [...] required," plus classes in Forestry and Public Speaking (*Lehigh Register* 88-91). Rules were adopted in 1904 "prohibiting fraternities from pledging men until January 1 of their freshman year, prohibiting the initiation of freshmen until February 1, and prohibiting a freshman from living in a fraternity house until February 1" (Palmer 805). As soon as regulations permitted, ACP was pledged, initiated, and housed by Phi Delta Theta; this was clearly an important affiliation for him because he remained an active Phi Delt for the rest of his life, visiting with fraternity brothers when he could and often finding

accommodations even thirty years later at various chapter houses when he travelled for business and political purposes.

Since Greek-letter societies are secret societies, the histories of Phi Delta Theta do not reproduce “the Bond, the basic law of the fraternity” (Havighurst 3); however, the six men who founded the fraternity in 1848 at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio are all described as

men of good digestion and sound physical constitution, hence little if anything morbid characterized their views [...] [their] private lives were without reproach and above suspicion [...] [each man was] connected with some church by credible profession of his faith in Christ [...] conscientious, God-fearing men [...] they were brave men; they were not blusterers, and of course not cowards [...] men of decided convictions. (Palmer 53)

Craig regularly attended church services throughout his life, in Calgary (Plate 5.6) at



Wesley United Church, accompanied by one or the other of his daughters; Adele almost never went. The Sunday morning routine, according to both Hetty and Mary, was for ACP to call up the stairs: “some of you fellas better get up and come to church with me.” When he was on the farm, services were conducted by community men at nearby Kirby School, and ACP regularly took his turn with the sermon. His church involvement helps explain the appeal of his chosen fraternity, because when it was founded, the new Phi Delta Theta brotherhood set itself apart from other societies on the basis that other groups

had reference to talent, to the head alone; ours includes both the head and the heart as alike essential. It is not the influence of the open outlaw, the depraved debauchee or the avowed infidel that is so injurious to society; it is the deep undercurrent of immorality and infidelity in literature, emanating from sources unsuspected and for that reason the more dangerous. (127)

When Craig entered the fraternity, he was one of fifteen men (892) in the eighteen-year-old Pennsylvania Eta chapter, so called because it was the seventh Pennsylvania chapter of the fraternity (509). If the woman he married “was not a joiner,” he certainly was; over the years, he had so many committees and organizations in which he actively and regularly participated, their lives would have been in a state of chaos if Adele had obligated herself outside the home even to a fraction of the work he did. Phi Delta Theta is his first known membership, but his obituary in the April 22nd, 1955 edition of *The Albertan*, a Calgary newspaper, lists him as also

a member of McKeesport Lodge No. 641, AF and AM [Ancient Free and Accepted Masons]; McKeesport Chapter No. 282, RAM [Royal Arch Masons]; McKeesport Commandery No. 86 [Knights Templar, also Masonic]; Tourgas [sic] Lodge of Perfection [Gourgas Lodge, also Masonic], Pittsburgh, Penn.; Al Azhar Shrine Temple,

Calgary; Syria Temple [also Shrine], Pittsburgh; Rose Croix Pennsylvania Consistory [also Masonic], Pittsburgh, and the Ranchmen's Club [a Calgary businessmen's club].
(16)

The list omits his membership in the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks (B.P.O.E.), into which he was initiated 26 February 1907, and the Renfrew Club, a Calgary club where he played bridge, read, and where Board of Trade meetings were held.

Altogether, he held membership in five Masonic Lodges, two Shrine Temples, one Elks Lodge, and two Greek-letter fraternities (initiated a Phi Delt, and "once a Phi Delt always a Phi Delt" but also pledged as an honorary Phi Kappa Sigma); however, all of his Masonic affiliations, his Elks membership, the Syria Shrine and both fraternities are alliances that he formed while living in Pennsylvania as a young man before his permanent departure in 1907 when he was twenty-three. While he maintained his connections with these various orders sufficiently for them to warrant itemization in his obituary, and his journals regularly mention Shrine functions and contain some oblique mentions of Masonic functions, he apparently did not feel a life-long need to align himself with more and more lodge organizations. These alliances were superseded and their function served in later years by more public groups in the form of committees and councils, both agricultural and political. Thus, the primary conclusion to be drawn from his fraternal memberships is that he was deeply committed to the idea and the practice of brotherhood; I confess I do not understand from my own experience the appeal of secret societies, but clearly they satisfy for many a need to belong, and to belong to an exclusive group. ACP's relationship with his brother Audley, although they were ten years apart in age, was a sound one marked by correspondence, visits whenever possible, and business

advice throughout their lives, so the societies cannot be read as replacements for unsatisfying family bonds.

During his Sophomore year at Lehigh, “the fundamental subjects of Mathematics, Physics, and English [were] completed, and the technical work of civil engineering [was] begun” (*Lehigh Register* 88). This second year of study quite literally set his career in motion; this is the year in which he learned the various skills he used as his profession during the widespread travels which began soon after. According to Lehigh’s calendar, second-year students have a programme in which

The theory of Land Surveying is begun and is accompanied by field work and map drawing [...] The work in Topographic Surveying is done in the four weeks following the end of the Sophomore year. In Railroad Surveying both preliminary and final locations of a line are made, and plans, profiles, and estimates of cost are prepared. In Geodetic Surveying triangulations of a high degree of precision are executed, as also determinations of azimuth, and adjustments of the results are made by standard methods [...] Under the head of Construction are grouped the topics of masonry, foundations, roads and pavements, cements and mortars, walls, dams, arches, tunnels, and details of structures. (88-9)

All of this academic and practical preparation brought ACP to the autumn of 1906 and the end of his formal education, at least so far as I have been able to determine. It also brings me to the conclusion that during my research I have put more effort into getting him a degree than he did.

After the end of winter-term studies at Lehigh, he likely stayed with his mother for the next eight months, on Black Street in Pittsburgh, as a base from which to work (the Topographical Surveying requirement occupied two of these months but I do not

know where the work was completed) and organize his next undertaking. This is the home address he used while at Lehigh; his campus residence, after initiation, was the Phi Delta Theta fraternity house at 451 Lehigh Street. At least some of that eight-month period back in Pittsburgh had to be spent planning his forthcoming major expedition, which I believe was probably undertaken as a surveyor in the employ of a railroad company; his second-year studies certainly included useful preparation for work on railways. This speculation is also based on verbal information from his daughter Hetty and others that he did at some time work as a surveyor; in addition, there are many photographs from the four-month trip between April and August in 1907, and those which span the next several years are variously inscribed by ACP as taken in C.P.R engineer camps around Brooks, Alberta and at the Carbon Hill Coal Company cabin in the Rocky Mountains west of Pincher Creek, Alberta. In this photograph (Plate 5.7), he is shown (at centre) living in a C.P. boxcar in July 1910. Canadian Pacific kept no



employee records at the time and surveyors were contract workers rather than C.P. employees anyway, so the photographs are the only proof there is. The evidence of his academic

preparation and his photographic record is more than sufficient to support the belief that Craig spent several years as a working surveyor (perhaps even as an engineer for less particular employers) and as a farm/ranch hand in the western United States and Canada.

Certainly, the circumstantial evidence offers the most cohesive picture of his life and explanation for his travels.

When he left New York on April 27, 1907, bound for Colon, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was taking control over construction of the Panama Canal; the project had been undertaken by France, and the work done by civilian engineers, before the American military intervention. Before his adventures, there are mostly formal portraits of ACP; casual photographs that he took also exist, however, and so the absence of any Panama pictures or any of the voyage from New York is puzzling. My only suggestion is that he had with him a camera that presumably was lost, complete with its exposed film. Shortly after his travels began, though, he acquired a new camera and subsequently wrote his journeys with his eyes. He may have been a journal keeper all through that time, but, if he was, those books are lost. His volume for 1919 does mention a 1918 book, so perhaps he was a life-long diarist; unfortunately, the books did not survive until Craig began to lead a less itinerant life. What written evidence there is for his travels of 1907 exists on the outside of a stationery box and on the backs of photographs. Happily, his penchant for detail, recording, and measuring, which is so evident in the journals, made him unable to resist the need to calculate how far he had travelled and how long it had taken him to do it. Before the discovery of the witness written on the box, it was merely family lore which maintained that he had been to Panama; that he worked on the Canal, at least for the Isthmian Canal Commission, is apocryphal—correspondence with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army Center of Military History, U.S. Army Engineer Centre, and Civilian Records at the National Archives and Records Administration,

uncovered no military or civilian connection with the engineers or any branch of the armed services at any time or in any place for ACP. However, there was a Panama Railroad Company, and I think it very possible that it is the missing connection. He certainly did not go to Panama as a tourist, not in 1907. He continued from there to Colorado, where he spent seven weeks (which I determined from captioned photographs) in various locations around Colorado Springs and Denver, and by the autumn was camped, and also apparently at work, by the Cheat River in West Virginia. Railroads provide a continuity to his travels, which I am confident were undertaken in the employ of a rail or mine company or a combination of the two. Written in pencil on the lid of the stationery box are some of the dates and places, which help to chart his journey:

Apr. 27	N.Y. Lv.
May 5	Colon Arr
" 11	Colon Lv
" 16	Kingston Ar
" 18	" Lv.
" 22	N.O.[New Orleans; barely legible; written over the crest]
" 23-29	Lr [?]
" 29 June 12	
June 12 –	Colo Springs

The bottom of the Highland Linen Bond box reveals his mileage calculations:

500	Pgh. to N.Y.	[Pittsburgh to New York]
2000	N.Y. " Colon	[Colon, Panama]
200	On Isthmus	
2000	Colon to N.O.	[New Orleans]
600	N.O. " L.R.	[Little Rock]
600	L.R. " K.C.	[Kansas City]
800	K.C. " Denver	
<u>74</u>	Denver " C.S.	[Colorado Springs]
6775		
100	C.S. to C.C. & return	[Cripple Creek, CO]
100	" " "	

272	C.S. to Pueblo La Vitas [?] Pass & Return
300	Royal Gorge
<u>74</u>	C.S. to Denver
7621	
750	D. to G.S & return [Glenwood Springs, CO]
1034	D. to Chicago.
<u>560</u>	Chi. to Pbg.
9965	

Inside the box is a treasure of photographs and negatives, some of them from the 1907 excursion and some from his later travels into Canada.

Although the two-hundred miles of travel in Panama seems short, the isthmus is only fifty miles across, from deep water to deep water. Because ACP was there only for five or six days, he managed an average of thirty-five or forty miles per day: a fairly rigorous pace given conditions at the time. He bought and preserved several large picture-postcard images, which he dated on the back and glued into an album to record the sights there; he must have purchased his replacement camera when he arrived for a two-day stopover in Kingston, Jamaica on May 16th. The photographs taken then are not captioned except for street location but are of the rubble left by the earthquake of January 14th, 1907; ACP's engineering background, and in particular the training in structural and geological matters, no doubt caused him to be fascinated with the effects of a magnitude 6.5 earthquake on an urban centre. Perhaps he even went to Jamaica expressly for the purpose of observation and not merely to take a connecting ship to New Orleans for the next leg of his journey. Taken four months after the fact, the photographs show a devastated city; the Significant Earthquakes Database indicates that one thousand people died and thirty-million dollars' damage was done. After his stop in Jamaica, ACP spent his twenty-third birthday on a boat, between Kingston and New Orleans.

He spent the next several years roaming, but not aimlessly, as we shall see; pieced together from the little he recorded on the backs of photographs is an itinerary that took him all over the contiguous United States and into Canada. Aside from the outline pencilled on the stationery box, he also visited Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, before heading into Colorado; the only surviving photographs of that outing are of cavalry exercises. Next are pictures taken hiking up the rail bed on Pike's Peak, others at Colorado Springs where he stayed at a boarding house on North Tejon Street, and those from Cripple Creek, Glenwood Springs, Williams Cañon, and Royal Gorge. There are also pictures of social outings and townspeople but none of these are captioned; one photograph of a well-dressed woman wearing a veiled hat and holding a box camera in her lap is cryptically identified only as "B.B." MAM had entertained other romantic possibilities, such as Luis, during her single years and it would be odd if ACP had not also. The fact that all of these evidences of other at-least-possible romances survive suggests that jealousies were not much of a problem to the Pierces and that they must not have felt these others posed any subsequent threat to their relationship. In any case, ACP had a social life as well as a working life while he was away from Pennsylvania.

His work in Colorado was interrupted when he spent twelve days in Denver Mercy Hospital after his appendix was removed; from his bed he photographed the nurse and orderly, and later the surgeon in the hallway, and a lounge area, and had someone else photograph him on the front steps of the hospital when he was discharged on 1 August 1907. Obviously this was an event. He returned to Pittsburgh via Chicago after his release from hospital and then spent several months at least, and as much as two

years, in West Virginia. By the summer of 1909, Craig was on the move again and working on the Ness ranch at Pendleton, Oregon, but no one knows how he came to know the owner and get the job; the selection of photographs taken during his time there includes several large mule teams complete with whip-wielding mule skinnners and the working men and women on the ranch (both Caucasian and Aboriginal). These photographs were taken not only to record for himself the new world in which he lived but also to show those who remained easterners the markedly changed life he had chosen. After the 1909 harvest was finished, Craig left for southern Alberta and was in and around Brooks in a C.P.R. engineer camp during November and December; in March 1910 he was back in Colorado Springs, Colorado, but for April and May he returned to Pendleton, presumably for spring seeding and other field work. He was there again in September-October, but that was the last of his employment with the Ness family; he was in Alberta, Canada, for the summer and returned there after the Oregon harvest via Seattle and Victoria.

While he was a Ness hand, he had an unusual portrait taken by the Wheeler Studio in Pendleton. The handwritten inscription on the back of the original is in MAM's handwriting and reads "Craig—Wheat ranching in Oregon August 1909." The picture is a favourite for everyone in the family; my mother copied it and the graduation portrait of her mother as a framed gift set for her four children. ACP is twenty-five in this picture, unshaven, and looking very comfortable and confident in his life as a hard-working man; he clearly is not outside his element without bulky ties and jaw-scraping collars. He was less itinerant in 1911, working around Bassano and Crowfoot in southern Alberta; he was

employed on the Van Orsdale farm (Plate 5.8) during this time and the Van Orsdales



became life-long friends. He wintered away from the harshness of the prairies even then, as well as in the early years of his marriage: January 1912 found him at the Grand Canyon in Arizona and Mojave, California; January 1913 yielded pictures of New Orleans, Louisiana and El Paso, Texas; in 1914 he visited Charleston, South Carolina. These far-reaching excursions no doubt framed regular trips home to Pennsylvania, where his mother and brothers still lived, and of course to New York State to see MAM.

During 1911 or 1912, Craig bought his own farming equipment, even though he owned no land, and began contract farming in southern Alberta. It was in 1912 that he bought his first Holt Caterpillar track-type tractor, beginning an agricultural love affair that never ended. In a glossy, sixteen-page Holt advertising publication dating from the late 1930s, *Farming in Canada*, ACP's Diesel D4 (purchased in 1936) is featured at work on the cover and in a full-page series of quotations, he outlines his history with the machinery.

My first one was a front-wheel type 'Sixty' built during the winter of 1911-12. I have done a considerable part of my farm work with one of them each and every year since, beginning with 1912. In 1919 I purchased a front-wheel

type 'Seventy-Five' to use in plowing our heavy gumbo soil [...] In 1928, I purchased one of the smallest, known as the '2-ton,' for pulling a rod-weeder, cultivators and hauling [...] I expected great things of the Diesel D4, purchased in April (1936), [...] to cut operating costs. [...] Everyone of us who has driven the Diesel D4 is unanimous in saying it is the most satisfactory tractor ever handled. 'Caterpillar' track-type Tractors have had a lot to do with my making a go of wheat farming. (14)

The *SRM News* uses a photograph, taken in May 1937, of the Sixty, 2-ton, and D4 in our farmyard, to underscore a request from Calgary's Glenbow Foundation for "as much information as possible on the earliest uses of Caterpillar-built tractors" in order to "complete the early history of the Province of Alberta" (4).

After two years of contract work in Alberta (1912-13), ACP went to Saskatchewan where he spent four years (1914-17); at least three of these years and probably all four were spent at Leipzig (approximately one-hundred-miles west of Saskatoon) managing a seed farm, which was owned by the F.A. Owen Publishing Company in Chicago. Certainly he was there before his marriage; during the spring of 1915, just four months before their wedding, he sent MAM a postcard made from a photograph of his Cat at work, with "A.C. Pierce" stencilled on the canopy. He was on his way to a business meeting, he wrote, but "Wish I were taking the train for Chau." and signed it simply "C." He had spent seven years farming in the west by this time, a completely different prospect from farming in Pennsylvania, and had proceeded through the ranks as though through a corporation: from seasonal hired hand, to contract work with his own machinery, to farm management, becoming less and less transient in direct proportion to his progress through the ranks. He did not, however, entirely privilege the

practical over the theoretical. Several texts from his formal education maintained a place on his shelves and are on my shelves now; one is the *Complete Secondary Algebra* he used during his senior year at Shady Side Academy in 1904; two are Loney's 1900 *Elements of Statics* and 1901 *Elements of Dynamics* from his time at Lehigh during 1904-06; two are Le Conte's 1908 edition of *Elements of Geology* and the 1909 *Campbell's Soil Culture Manual* which together help me to believe ACP may have, but cannot convince me fully that he did, continue his degree studies after departing Lehigh.

Certainly, the geology text is compatible with engineering study; the soil-culture text and Henry's *Feeds and Feeding*, which was added to his library after 1914 in Calgary, are more specifically agricultural manuals and contain scientific studies, observations, and evaluations of soil types, and crop and stock development. The Campbell text is subtitled "A Complete Guide to Scientific Agriculture as Adapted to the Semi-Arid Regions," which inland Oregon and the prairies certainly were and are; thus the book had obvious value for ACP as he accustomed himself to the requirements and considerations of farming in a new place. Various feeds and feeding ratios are charted in the Henry "Hand-Book for the Student and Stockman" to demonstrate the success and failure of variant animal-husbanding methods. ACP did not just practise agriculture; he studied it. He was nothing if not methodical. Mary, his youngest daughter, remembers that it took great patience to have ACP explain anything because he was so meticulous in his instructions; "now here's a nut and you put it on top of the screw and you turn it" (Conover Interview). All of this preparation was completed before he ever bought so much as an acre of land for himself; his self-imposed apprenticeship lasted ten years.

The MAM-imposed courtship had also lasted ten years—their daughters Hetty and Mary both have suggested that he was “a rounder” and she would not marry him until he settled down; after he held a job, and a fixed address, for two years, she relented and they were married in Buffalo, New York, on 9 December, 1915. If she compromised for him by giving up her life of ease in the East, he also compromised for her, by giving up his life of adventuresome travel that undoubtedly would have taken him all over the world if his itchy feet had been left to their own devices. If her body was her world, as described previously, his world was the geographic world. Her demand and need for stability and his for freedom, found a place to be together in the open and uncrowded spaces of the Canadian prairie where opportunities existed to satisfy both their ambitions. There does not seem to be a single voice of doubt that theirs was a love match; but it was a match which faced no greater problem than geography—she was Eastern, urban, and American by conviction to the end of her life—and it was a substantial problem which was never wholly resolved for either of them because of the constant necessity for renegotiation and sacrifice by each in the interests of the other.

Craig and Adele’s wedding trip was a journey to Florida, by ship from New York to Tampa, staying in St. Petersburg and Key West, and cruising to Pasa Grille Island; they saw and photographed porpoises from the ship’s deck, giant sea turtles from the dock, palm trees outside their hotel and pelicans in flight, during their holiday which stretched into January. By the time the honeymoon ended, Adele was pregnant and when the time came for Craig to return to Saskatchewan for seeding in the spring of 1916, he went alone. Others who worked on the seed farm lived in soddies (small dwellings made

of stacked slabs of prairie sod), some with families, but during 1916 a brand new two-story, hip-roofed house was built and it is there that Craig took Adele and their baby daughter Laura in the spring of 1917. They likely stayed only until after harvest and then wintered in New York and Pennsylvania with family; they moved to a rented home in Calgary early enough the following year to be listed in *Henderson's (1918) Calgary Directory* and Henrietta Torrence, their second daughter and my mother, was born in December. In 1918, Craig purchased the farm at Drumheller where he solidified his reputation as an agriculturist, as “a wheat grower and power farmer” (*Nor'-West Farmer* 8).

The original two-and-a-half-section (two-and-a-half square miles) farm was largely unbroken land when he bought it from William Dougan, one of many Iowans with land in the region, for \$65 an acre. The total purchase price came to \$104 000, an enormous amount of money in 1918, but subsequently ACP and Dougan renegotiated a more realistic price of \$40 per acre; a total price reduction of \$40 000 for Mr. Dougan and needless to say a transaction that is extremely unlikely to occur anymore. The home quarter is the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ 15 T28 R21 W4; the grid system of land measurement used on the prairies is very precise but does require some initial decoding. Reading from right to left, the description becomes more specific until it pinpoints the site on which the rural residence is built. W4 means west of the fourth meridian—not the prime meridian that runs through Greenwich, but the one which serves as the Alberta-Saskatchewan border. The R stands for Range; a range is a township (or six sections) wide and extends to the

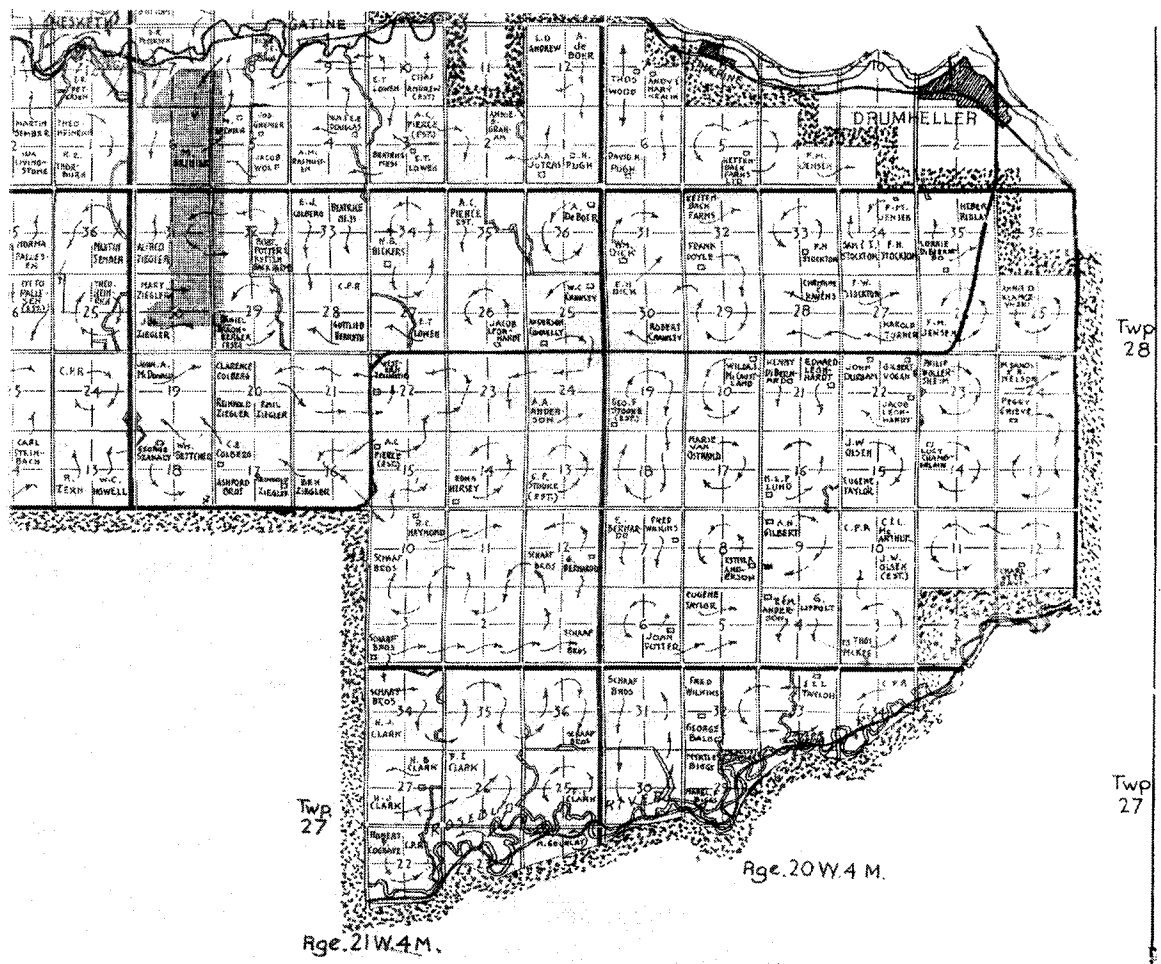
northern and southern limits of the grid; the higher the range number, the farther west from the meridian—in this case the provincial boundary—the land is. The T stands for Township (Plate 5.9), which is a block of thirty-six sections arranged six high and six wide; township numbers are higher the farther north they are. A section is one square mile. The tricky part of the township system is that the south (bottom) six sections are numbered east to west (1-6), then the next six (moving north) are numbered west to east

31	32	33	34	35	36
30	29	28	27	26	25
19	20	21	22	23	24
18	17	16	15	14	13
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	5	4	3	2	1

Handwritten notes in the grid:

- Section 31: *East-Center*
- Section 32: *Pike*
- Section 29: *Hecker*
- Section 28: *Coffersmith*
- Section 26: *Johnson*
- Section 25: *Anderson*
- Section 20: *Seibert*
- Section 21: *Seibert*
- Section 22: *Pike*
- Section 23: *Anderson*
- Section 17: *Reck*
- Section 16: *Pike*
- Section 15: *Pierce*
- Section 14: *Kerney*
- Section 13: *Anderson*
- Section 8: *Jones*
- Section 7: *Langley*
- Section 9: *Begall*
- Section 10: *Pierce*
- Section 11: *Day*
- Section 12: *Murray*
- Section 4: *Morris*
- Section 3: *Morris*
- Section 2: *Morris*
- Section 1: *Morris*

(7-12), snaking back and forth so that the eastern edge of a township consists of the six sections numbered, from south to north: one, twelve, thirteen, twenty-four, twenty-five, and thirty-six. Each section is divided into four quarters of six-hundred-forty acres each, a quarter-section being the smallest saleable unit of prairie farmland, and the quarters are designated by their compass-point location: NW, NE, SW, and SE. ACP's hand-written record of township twenty-eight lists the neighbourhood as it existed the year he bought the farm; the squiggly lines in sections twenty-seven and thirty-three indicate the Horseshoe Canyon. According to the 1956 municipal map (Plate 5.10), Pierce holdings



amounted to four-and-a-quarter sections which is the largest acreage the farm reached; the total amount of land ACP farmed at one time was four-thousand acres, but the additional two sections are accounted for by the contract work done for corporate owners. The land location NW $\frac{1}{4}$ 15 T28 R21 W4 means that the buildings on our farm are located in the north-west quarter of section fifteen of township twenty-eight in range twenty-one west of the fourth meridian. Various fields on our farm are known by their section number; if someone is working “down on 10” it means the work is being done about a mile straight south of the house. Urban people have street addresses; rural people have land descriptions. Roads and highways most often follow these grid lines, which explains why prairie highways are so straight and seem to go on forever.

The highway which runs past the farmyard today was never paved during ACP's years there; what road there was, he graded and maintained using the Cats in an arrangement with the municipality. Banks, grain traders, and insurance companies whose clients defaulted foreclosed on mortgages and promissory notes, thus becoming landowners. ACP's journals refer to the “Bank half [section]” or the “M'f'g Life half [section]”; as the land was resold to farmers, the acreage ACP worked would decrease. Farming such a sizeable place required close attention, endless work hours, much equipment, men, and, in the early days, horses; harvest involved a few more steps when the ratio of men to equipment was greater than one-to-one, as it is now. In 1924, a ripe crop was put through a six-step process before it was taken to the bin for storage: the standing crop was cut, then horse-drawn binders bundled the grain, men stooked the bundles, and the stooks were later pitched into a horse-drawn rack, which took the grain

to the thresher, and then it was threshed—the wheat separated from the chaff. On one very productive day of harvesting in 1924, one-thousand-eight-hundred-fifty bushels were threshed by a dozen men, some horses, and a variety of machinery and equipment; sixty-years later, three men with two combines and a truck could harvest and bin eight-thousand bushels in a single day. There is no longer any bundling, stooking, or pitching; the six steps are now three; the combine goes to the swath instead of the other way around; and the teams of horses and transient threshing crews (the stookers and pitchers) are long gone.

Mechanical innovations were always welcome in ACP's world; he was fascinated and excited by technology, as his journals and photographs can attest. He had a radio well before his neighbours and once even took his set to Kirby School, where community functions were held, for a dance. Jim Moore, who travelled from Connecticut to spend the summer of 1928 working for his uncle, remembers ACP using the radio to awaken the hands every morning; Jim remembers hearing Australian dance music (Moore interview). There is a newspaper clipping (unidentified) which confirms his memory and describes the radio as “a costly mercury super-ten, one of Canadian make.” ACP's journals frequently mention the far-off places his short-wave radio picked up, including Mexico City, Spain, and Italy. Because of his engagement with equipment, he photographed machines—preferably machines at work, starting with his pictures of a very flimsy-looking bi-plane taken in Spokane in 1910. The use of workhorses was phased out earlier on the Pierce Farm than on neighbouring land. His photographic collection visually documents the mechanization of agriculture, and his journals record his investigations

into new developments; all of the equipment maintenance was done on the farm in the shop, either by ACP and Crawley (his right-hand man in the early years) or Smyth (who was “an employee on the farm for 22 years” [“ACP Journals” 16 Dec 1954] and who had taught Mechanics at the Provincial Institute of Technology). Some of the equipment was even made on the farm, including the transitional method of the harvesting barge which—as the name implies—is a large combination apparatus which cuts the crop, loads it into a holding tank where a worker continuously tramps it down, and periodically unloads great stacks of compacted grain at intervals around the field, ready for threshing. ACP recorded in his journal that he had been to observe a barge demonstration by Costello, a Calgary implement dealer, and was impressed with its potential, but rather than purchase one, he and the men built one which was used experimentally during harvest 1935.

His agricultural innovations were not solely technological but also environmental. When he bought the place, there was not a tree on it; but he “came into prominence by his successful development of windbreaks, taking advantage of the Dominion Government’s tree planting policy for his seedlings” (*Camrose Canadian* 17). The tree planting started in 1924 and a dozen years after ACP’s death in 1955, newspaper columnist John Schmidt describes as “electrifying” the sight of “at least 110,000 trees growing” (22). A 1976 *Reader’s Digest* article says the “21 miles of caragana and four miles of poplar and elm [...] turn [ACP’s] farm into a regional showplace” (McGuinness 123). Schmidt describes the “miles of trees [...] planted in an east-west direction to break the force of the prevailing winds which [...] were periodically lifting tons and tons of the dark brown soil from this and many other Prairie farms” as an “arboreal oasis” (22),

which they are to this day. The trees were acquired from the federal government's permanent nursery (established in 1903) at Indian Head, Saskatchewan; it was not until a decade after ACP started planting trees that Parliament passed the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act of 1935 in response to the fact that "The topsoil on 18 million acres, a fourth of all the arable land in Canada, was literally blown away" (McGuinness 124). The destructive winds and drought began as early as May 1926, when ACP recorded a "dust storm in P.M. and all night—very bad" ("ACP Journals" 29 May 1926); and a week later it was "very windy all day—worst dust storm ever at 6:30—so dark had lamps lighted. House full of dirt" ("ACP Journals" 8 Jun 1926). In April of 1933, however, he was able to write "no soil drifting here" ("ACP Journals" 3 Apr 1933). Caragana, which "averages a foot of growth in each of the first five years [and] reaches 25 feet at maturity" (McGuinness 126), is extraordinarily hardy and kept the Pierce farm topsoil where it belonged during the dry and dirty thirties which were catastrophic years for prairie farmers. Shelterbelts not only control soil drifting but also result in moisture conservation which in turn affects crop yield.

The farm occupied all of his labours in the early years and he was always at work side-by-side with the men; there were no tasks too menial for him (even sewing grain sacks) and his journals record each day who was busy at what chore using which piece of equipment. Once the decision was made that the girls should be schooled in the city (approximately seventy-five miles to the south-west), and the farm was well established and thriving, ACP began to spend more time away from the land—never losing touch by any means—and his attention turned once again to more global things and to work of other

kinds. The winter of 1925-26 was the last winter Adele and the girls spent in the East; a city home had to be established if the girls were to be regularly at school and Laura was ten years old that fall. ACP's mother died in June and he made a quick trip to Pittsburgh; Hetty, who was seven-and-a-half at the time, remembered her father "crying like a baby when word came that his mother had died." His ties to the East somewhat weakened by the absence of his mother, and the girls' educational considerations made necessary by their ages, worked together to prepare the way for ACP's developing commitment to Calgary. In 1929, he coached the girls' basketball team at Crescent Heights High School. Then, in 1932, he joined the Calgary Board of Trade, now known as the Calgary Chamber of Commerce.

By 1934, and for a period of four years, he organized and was chairman (Plate 5.11) of the Board's farmers' short course, an annual forum jointly sponsored with the



provincial Department of Agriculture for discussion and debate, which was always very well attended by urban and rural people alike for whom agriculture was of vital importance. In 1935, he founded and became chairman of the Board's agriculture bureau which oversaw the short course and in 1938, when he was fifty-four, he was elected president of the four-hundred-eighty-six member Board of Trade, the first farmer president of a board of trade in

the country. These were significant years for ACP to be positioned as an authoritative voice with access to ears at every level of government, and the electorate as well, and he worked vigorously to use his venue to fullest effect in order to address those issues that threatened everyone during the Depression. Editorial remarks in *The Camrose Canadian* recall

the leadership he gave to Alberta farmers, for he prodded them out of their lethargy in the difficult times and brought them together for discussions of their problems, with the result that his neighbours took a new lease on life, a new interest in their industry and lifted themselves up by their bootstraps, so to speak. (17)

In 1938, John Bracken, then Premier of Manitoba, decided to assemble a standing committee of approximately thirty men who would lobby persistently for the federal government to resolve wheat marketing issues. Bracken announced that ACP was “one of the first men asked, and one of the first to accept, a place on the continuing committee” (unidentified news clipping); ACP believed that “the operation of a wheat board, and a fixed price for grain, [were] essential to the national economy” (unidentified news clipping), and in 1939 he went to Ottawa with the Bracken Committee to meet with Prime Minister King and his Cabinet, as well as with other party leaders. The unanimity of the delegation and the thoroughness of their presentation directly resulted in the government’s decision not to disband the wheat board as had been intended. The lines were clearly drawn along party lines and when John Bracken became leader of the federal Progressive Conservatives, ACP continued to work with him and campaign for Conservative candidates, declaring that “A Liberal vote is approving removal of the wheat board [...] but a vote for your Bracken Progressive Conservative candidate is a

vote for a party which will keep the wheat board in operation and pay parity prices” (unidentified news clipping). He reminded voters, through newspaper articles and radio addresses, that it was the Calgary Conservative Prime Minister R.B. Bennett who had enlisted John I. McFarland (who planned the principles of the Canadian Wheat Board between 1930 and 1935) to oversee stabilization of grain prices and it was Mackenzie King’s Liberals who had given him “shabby treatment” and dismissed him.

His political involvement always had an agricultural focus; the United Farmers of Alberta was also a beneficiary of ACP’s determined efforts on behalf of western agriculture and in 1938 he “participat[ed] in [its] series of radio broadcasts re minimum price for wheat and collection of arrears of taxes, etc. in the drought area” (Priestley letter to ACP). Seemingly tireless, he also was appointed to the Alberta wartime crop production committee and was general chairman for the Southern Alberta area of the Canadian War Services Fund drive to which he gave all his time and undertook to organize all of Southern Alberta outside of Calgary (Nesbitt 1). One aspect of the drive was an arrangement by which farmers could make donations in bushels of wheat. Although he never became a Canadian citizen, ACP clearly considered himself Canadian and demonstrated his commitment by aligning himself with Canadians on Canadian issues and by his outspoken and energetic political and agricultural activity. He was fund raising for Canadian soldiers before Pearl Harbor brought the United States into the war; Canadian concerns were his concerns. I am convinced that had it not been for Adele’s explicit dislike of this country, he would have taken citizenship and campaigned for political office of his own, as rumour has it he was encouraged to do. That he did not

become a citizen is in fact inconsistent with his life-long practice of formally joining groups of many sorts with which he shared convictions and goals. Moreover, exclusion from the polling station, when he exhorted others on the importance of exercising their votes, must have been a frustration for him, one that it was uncharacteristic of him to tolerate when the solution was so simple and so accessible.

In spite of his extremely full public schedule and his regular attendance on the farm, ACP managed to be part of his family's daily life. Because the women in the house did not drive, he devoted a great deal of time to his duties as their chauffeur; the fact that none of the girls or Adele had driver's licences puzzled me until Mary explained that ACP refused to teach them how to drive unless they also agreed to "learn how to change a tire, what is a gasket, and what is a carburetor, [then] you can learn how to drive and you can have a car" (Conover Interviews). The response, according to Mary, was "we learned to drive from our boyfriends" (Conover Interviews); just as their mother was delivered to movies and bridge games and then collected when she was done, they had to be dropped off and picked up at all their assorted activities, including school when it was too cold for them walk. In 1934, as previously noted, when the girls were aged from eighteen to thirteen, driving almost became a full-time job. The family enjoyed vacations together each year—as early as 1923 they spent a week during July in the mountains. He considered the girls' birthday parties important enough to be written into his journals along with functions of a far more public nature. My mother's fourth birthday is written there. Whether he was at home or out in public, his character remained fundamentally the same: MAM's niece Jane Warner remembers him as "dignified" and softly spoken

(Warner interview), and Mary says that “maybe at some time during our lives I heard my dad say ‘damn’ but I don’t recall—he never swore” (Conover Interviews). While I have no memories of my own of my grandfather, I have never heard a single negative word about him. When I was a child still living on the farm, it was quite common for old men who had worked for him even one season to be brought by their grandsons to visit the farm a last time; Mary says “everybody respected him” (Conover Interviews), and I know that to the end of her life my mother could not speak of him without getting tears in her eyes. When I asked Mary about the leadership of the family, she replied that “he was the boss of the whole house”—Even of your mother?—“He was the boss of everything” (Conover Interviews).

Epilogue

When I was growing up, this portrait (Plate 5.12) was set just above a small



display shelf which held his gavel from the presidency of the Calgary Board of Trade; together they held a shrine-like significance in our house. The intensity of his gaze is unchanged from the one already evident in the Dabbs portrait taken when he was two. The worst things I know about him are that he smoked and that he did not want his daughters to work (because “ladies” did not)—but he did nothing to stop them when

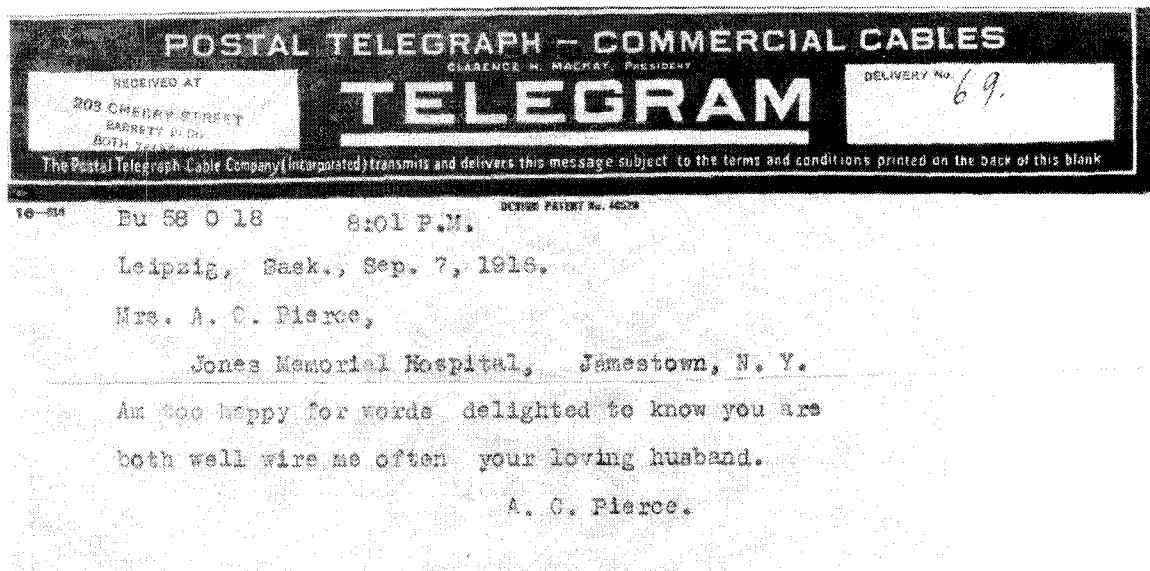
they went out and got jobs anyway. ACP was inducted posthumously into the Alberta

Farmers' Hall of Fame in 1968 and a medal was given in his honour as the prize for the seed competition that he had established. He has always been a larger-than-life character for me, and it is unlikely that anything ever will make much of a change in my perception. I enjoy his diversity immensely, love that he gathered flowers from the yard to decorate the house for my mother's wedding day, love that he listened very regularly to opera broadcasts and the World Series on the radio, love his love for my father whom he "loved like he was his son" (Conover Interviews), love that he put bootleggers up for the night when their car broke down ("ACP Journals" 25 Nov 1919). Although I am unable to relate to his pleasure in bowling, I forgive him for it because he recorded my birth with the declaration that I was "a perfect specimen with no blemishes" ("ACP Journals" 19 Jan 1952; see Appendix C). He is a very lofty model to follow.

CHAPTER SIX

Dramatis Personae 3: Laura Allison Pierce

She is the missing sister, to me—the mystery sister. She is the one of whom I have absolutely no memory—even though I was seven-and-a-half when she died. Mary claims that Laura could knit Argyle socks in the dark. Hetty remembered that she had pretty breasts, such an intimate memory of a sister, and an observation more revealing of Hetty's self perception than of Laura's body type. Writing Laura raises more questions than it answers and draws more distinct demarcation lines between the known and the unknown; but what details there are serve at least to create a clear idea of the complicatedness of her life. She was given her maternal grandmother's first and maiden names. Laura was born September 7, 1916 (Plate 6.1), three days short of the cultural



nine-month requirement after her parents' wedding. People counted out loud in those days; they still do. Laura's mother, MAM, who was called Dell, even received a gently teasing letter from a friend remarking on the early arrival: "Not even a full nine months—

You lack three days, and I think that's a great joke on Dellie—I'll bet you are grinning yourself" (Jet n.d. [8 Sept 1916]). Laura is the only one of the sisters to have a baby book and the only one born in a hospital: Jones Memorial Hospital in Jamestown, New York. Her father's telegram to her mother, on the day Laura was born, is the only survivor of possibly four such messages.

She is the only one of the Pierce children whose likeness was used in an advertisement (Plate 6.2) and the only one with an album of formal baby portraits. She is



the only one whose childhood letters survive. All of these things, along with locks of hair, meticulous records of her growth during her first year, and infant-feeding guidelines, are tucked in the pages throughout her baby book. According to that book, she arrived at one o'clock in the morning on a Thursday, and she weighed seven pounds and remained in the hospital for two-and-a-half weeks, until September 25th, before she rode home in a taxi twenty miles to her Grandma Moore's house in Chautauqua. She was born first, and she died first. Hers is the kind of life that people call tragic; but far from her

having an inherent and fatal personal flaw, there are three pivotal events in her history that are of such import they become the shaping moments for the family as a whole. All three of these incidents concern her body and all three occurred before she reached the age of fifteen.

When Laura was almost five years old, her father's 1921 journal tells us, a hired worker on the family farm molested her. ACP wrote that he fired the man "for handling Laura" ("ACP Journals" 22 Jun 1921; see Appendix C). Martin Crownberg had worked on the farm for six weeks. There can be no real doubt about the meaning of "handling" in this instance; but when the question was raised with Hetty, she knew it as a molestation. Since she was too young to remember it at the time it happened, Hetty's knowledge of the abuse means that the family openly remarked on the event as the girls grew up. There is much that is surprising about this story: unless the man was caught in the act of "handling" her, Laura was sufficiently aware of herself as a sovereign person to tell someone what happened; she was believed; action was taken; the incident was not hidden in shame but retained as a part of the family's collective memory. Even more significantly, it was written down—by the father—and the assailant was named.

As encouraging and validating as all this openness may seem (and surely is), Laura nevertheless was a female child who was sexually molested by an adult male. It is not possible that she experienced no psychological or social consequences as a result of that fact. The relevant observation that resonates most for me in all of Roland Barthes' work is his conviction that we never really get over anything—we just stop crying (*Barthes on Barthes*). Laura's youngest sister Mary remembers her as "aloof" and "stand-offish" during their teen years (Conover Interviews); that she spent a great deal of time alone, in her room; and that, unlike her sisters, she did not date or entertain serious boyfriends. Mary says that although Laura "had boyfriends once in awhile" (Conover Interviews), none were "red-hot romances" (Conover Interviews). Far from it: Laura

“turned boys off” (Conover Interviews). When Lucy and Mary had a houseful of boys in for an evening of singing and dancing, Laura withdrew to her room or went elsewhere rather than participate. One young man who spent a year or so courting her, who shows up in the family photo albums during 1940, and is listed in ACP’s journals as present for Christmas dinner along with the boys who would eventually marry Hetty and Lucy, was never really a serious contender. Certainly, Laura is remembered by the next generation of the family as the different one of the four sisters. While ACP recorded what he probably thought were double-dates with Hetty and Jack, double-dates with a future, Laura kept George Perkins at arm’s length and eventually he settled for friendship only as his role in her life. Mary remembers that George became a member of the family, who would stop by the house and stay to talk to her mother if none of the girls were home (Conover Interviews).

The second of Laura’s three life-changing events is a month-long quarantine the family shared in their Calgary home during November and December 1928. They were isolated for Scarlet Fever—complete with the big yellow warning sign on the door and groceries left on the step—the same year that Alexander Fleming first observed mould in a petrie dish swarming with streptococci; thus, it was too soon for them to benefit from his discovery of penicillin. There are no journal entries for that month of seclusion; presumably the book was left at the farm when ACP went to join his family in the city. There is no way to know how ill any of the children were or what immediate complications arose as a result. The family record is blank and medical records are long since destroyed; FOIPP (Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy) legislation

would prevent disclosure anyway. It would seem the sickness passed as childhood sicknesses do; but this bout of fever could be the solution to the great puzzle that arises about Laura's health the following year.

According to her public school records, Laura suddenly stopped attending school after November 1929. She was thirteen years old and in grade seven; she attended only twenty days of school during the rest of the 1929-1930 academic year, while her sisters' attendance remained high. Her father's journals are uncharacteristically

silent on this point

and, in fact,

I only discovered her truancy when I managed to acquire copies of the girls' information cards from Records Management at Calgary Education. Since Mary was only eight years old at the time, her age may explain why her memory does not note anything out of the ordinary having happened. Rather, she dates the end of Laura's public school education from the third of the misfortunes that struck her eldest sister, and supposedly "ruined her life," of which more in a moment. The peculiar reticence of the journals, which have shown themselves ordinarily straightforward and articulate on all manner of health issues, suggests to me that this mystery concern was worrisome for the writer in a way that other physical events were not. Something undefined happened to the first-born child and it is never named; in fact, its existence is concealed.

Mary says that Laura "was not ever real well" (Conover Interviews). She describes her sister as "snooty" and remarks that Laura had an "open the door for me" (Conover Interviews) attitude that her sisters did not share. Laura "wanted to be waited on" (Conover Interviews), and their cousin Jane recalls that Laura was a rather demanding guest during her 1939 solo visit to relatives in the East (Warner Interview), a visitor who expected "to be waited on." Jane's brother Jim does not recall Laura as a demanding guest but the women of a house would be the ones expected to do the "waiting on" and so those subtleties might have escaped the men. Likely, Laura's ill health created a cycle of indulgences and demands between Laura and the rest of the household; her needs and wishes catered to, she began to have an expectation that this

was the natural order and her right. I have pursued a number of red herrings and dead ends in an attempt to establish a chronology for her life and a diagnosis of her illness; frustratingly, a definitive explanation is not possible but circumstantial evidence offers a most-plausible course of events.

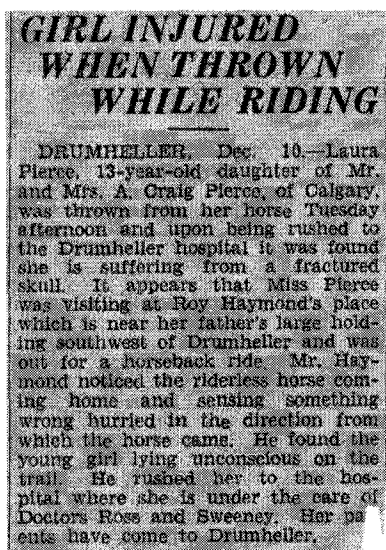
Since Laura was tutored at home and never returned to school with her sisters, whatever afflicted her was chronic in nature. I entertained the possibilities of tuberculosis, nervous or mental breakdown, and lupus—all of which remain possibilities because of their potentially vague and prolonged unwellness (although Mary rejects outright the breakdown theory). However, given Laura's more specific, remembered and recorded, encounters with kidney disease later in life, I suspect that she contracted an infection secondary to the scarletina for which the family was quarantined in 1928 and that her health was incurably compromised from that date. While still in her mid-thirties, she underwent the surgical removal of a "shrivelled" kidney; from that description (I am told), in all likelihood the defect was congenital and indicates that at the time of her exposure to Scarlet Fever, Laura had only one healthy, functioning kidney.

Because of this disadvantage, she was susceptible to more severe consequences than her sisters. They recovered, and she did not. Predisposed thus to renal disease, she had the added misfortune to contract that form of infection which progresses, untreated by antibiotics, to organic involvement: "if a nephritogenic strain of group AB-hemolytic streptococci causes infection, there is a 10-15% chance of developing glomerulonephritis" (Balentine). The post-strep complication results in glomerular lesions and a condition called polyarteritis nodosa that "causes a nephritis due to

vasculitis involving renal arteries.” In my medically untrained opinion, Laura died of “acute renal failure from post-streptococcal glomerulonephritis” (Kazzi) thirty years after her bout of Scarlet Fever. During the intervening three decades she undoubtedly experienced the “symptoms of a moderate febrile disease” (Balentine) that are common to the illness and explain her sister’s assessment that “she was not ever real well” (Conover Interviews). The diagnosis is plausible and provides for the vague and sporadic unwellness that must have been Laura’s lot in life, vague enough to escape accurate diagnosis or efficacious treatment at the time and severe enough to keep her out of school (with periodic and brief exceptions) for the rest of her life.

The more well known and more spectacular physical calamity, which is carefully recorded in the journals, occurred a year after Laura’s public-school career ended. It was so dramatic that her previous and persistent malaise was relegated to the realm of the forgotten until now. Ironically, if she previously had been well, the third of her mischances never would have taken place. December 9th, 1930 was a Tuesday and a school day; it was also Craig and Adele’s fifteenth wedding anniversary. But instead of being at school with her sisters, Laura was at the farm with her father; this was often the case and, although the family firmly and collectively resists the possibility, had to generate a degree of resentment in the other girls. After all, they were left in the city, with their mother, and sent to school while she was privileged with long drives to the country in sole Elektrik possession of the beloved father. The three healthy girls may have felt guilt about their resentment, because they loved their sister, but it is too normal a response to suppose it did not rise up in any of them.

On the day in question (“ACP Journals” 9 Dec 1930), Laura took the opportunity to go for a ride across country to the neighbours’ for a visit; however, her horse arrived without her, and she was found unconscious in a field, having fractured her skull when her head struck the frozen ground. The incident was dramatic enough and the family prominent enough to warrant coverage (Plate 6.3), albeit with some factual inaccuracies,



in three separate newspapers. Mary remembers being told that her sister’s head was split from ear to ear across the back (Conover Interviews). Her father and the neighbour took Laura to the hospital in Drumheller; her mother arrived from Calgary at ten o’clock that night, driven by a family friend. ACP and MAM spent that night and the next four days and nights at her bedside, leaving only for meals at the home of friends. By the 14th, MAM was “ordered to observe visiting hours” (“ACP Journals” Dec 1930) and ACP made a day trip to Calgary, likely to see the other girls and reassure them about their sister’s condition. Laura must have been making a promising recovery, since she was strong enough to cause “5 nurses [a] tussle giving [her an] enema” (“ACP Journals” 14 Dec 1930). I admit my initial response to the image this story creates was a burst of laughter. And certainly, her outrage adds weight to my previous remarks about her personal sovereignty.

However, for a small girl of fourteen, who has received a severe head injury, to put up such a physical fight, against five adult women who act with all the starched-white

authority of the uniform plus the sanction of the girl's mother, raises some intriguing questions. Surely the patient was old enough to possess the maturity with which to brave such an unpleasant but supposedly necessary procedure without resorting to violent resistance in order to protect herself. Consider, though, the possible roots of her apparently irrational response. Perhaps the behaviour was the result of the injury incurred in her accident; patients occasionally exhibit a wide range of unruly outbursts that are uncharacteristic under normal circumstances. But perhaps Laura's desperate self-defense was not irrational at all but rather a very rational, and at the same time visceral, reaction symptomatic of a prior indignity such as the one she suffered when she was four-and-a-half. It is possible that she reacted psychologically, as happens with an aversion, to an event that occurred almost a decade before. If that is the case, it means she herself was unable to comprehend the extremity of her reflex and thus the pathos of the scene overwhelms its initially amusing anecdotal quality. And it is also possible that her mother was not as cooperative as may be expected of a parent at the time; it is after the "tussle" is recorded that ACP states his wife was ordered to observe visiting hours.

After another three days in the hospital, Laura was moved to Calgary by train on the morning of December 18th. She withstood the journey well and Dr. Sisley, the family's physician, and their city neighbour Mr. Quigley met the train. After those nine days of hospitalization, she continued her convalescence at home; she was able to join her family downstairs for Christmas dinner ("ACP Journals" 25 Dec 1930). The lasting effects of her accident are apparently few: there seems to have been no insurmountable brain damage (and apparently none at all to left-brain functions) among the injuries

sustained—she took comptometer training in 1940 and worked in accounting at the time of her death in August 1959; if she really could knit Argyle socks in the dark, she had a remarkable facility with patterns, numeric and otherwise. Her ability with language does seem to have been interfered with at least temporarily; several years after her skull fracture, while at Mount Royal Junior College (the predecessor of the current college) in the fall of 1934 to complete grade ten at the age of eighteen, her grades for Geometry and Arithmetic were 90% and 94% respectively but her English Composition I and Literature grades were 52% and 50% respectively. The following term, during which she completed grade eleven coursework, her Composition II grade improved to 64% and Literature to 80%; she received an 85% for Composition III in that same term, during which she received grades for nine different courses.

Obviously the programme in which she was enrolled was substantially compressed as compared to a conventional secondary-school progress; and it is important to note that her grade of 50% in English Literature ranked her first in a class of four. Thus Dean Burchill's handnoted praise that "Laura is doing really excellent work" and, during her second term, that "This record indicates unusual ability" have to be read with some caution as to the overall quality of the student pool. Her average in the first term was 77% and in the second term 75%. While her math grades and a 92% in Latin are undeniably stellar, a marginal 50% in English and a mediocre 60% in History IV exclude her overall record from being seriously "outstanding." Still, when the college's awards were presented, as listed in a city paper of June 15th, 1931, Laura Pierce is listed three times: she won the "Silver medal for general proficiency," the "Eric Sharples memorial prize in

senior English,” and the imposing “Eaton cup, Patriotic essay” (Plate 6.4). It is



impossible to know how much her language shortcomings were the result of poor, or inconsistently scheduled, tutelage during her years of home schooling and how much was due to her head injury; but apparently she eventually made a full intellectual recovery. During her time at college, she made her one known friend, Gladys Cotterell, whose father “was President or Vice-President or some big shot with the CPR and had a private [rail] car” (Conover Interviews).

No doubt travelling in a private car suited Laura’s sense of her own right and privilege. Gladys also was listed among the prize winners in the Certificate (as opposed to Diploma) section of the College senior high school programme; she received the “Bronze medal for general proficiency” as compared to Laura’s silver medal in the same category and also shared with another student the grade-ten prize “for religious knowledge,” which means she was a grade behind Laura at the end of that academic year.

Laura may have achieved an acceptable level of intellectual accomplishment (although never meeting her clear initial potential); physically, however, she did not fare nearly so well. Aside from the life-altering and life-shortening implications already explored, she did not grow beyond the five-foot-four-inches she stood before the injury—on the short side for her nuclear family; and she had no sense of smell after that, a reasonable result of brain injury sustained to the back of the head. Although there is no indication from any source that Laura did have noticeable body odours, Hetty remembered that Laura was frequently in the bath because she always feared she might

be offensive; in fact, she said, if Laura could not be found there was a good chance she was in the tub. Since she could not discern her own odours, she washed obsessively often. Psychologically, compulsive washing can also be symptomatic of the sense of uncleanness that can accompany sexual violation, but taken together with loss of the olfactory sense, it would be difficult not to develop a compulsion to bathe. Of least consequence, but surely not of little import to her self-image, is the fact that because of her fall, she was the shortest of the sisters; Lucy attained a graceful five-foot-ten-inches in height.

These three blows, all taken within nine years and in very early life, effectively sealed Laura's future and fate. Somewhat reclusive and frail, in spite of her repeated attempts to redraw her course, she was no match for the hand that was dealt her. Those who say we make our own lives blind themselves to the powerful influence of chance (such as a useless kidney) and the free agency of others (such as the volition of a child molester); if Laura's only misfortune had been the riding accident, her life perhaps would have developed in a vastly different way. She possibly would have returned to school with her sisters and moved in their circle of friends, but as it was, they did not even know the same people. She sewed their party dresses but had no parties of her own. While they were together in the world she was alone at home, living an unrecorded life.

She is mentioned in no high school paper.

She appears in no high school yearbook.

She was a member of no clubs.

She did
not engage in any sports or activities.



Maybe she was stitching (Plate 6.5).

A 1930 Christmas greeting she received, sent before she was even discharged from hospital after the riding accident, acknowledges that she seems “to get more than [her] share of misfortune” (Perkins 1930); an acknowledgement that causes us to read

backwards to a time prior to the skull fracture and fortifies the belief that Laura had notable difficulties reaching farther back than two weeks.

There is a very curious and unfillable gap of six months, from June through December 1939, in tracking her whereabouts. Laura had been at home for the previous academic year, having withdrawn for unknown reasons halfway through a two-year Dressmaking and Millinery programme at the Provincial Institute of Technology. Unlike her sister Hetty, she did not preserve her assignments and projects. Her father took her to the depot, she got on a bus to the U.S.,

and is not mentioned in the journals again

until she arrived home for Christmas, with her sisters Mary and Lucy from college in Pullman, Washington; she was not at college with them, however. Her cousins Jim and Jane remember that she visited them without the rest of her family some time after the family's 1936 trip east. But their memories are of a visit of brief duration—perhaps a couple of weeks—and offer no clues to where she went next. Six months is a very long time for a twenty-three-year-old woman to travel alone and unaccounted for in 1939. Her sister Mary says an unwanted pregnancy is out of the question, but all families have secrets—even (or especially) from each other. Although Canada was at war during the last half of Laura's hiatus, she was in the United States, which was not, and so she was not engaged in any kind of war-related work; in fact, she had no career experience or training (aside from seamstressing), had never had a job, and her father was resistant to the prospect of his daughters having jobs (Conover Interviews) because of the simple rule that "ladies" did not work. Laura lived at home before her departure and lived at home after her return. If anyone knows where she was or what she was doing during those six months, and whether she was alone or not, no one is talking.

My opinion is that the two most likely possibilities are, in fact, premarital pregnancy, or a sojourn at some sort of spa or retreat in an effort to resolve her frail health. Mary insists that all four sisters were virgin brides; and I know that is not true. What I cannot know is if she believes it to be true or if she is lying to protect her sisters' reputations. In Laura's case, although pregnancy has to remain a possible explanation for her 1939 hiatus, her general reputation as standoffish and as something of a Duchess inclines me to think she simply would have considered premarital sex as beneath her. Her personality does not seem to have been compatible with frolics of the unseemly kind.

Even before the onset of her kidney disease and the incident of her head injury, Laura was a demanding, petulant little miss; but it was a spunkier, more fiery kind of forcefulness that somehow lacks the unpleasantness of her later behaviour. Luckily, there is a charming sequence of letters that was saved from the time of MAM's trip east in early 1928. At the age of eleven, Laura writes to her mother

You said I could have that jinger [sic] and they won't let me have any. Josephen [sic] hid it and I haven't had any for 3 days. Mrs. Kemp and Josephen [sic] can just go to ↓. I want you awful much. Please hurry and write and make 'em give me some jinger. (n.d. [#2 early Jan 1928])

I was surprised and delighted by this show of energy. Apparently she considered it acceptable to condemn the hired help to hell as long as a descending arrow is used to designate the place and the actual word is never used, which would be unladylike. But she makes her point; her mother replies that Laura "must remember Mrs. Kemp is not use [sic] to racket and you mustn't drive her crazy" (n.d. [#1 early Jan 1928]) and closes the letter with the "hope you got your ginger, dear" (n.d. [#2 early Jan 1928]). The letter

contains no admonishment for consigning Mrs. Kemp and Josephine to damnation. Laura subsequently writes to report that she “had a big piece of jinger tonight to make up” (n.d. [#3 early Jan 1928]) so apparently they saw the error of their ways and sought to atone.

The few samples of Laura’s letters to her mother stress Laura’s affection and record how anxious she was for her mother to return home. In one of these three letters, she declares over and over

I love you so much. I wish you where [sic] here I’m so lonesome [...] I want you so much, Mama dear. I wished youed [sic] hurry home [...] We’re going to miss you an awful lot here [...] Oh! how I love you. (n.d. [#1 early Jan 1928])

Laura must have been pining for her mother because MAM writes to urge her to “Try to eat your meals, my darling. You might get sick. And Mamma will soon be home” (n.d. [#2 early Jan 1928]). Woven through the declarations of longing in these letters is evidence of a bit of a theatrical streak. She reports in one that “the fire bells went by. A lumber yard (blew up) burned up [...] There was sparkes [sic] flying and there was an awful lot of smoke. I’m sending some pictures of the fire” (n.d. [#2 early Jan 1928]); in



another she abruptly begins, “How are you? We’re all fine. Eva almost hung herself” (n.d. [#3 early Jan 1928]), somewhat dramatic considering Eva was a caged bird. In later years, the four sisters and a friend or two frequently would “play act” (Plate 6.6), as Hetty used to call it, mounting major backyard productions in which they

would perform both light and serious dramas in costume. Laura was active in these

productions and in fact clearly is the central character in this particular unnamed presentation that someone recorded for the family album as an example of the girls' stage habit.

During childhood the four sisters were photographed together regularly (Plate 6.7), the norm for family photographic practice. When they were little they had a pony



(Plate 6.8), retired from work in Drumheller's coal mines, at the farm; they raided nests of kittens (Plate 6.9) in the barn together. But then



the contents of the albums change; on a timeline with the change in Laura's health, there are often pictures where she is not. Instead, the record includes only the three younger



girls (Plate 6.10), something that did not occur before mid-1929. When the family travelled, the group photographs most often show Laura next to her mother (Plate 6.11), very often holding her hand. The subtleties of the albums quietly reveal a change in the family's way of being—a split, not of affection but of activity,

developed and the four sisters became three sisters (Plate 6.12) and one sister.



Every time a subject presents itself and a project is begun, the biographer seeks that instant in the life, or in this case a family's life together, at which the frame is frozen. For this family, I believe that instant is the moment when four-and-a-half-year-old Laura was physically violated in 1921. Her subsequent ill health further serves to overthrow the workings of birth-order theory because when one child is sickly all bets are off; but that Wednesday in June collectively scarred them—four months before Mary was even born. In any family, one person's wounds are everyone's wounds; in this case, Martin

Crownberg irrevocably altered the family's way of seeing the world. Seven years later, scarlet fever irrevocably altered the family's way of seeing itself.

Epilogue

Through her own physical weakness and psychological susceptibility, Laura had a greater sensitivity to those whom her sister Hetty called “underdogs,” and as a result, in 1946, she married extremely unwisely. She attempted suicide by a drug overdose while living on the farm with her husband in 1954. They were there ostensibly to help Hetty work the farm after she was widowed in late 1953; Mary says that ACP was well aware that “it’ll never work” (Conover Interviews). But as she also says, “we always knew [our parents] would do anything in the world for us” (Conover Interviews), and this doomed attempt to offer Laura and Terry some stability is an example of that willingness. At the time of her death, she was estranged from her alcoholic husband (of whom no one has anything nice to say) and living with her widowed mother. Laura had no children but no one knows whether that was by design or by chance: maybe her psyche was sufficiently scarred to interfere with her conjugal relationship; maybe her physical health was sufficiently poor to prevent conception; maybe her personal circumstances were so unstable that she consciously took contraceptive precautions. To his credit, her husband never approached any member of the family in any way for any purpose after her death; but of course by then he was no doubt very well versed in the stipulations of ACP’s iron-clad will (made that way with Terry in mind, Hetty always said and Mary concurs) which made each daughter’s share of his estate untouchable without the unanimous consent of

the others. ACP once said “that Terry wanted a rich girl” (Conover Interviews), which according to Mary was “about the meanest thing he ever said about anybody. He hated his guts” (Conover Interviews). Laura’s share of the estate reverted to her mother and sisters.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Dramatis Personae 4: Henrietta Torrence Pierce

Hetty is the only one of the girls to be born in Canada, a fact her unabashedly chauvinist mother always lamented, especially when Hetty decided to vote in Canada and seal her fate as a Canadian citizen. The international influenza epidemic of 1918 made MAM's travel across the border inadvisable if not impossible, so instead of heading East to her mother in early autumn, MAM stayed in Alberta and her mother came to be with her. Hetty was born in Calgary on December 6th and named in honour of her paternal grandmother. It is a rather heavy name compared with her sisters' more lyrical Laura, Lucy, and Mary, and it took Hetty some time to reconcile herself to it. And, while her parents had no problem with what to name her, they certainly had trouble deciding what to call her. Her father's journal entry of January 5th, 1919, refers to her as "Henrietta" when she is one-month old; then she becomes "Baby" again. On March 2nd, he mentions weighing "Torrence," who is a respectable 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ pounds at three-months old, but then she is "Baby" again three days later. They were still calling her "Baby" in May when she was five-months old, then "Hetty" is inscribed on photographs taken during the summer, and late in the year a photograph was inscribed "Torrence" again.

Eventually, Hetty said, she realized her name was not so much a burden as a gift, a realization due in large part to her father's uninhibited display of grief when his mother died in June 1926. Hetty said he cried like a child when the news came; although she was not quite eight years old, the moment nevertheless had its effect on her because she was able to interpret his love for his mother as a love for her since he had given her his

mother's name. Even considering this positive evidence and interpretation, able to carry the name herself, perceiving it to be more a title than a name, Hetty warned her own children, maybe only partly in jest, that if any of us dared to name an innocent little girl after her she would disown us. She said she loved her name because of what it meant, but that it just was no name to be giving a little girl. It was rather uncommon even in my mother's own generation and perhaps a generation before that. Certainly, I vividly remember being devastated by a friend in junior high who derisively and cruelly remarked that Henrietta was not a people name—it was a chicken name. Now, however, in a world full of Brittneys and Tiffanys, Henrietta is looking mighty good. Still, so far no one in the family has used the exact name again, although I did find a Celtic form to use as my daughter's third name, but perhaps it is due to come into fashion again.

The spring after Hetty was born the family moved to the newly purchased farm at Drumheller. Conditions in the house were nothing like MAM had been accustomed to, of course, and “On top of this, the baby [Hetty] has been bad ever since we came out here—whines all day long till I am ready to jump over the moon. Also she had such a cold and the matter just ran out of her poor little eyes” (MAM Letter to Pearl Pierce, May 1919). She was ill again the following year, and with her sister Laura, spent ten days in April 1920 in the Isolation Hospital with measles immediately after the family had returned from the United States where they had wintered and where the third daughter had been born in February. Because of concerns for their newborn sister Lucy's health safety their mother could not visit the little girls during their hospitalization, and even though they were attended by their mother's helper, we are left to imagine how traumatizing it had to

be for a three-and-a-half- and a one-and-a-half-year old to be in such unfamiliar surroundings, sick, without a word or touch from their mother for ten days. Three months later, Hetty had an uncomplicated bout of German Measles at the end of July (“ACP Journals” 26 Jul 1920), and on another occasion, only another month after that, Hetty and Laura both were seriously sick again.

Starting August 20th, while the family was on the farm, the little girls were sick enough for the doctor to be called and to come from Calgary (at least a four-hour drive at that time or a trip by rail), once for Laura on the 23rd and again for Hetty September 4th, when the call was made at midnight (“ACP Journals” 1920). Finally, by September 9th, “Hetty seemed better” and that is the last mention of whatever ailment they had suffered. The only symptom ACP mentions in the journal is diarrhea, an extremely dangerous sickness in small children. The doctor who had come to attend to the children provided MAM with explicit written instructions for the girls’ recovery diet. MAM wrote “Dr. Stockton’s Summer Complaint Remedy–Valuable” on the envelope. We still use the euphemism “summer complaint” in the family, but not the five-stage dietary plan which begins with several days of two-to-four ounce doses, given five times a day, of buttermilk and flour which have been well beaten and boiled for half an hour, gradually and occasionally supplemented by adding stale bread, and very slowly reintroducing scraped beef, then curd and barley water, rice boiled for five or six hours, and eventually vegetables and stewed fruit at the last. Treatment would be so much simpler now and parental terrors would be forestalled by easier access to care and sophisticated medications. After this closely packed sequence of recorded bouts of early illness, all



occurring before she was two and most within a five-month period, Hetty was in robust health throughout the remainder of her childhood (Plate 7.1).

She “started to school” (“ACP Journals” 25 Feb 1924) at Kirby School in the country at a most peculiar time of year, February 25th, 1924, and when she was a bit young to be starting at all because she had only just had her fifth birthday. When she arrived at Cliff Bungalow School in Calgary in November 1926, she was placed in grade two. She remembered her first day very clearly, because she was a little bit late and the teacher, known only through the almost-anonymous initials “E.S.” on the school record, sharply scolded her for her tardiness. Hetty was so unaccustomed to being spoken to harshly, poor little thing, she threw up on her shoes and was sent home. She did well at school following that unforgettable beginning, her assessments recorded as Good or Very Good all along through primary and junior high school. She and Lucy both matriculated from high school, and Hetty took pride in stressing she had the credentials to have gone to university. The curriculum consisted of all the courses predictable for academic students: Physics, English, Mathematics, History, Algebra, Chemistry, and Geography, but at that time also included study in Latin. She enjoyed Latin, perhaps because her home room teacher from grade ten, and one of her favourite teachers, was the Latin instructor for three of Hetty’s four years at Western Canada High School. She always said that if a person knew Latin that person could figure out what anything means because so much

language is built on Latin roots, and she often demonstrated this, particularly with definitions of medical terms. She lamented the disappearance of Latin from school curricula. It was important to her that we understand she could have gone to university but chose not to. Whenever the subject came up in conversation between us, she used the fact both to prove her capability and to underscore her parents' (particularly her father's) belief in education for women. In other words, it was important both to her and to her parents that she graduated from an academic secondary school.

Her sister Laura's chronic unwellness, a factor known to complicate birth order characteristics, and which began when Laura was thirteen and Hetty nearly eleven, would have promoted Hetty to first-born status in the family. Laura's illness in effect made her something of the baby in the family, and a permanent one at that, while the next-born child takes on the responsibility and position of first-born—concurrently in this grouping of four remaining something of a middle child in terms of acting as mediator (Leman 27). This is rather like a second son suddenly being thrust onto the throne when he never expected to be king, or like the first runner-up in a pageant who, should Miss America be unable to fulfill her duties, surprisingly finds herself wearing the crown and sash. Hetty was a perfect picture of what results from an unexpected elevation of this sort in family rank: for the rest of her life, she was the one everyone in the family (including Laura whose position she had assumed) depended on and consulted, who made her sisters and everyone else in her expanding family feel secure, and she had a marked desire and ability to do what was necessary to smoothe troubles over and to avoid conflict. The

combination made her the anchor of the family. My daughter while in her late teens explained to a friend that, “Our grandma is the centre of the universe for us.”

Throughout her childhood, quite literally, Hetty never got in trouble, and was quiet enough that while people remember her younger sisters—one of whom was in the same grade as Hetty all the way through high school—they do not remember her (Penley Interview). While Mary needed Lucy to become proficient enough at forgery to write parental excuse notes for her, the only time Hetty ever played hookey turned out to be such a terrible experience she had no fun out of it whatsoever and never did it again. She got away with it, but she said the fear of being caught, plus the terrible guilt resulting from being deceitful, just was not worth it. During her school years she was completely uninterested in putting herself forward and neither sought nor held any offices at school, served on no committees, participated in no sports, and is mentioned only one time in the school paper, in a little piece mentioning all four Pierce sisters; her sole involvement was as a member of the Debonaire Club, a social group on whose executive Lucy served. This marked absence from extra-curricular activity had a different foundation from that of her sister Laura and changed substantially in her adulthood, specifically in her widowhood. Laura’s absence was one of necessity, and Hetty’s was one of inclination. She was not incapable and neither was she a shrinking violet; while she was a lady, she was never prissy. As an adult, she took up curling as a team skip, and as a member of the executive of the local curling club, was a member of the rural women’s life-line Women’s Institute, and was a member of the Eastern Star, the women’s organization attached to the Masonic Lodge.

During school, she had a best friend in Doreen Bradley, and attended dances like everyone else she knew, but Hetty was already out of social circulation in terms of matchmaking by the time she got to Western Canada High School in 1934. A year earlier,



when she was only fourteen (Plate 7.2), she had met my dad, John Wilson Humphries, who was just turning fifteen. She would explain to us that they were at a birthday party when they met, whose birthday she could not remember, and she fell in love with him before she even knew who he was, before he even spoke. She remembered that he turned and looked at her over his shoulder, arched his left eyebrow, and that was it. Neither of them ever dated anyone else. The yearbook indicates that in the first year of grade twelve her “chief diversions are dancing and Jack Humphries” (*The Acatec* 1936-1937: 15), but unlike most yearbook teasing on the subject of boyfriends and girlfriends this



one was the simple and lasting truth; they had already been a couple for four years by then (Plate 7.3). Two years after they met, in the summer of 1935, Jack spent two weeks working on the farm; in 1936, my parents and grandparents even went out to the movies together to see *Ruggles of Red Gap* at the Kinema; and, in 1937-1938 Jack was attending the Olds School of Agriculture, sixty miles north of Calgary in the town of Olds where Hetty travelled to see him on a couple

of weekends when he did not return to the city. He was there to learn the theoretical side of farming. His parents had separated in 1936, and by Christmas 1938, my dad, his father, and brother Gord were part of the family at Christmas dinner ("ACP Journals" 1935-1938). In August 1939, ACP and MAM took Hetty and Jack along on an overnight trip to the mountains ("ACP Journals" 6 Aug 1939). Often, during the last couple of years of their courtship, Jack came along to church on Sunday and back to the house for dinner. He came into the family in a more intimate and complete way than do most who marry.

The activities with which Hetty occupied her free time, time not occupied by her boyfriend, that is, were piano and sewing, according to her final yearbook bio (*The Acatec* 1937-1938: 33), which also states she would be at the Tech the following year. "Tech" was the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art, now known separately as the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology and Alberta College of Art and Design, in Calgary. Piano and sewing are potentially somewhat isolating activities; certainly piano practice is solitary, but neither did Hetty ever situate herself in the centre of attention at parties or gatherings of friends during the 1930's. Her playing was for personal pleasure mostly and also for service. All of my life she would play, sometimes going to the piano quite suddenly, in the midst of doing something else, to play a song or two and then go back to whatever else she had been doing; sometimes she would sit down to play for an hour or two to accompany me singing. The piano bench was full of song books and sheet music, and our repertoire included Scottish folk songs such as "Scots Wha' Hae," "Annie Laurie," and "Loch Lomond"; hymns like "Now the Day Is Over," "God Is Love," and "Holy, Holy, Holy," the eternally familiar Doxology; popular songs and show tunes such

as “I’m Forever Blowing Bubbles,” “Do I Love You?” “Zigeuner,” “Temptation” (in retrospect an amusingly odd choice to have a barely adolescent child learn to sing), and “The Impossible Dream”; more technically difficult pieces such as “Nola,” which my sister Adele especially remembers, and “English Country Garden,” which I cannot hear without thinking of my mother. One of my absolute favourites was “The Road to Mandalay,” which was our showstopper, because when “the dawn comes up like thunder out of China ‘cross the bay” it really did thunder out in our rendition, and my brother Craig also had a very tender spot for “Moonlight Sonata.” We always, as long as she was alive, sang a lot of Christmas carols throughout December, which is what John remembers most fondly. Our house was as full of music as it was of books and with just as much diversity. I cannot remember learning how to read, was born knowing how to read, and all four of us are lifelong readers whose literary tastes are reflective of the eclectic selections on the bookshelves in our childhood house.

The variety of musical genres and the span of musical periods to which we were constantly exposed shows how much a part music played in our home life because of our mother’s influence. What she did not play on the piano, she played on the record player, and we listened to Ray Charles and Chopin and Beethoven, as well as great comedy recordings by Shelley Berman and Bill Cosby. Hetty also played piano for the Christmas concert at our two-room school for many years after we had all left home. It was a way of combining something she enjoyed with her sense of responsibility to perform a community service. As for the solitariness of stitching, while it is very likely that Hetty engaged in quiet hours with her sister Laura, as they both did various types of

needlework, she was not someone who spent organized afternoons in a sewing group or who participated in quilting bees. She knitted, crocheted, embroidered, quilted, darned, and sewed (everything from matching dresses for my sister and me to bras and panties) all her life. Every Christmas when our children were young each of them received a toque and mitts in the stocking—which she also had made. The only needleworks she did not do were tatting (lacemaking) and needle- and petit-point. She genuinely loved making things, just as each of the sisters was to find a creative outlet, and in later life learned how to make pottery as well. After our father's death she also wrote a little poetry which she kept to herself and which was found only after her death. She was a creative person who spent as little time as possible on housework, saying that if anyone could show her one creative thing about it she would start doing it. Clean and tidy are not the same thing, and if anyone remarked on the stacks of papers and magazines on any given piece of furniture in her house she would remark drolly, "Why not? It's a flat surface isn't it?" She said she wished someone would design a refrigerator with a slanted top so there would be no way to pile things on it. Practical enough to can a million chickens, creative enough to design her own crewel patterns and skilled enough to make them, intellectual enough always to be reading and learning, she could not ever find a place in her heart for dusting. Happily, baking is both practical and creative, and we came home to fresh bread all the time and there was always a pan of brownies to the right of the stove, it seemed. In 1938, even though she was set already on the path to marital domesticity, when she registered for her programme at Tech it was not in a course with a domestic or artistic focus. Perhaps she saw the production needs of a farm wife as more industrial than domestic; she certainly

considered herself to be a participant farmer rather than housewife only, and I recall her finding ridiculous a printed form which declared her to be a “farmerette” by profession, changing it to read “farmer” instead.

MAM escorted all four girls on a week-long trip to the United States at the end of July 1937, and it is very probable that she was mounting a campaign to get her younger daughters to attend colleges in the US, the better to meet and marry American boys. Laura had already completed the first year of a technical course and due to her health issues would not have been a serious candidate for such a departure from her parents, whom she never lived away from more than briefly and never in another city. Hetty had already made up her mind and was enrolled in the same programme as Laura, and besides, she was totally smitten with Jack Humphries by then. MAM had waited too long and her campaign was unsuccessful where Hetty was concerned. She had better luck with Lucy and Mary. Hetty started the two-year course in Industrial Dressmaking and Millinery in 1938, the same course her sister Laura had begun the previous year; neither Laura nor Hetty, however, returned for the second year. While Laura’s decision not to return most likely was made for her by her health, Hetty’s would have a different basis. She not only never gave an indication as to why she did not complete the second year, she never even mentioned not finishing or even very much about the course at all. I do not know why she did not finish her programme, because even though there was no family shame in not finishing, since none of the four girls completed her post-secondary education and nor did their father complete his, nevertheless it was not in character for Hetty to quit. There is no doubt whatsoever that she could have completed the

programme successfully: the scores indicated on the backs of her mounted stitchery assignments bear witness to this, and in spite of the fact that the Depression would have affected many people's ability to pay tuition and book and materials costs, it would not have been enough to stop her if she had stressed a desire to continue. Perhaps, pragmatically, she concluded that there was no point in returning for another year when she had no intention of practicing the trade professionally, and felt she had learned what she had a practical use for already during the first year.

The course description in the Institute's *Eighteenth Annual Announcement*, the equivalent of today's Calendar or Prospectus, states that

Besides employment in shops, qualified young ladies may look to becoming shop owners or to sewing by day in the homes. Sales ladies who have taken the course are able to give advice regarding the suitability of line and color. Ready-to-wear departments in stores require in their alteration rooms not only skilled needle-workers but also young ladies who are competent to make adjustments speedily without impairing the original lines of the garment. [...] The study of textile fabrics which is part of the course is valuable to anyone who is engaged in selling or making women's garments. The instruction is given on a production basis and modern equipment is used in the work rooms. (25)

The first year of study included four-hundred-fifty hours of Dressmaking Shop, one-hundred-twenty hours of Textiles and Materials, sixty hours of Stitchery, ninety hours of Color and Design, sixty hours of Mathematics, ninety hours of Foods and Nutrition, and thirty hours of English for a staggering total of nine hundred hours (25). The contact hours for a student carrying a full load of five courses sixty-five years later is one-hundred-eighty hours per semester, three-hundred-sixty hours over two. Thus, nine

hundred hours takes on a clearer meaning as part of a rigorous training, far more intensive and time consuming even than five courses each with a complementary laboratory component.

The course consists of many of the same things as a Home Economics course might, but is designed with a view to the commercial practice of the skills taught. Nevertheless, it is very unlikely that Hetty ever seriously considered making a career of her skills beyond the domestic sphere. She is the only one of the four sisters who never worked outside the home, married or single, and while her father believed in education for women he did not believe ladies worked. Apparently, in his opinion, they should exercise their intellects, talents, and skills, but he preferred it not be for profit. His stance on the issue no doubt combined with my father's wish to control any aspect he could of Hetty's behaviour, and with Hetty's own choice, to put the idea of any kind of professional future completely out of the question. By the time Hetty entered Tech there was no doubt whatsoever but that she would marry Jack Humphries. There was also virtually no doubt by then that they would take over the farm together. The skills she acquired at Tech would have had a clear function for her rural domestic future.

Not only was it the norm in the late thirties for young women not to have careers after marriage, but Hetty also had to contend with the personality of her prospective husband. My father was an extremely jealous man, and my mother said that she could not even say hello to boys from school if she passed one on the street when she was in the company of my dad. The simple civility was not worth the interrogation that would follow, but she always remained disturbed by the rudeness of it. The telling of the story

many years after the fact made her visibly uncomfortable that she had snubbed someone she knew, an innocent acquaintance, in order to keep the peace. She always spoke very heatedly against jealousy, calling it a completely destructive emotion with no positive attributes. Jack's jealousy was made clear enough to me that when I read during my research the school paper's gossip entry about one particular fellow possibly kissing all four of the Pierce girls (*The Mirror* 3.10: 5) I immediately winced, wondering how much trouble she might have had from my father over such a silly made-up thing as that. Hetty was not a spineless weakling and so it is troubling to attempt to understand why she tolerated Jack's stringent control and demands concerning her social behaviour. She told my sister of a time she had decided to end her relationship with him, but Jack also was exceedingly dramatic. He did nothing by halves. Hetty said he climbed a power pole outside her house in view of her bedroom and threatened to electrocute himself if she did not reconsider. I find the image absolutely hilarious, as something that belongs in a movie comedy, at the same time that I more soberly try to picture her sitting inside her bedroom thinking what life would be like with that maniac who was out there up a pole. There is no doubt that she loved him, she made that very clear to us, but she must have had moments in which she saw clearly, to say the least, some of the less appealing aspects of marrying him.

The positives obviously outweighed the drawbacks in her opinion. Often my mother would mention how wonderfully he played the piano and how she wished there had been tape recorders so we could hear for ourselves. He had completed grade twelve Royal Conservatory Piano, and loved jazz piano especially. Het told us with pride that he

got 100% on his final Trigonometry exam; he did the same in college in his Economics course. He was involved in sports, playing rugby in high school, and basketball, hockey, and badminton at Olds. And it was always made clear to us that we got our gift for humour and sarcasm from him. The high school newspaper records his biting observation, after a student stage production, that one of the performers “was as graceful as a box car” (*The Mirror* 1.3: 4). While he was a talented piano player and mathematician with a razor-sharp wit, his more sinister side is made abundantly clear in his remark to Hetty after they first had sex. He astutely told her, “Now you have to marry me, or I’ll tell your dad,” knowing full well she could not bear the thought of her father’s disappointment. She did not mention it to me, but she also must have been concerned about the danger of pregnancy, although she may have been somewhat reassured by her unfailingly regular menstrual cycle which had her period start on precisely the day she expected it every month from the time she had her first one; it would have made it much easier to calculate when she was in the danger zone for conception. It seems to me that she was, in this first sexual situation, graphically caught between her parallel needs to please both of the men she loved most.

Hetty and Jack’s common career goal for the long-term future was to take over management of the farm. My mother was one of four daughters, so if the farm were to remain in the family one of the girls would have to bring a farmer into the fold, although no one has ever said that a statement to that effect was ever made explicit; it was simply a plain fact of life. My father, however, was a city boy. He did have a horse named Toby that he rode over to my mother’s house before he could drive, but horsemanship does not

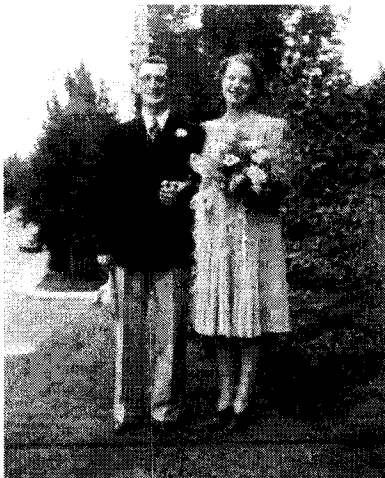
make a farmer. In 1935, when Jack and Hetty were seventeen, they spent two weeks in the summer working on the farm with my grandfather; Jack's grooming and training had begun. The following August, 1936, Jack went out to work without my mother along for the first time. He was eighteen and had arrived at that moment of decision about what career to pursue. His younger brother Gord, who candidly remarked that Jack could be rather overbearing, has told me that there was a time when my dad had wanted to be a radio announcer and drove everybody in the house crazy practicing his radio voice. He went to work for a stock brokerage, James Richardson & Sons, in 1936, making \$30 per month and was offered a \$5 per month raise as an incentive to stay. He liked the work, but, as his brother put it, "decided he liked the dirt better." So instead, he complemented his practical training on the farm with attendance at the Olds School of Agriculture where he completed a two-year diploma programme in one year. He studied Soils, Animal Husbandry (and also Poultry, Dairying, and Blacksmithing), Botany, Horticulture, and Chemistry; there was work in Farm Buildings, Farm Management, and Farm Machinery. Most interestingly, he selected Entomology (which included Beekeeping) as an option; ACP had been a beekeeper at one time. Jack clearly was following ACP's model taken at Lehigh University and by playing on three college teams was as much an athlete as ACP had been; while some of the courses even echo those ACP studied, the primary similarity is the respect given theoretical and scientific preparation in combination with practical work.

During the summer of 1936, ACP and MAM made a trip back East, taking all four of their daughters with them. Jack was furious that Hetty went along and was away

from him for so long. The girls knew well that they were being shown off to the relatives, these “four gorgeous creatures” (Conover Interviews), as much as they being taken around to such pilgrimage sites as ACP’s fraternity house at Lehigh. No doubt it was well understood by all six of them in the closely-knit nuclear family that this was likely the last chance for such a trip as a complete family as the girls matured and got closer to leaving home; Laura was twenty, Het seventeen-and-a-half and already as good as engaged, Lucy sixteen-and-a-half, and Mary nearly fifteen. My mother vividly remembered the travel arrangements. They went by car instead of rail, ACP driving, Lucy in the front seat between her parents because of motion sickness, and in the back Laura behind her father, Mary behind her mother, and Hetty in the middle: over two-thousand-five-hundred miles each way in July and August in an unairconditioned car, every one of those miles in the middle of the back seat for Hetty, ever the uncomplaining mediator. It is no wonder at all that she could remember it vividly. My mother’s other strongest memory of the trip was a far more pleasant one for a number of reasons. It was the day she opted to go with her father, instead of shopping with her mother and sisters, to see the Olympic trials in track. She got to see Jesse Owens run, and we still have ACP’s pictures of the event. The fact that she went along with her dad, as much as it tells about her lifelong disinterest in shopping, underscores her particular similarity and bond with him in some things; she followed sports avidly all her life, as he did, and she is the daughter who brought him and herself a man who would keep them on the farm. That she wanted to be on the farm is beyond question, really, because both she and my father could have

thrived under different career decisions, but elected not to consider other things, and Hetty never would have moved away from the land.

ACP met with the American Consul over lunch in July 1940 to discuss “our status and kids going back to Wash. State & family moving to U.S.” and then a few days later “talked to Jack H. re future plans” (“ACP Journals” 28 Jul 1940). He was confident enough in Jack’s ability to take over operation of the farm to start making plans for leaving Canada to live in the United States again, no doubt at MAM’s insistence since he always seemed happy to make his life in Canada. The combined need to reside on American soil and to be near the girls restricted the choice of where they would go, and they did settle on Spokane a short while later. But first, in August, they had to discuss the wedding with Hetty and Jack and have people “in to see Het’s presents” (“ACP Journals” 18 Aug 1940); MAM had to send announcements, and they all were “chasing around with car shopping” by the 19th (“ACP Journals” 19 Aug 1940). Finally, Wednesday,



August 21st was “Hetty’s wedding day (Plate 7.4). Gathering flowers [from the garden] etc. for Hetty’s wedding” (“ACP Journals” 21 Aug 1940; see Appendix C). My parents had formal engagement portraits taken and these accompanied the wedding announcement in the newspaper society pages, clipped and pasted into an album. The article reveals that

The bride, who will be given in marriage by her father, will wear a pretty frock of powder blue with tucking in the bodice and a full gored skirt. She will have navy accessories and a small bouquet of yellow roses and

larkspur. Her sister, Laura, will wear a Chinese tea crepe frock fashioned with a low waist line and a full skirt. She will carry a bouquet of ivory roses. The groom's brother, Gordon, will be best man. (no source)

ACP's journal entry for the day says that MAM, not Laura, "stood up" with Het. The wedding took place at home at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, officiated by Rev. Ashford, with only a small number of guests in attendance. After MAM "served very fine supper" ("ACP Journals" 21 Aug 1940), Hetty and Jack left for their honeymoon in the mountains from Banff to Jasper, staying in cabins and hotels and visiting all the lakes and falls and icefields along the way. They even wrote a few letters home during the short trip.

On September 1st, ACP "Loaded up Dodge truck with stuff of Jack & Hetty after dinner" ("ACP Journals" 1940), and there were other trips to the farm with a "lot of their things" ("ACP Journals" 9 Sep 1940) and a "load of Hetty's furniture" ("ACP Journals" 7 Oct 1940) during the next month as they set up housekeeping together. Jack did some cosmetic things to the house, such as putting down new linoleum, to make it a more pleasant surrounding. They spent their first Christmas morning on the farm together before driving in to Calgary to have the rest of the day with their families at the Pierce house. Hetty was the first of the girls to get married and it was a bit difficult for all of the Pierces to make the transition. Lucy and Mary had gone away to College but this was different. Hetty went along in September on a three-day trip with MAM and Laura when Lucy and Mary returned to Pullman for their second year at Washington State, and in mid-November, when the two arrived for a whirlwind visit, ACP was able to write with pleasure "Laura, Hetty, Lucy & Mary all at home" ("ACP Journals" 22 Nov 1940). A few days later, Lucy's boyfriend drove MAM and the other sisters out to spend the afternoon

on the farm. Hetty had had her parents to herself through the autumn of 1939 when all of her sisters were away, but now Laura was the only one of the girls still living at home. The others were all gone pretty much for good.

Epilogue

In November, 1940, Hetty and Jack were settled on the farm, their first harvest finished and the house refurbished for their permanent occupancy. It had been fourteen years since a family had lived there. In the long-standing tradition of farming communities, there was a “shivaree,” a surprise house-warming/initiation staged at the farm.

About 25 neighbors drove in for a surprise call on Hetty & Jack – A very fine pleasant time ‘till 1 A.M. Cards etc. they brought a big fine lunch & Haymond [a near neighbour and old friend] made speech presenting tray, sugar & cream of silver on copper. (“ACP Journals” 28 Nov 1940)

These same neighbours saved the house ten years later when there was an electrical fire in the night that very nearly overwhelmed the impromptu fire brigade. Other than that and aside from events that centred on others in the family, the major events of the first decade of Hetty and Jack’s marriage were the carefully spaced arrival of children. Their fertility was complicated by my mother’s difficulty keeping her pregnancies; there was a miscarriage in September 1941 right before her first successful full-term pregnancy, and then a mid-term miscarriage at the end of April 1944, followed by a threatened miscarriage which was staved off in the next pregnancy (“ACP Journals” 1941-44). Because there are no existing journals for 1945 through 1951 it is impossible to know if Hetty had the same reproductive difficulty in her next pregnancies. The only miscarriage

she ever mentioned was the mid-term loss between her first two children, a loss which must have been even more mentally and physically difficult than the first. My brother John Ross, named for our dad and paternal grandfather, was born in July 1942; Margaret Adele, named for MAM, was next in April 1945; then Andrew Craig, named for ACP in July 1948; and, lastly, me, Anne Mary, named for no one in particular, in January 1952. My parents had spent WWII on the farm because my dad was ineligible for military service. He had tried to enlist on a number of occasions but was rejected on medical grounds; he was issued a special pin that men who had not been accepted for service wore to protect themselves from the public harrassment and insult that were not uncommon for men who appeared to be healthy but were not in uniform.

He had developed diabetes when he was seventeen; in 1951, when he was thirty-three, he developed Kimmelsteil-Wilson syndrome, a disease marked by nodular glomerulosclerosis lesions which ultimately result in edema, hypertension, proteinuria, and renal failure. My parents had discussed with a doctor before their marriage the likelihood of their children being diabetic, and were told prophetically that one in four likely would be. My brother John developed the disease when he was five years old. Our parents had planned to have six children, my mother told me; she had miscarried twice, and then our dad's medical complications put a dramatic halt to the family planning. My mother was pregnant with me when my dad became ill, and I was one month old when he was diagnosed; at that time, he was told the average life expectancy was two years from diagnosis to death. And that is how long it took. There were desperate attempts to find cures or treatments, one of which involved sitting in uranium mines in Montana. My

Aunt Mary tells me that ACP “loved Jack like he was his son” and was “trying to move the earth” to find a way to save him (Conover Interviews). After a trip to the mines in 1953, which John Ross can remember because he was taken along for any benefits that might be had, our dad was admitted to hospital in Calgary. He died in November after a series of strokes and kidney failure at the age of thirty-five.

As our dad’s health deteriorated, young John began to take up his farming duties and was working like a man by the time he was eleven and our dad died. Our mother was only thirty-four years old, and along with Johnny, she had Adele, who was eight; Craig, who was five; and me, who was twenty-two months old. ACP had returned to the farm when Jack became unable to manage things, but then only eighteen months after Jack’s death, he too died, of a heart attack. We know Hetty went away from us for a brief time after our father died, maybe only for a few weeks, but we do not recall where she went. She never talked about this time to us very much. Her strategy, she said, was to pretend for a long time that he was still alive, in the hospital, and she could get to him if she had to. She started smoking after he died. She remarked once to me that my sister had been so distraught when she learned our father had died that she took her to a hotel for the night, the two of them alone. Hetty stayed on the farm even after these two catastrophic losses, taking a partner who moved onto the farm with his wife, and they ran their two farms together. ACP’s estate left the farm in a complicated joint ownership to his daughters and Hetty faced some extremely difficult financial times, even having to buy the equipment she used to farm the place from the estate of which she was beneficiary. Her endurance was stretched further by her sister Laura’s death in 1959 and her mother’s in 1961,

making four intimate losses in the space of eight years. She remained a widow for almost fourteen years, though not because she had no offers, and then her partner died. Faced with enormous decisions—including most importantly whether she could, after all this, manage to remain on the farm—she welcomed the offer of a neighbour for one of his sons to manage the fieldwork until she could sort things out. Hetty and the neighbour's son swept each other off their feet, and they married in the summer of 1967. She told me later that she had always known she could never marry a man who was not at least as smart as she was, and she would not marry anyone who wanted the land more than he wanted her. Jack had graduated from an accelerated post-secondary programme with an A average



while also playing on three college athletic teams. Mervin Clark and my mother were devoted to each other for twenty-five years (Plate 7.5), until her sudden death in 1992, having a relationship of great love, respect, and friendship. Often Hetty would say, “I’ll ask my friend,” when she was going to refer to him about something. Five hundred people came to my mother’s funeral. She had faithfully visited her ailing sister Lucy every Wednesday, and would wash and curl Lucy’s hair, during Lucy’s stay in an auxiliary hospital, caused by the advance of her multiple sclerosis, until her death in 1985. This is an example of the kindness that characterized Hetty, and encapsulates how others remember her as a sister, neighbour, friend, mother, wife. At the time of her own death, Hetty had seven grandchildren, and three great-grandchildren. The number of

great-grands has grown to thirteen and is not complete yet. Mervin is our children's Grandpa, only one of them being born before he joined the family, so they have always had him. Retired from farming, he and his wife Kay have all four generations of us into their house in Drumheller near Christmas every year. The home site of the farm is no longer ours, but the land still belongs to us, and, because it was her wish, we scattered Hetty's ashes there on a small piece of virgin prairie.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Dramatis Personae 5: Lucy Adele Pierce

If ever there was a big girl on campus, Lucy was it. The yearbooks and school newspapers from the years she spent at Western Canada High School in Calgary are filled with references to her and her activities, social and organizational. Whom she dated was a frequent topic of speculation and report in the paper, as was what she wore; and any group she affiliated herself with could be sure of extensive coverage in the campus press. I remember her as the most gracious woman, a woman who moved about a room so effortlessly she almost appeared to be gliding, whose Sunday dinners seemed to materialize on the dining room table without her having spent any time in the kitchen preparing them, who spoke so smoothly and softly in a rich contralto, and who could look



utterly marvellous wearing red plaid slacks on her gloriously long Pierce legs—Lucy was five-foot-ten by the time she was fifteen (Plate 8.1). She was the mildest, most serene-looking woman I have ever known, with the warmest, most loving smile imaginable. I always felt sad for her, in spite of her loveliness, because I always understood there was something to be sad about although I did not understand what it was, not really. I never cared for my name until the day, when I was in my teens, that I heard her calling for my cousin of the same name, and she made it sound so

beautiful that I realized it was not such a boring name after all. We adored Lucy. Everybody did.

Lucy Adele was born February 9th, 1920, in Richmond, Virginia, where her mother had gone to join her own mother for the winter and to have the baby. MAM had a brother, Arthur, living there. The baby was named Lucy for her mother's closest friend,



Lucy Sipprell. As a small child Lucy Pierce cried incessantly (Plate 8.2), to the point that her mother was so desperate she eventually was driven to paying Lucy not to cry. The deal was a penny a day for every day that went by without tears, not a bad incentive for a three-year-old in 1923; the strategy was successful as many parents who resort to bribery have found. The girls were rarely, if ever, physically disciplined, and one remembered instance was

that time that Lucy got her feet wet. I don't remember ever having a spanking, but I can remember Lucy was not to put—she must have had new shoes. She broke through the ice and got her feet wet, and we came home, and Daddy had her across his knees, and his hand raised, and he was gonna spank her bottom, and somebody grabbed this hand and somebody grabbed the other hand, and one grabbed around his waist, and he turned to my mother and said, 'I can't do it.' The three of us were [hanging on him]. There was no way in hell that he was gonna lay a finger [on our sister]. (Conover Interviews)

The kids did get new shoes in late November 1931 ("ACP Journals"), so the timing would be right for breaking through ice soon after and damaging the shoes. The sisters would have been fifteen, thirteen, eleven, and ten if indeed these are the infamous shoes, so they were big enough to be a serious deterrent when hanging on their father's arms to stop him. Obviously, they had no physical fear of him or they never would have staged this insurrection against his authority.

Lucy's yearbook biography for her last year at Western Canada High School claims she "comes from Richmond, Virginia" (*The Acatec* 1937-38: 33), which is not entirely accurate but certainly more exotic to Calgarians than Drumheller, Alberta might be. In truth, Lucy had lived on the farm every spring through fall until 1927, every summer for longer than that, and had wintered in the United States only until the winter of 1925-1926. After that, the girls had to be more settled at school, and the luxury of having April, May, and June off from classes in the spring and September and October free before starting school in the fall had to be stopped. Surprisingly, such erratic school attendance in the early years of education when foundations are laid did not harm the girls' academic success. Only Lucy seems to have had any difficulty at all, and that was short-lived. She may have completed grade one or some portion of it at the one-room Kirby School in the country near the farm, since Laura and Hetty both had begun schooling there, but Lucy is fourteen months younger than Hetty who completed only grade one there, so it is very unlikely that she attended Kirby at all.

ACP's journals make no mention of Lucy starting school at Kirby, and since he did record Laura and Hetty starting, it is more probable that Lucy never attended Kirby, instead having some measure of informal home schooling before entering the Calgary public school system. The Calgary Board of Education records indicate that both Lucy and Mary attended Kirby before entering the Calgary system, and it is impossible that Mary did, since she was only five when they moved to Calgary for school. The reference to Kirby on their record cards refers only to the school division in which they lived, rather than the school they supposedly attended. When Hetty and Lucy started grade two

together at Cliff Bungalow School in Calgary, in November 1926, Lucy managed two months of what may have been a trial placement and then was put back to grade one after Christmas; in fairness, she was six years old when she started grade two, so it was a rather ambitious placement to begin with, one the authorities must have felt warranted in making in spite of her age. Very likely the combination of her age, lack of preparation, and the general upheaval of moving house and possibly schools made the classroom work a little too difficult for her. The setback lasted only until the fall of 1929, however, when, having completed grade one work in the first six months of 1927, and then grades two and three in succession, she made up the lost ground by skipping grade four entirely, and entered grade five together with Hetty again, a year ahead of her age group.

The two middle girls were then in the same grade for the rest of their public school education. Lucy's academic assessments are recorded as Good or Very Good throughout elementary and junior high school, and she did matriculate from senior high school. She attended Mount Royal College (Calgary's junior college) in 1938-39, probably to upgrade her secondary transcript in order to apply for college admission the following year. Once she had reached high school, she also bloomed into a very involved young woman, luckily having overcome her childhood tendency for crying. She served as Room Representative to the yearbook committee for her grade ten class the very first year at Western in 1934-35; there was no Students' Council established at the school until the following year. Lucy also participated in interscholastic five-pin bowling during her first year, with her team the "Lucky Strikes" which came fourth in an eighteen-team league. ACP also enjoyed bowling, so this activity was a shared pastime, one he presumably

introduced to his daughters and which “Bill,” as he often called Lucy, took to enthusiastically. She was good at it, too, and the only one of the Pierce girls to bowl competitively, which she continued to do even when her children were young. She registered for league bowling at Gibson’s bowling lanes every year she was at Western Canada, winning awards in both of her grade twelve years: one in 1936-37 for her High Double Score of 489, and another in 1937-38 for her High Single Score of 325, as well as tying that year for third place in Girls’ Individual Average. When she was in grade eleven, she also apparently was “Very apt at borrowing homework,” at least that is the claim written about her by the yearbook biographers (*Vox Discipuli* 1935-36); she was so busy, it may well have been necessary.

Lucy was even busier in grade eleven than she had been in grade ten, when she had only two extra-curricular activities. In grade eleven, she was on the yearbook advertising staff, bowled for the “Gutter Snipes,” and was a member of Girls’ Hi-Y. Hi-Y clubs were student organizations affiliated with the YM/YWCA. Each club’s goal was

To create, maintain and extend throughout the schools and community high standards of Christian character and to stand together on and for the platform of clean speech, clean sportsmanship, clean scholarship and clean living.
(*The Acatec* 1936-1937: 50)

According to Ken Penley, who attended Western at the same time as the Pierce girls, other students envied members of Hi-Y. Members of the boys’ club were considered “big guys on campus” and the “cream of the crop”; they were “good quality people,” “all the choice boys” (Penley Interview). Christian though it may have been in its pledge, then, the club’s membership practice was elitist whether actively or passively. That is, the not-

so-big, not-so-choice boys either did not get accepted or did not bother to apply for membership. If indeed Lucy borrowed homework, as the grade-eleven yearbook claims, her scholarship apparently was not quite so clean as the Y might like. She also got “pretty good at writing [their] mother’s name,” according to her sister Mary, who also insists that Lucy only ever signed it on Mary’s behalf, never for herself. Mary says Lucy “was good. She didn’t do anything bad” (Conover Interviews). Her minor transgressions of student plagiarism and forgery notwithstanding, there seems to have been no harm done to her reputation because she was elected to the executive of Girls’ Hi-Y for 1936-37, the year after she joined.

That year she remained on the yearbook advertising staff and also worked on the “Wit and Humour” inserts placed throughout the book. She was selected as assistant circulation manager for the paper, but the gossip columnist wondered did the manager “choose her for her efficiency or for his own personal interest” (*The Mirror* 3.1: 5). If he did have such nefarious motives, it got him nowhere as his name is mentioned again only



once in the same context with hers and it was just another committee connection, not a romantic one. Lucy was also president of a popular social club known as the Debonaire Club, “probably the most popular and the most active one in the school” (*The Mirror* 2.11: 2). In her final year of high school, Lucy was “Western’s number one glamour girl” (*The Acatec* 1937-38) (Plate 8.3). Her best friend, Bette Burland, happened to be the paper’s fashion columnist, and observed, “One fad which

the girls have picked up quickly and with enthusiasm is that of girdles or those belts, more commonly and less correctly called ski-belts. Lucy Pierce started it" (*The Mirror* 3.13: 8). Furthermore, not only was Lucy credited with being a fashion trendsetter, but in May 1938 she modelled in a fashion show at the Palliser, Calgary's poshest hotel of the day, operated by Canadian Pacific (*The Mirror* 3.26: 1). She co-wrote the "Scandal" column for the school paper that year, the same column whose writer had suggested the year before that Lucy was getting the assistant managership on her physical advantages; she was elected secretary of Girls' Hi-Y, and took charge of arrangements and invitations for a ninety-five guest banquet in honour of the Rugby Club to be held in December 1937 (*The Mirror* 3.9: 1)—her picture is even included as part of the report, which is unusual for a high school paper.

The previous week's paper, November 22, 1937, had remarked she "prefers boys that are golf champions, rugby players as well as being tall and extremely handsome" (*The Mirror* 3.8: 4). While the description was made in reference to one particular boy, it could serve just as well for the one she eventually chose to marry, so perhaps the observation was truer than the writer might have suspected when the teasing remark was made. To round out her campus involvements she served as secretary of the Students' Council, was part of the four-member organizing committee for the graduation dance, remained a member of the Debonaire Club, and was one of the eight founding members of the school Pep Club. This group not only promoted the rugby team by selling tickets, they hosted dances and organized "Pep rallies, snake-dances, formation of a school band, distribution of crests, pennants, and yell sheets, uniforming of cheerleaders, buying of

rugby equipment, and [other projects] too numerous to mention” (*The Acatec* 1937-1938: 112). Lucy’s being this involved resulted in the later gossip entry that “It sure is hard on Mush McMurchy because there are so many meetings for Lucy Pierce to attend. He waits all the time though” (*The Mirror* 3.12: 5). This situation is quite the polar opposite of that of her sister Hetty, who was the one always “waiting / For the boy with the high athletic rating [Jack Humphries]” (*Vox Discipuli* 1935-1936: 82). Lorne “Mush” McMurchy was the extremely handsome rugby player Lucy married in 1942. A month after remarking on Lorne’s patience, a by-line in the paper refers to Lucy as a “gorgeous creature” (Plate



8.4) and to him as “that tall blonde rugby hero with the million-dollar smile” (*The Mirror* 3.13: 8) (Plate 8.5). They were such a charmed and popular couple that they even warranted mention in the gossip column in October the year after they both had finished school.

In a poem published in the paper at the start of her last semester at Western, an unnamed admirer describes

Lucy Pierce, so beautiful and glamorous,
 Flirts with the boys, so delightfully amorous.
 She’s the belle of Western, and I know the whole school
 Would be lonely and sad, if she climbed on a mule
 And trotted away under some other rule!
 You’ll never find Lucy by herself very long,
 For wherever she goes there is always a throng.
 At dances you’ll notice the boys crowd around
 [...] (*The Mirror* 3.14: 5)

and one has to wonder how someone so effusively praised could manage to avoid, as Lucy did, becoming obnoxiously full of herself. The scandal column speculates in three

remarks in February 1938 on the cause of a black eye Lucy received in a minor car accident. Sitting in the back seat, she had been thrown against the back of the front seat by the impact; embarrassed by the black eye, she wore sunglasses to conceal it (Conover Interviews). The columnist notes, however, that far from losing any of her beauty or glamour, “She looks like Garbo with dark glasses on” (*The Mirror* 3.18: 4). The following week, in a piece on the ideal composite person made up of attributes from Western students, the smile chosen was that of Lucy Pierce (*The Mirror* 3.19: 7).

This is the girl whose extreme desirability is responsible for the coinage of a family exclamation often used but never even remotely understood by the generation following these girls until Mary explained it to me in an off-hand way during our interviews. It was such a part of our family language that it had never occurred to me it might and must have some explanation; it always just was, and that was all. When something goes wrong, when plans are disrupted, it is an appropriate moment in the family to make use of “Bugger Annie!” Our private expletive originated when a young man who was enamoured of Lucy made the assumption that she already would have a date for an upcoming dance and therefore asked another young woman to go as his companion. The young woman’s name was Annie, and when the boy found out that Lucy had not yet accepted any requests from prospective escorts, he frantically attempted to disengage himself for the event so that he might ask for Lucy’s company. In his panic and haste flipping through the telephone book searching for the unwitting Annie’s phone number, hoping he was not too late after all to obtain the dream date and knowing every second was vitally important, he repeatedly exclaimed, “Bugger Annie!” in frustration.

Unbeknownst to him, poor lad, the woman serendipitously visiting with his mother that very afternoon was Lucy Pierce's mother, who took the story home for the amusement of her family. The story ends before Lucy's response to the boy's call is known, and nothing beyond her given name is known of Annie.

Lucy's unmitigated status as a middle child prepared her to be a mediator and negotiator (Leman 15), traits she no doubt found useful when she served on so many executives and committees. The middle-born child is independent, the one to leave home first and to find close companionships outside the family because of the opportunity these situations provide for the middle-born child to emerge from the family pack (72-81); this is true for the confident and independent Lucy, who, at eighteen, had a job in the hosiery department at Eaton's during the Christmas rush in 1938, and was working there in May 1939 as well, because ACP had to pick her up from work to see the King and Queen in parade when they came to Calgary. Likewise, Lucy is the one who opted to go away to college in 1939 while her two older sisters remained living at home, in spite of the fact that she had a very serious boyfriend who stayed behind. In order to select the school, ACP and MAM took Lucy and Mary along in mid-August to investigate both the University of Montana in Missoula and Washington State College in Pullman, where they "Interviewed Registrar re Lucy and Mary" before making a "deposit on [their] room at #104 Stephens" ("ACP Journals" 15 Aug 1939), where room and board cost \$43.50 each per month (Conover Interviews). While the norm is for schools to ensure the student is good enough for them, ACP apparently wanted to be certain the school was good enough for his girls; interviewing a Registrar prior to registration is virtually unheard of.

Initially, Lucy registered as a Nursing student, according to her transcript, but her grades in the hard sciences, such as Inorganic Chemistry, Biology, and Human Physiology, are all C's, and it may be that what drew her to Nursing was its caring aspect. She was a very gentle and tender person in her nature, plus she would have had experience of caregiving with her sister Laura who frequently was unwell from the time Lucy was nine. But providing tender care by carrying a tray of soup to the bedside or providing a back rub is not the core of Nursing practice, and Lucy was not inclined to the sciences. Part of her original view of nursing may have been formed during observation of nurses, especially in connection with her own health in early 1939, the winter before she started college, when the doctor came to attend her because of her appendix on January 11th ("ACP Journals" 1939). After a week at home in bed, she had a series of x-rays three days in a row from the 17th to the 19th, at which time it was decided she did not need an operation. ACP and MAM had both had appendectomies, so while they would have been concerned for Lucy they would not have resisted surgery if Dr. Sisley recommended it in this non-acute case. A year later, however, there was a different outcome, and one that may have affected Lucy's career choice.

ACP and Dell stopped in Pullman to visit their daughters on the way to a holiday along the Oregon coast. Lucy was unwell and they took her to see doctors in nearby Colfax on February 4th. She was admitted to hospital that day for surgery the following morning. Her father recorded that she "came along fine. No complications" ("ACP Journals" 5 Feb 1940). Two days later, she was "recuperating fast" ("ACP Journals" 7 Feb 1940), and ACP and MAM spent every day at the hospital with her. They took her a

cake for her twentieth birthday on the 9th, the nurses brought her one as well that evening, and she was well enough to be discharged on the 12th and go downtown for lunch. On Valentine's Day, ACP and MAM continued with their interrupted vacation and by the time they passed through Pullman on the return trip ten days later Lucy "looked better than for years" ("ACP Journals" 23 Feb 1940). It is impossible to know how long her appendix had been rumbling and threatening, but although it is very unlikely, there is a slight possibility it was even as long as five years. On Christmas Night 1934, the doctor came in the evening because Lucy had a "tummy-ache" ("ACP Journals" 25 Dec 1934); ACP and MAM never hesitated to call for the doctor when one of the girls was even slightly ill, once having two doctors at the house to remove a "splinter out of Laura's foot" ("ACP Journals" 30 Jul 1934), but given that the house call was made on Christmas it was probably more than a minor touch of indigestion. And, since Lucy showed such a marked improvement in her father's opinion when her appendix finally was removed, she just may have been troubled by it off and on for five years. Whatever the physical impact of her appendix, its psychological effects may include a redirected career path once Lucy had empirical evidence of the practical aspects of nursing. She may have liked the thought of bringing birthday cakes to patients to cheer them up, and doing the other comforting things nurses did, but learned that a greater percentage of nursing duties involved less nurturing tasks. That reality combined with the reality of her science grades made the decision an easy one.

The only apparent academic casualty of her hospitalization and convalescence was Physical Education. She had gotten a B in the first term, but her transcript shows an

exemption for the substandard grade, thereby barely escaping an F, she received in the second term due to her surgery. After she returned to full activity the following year, her grades in Sophomore Physical Education were again both B's. She changed her major to English, hoping to fare better in the Humanities than she had in the Sciences. Her grades in American History are both C's, but she can be excused for having a struggle with American History, her mother's influence notwithstanding, since she had been educated in Canada to that point and would have had a greater knowledge of British History than American as a result. Her two term grades for first-year English Composition are both B's which is a respectable start to post-secondary English; her Literature Survey grade is also a B, which improves on the C in Literature Introduction. Not only is college-level literary study different from the secondary experience of literature, but Lucy would have encountered scholarship in American Literature for the first time at Pullman; her high school English courses would have been dominated by British Literature. Casual reading of American writers, even if she did any, would not have been equivalent preparation to that of American students, so she had neither exposure nor discipline in the subject or subject matter. More promisingly, her Art Structure and Drawing courses both yielded B's, and along with her B's in Composition, indicate that she was stronger in the production of language and visual art than in analysis and the sciences, better at athletics than at physiology and biology, better at production than theory.

Her proficiency in art became her creative expression, and Lucy painted until she became physically unable to manage the brush later in life; one of her landscapes hung in the living room at the farm for many years. Because she had been involved with

advertising and writing on the newspaper and yearbook every year in high school, she joined the Advertising Club in college and took a Journalism course quaintly called Country Newspaper, where there was a focus on agricultural reports (*Bulletin* 184). In her final semester at WSC she took an Education course called Profession of Teaching, in which she also got a C. What emerges most clearly is that Lucy was looking for a career when she went to college. She tried Nursing, Journalism, and Education, and earned average grades in all of the preliminary courses for these, but none was a good fit because they all quite frankly were too practical. In a way, they were near misses because Lucy was more apt to shine at work that allows action and expression. In other words, if she had selected Physical Education as the major and pursued an Education degree beyond the introductory course she might well have had a more satisfying outcome. The same is true of Art, but of course these were not career choices especially approved of for ladies in the way that nursing and teaching English were. Lucy's problem at college was that her capabilities were not so well suited to appropriate occupations for women at the time. I do not mean to suggest that women could not make their way in any of these professions in the late 1930's, but rather that they were nothing like the norm that they are now so that she may not even have thought of such options as opposed to having rejected them or been discouraged from pursuing them. When she was in grade twelve, her yearbook bio noted that "she wishes to be a designer" (*The Acatec* 1936-1937: 15), and her capabilities suggest that wish was an attainable one with a viable future. However, Lucy was not looking for a way to support herself in a solitary life; she had that boyfriend back in Calgary. What she wanted was to find a place to stake out as her own,

to describe herself as an individual outside of her family, some way to mark herself as different from the other girls. She was, after all, the third of four daughters, and a person in that situation feels a need to create her own specialness. Where last borns strive for significance inside the family, middle children seek it outside. She had shared her bedroom with her little sister during their childhood while each of the two older girls had her own bedroom and then her little sister had been her college roommate as well.

After two years at Washington State, Lucy returned to Calgary in mid-June 1941 and for the next year lived more independently from her family than any of the other girls ever did. She was as yet unmarried, but when her parents sold the house in Mount Royal and returned to the United States in August to live in Spokane, Lucy remained behind while Laura moved south along with ACP and MAM. Mary went along as well, but she was still attending college in nearby Pullman. Lucy got a job as an accounting-machine operator, according to her marriage license a year later, and lived in Calgary on her own for the first time. ACP often had "lunch with Lucy" ("ACP Journals" 1941-1942) as he passed through the city between Spokane and the farm or was in Calgary for the day on business. Lucy was the only one not present for New Year's Day turkey dinner in 1942; even Hetty and Jack were in Spokane for the holidays. Lucy may have been there for Christmas (there are no entries in ACP's journal for the last of December), but she certainly did not linger away from Lorne. My mother told me that Lucy and Lorne had decided not to get married until after the war, to be sensible and wait. Then suddenly they changed their minds. On Tuesday, May 19th, "Lucy 'phoned to say she & Lorne McMurchy were being married Wed." ("ACP Journals" 1942). Hetty, who was seven-

months pregnant, and ACP, who had a cast on a badly broken foot after being run over by discing machinery in the field, got themselves organized and hurried into Calgary that evening; Jack followed the next day. In the morning, ACP “arranged dinner for Lucy’s wedding party at Renfrew Club” and in the early evening of May 20th “Lucy and Lorne married by Rev. Morden at Wesley Church at 7 P.M.” (“ACP Journals” 1942). The party was very small, with only eight witnesses aside from the principals. The decision had been made so abruptly that the bride’s mother and two other sisters were unable to get there fast enough. The groom’s older sister was there, but not his older brother, who presumably was already in the military services.

The rush was caused by the reality of war, with no way of knowing when a man suddenly would be summoned to service. Lorne had enlisted in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and in November he was in Saskatchewan for his flight training. Lucy went by train to join him at the end of the month. Just before he went overseas they returned to



Alberta for his leave at the beginning of May 1943. After a brief stop at the farm (Plate 8.6), *en route* from Saskatoon, they went to Calgary to visit Lorne’s parents. Lucy returned to the farm alone on May 13th. My cousin Lorne was born nine months later on February 5th in Spokane where Lucy had gone in November 1943 to live with her parents during the last trimester of her pregnancy. The baby’s birth-weight was an average one, just eight pounds, but apparently Lucy’s narrow frame caused her to have “considerable trouble and had to be enlarged” (“ACP Journals” 1944). What means were employed in this rather medieval-sounding procedure

mercifully are not described. At some point during the next three months Lucy returned to Canada to show her parents-in-law their baby grandson, and she stayed with them at least for the rest of the year and probably longer.

During the Allied invasion of Europe, ACP received “Word [...] that ‘Mush’ is reported missing” (“ACP Journals” 24 Jun 1944; see Appendix C) after an air raid on Berlin June 22nd, 1944. ACP, Hetty, and my brother Johnny left for Calgary the same afternoon, and the next day spent several hours with Lucy at her in-laws’, being there when Lorne’s father returned and “learned of Lorne missing in action. Took it very hard” (“ACP Journals” 25 Jun 1944). The whole notification process was agonizingly long, five months from first word to last, with wife and family knowing what must surely be true but wildly hoping that the missing would be found somehow alive. A month after the first report, in late July, “Dell ‘phoned [to the farm] from Spokane that wire received that Mush was lost” (“ACP Journals” 26 Jul 1944); ACP was in Calgary the following day to see Lucy (“ACP Journals”). Finally, in November, ACP was with Lorne’s father when

McMurchy had cablegram from R.B. Bennett saying 5 members of Mush’s crew including Mush definitely killed – German Red Cross gave names & numbers. 2 saved [...] To McMurchy’s to give Lucy Bennett cablegram & spent afternoon, dinner & evening there. (“ACP Journals” 4 Nov 1944)

My mother said they always hoped that photographs of the baby had arrived before Lorne was killed, but they never knew. Shot down over Holland, Hetty said, there is a grave for Flying Officer McMurchy in the Canadian War Cemetery at Nijmegen. Eventually, Hetty and Mary both visited the site but Lucy never went.

Epilogue

After the war, the military survivors came home, and among them was Pilot Officer Jim Jardine, whom Lucy had known well while attending Western Canada High School. His family had lived very near the Pierces in Mount Royal, and he had particularly spent time with Mary. Jim and Lorne had known each other then as well, both being members of the same fraternity and Boys' Hi-Y. Many people they knew did not return; the newspapers regularly carried reports of the missing and killed. It was perfectly natural and to be expected that after his discharge in March 1945, Lucy and Jim would cross paths again in these circumstances, either by a chance meeting in public or a private condolence call on



his long-time friend who was the widow of another friend. Hetty said that it was not just Jim who courted Lucy but his entire family, and in October 1946 the courtship concluded with a wedding. Lucy and Jim (Plate 8.7) then moved to Vancouver in order for Jim to study at the University of British Columbia but the arrival of two children in rapid succession made it economically necessary for Jim to leave university and find work to support his family. He adopted Lorne Arthur McMurchy, a move he felt very strongly about because of his own childhood circumstances. Jim had been born in

India, and when his parents both died he was sent home to family in Canada. Raised by

his aunt and uncle with his cousins, he nevertheless always felt an outsider because he was never adopted and therefore did not share their name. When Lorne Jardine was almost four, his younger siblings began to arrive. James Johnstone Jardine III was born in November 1947 and Laura Ann (whom her father teasingly called Craig Ann because of the two Craig cousins born near the same time) in September 1948. Hetty said that Lucy blushing was concerned with what people would think of her, having children born just ten months apart. Jim's work plans in Vancouver after leaving university were not successful, not even the first coin-operated laundromat in Vancouver, and the family returned to more familiar surroundings in Calgary where Mary Sue was born in September 1951. ACP's journal for 1952 mentions Lucy calling Spokane to give her parents her new phone number, Cherry 4-8888, which has been the phone number at that house for fifty years.

Lucy always helped her children with their art projects, but by good fortune, the Jardines had a neighbour who was an artist and who began after a number of years to give Lucy lessons in drawing and painting to build on her artistic inclinations and college foundation. Beginning with pencil drawing, she went on to charcoal and sepia, then to oils. She did sepia portraits, working from photographs, of her family and on commission. Her landscape painting was all in oils. Lucy was diagnosed with Multiple Sclerosis when she was fifty years old, a late diagnosis for this disease which typically strikes between twenty and forty, and a development whose lateness Lucy saw as an ironic blessing because she was able to raise her family and launch them all into the world before she was disabled. Jim's health deteriorated relatively early in life as well,

and he died in 1975. By the time of his death, Lucy was walking with a cane, and as her mobility decreased and she needed support in the home, Mary Sue with her husband and young family moved into the house to care for her. This arrangement continued when Lucy became completely dependent on Susie's daily and constant assistance, Lorne's advice and understanding as a physician, and the practical assistance of home-care workers and Victorian Order Nurses. Very unwillingly Lucy eventually was admitted to the Glenmore Auxiliary Hospital where her care could be managed more thoroughly and where her medical needs could receive more immediate attention as her disease progressed. Unable even to hold a book, her sister Hetty and her daughter Laura would read to her; Jim III and Lorne offered to provide cable television service to the hospital so Lucy's boredom could be alleviated. Hetty drove in to the city from the farm and washed and curled Lucy's hair every Wednesday. Lucy was only sixty-four when she developed pneumonia and died in the evening on New Year's Day 1985. Lucy had seven grandchildren at the time of her death and as yet there are no great-grandchildren; she was the second of the Pierce sisters to die, and to die at an early age.

CHAPTER NINE

Dramatis Personae 6: Mary Margaret Pierce

If Laura and Hetty wanted to make the clothes, and Lucy wanted to design them, Mary wanted to wear them. She remembers “frequently changing [her] clothes—wear one thing in the morning and something else in the afternoon” (Conover Interviews) during high school. And, when she and Lucy arrived home in mid-December 1939 for Christmas, ACP felt compelled to note there was a “lot of baggage” (“ACP Journals” 16 Dec 1939) even though the girls were home only for the term break; he and MAM had been “looking at luggage for Mary” (“ACP Journals” 15 Dec 1939) as a possible gift only the day before. A girl with a lot of clothes needs a lot of luggage. A self-professed party girl, Mary often pleads ignorance on points of detail about the family, saying she was not paying attention because she was too busy having fun. She was born on the last of MAM’s confinement journeys home to her mother, in her Grandma Laura Moore’s house at #9 Hurst Avenue, Chautauqua, New York, on October 21st, 1921. This last baby was named Mary Margaret, which was her great-grandmother’s name, and when she arrived, ACP “got wire saying fourth daughter had arrived” (“ACP Journals” 22 Oct 1921). Mary could be the poster child for last-born children, who are “the outgoing charmers, the personable manipulators [...] affectionate, uncomplicated, and sometimes a little absentminded” (Leman 83). Last borns are entertainers, “carefree and vivacious” (83-4), and Mary even started her period in a theatrical way. She stayed overnight at a friend’s house when she was about twelve or thirteen and was dismayed to wake up and find she had bled on the sheets (Conover Interviews). Heading straight home, she entered through

the back door and loudly “made a big announcement in the kitchen,” to which MAM responded simply, “Het, take care of her will ya?” Obviously, the girls in this family had not been taught to be reticent or embarrassed about such things, but Mary’s proclamation goes beyond mere comfort with the subject.

Last borns also can be “rebellious, critical, temperamental, spoiled, impatient, and impetuous” (84). Hence, Mary lobbied hard for a bike during the Depression, even when she was told they could not afford one, and subsequently got a “blue bike and it had yellow wheels and it cost ten dollars” (Conover Interviews). She rebelliously started smoking in 1937 when she was only fifteen and continued smoking for an amazing sixty-five years. From early childhood, Mary was making the effort to be noticed and admits, “I was a show off. I was a daredevil,” and apparently ACP had told MAM, “you’d better not get too used to having this one around because she’s never gonna make it” (Conover Interviews). She broke her arm in the summer of 1930, just before she was nine, having to stay overnight in hospital (the total cost amounted to \$12) in Drumheller after the arm was set (“ACP Journals” 18 Jul 1930), because she was showing off, “riding with no hands and the poor little horse stumbled and [she] fell off” (Conover Interviews). Her best country friend, Sam Stockton, shared in her escapades and was just as reckless as she; he got into and out of hair-raising scrapes so consistently that when he was taken prisoner in the Canadian Raid on Dieppe in August, 1942, Mary insisted to anyone who cared to listen for the remaining three years of the war that she was confident he would survive to come home, as he did. Mary was enough of a menace herself that she accounts for the only incident of corporal punishment known in the family other than ACP’s

abortive attempt to spank Lucy over the incident with the shoes. Mary says that her mother “until the day she died apologized to me at *least* once a year [for the time] she beat the bejaysus out of me” because Mary dumped a vat of freshly rendered lard on the floor (Conover Interviews).

She also had less destructive and dangerous ways to be the centre of attention and took dancing lessons at Murdock’s in 1930, the only one of the girls who ever took lessons, and at her recital in May (“ACP Journals” 3 May 1930; see Appendix C) she was



part of a tap-dancing aviators number (Plate 9.1). Mary remembers that at the end of the performance she was called out to the front and was presented with a bouquet of yellow roses from her father (Conover Interviews), who was in the audience having made a special trip in from the farm to see her dance (“ACP Journals” 3 May 1930). If she had not been in love with her father before, she certainly must have fallen in love with him then at the age of eight-and-a-half. Her grade eleven yearbook bio claims that she “spends most of her time dancing” (*The Acatec* 1937-1938: 53), and the school paper bears witness to this assertion by having her at every dance, most of the time with a different date who was more often than not eventually one of my uncles; there was a lot of double dating, but never with her sisters (Conover Interviews). Mary dated all our uncles, especially my dad’s brother Gord (referred to as “Hunk” more than once in the yearbooks) and her sister Lucy’s second husband, Jim. She remarks with pride, “Jim Jardine had a big crush on me” (Conover Interviews).

Sunday nights most often found the vivacious Mary with “Lucy and [their friend] Margaret Lecouter and the boys” (Conover Interviews) at Pierce’s, one of the many boys present being Gord Humphries who “Pounds a mean piano” (*The Acatec* 1938-1939: 33). They would literally roll up the rugs and dance on the polished wood floors, and with twenty boys and only three girls present, the girls would have been very much the centre of attention and would have danced every dance. Many of the boys she dated or with whom the paper rumoured her to be involved in flirtations have lapsed entirely from her memory; she was linked with even more boys than Lucy, the difference being that Lucy was often worshipped from afar, but Mary “played the field” in a big way. There was no need for concern about her companions because “we were *all* nice kids,” and while everyone she and her sisters knew was from their own social class, Mary stresses “we weren’t snobs for heaven’s sake. I *am* a snob” with disarming honesty (Conover Interviews). While Hetty had one boyfriend for seven years before she married him, Mary dated Gordie, Mush, Alex, Den, Larry, Bruce, Wilby, Herb, Jim, Dan, Stu, Dennis, John, Johnny, Irwin, Harry, Doug, Frankie, Hank, and Frank, in order of appearance in *The Mirror*, plus another two boys whose names the columnists decline to reveal. However, after all that, she opted not to marry any of them.

The girls had social lives to be envied, and while their home life likewise was one of privilege and ease, there was some very human sibling behaviour as well. The story is often told in the family, including by Mary herself, of how Mary more than once would lean over the railing and call, “Looocy,” and then spit on her sister when she appeared at the bottom of the stairs. It was a stunt that could be repeated because Lucy was guileless



and Mary was impetuous mischief personified (Plate 9.2). But Lucy was innocent, not passive, so Mary would have to spit and run, heading for the bathroom because “the bathroom had the only door that locked” (Conover Interviews). This is probably one of those moments when MAM would try to instill remorse in the girls by saying “I would have given my soul for a sister” (Conover Interviews).

Certainly, in many ways, they were typical sisters, staging plays for their own enjoyment in the yard and the house, playing something called “Hu Chu Turn out the Light,” which consisted entirely of turning off the lights and then “we’d screeeeam” in the dark. Even when they were adults, differences could become heated, although this response was not the norm for them. In March of 1942, when Mary was twenty and Laura twenty-five, they were playing bridge with their parents in the evening after dinner and ACP reports that “Mary & Laura had a ‘flare-up’—I gave them a lecture—more bridge” (“ACP Journals” 9 Mar 1942): heated perhaps, but nevertheless civilized. In a more comradely instance, Mary and Lucy once “played [Cole Porter’s 1934 hit] ‘You’re the Top’ over and over [on the record player] writing down the words [as girls often have done with popular songs]. Daddy came downstairs and gave Lucy a quarter and me a quarter and said, ‘Will you please stop?’” The girls “used to hang on the radio every Saturday night [...] for the Hit Parade” (Conover Interviews). At about the time she started college, Mary fell in love with Frank Sinatra’s voice at the very start of his recording career and she stresses it was his voice she liked; she was never weak in the knees over him like the screamers were. She was so devoted a fan that when Frank turned

eighty in December 1995, I phoned her to offer felicitations on his birthday, and she said she had been listening to his records all day. At the time of the twenty-five cent anti-popular-music bribe, a movie admission cost a dime at the Kinema, so ACP's quarter was a worthwhile sum to accept. Mary loved the movies and often would walk over to the Kinema at 17th Avenue and 14th Street only four blocks away to enjoy a movie by herself.

After the war, when they were both living in Spokane, she and her mother would often go to the movies together ("ACP Journals"). She also found her individual way to a share of her father's interests by staking claim to sororities. After all, rural life did not appeal to Mary. She "always thought it was boring as hell at the farm. There was nothing to do, [and] it took half a year to get there" (Conover Interviews). Where Hetty cornered proprietorship of the farm and Lucy became a bowler and as compulsive a committee member as ACP as well until she married, Mary is the only one of the girls to join a sorority during high school. There had been only one at Western Canada in 1934-35, but there was a sudden expansion to eight that resulted from a "disapproval that relaxed" (Penley Interview), and in Mary's very first year there, 1936-37, she was treasurer of the junior Alpha Sigma Rho. After that, along with her best friend Mary Sherman, she was active in the chartered senior branch of the sorority for both of her remaining years in high school. The group's only identified activity to come out of the meetings hosted in member's homes is the same as most sororities in their school: organizing and "sponsoring dances, big formal dances" (Penley Interview). The group's yearbook picture, when Mary was in grade eleven, shows the sixteen-sister group in matching green-and-white checked dresses (103), dresses that gaped at the neckline when the

wearer bent over so that the girls, who made it a big joke among themselves, had to be careful to put a hand to the chest to keep from exposing themselves; the dresses had short puffed sleeves and wide waist bands drawn tight with a criss-cross lace-up tie (Plate 9.3).



All of the girls not part of the executive committee seated in the front row had ribbon bow ties to complement the waist-line cinch, and they looked altogether innocent and prim, like girls at a country fair in a wholesome musical, as if they belonged in *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954). Her only other membership during high school was in Girls' Hi-Y, which she joined the year Lucy was secretary and in which Mary served as secretary in her final year, and she also worked on the yearbook advertising staff with Lucy in 1936-37 when she first arrived at Western. When she got to Washington State College in Pullman, she and Lucy also joined Kappa Delta, a sorority which did fundraising for the philanthropic purpose of helping disabled children, work shared by the Shriners to which their father belonged.

Mary was not interested in athletics as a competitor, but as a performer she was very interested in development of the first cheerleading squad at Western. A sorority sister who had come from a school where there were cheerleaders was appalled that Western had none, a deficiency that they quickly remedied. At the time, it was more the norm for cheerleading squads to be co-ed, and still is the norm for post-secondary squads in the United States, and Western's small group consisted of four girls and two boys. Mary was one of the cheerleaders "conspicuous in their snappy uniforms" (*The Acatec* 1937-1938: 112) that were provided by Lucy's Pep Club. The cheerleaders stirred up enthusiasm by leading students in "Snake-Dances" organized by the Pep Club; the huge crowd of "six hundred to nine hundred students" would wend its way from Western Canada High School on 17th Avenue and 5th Street thirteen blocks to Mewata Stadium on 9th Avenue and 10th Street, "holding up traffic and disrupting street-car service" and "Led by [a] twenty-piece band" (112), all in order to support the school's rugby team. This was not an orderly march, but a rather raucous parade with decorated cars, honking horns, banners and flags, and the school song "Hurrah For Dear Old Western!" as well as the prescribed cheers coordinated by the half dozen cheerleaders along the way. It is perhaps her antics as a cheerleader that are responsible for the fact that she alone of the family missed the visit of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth in May, 1939. While all the others and Jack were ensconced in bleachers set up by organizations with which ACP was involved (Shriners and Wheat Pool), Mary was at home "in bed—hip out of joint" ("ACP Journals" 26 May 1939).

Lucy had waited until she was no longer at Western to get a part-time job, but once she did it Mary had to do it too, even though she was only seventeen and still in school. They knew their father disapproved without him telling them; “he didn’t say one word to us but mother said” (Conover Interviews). But, for these girls, there was a clear difference between disapproval and disappointment. They had the freedom to make choices such as this one with which he might disagree but none of them would have braved his disappointment. Mary repeatedly remarked during our interviews that “I would never never never do anything to disappoint him”; “I wouldn’t let him down. Let my father down? Are you kidding? I would have crawled on my hands and knees over broken glass.” Mary “was in awe of him and a little bit scared,” not of physical reprisals (“he was so sweet”) but of the power of his personality and stature (“everybody respected him”) even in his own house. The girls did not have this awe of their mother, but MAM did have a share in their general reverence for their parents, and Mary said “I would cut my throat before I would let my parents down” (Conover Interviews).

Lucy had made the decision to go away to college starting with the academic year 1939-1940, and when Mary found out that she could be admitted to Washington State without her senior matriculation, for which she would have had to go to Western for another year, she insisted on going along, as youngest sisters will. “If Lucy went then I was gonna go too” (Conover Interviews), impatient to be getting on with things. However, arriving in college without the requisite academic preparation and personal discipline, a typically impetuous last-born thing to do, made for difficult-to-accept academic results. One of the most devastating of those results came in a social way rather

than an academic one; halfway through her second year, Mary learned “she hadn’t made grades high enough to be initiated into K.D.” (“ACP Journals” 9 Feb 1941). She was so upset she refused to speak to her parents on the telephone during a February call. But, her grades were not dismal enough for her to be invited not to return, and she completed five semesters, the most post-secondary education of any of the girls. To start, she declared a major in Sociology, but only ever took three Sociology courses. Her transcript reveals a typical liberal arts breadth, with some Humanities and a couple of Sciences, a Music recital option, a Journalism introduction, and two dominant directions in her other courses. One of these was Physical Education, which accounts for five courses, one per semester for her entire time at Washington State. The other focus, and the one she selected as her revised major, was Foreign Languages.

Mary remembered taking languages and mentioned the fact during our interviews, and she should remember, since they account for the remaining eight course selections. She studied French language at the beginning and intermediate levels as well as French Civilization, Spanish at the beginning and intermediate levels, and took both German and Latin introductions. She would have taken Latin in high school, so had some foundation for her college-level course. All of the language instruction indicates a mind as lively as the Physical Education courses do the body. Mary’s level of physical activity from her childhood daredevil days and dancing lessons carried on into her college years and served her well. The variety of languages, instead of majoring in a single language, suggests a rapid-firing mind that needed constant fresh stimulation for the imagination and to keep her attention. Mary would have been interested in the idea of being in places where the

languages were spoken, far more than she would care for the painstaking labour of mastering the syntax and vocabulary of a sole second language. She has said more than once that she was there to have fun, and her sampling of several languages exemplifies her predilection for enjoyment and for life in the moment. Her course selections during those five terms at college demonstrate her constantly moving attention, a basic component of her personality.

While Mary was at Pullman (Plate 9.4), she was introduced by a Kappa Delta



sorority sister to Pike Conover, a fellow student from Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. Their first date took place March 7th, 1942 when Pike unexpectedly called Mary to ask if she would like to go along with him to visit the mutual friends who had introduced them ("ACP Journals" 7 Mar 1942). They drove from Spokane to Walla Walla, stayed

overnight with the friends, and returned the following day. By November, when Lucy was on her way to Saskatchewan where Lorne was taking flight training, Mary was on her way to Baltimore to marry Pike, who was in the army and on his way through Officer Candidate School. ACP had not met young Henry Conover yet, a fact which speaks to the security of the girls in their father's affection, for marrying a man one's father had never met was not a minor matter, even in time of war. While ACP had not laid eyes on him, MAM "thought Pike was the cat's pyjamas" (Conover Interviews). Mary had just turned

twenty-one before she left for Baltimore so required no parental permissions on her marriage documents and, exactly one-month after her birthday, she and Pike were married November 21st, 1942 (Plate 9.5). Together, they had a visit home to Washington



and Idaho at the end of February 1944, then Pike returned east and Mary went north to see her sisters before rejoining him in Baltimore. They were still in Baltimore on D-Day, and woke up in the morning to the sound of newsboys calling out a special edition of the paper. Mary remembers her relief that “D-Day had happened and he wasn’t in it” (Conover Interviews). Everyone knew the invasion was coming and it was a relief

when it finally happened. Immediately after that, however, Pike got his orders and by the end of June was in Europe serving under General Patton; he was promoted from First Lieutenant to Captain by the time he came back after the war was over.

Just like Lucy, Mary conceived her first child immediately before her husband went away to war. Mary Allison was born in Spokane, where Mary had gone to stay with MAM and ACP, in February, 1945. The baby obviously was named for her mother, and also was given the family name Allison, which was her great-grandmother’s surname before her marriage. After the war, the next baby was Joseph Craig, named for both of his grandfathers, who was born in Coeur d’Alene in December 1947. The last of Mary’s children is Mary Candace, who is almost nine years younger than her brother; Candi was

born in July 1956 after Mary and Pike had moved to Seattle. Pike had insisted that both of the girls be named after their mother. Neither of them is called Mary; however, all three children are called by the middle name, as are all of the children in Hetty's family—except of course for John Ross, who is called Jack—and as MAM and ACP both were as well. In the years when Allison and Craig were small and before Candi was born, Mary and Pike lived in Spokane and so were very near MAM and ACP, and Laura and her husband, Terry.

It was a fortuitous thing that Mary was close by because during these years Mary was an indispensable help and support to her parents. While ACP's journals for 1945 to 1950 do not survive, the content of those for 1951-1952 relate countless helps Mary provided for her parents. MAM and ACP were in their late sixties by then, yet still under an unusual burden of responsibility for Laura, their first-born daughter who was in her mid-thirties. Laura had married in 1946, but her combined marital and health problems kept her quite dependent on her parents who occasionally had serious health concerns of their own and who, because of all these factors, were in turn quite dependent on Mary for very practical things. Her chauffeuring duties alone, while she also had to tend to two young children, occupied a substantial amount of time as well as physical and emotional energy. The day after Christmas 1950, Laura had surgery to repair an obstruction in her left kidney, which had caused it "to distend to 15 times normal size. Probably was that way from birth" ("ACP Journals" 26 Dec 1950 [in 1951 vol]). The next six months were a constant whirl of serious illness for MAM, ACP, and Laura, with Mary at the controls of all things practical then and for the rest of the year at least. Her parents both had

serious bouts of flu almost immediately following Laura's year-end surgery, and her father did not recover quickly. For two months, he was ill with flu in spite of his physicians' best efforts. He developed phlebitis for which he was hospitalized in April at the same time that Laura had been readmitted to a different hospital for major surgery to remove her dysfunctional kidney ("ACP Journals" 23 Apr 1951). ACP recorded in his journal that "Mary took me to hospital and Dell to see Laura and me" ("ACP Journals" 30 Apr 1951). She took him to Sacred Heart, went to get her mother to visit him there, and then drove her over to Deaconess to see Laura, and that is the way her spring went.

ACP recovered and was out of hospital in time for Laura to be taken home, but very suddenly developed nephritis himself in early May and the family was summoned from Alberta, in the case of Lucy, Hetty, and Jack who drove, and Pennsylvania, in the case of ACP's brother Audley who flew. Mary spent much of her time behind the wheel of her car chauffeuring people about, especially since MAM did not drive. From May 12th to June 20th, ACP had private nurses around the clock; with one exception, his diary is blank from May 16th to August 1st when he is once again discharged from hospital. The exception is May 21st, when "The girls got Laura into Mary's car and all four came to Sacred Heart Hospital to see me—this being my birthday—67 yrs. Laura in wheel chair" ("ACP Journals" 21 May 1951). Three days after ACP got home, MAM had a cardiac event of some kind, "was in bed all day with severe pain in chest" for which the doctor prescribed painkillers and sleeping pills ("ACP Journals" 4 Aug 1951). The journal is blank again for the next month and then ACP records that his doctor will not allow him to drive to Canada alone because of his health, so in early October Jack is summoned to

Spokane by train in order to do the driving. Mary makes Sunday dinner more often than not and picks up and delivers everybody everywhere constantly for months, and with a child or two in the back seat of her car while she did it. Undoubtedly the real possibility that her sister and both of her parents would die all at once, the self-described incompetent one actually was the anchor which kept the family functioning at all during 1951. Not surprisingly, she is the one in charge of Christmas dinner that year for all the family living in Spokane. Laura and Terry never hosted anything, always the guests at Sunday dinners at MAM's and Mary's. She must have felt at times that if she could just drive fast enough and cook enough turkey, everything would be all right.

The unfortunate thing about the way last-borns see themselves is their perception that their older siblings have "all the talent, ability, and smarts" (Leman 84), and Mary is far from being an exception to this dangerous generalization. Her school records for grades one through eight all indicate Good progress. Along with simple luck of the birth-order draw, another contributor to her poor intellectual self-esteem is the fact that Mary's left-handedness was a physical reality that was not desirable when she was a child, and she remembers having her left arm tied down at school in an attempt to force her to become right-handed. She began to develop a stammer and her parents put a stop to the practice of binding her arm. She describes herself as "dumber than a bucket of rocks" when she went off to college, and insistently reaffirms this conviction by saying, "I'm telling ya, I had no business being there" (Conover Interviews); the problem at college was more one of unfinished preparation rather than lack of capability: Mary had not graduated from high school plus she had had the same emphasis on British history and

literature that Lucy found to be a problem in an American college. Sophisticated diagnostic tests to identify learning style likely would have benefitted Mary a great deal as well; she muses today that perhaps she demonstrated an attention deficit disorder. She often remarks that her sisters were so smart, that they (and Laura in particular) “oozed talent.” Even in adulthood, she “always felt kind of inadequate because my sisters were so talented. [...] I was just a klutz. I couldn’t do anything like [their sewing]. I wasn’t accomplishing anything” (Conover Interviews). She offers an anecdote from high school about her surprise birthday party to prove “how dumb I am.”

Of course, she is not “dumber than a bucket of rocks,” but the last one born never accepts merely being born last as sufficient to secure worth and finds it difficult to achieve anything the parents have not seen before, the point proven by MAM’s ho-hum response to the fourth daughter’s menstrual initiation; the possibility of success is even more difficult to believe for one in a position to be so often subjected to the derision of older siblings, which is certainly the birthright of the baby. Often the only unoccupied space youngest children can identify is the family and public stage, being noticed, and if being elaborately stupid gets them noticed, then that is what they lay claim to. Unfortunately, there is nothing cognitive about this process and, needless to say, being stupid is both a built-in excuse and a self-condemning device for the failure that the last born believes inevitably will come; and, when it does not come, it is not therefore a proof of ability but rather only evidence that the baby somehow has managed to perpetrate a fraud on the unsuspecting. As a last born whose birth order is complicated by an age gap with my next older sibling, I know intimately the circular trap that exists psychologically

for the baby in the family. For one thing, the baby is always the baby, permanently a child in the eyes of the family and the self, and therefore not someone who can be expected to amount to anything. In recent years, I have come to understand that as the perpetual baby of my family, quite frankly, the best my older siblings reasonably can hope for from me is that I just do not wet my pants.

Long after the older siblings stop teasing, the last born still invents it psychologically based on the childhood pattern. Thankfully, when she was fifty, Mary found a creative outlet that disproved her self-deprecating perception in a practical way. After she, Pike, and Candi relocated to Gaithersburg, Maryland in 1971, for Pike's term as Assistant to the President of the The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Mary answered a newspaper advertisement and started taking classes in glass work as a way to meet people in a new community and because she loved leaded glass. I have a few small pieces she produced and my sister has a lampshade, things that belonged to our mother. If Mary felt she could offer these to her older, supposedly more talented, sister, she obviously had some confidence that she now finally was accomplishing something. She did quite a lot of leaded glass, but when she got "tired of cutting glass" (Conover Interviews) she turned to another handiwork. For her, creative production with a material result was the measure of success as compared with her sisters. After all, she was measuring herself by people like her sister Laura who could knit Argyle socks in the dark. Mary had a friend who had learned braiding, and Mary, in her own words, "got carried away" (Conover Interviews) once she discovered it. Starting with chair pads, she eventually graduated to rugs and made large, nine-by-twelve foot, rugs for herself and

each of her three children. She loved this craft. She made my mother a braided Christmas wreath, which I now have and which I hang on my front door each year.

Mary's other particular achievement has nothing to do with comparison with her sisters, but still has everything to do with her birth-order predispositions. Often taking longer than older siblings to pull ourselves together and make a career for ourselves (both in choosing and accomplishing), eventually "babies of the family gravitate toward vocations that are people oriented" (Leman 91); "good salespeople are often last borns" (91-2). Not surprisingly, then, when Mary returned to Washington state in 1976, she first exercised her creative self by renovating a house and then satisfied the long-delayed public impulse of the last born by getting her real estate license and becoming a salesperson in 1978. And, she did not merely become a salesperson; she became an extremely productive one. During her real estate career, she won awards for sales, both in the sheer volume of houses sold and the gross value of the property sold. She worked very hard, produced a lot, and then predictably got "burned out," so quit. This development is a larger example of what happened in the case of Mary's glassmaking: discover it, do it compulsively, and lose interest, move on to something new, or "burn out."

Epilogue

Mary feels the absence of her sisters very hard, and of her parents too. She is the only remaining Pierce Girl, and has been for a decade. In keeping with her self-perception, Mary has been afraid for all of those ten years that she would be expected to

know things, especially about the family, since she is the only one left. She has said that at times she is distressed to think that some details are lost and that she should have paid more attention; she feels inadequate to what she believes to be the responsibility of the last one. At one point during our interviews, she remarked in surprise, “I didn’t know I could remember” (“Conover Interviews”), a typical last born even into her eighties, replaying her pre-recorded message that she is a person of whom no one should expect much. When Lucy died, Mary and Het had each other to know what it was that had been lost, but when Hetty died, Mary had no more sisters with whom to grieve. She and Pike were married for more than fifty years, a family record so far, between deaths and divorces, and they must have been quite a lively pair. Late in life, when he was over eighty, Pike got irate with a highway patrolman who tried to keep him from driving after exhibiting some health difficulties including a blackout, and Pike’s response was to put the car in reverse and ram the police car. Since his death in March 2000, Mary has continued to live in their house with the devoted assistance of her three children, all of whom live nearby. She misses her sisters. I think it is not a good idea to be the last one left.

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Appendix A: Physical Description of the A.C. Pierce Journals

All thirty of the books are hardcover, and all but one (1939) has the year printed on the outside cover. The last nine (1940-44, 1951-52, 1954-55) have the year on the spine as well. Almost all of them have "Daily Journal" on the cover as well, except 1924 ("Excelsior Journal"), 1939's two books ("The Canadian Date Book" and "Year Book"), 1943-44 ("The Standard Diary" and "Standard Daily Journal"), and 1951-52, 1954 ("Daily Reminder"). Entry gaps of more than a few days are indicated in the individual descriptions. The journals' description according to the technical terms of book collecting and bibliography follows. Overall, as a collection, the condition is Very Good, and the bindings are all sound. They are fairly uniformly lightly white-paint spattered, primarily on the spines. There is no foxing; pages generally are clean and bright, but a few early volumes have light age tanning in the margins. 1919-30, 1935, and 1937 have marbled paper boards and marbled top, fore, and bottom edges. 1931-34, 1936, 1938, 1940-41, 1944, 1951-52, and 1954-55 have red cloth boards. 1939 has green cloth boards; 1942-43 are half leather bound (1942 black and green; 1943 black and red). All the marbled boards have moderate edge wear; most of the red cloth boards have a moderate spine roll (or spine lean). 1929-37 and 1939 have a white adhesive tape strip on the spine indicating the year in ink. The few idiosyncratic features are included in the individual descriptions below.

1919

The book measures 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " wide x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high. It is inscribed A.C. Pierce, Drumheller, Alta. and was printed for D. J Young & Co., Ltd., Stationery and Office Supplies, 715 First St.

West, Calgary, Alberta. The selling price was \$1.75. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1919. The first pages provide published information on War Taxes, Terms and Sittings of Courts, Postal Rates, and important dates. After the title page, there are six pages for memoranda from 1918, two of which are used for entries dated December 30 and 31, 1918. Each journal page has space for two days' entries. The last pages are accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month; and a published list of chartered banks in Canada. Loose papers included in the volume consist of grid maps printed by Canadian Pacific Irrigation Colonization Company, Ltd., Sales Department, Calgary, Alta. These have been completed in pencil and show the names of landowners surrounding the Pierce farm. Also included are assorted receipts; this is the only volume with so many enclosures. In the order in which they are arranged:

The J.B. Anderson Lumber Co., Limited, Drumheller, Alta.
dated Nov 14, 1919
total \$28.50 Chg.

The J.B. Anderson Lumber Co., Limited, Drumheller, Alta.
dated Nov 14, 1919
total \$287.80 Credit

The J.B. Anderson Lumber Co., Limited, Drumheller, Alta.
dated Nov 14, 1919
total \$35.25 Credit

Canadian Northern Railway Company
dated Nov 17, 1919
shipping on gasoline sent by "Wpeg" Oil Co
total \$4.64 paid

Canadian Northern Railway Company
dated Nov 11
shipping on "5 bx h h goods" and 7 pieces of furniture sent from Calgary by P.C.
Saunders
total \$8.91 paid

Canadian Northern Railway Company
dated Nov 14, 1919
shipping on 6 head horses "loaded fed & x watered" sent from Castor, AB
total \$60.85 paid

E.L. Hendron, General Merchant, Redland, Alta.
dated Nov 22, 1919
total \$17.85 paid

Imperial Oil, Limited, Calgary—Drumheller Station
dated Nov 25, 1919
total \$4.80

Winnipeg Oil Company Limited, Calgary Canada
dated Nov 12, 1919
4 Drums Petro Gasoline @ .48 \$86.16
4 Refined drums 15.00 \$60.00
total \$146.16 paid

Canadian Northern Express Company
dated Nov 14, 1919
total \$0.35 paid

Van Swelm & Murray, Drumheller, Alta
Dealers in Fresh and Cured Meats, Poultry, Fish, Etc.
dated Nov 1, 1919
total \$4.45 paid

Lett & McKinnon, Nacmine, Alta
dated Nov 14-25
Nov 14: 2 nails .18, 12 nails .96, [Cartags?] \$1.50, 6 tomatoes \$1.30, 10 lard \$4.25,
vinegar .25
Nov 20: g. dust .80, 4 gal. c. oil \$1.60, 4 cherries .90, 25 prunes \$6.25, peaches \$3.00, j.
powder \$1.50, 50 [Cathags?] \$2.50, apricots \$1.50, peas \$5.50, 4 butter \$2.80, box apples
\$3.50, 5 salt .50
Nov 22: 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ sugar .72, 6 sh. wheat \$1.05, 6 c. flakes .75
Nov 25: 6 butter \$4.20, 10 coffee \$5.00, Mt. p[?] .50
total \$51.00 paid

W.A. Braisher

dated Nov 19, 1919

harness #471 \$83, 4 collars \$24, harness 474 \$61.50, 2 prs blankets \$22, snaps .20, exchange snaps .60, 4 s pads \$3.40

total \$194.70 paid

Alberta Government Telephones

Toll Service Statement

Sept 26 to Oct 25, 1919 inclusive

Horseshoe Coulee [sic] Exchange

thirty-two calls to Calgary, Drumheller, Carbon, Rosebud, and Cluny ranging in cost from .10 to \$1.80

total \$13.60

The Ferguson Supply Company

Railway and General Contractors' Supplies

311-313 Tenth Ave. West, Calgary, Alta.

dated Nov 15, 1919

2 pcs. chain 87 lbs @ .08 ½

total \$7.50 paid

two small leaves torn from a pocket-size notebook and filled with brief calculations and notations including names, bushels, and linear measurements.

1920

The book measures 6 ¾" wide x 8 ¼" high. It was published by The Brown Brothers, Limited, Manufacturing Stationers, Cor. Simcoe, Pearl and Adelaide Sts., Toronto. The selling price was \$2.75. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar. The first pages provide published information on War Taxes, Terms and Sittings of Courts, Postal Rates, and important dates. After the title page, there is a single page for Memoranda from 1919. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. The first entry for the year is March 20; there are no entries after November 13. The last pages are accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month; and a published list of chartered banks in

Canada. Loose papers included in the volume consist only of an ink blotter from The Home Hail Insurance, S.M. Taber, Agent, Rosebud, Alta.

1921

The book measures 8 ¼" wide x 13 ¼" high. It was printed for F. E. Osborne, Books, Stationery and Office Supplies, Calgary, Alberta. The selling price was \$3.25. On the inside of the front cover, there are published full-year calendars for 1921 and 1922. The first pages provide published information on War Taxes, Terms and Sittings of Courts, Postal Rates, Commercial Law, and important dates. After the title page, there are two pages for memoranda from 1920. Each journal page has space for three days' entries. The first entry for the year is March 16; there are no entries after October 23. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month. Loose papers included in the volume are a detailed business statement for W.H. Edwards covering 1918, 1919, and 1921, an ink blotter from Hillcrest Steam Coal, and receipts. In the order in which the receipts are arranged:

H. S. Palmer, Power Farming Machinery, Calgary, Alta.
dated Aug 24, 1921
total \$13.24

Fultons Limited
dated Jun 18
2 suit underwear @ 3.50
1 cap 1.25
total \$8.25 paid

Canadian National Express
dated Aug 25, 1921
express charges COD
total \$14.42

two sheets of paper filled with brief calculations and notations including items purchased (such as gall cure, snuff, knife, pliers) for whom and prices paid

1922

The book measures 8 ¼" wide x 13 ¼" high. It was printed for F. E. Osborne, Books, Stationery and Office Supplies, Calgary, Alberta. The selling price was \$3.75. On the inside of the front cover, there are published full-year calendars for 1922 and 1923. The first pages provide published information on War Taxes, Terms and Sittings of Courts, Postal Rates, Commercial Law, and important dates. This volume has a cracked hinge. After the title page, there are two pages for memoranda from 1921. Each journal page has space for three days' entries. The first entry for the year is March 22; there are no entries for March 23-31 or April 1-23; there are no entries after November 13. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month. Loose papers included in the volume are two ledger pages (one with entries for wages and one used for calculations), and an ink blotter from The Pacific Marine Insurance Co., Hornibrook, Whittemore & Allan, Calgary, Alta.

1923

The book measures 8 ¼" wide x 13 ¼" high. It was published by The Brown Brothers, Limited, Manufacturing Stationers, Cor. Simcoe, Pearl and Adelaide Sts., Toronto. The selling price was \$3.00. On the inside of the front cover, there are published full-year calendars for 1923 and 1924. The first pages provide published information on War Taxes, Terms and Sittings of Courts, Postal Rates, Commercial Law, and important dates. After the title page, there are four pages for memoranda from 1922. Each journal page

has space for three days' entries. The first entry for the year is February 3; there are no entries for April 1-8; there are no entries after November 29. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month.

1924

The book measures 8 ¼" wide x 13 ¼" high. It was printed for J.R. Weldin Co., 413-415 Wood St., Pittsburgh, Booksellers and Stationers. The selling price was \$3.00. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1924. The first pages provide published information on American cities, states and territories; Postal Rates, Interest Tables, Wage Tables, Income on Stocks, and Weights and Measures. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month. The final page is a list of legal holidays, and inside the back cover is a published full-year calendar for 1925. After the title page, there is one page for memoranda. Each journal page has space for three days' entries. There are no entries from February 1-10 and none after November 7. Loose papers included in the volume are a newspaper clipping of an article on rainfall and crop yields spanning twenty-three years and a single sheet used for calculations.

1925

The book measures 8 ¼" wide x 13 ¼" high. It was printed for F. E. Osborne, Books, Stationery and Office Supplies, Calgary, Alberta. The selling price was \$3.00. On the inside of the front cover, there are published full-year calendars for 1925 and 1926. The

first pages provide published information on War Taxes, Terms and Sittings of Courts, Postal Rates, Commercial Law, and important dates. This volume has a tear at the top of the spine. After the title page, there are two pages for memoranda from 1924. Each journal page has space for three days' entries. The first entry for the year is March 14; there are no entries after December 16. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month. Loose papers included in the volume are a letter from a legal firm to a farm employee; a blank Dominion of Canada Income Tax form for 1923, the back of which has been used accounting; a blank Scottish Canadian Assurance Corporation crop insurance claim form, the back of which has been used for calculations; and an ink blotter from Atlas Assurance Company Limited in Winnipeg.

1926

The book measures 6 ¾" wide x 8 ¼" high. It was printed for D. J Young & Co., Ltd., Stationery and Office Supplies, Calgary, Alberta. The selling price was \$3.25. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1926. The first pages provide published information on War Taxes, Terms and Sittings of Courts, Postal Rates, and important dates. After the title page, there is one page for memoranda from 1925. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. The first entry for the year is March 30; there are no entries after December 12. The last pages are accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month.

1927

The book measures 8 ¼" wide x 13 ¼" high. It was printed for F. E. Osborne, Books, Stationery and Office Supplies, Calgary, Alberta. The selling price was \$3.00. On the inside of the front cover, there are published full-year calendars for 1927 and 1928. The first pages provide published information on Agricultural Facts, Wage and Interest Tables, Terms and Sittings of Courts, Postal Rates, Commercial Law, and important dates. This volume has water damage to the lower back panel and rippling to the bottom one-third of the page in the last one-third of the volume. After the title page, there are two pages for memoranda from 1926. Each journal page has space for three days' entries. There are no entries until February 24. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month. Loose papers included in the volume are an advertisement for The General Accident Assurance Company of Canada, a typewritten election notice from the Municipal District of Carbon, and an ink blotter from West Printing Co., Limited Calgary.

1928

The book measures 8 ¼" wide x 13 ¼" high. It was published by The Brown Brothers, Limited, Manufacturing Stationers, Cor. Simcoe, Pearl and Adelaide Sts., Toronto. The selling price was \$3.00. On the inside of the front cover, there are published full-year calendars for 1928 and 1929. The first pages provide published information on Agricultural Facts, Wage and Interest Tables, Terms and Sittings of Courts, Postal Rates, Commercial Law, and important dates. After the title page, there are six pages for

memoranda from 1927. Each journal page has space for three days' entries. There are no entries for June 16-24, November 17-30, December 1-13, and December 21-31. The last pages are for cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month. Loose paper included in the volume is an ink blotter advertising hail insurance from Scottish Canadian Assurance Corporation agents Hornibrook, Whittemore & Allan, Calgary.

1929

The book measures 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " wide x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high. It was printed for The Willson Stationery Company, Limited, Winnipeg. The selling price was \$1.90. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1929. The first pages provide published information on Interest Tables, Terms and Sitzings of Courts, Postal Rates, Commercial Law, and important dates. After the title page, there are three pages for memoranda from 1928. Each journal page has space for two days' entries. There are no entries for January 1-6, February 15-22, and October 24-30. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month.

1930

The book measures 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " wide x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high. It identifies neither publisher nor bookseller. The selling price was \$1.90. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1930. The first pages provide published information on Interest Tables, Terms and Sitzings of Courts, Postal Rates, Commercial Law, and important dates. After the title page, there are three pages for memoranda from 1929. Each journal page has

space for two days' entries. There are no entries for June 8-15. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month.

1931

The book measures 5 ½" wide x 8 ¼" high. It was printed for West-Keith, Limited, Commercial Stationers and Printers, Calgary. The selling price is not shown. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1931. The first page provides published information on important dates. After the title page, there are two pages for memoranda from 1930. Each journal page has space for two days' entries. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers. Loose paper included in the volume is an ink blotter from The Yorkshire Insurance Company, Limited, Montreal.

1932

The book measures 5 ½" wide x 8 ¼" high. It was printed for West Stationery Company Limited, Commercial Stationers and Printers, Calgary. The selling price is not shown. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1932. The first page provides published information on important dates. After the title page, there are two pages for memoranda from 1931. Each journal page has space for two days' entries. There are no entries for January 1-18 and December 2-8. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid

columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers. Loose paper included in the volume is an ink blotter from The Motor Union Insurance Company, Limited, Toronto.

1933

The book measures 5 ½” wide x 8 ¼” high. It was published by The Brown Brothers, Limited, Manufacturing Stationers, Cor. Simcoe, Pearl and Adelaide Sts., Toronto. The selling price was \$1.60. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1933. The first page provides published information on important dates. After the title page, there are two pages for memoranda from 1932. Each journal page has space for two days’ entries. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers. Loose papers included in the volume are a delivery notice from The Alberta Pacific Grain Co., Ltd., the back of which has been used for calculations; a slip of paper used for calculations; and an ink blotter from Bowes “Seal Fast” Co. Ltd., Hamilton.

1934

The book measures 5 ½” wide x 8 ¼” high. It was printed for The T. Eaton Co. Limited, Canada. The selling price was \$1.65. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1934. The first page provides published information on important dates. After the title page, there is one page for memoranda from 1933. Each journal page has space for one day’s entry. There are no entries for June 5-9. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers.

1935

The book measures 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " wide x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high. It was printed for F. E. Osborne, Books, Stationery and Office Supplies, Calgary, Alberta. The selling price was \$1.60. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1935. The first pages provide published information on Interest Tables, Terms and Sittings of Courts, Postal Rates, and important dates. After the title page, there are four pages for memoranda from 1934. Each journal page has space for three days' entries. There are no entries for January 1-20, July 10-23, and August 2-12. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers for each month.

1936

The book measures 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high. It was printed for The Willson Stationery Company, Limited, Complete Office Outfitters. The selling price was \$1.85. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1936. The first page provides published information on important dates. After the title page, there is one page for memoranda from 1935. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. There are no entries for January 1-20. The last pages are for cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers. Loose papers included in the volume include a sheet indicating fees paid to doctors for Mary's 1935 broken arm (\$12) and for Laura's 1935 fractured skull (\$25); and an ink blotter from Reliance Insurance Company of Canada, Montreal.

1937

The book measures 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " wide x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high. It was printed for The T. Eaton Co. Limited, Canada. The selling price is unclear: either \$1.60 or \$2.10. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1937. The first page provides published information on Terms and Sittings of Courts, Postal Rates, and important dates. After the title page, there is one page for memoranda from 1936. Each journal page has space for three days' entries. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers.

1938

The book measures 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high. It was printed for F. E. Osborne, Books, Stationery and Office Supplies, Calgary, Alta. The selling price was \$1.50. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1938. The first pages provide published information on Weights and Measures, Interest Calculations, the Dominion of Canada, and important dates. After the title page, there is one page for memoranda from 1937. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers. The last page is published information on Terms and Sittings of Courts; on the inside of the back cover is a published full-year calendar for 1939.

1939

There are two books for 1939. The first of these measures 4" wide x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. It was printed for United States Fidelity and Guaranty Company. The selling price is not shown. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1939. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. The last pages are for memoranda. The last page is a published full-year calendar for 1938; on the inside of the back cover is a published full-year calendar for 1940. This book has entries ending March 26. The second volume measures 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " wide x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high. It identifies neither publisher nor bookseller. The selling price was \$2.00. After the title page, there are three pages for memoranda. Each journal page has space for two days' entries. The last pages are for memoranda.

1940

The book measures 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " high. It was printed for F. E. Osborne, Books, Stationery and Office Supplies, Calgary, Alta. The selling price was \$1.50. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1940. The first pages provide published information on Weights and Measures, Interest Calculations, the Dominion of Canada, Postal Rates, and important dates. After the title page, there is one page for memoranda from 1939. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. The last pages are for cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers. The last page is published information on Terms and Sittings of Courts; on the inside of the back cover is a published full-year

calendar for 1941. Loose paper included in the volume is an ink blotter from Chinook Engineering Corporation Ltd.

1941

The book measures 5 ½" wide x 8 ¼" high. It was published by The Brown Brothers, Limited, Manufacturing Stationers, 100 Simcoe Street, Toronto for Lewis Stationery Company, Calgary, Alta. The selling price was \$1.85. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1941. The first pages provide published information on Weights and Measures, Interest Calculations, the Dominion of Canada, Postal Rates, and important dates. After the title page, there is one page for memoranda from 1940. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. There are no entries after December 18. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers. The last two pages are published information on Wages, and Terms and Sittings of Courts; on the inside of the back cover is a published full-year calendar for 1942. Loose paper included in the volume is a copy of *The Budget* issued by Alberta Wheat Pool, November 15, 1941.

1942

The book measures 7" wide x 8 ½" high. It was published by The Brown Brothers, Limited, Manufacturing Stationers, 100 Simcoe Street, Toronto for The Willson Stationery Company Limited. The selling price is not shown. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1942. The first pages provide published information on Weights and Measures, Salaries and Interest Calculations, the Dominion

of Canada, Postal Rates, and important dates. There are three pages for memoranda from 1941. Each journal page has space for two days' entries. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers. The last two pages are published information on Commercial Law; on the inside of the back cover is a published full-year calendar for 1943.

1943

The book measures 7" wide x 8 ½" high. It was published by The Standard Diary Company, Cambridge, Mass. The selling price was \$3.20. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1943. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. The last pages are for memoranda; and cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns. The last page is published information on Public Holidays; on the inside of the back cover is a published full-year calendar for 1944.

1944

The book measures 7" wide x 8 ½" high. It was published by The Standard Diary Company, Cambridge, Mass. The selling price was \$2.25. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1944. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. The last pages are for memoranda; and cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns. The last page is published information on Public Holidays; on the inside of the back cover is a published full-year calendar for 1945.

1945-1950

These volumes are lost.

1951

The book measures 5 ½" wide x 8" high. It was published by The Standard Diary Company, Cambridge, Mass. The selling price was \$2.40. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1951. The back of the title page includes published information on Public Holidays listed by state. This is followed by pages for Addresses. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. There are no entries for May 22-June 19, June 21-July 27, August 15-September 12, and September 22-29. The last pages are for memoranda; and cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns. The last two pages are published information on Public Holidays (the remainder of the list from the beginning of the book) and Rates of Postage; on the inside of the back cover is a published full-year calendar for 1952.

1952

The book measures 4 ½" wide x 7" high. It was published by The Standard Diary Company, Cambridge, Mass. The selling price was \$1.80. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1952. The back of the title page includes published information on Public Holidays listed by state. This is followed by pages for Addresses. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. There are no entries for March 23-29, March 31-April 5, and December 7-20. The last pages are for memoranda; and cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns. The last two pages are published information on Public Holidays (the remainder of the

list from the beginning of the book) and Rates of Postage; on the inside of the back cover is a published full-year calendar for 1953.

1954

The book measures 5 ¼" wide x 8" high. It was published by The Standard Diary Company, Cambridge, Mass. The selling price was \$2.40. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1954. The back of the title page includes published information on Public Holidays listed by state. This is followed by pages for Addresses. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. The last pages are for memoranda; and cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns. The last two pages are published information on Public Holidays (the remainder of the list from the beginning of the book) and Rates of Postage; on the inside of the back cover is a published full-year calendar for 1955.

1955

The book measures 5 ½" wide x 8 ½" high. It was printed for F. E. Osborne, Books, Stationery and Office Supplies, Calgary, Alberta. The selling price was \$2.90. On the inside of the front cover, there is a published full-year calendar for 1955. The first pages provide published information on Weights and Measures, Interest Calculations, the government and population of Canada, Postal Rates, and important dates. There is one page for memoranda from 1954. Each journal page has space for one day's entry. There are no entries for March 22-30 and none after April 11. The last pages are for memoranda; cash accounts ledgers for each month with date, detail, received, and paid columns; and bills payable and receivable ledgers. The last two pages are published

information on Terms and Sitzings of Courts, and Wage Tables; on the inside of the back cover are published full-year calendars for 1954 and 1956.

Appendix B: Transcription of the A.C. Pierce Journal 1919

Monday, Dec. 30/18 [these two 1918 entries are on pages printed "Memorandum from 1918" which are at the front of the 1919 book.]

Crawley taken to Holy Cross Hospital last night in ambulance.
P'd Hospital \$25.75, for room for one week and \$10 for operating room.

Tuesday Dec. 31/18

Crawley operated on for appendicitis by Dr. Macnab at Holy Cross Hospital at 9 A.M.

January 1919

Wednesday, 1

Percy & I to see Crawley in hospital at noon.
Percy and Bess Hughes for dinner
McCarthy's called in evening.

Thursday, 2

Took Dell to see Sisley re neck
Crawley feeling better
Quite warm.

Friday, 3

P'd rent for Jan., water, rent and electric light.
Got Ford 1919 license. Saw Young re road at farm.
Took Dell to see Sisley re neck.
Quite warm.

Saturday 4

Bought White Sewing machine and paid \$55 cash.
Took Saunders to see Crawley.
Quite warm
Got \$85 cash refund from Hunt for harvester transmission.

Sunday, 5

All went to Van Orsdalls for dinner. took Henrietta.
Warm

Monday, 6

Del's neck better
Del took lesson on using sewing machine.
Bess Hughes here for chicken supper.

Tuesday, 7

Took Ida to Dr. Miller.
Del & Laura to Dr. Stockton.
Ground Ford valves in A.M.
Warm.

Wednesday, 8

Brought Crawley home from hospital in P.M.
Very warm.

Thursday, 9

Got leg veal from farmer.
Took Del to see Dr. Sisley ulcers.
Very fine warm day
Took Mrs. Dixon's sewing machine back in A.M.

Friday, 10

Rode around town in P.M.
Very warm

Saturday, 11

Del & I to Rotary Club minstrel show in P.M.
About 32 all day

Sunday, 12

Took Del, Laura, Baby and Mrs. Moore for ride.
Very warm

Monday, 13

Went to farm in A.M. via Beisecker. Arr. 2 P.M.

Tuesday, 14

Left farm 10 A.M. stopped Rockyford & home at 5 P.M.

Wednesday, 15

Went to station at 9 A.M. to go to Castor. Greene missed train.
Worked at Holt in P.M.
Warm

Thursday, 16

Left at 9 A.M. on C.P.R. with Greene to see Cat. at Castor.
Arr. Castor 5 P.M.
Warm

Friday, 17

Greene & I drove 12 mi east of Castor & examined 45 & 60 Cats.
Cold 5 above

Saturday, 18

Left Castor 7:45 A.M. Arr. Calgary 3:45 P.M.
Chinook in Calgary
Thermometer went up 26 in 5 minutes.

Sunday, 19

Grahams called in P.M.
Went out in Ford later.
Boil starting.
Very warm.

Monday, 20

Went to Holt Co. in A.M. Then Crawley & I looked at Press drills & gave order for three.
Down town with family in P.M.
Miss. Stanley here for supper.
Crawley took her to new case.
Warm.

Tuesday, 21

Felt pretty rotten with boil on cheek.
Down town in P.M. with Del & Laura
About 20 to 30

Wednesday, 22

Got \$100 cash & ordered coal in A.M. Saw Clarke of Tank Corps.
Del & I went to Orpheum in P.M.
Very warm.

Thursday, 23

Got groceries in P.M.
Warm.

Friday, 24

Made deal for seeders from Underwood of John Deere. To be \$300 cash and gave note for \$535 due in fall.
A little cool.

Saturday, 25

Saunders, Crawley & I worked on farm accounts all P.M. & at night.
Warm
All went with Stooke to see about phone line at farm.

Sunday, 26

Crawley & I put hot water pipes in stove in A.M. & then worked on farm accounts with Saunders.
Misses Hughes & Stanley here for dinner.
Felt mean all day.

Monday, 27

Spent the day with Saunders & in evening on farm books.
Crawley went to Kesters on morning train.

Warm

Tuesday, 28

Spent day at Holt
Saunders, Stuart & I went to see war pictures.
Mrs. Moore to Baths [?]
Down in evening to Holt & then took Saunders to his train for Spokane.
Warm.

Wednesday, 29

At Holt & buying wrenches in A.M.
Took Del to Dr. Sisley & to Union Iron in P.M.
A little cooler.

Thursday, 30

At Holt Co.
Warm

Friday, 31

At Holt Co.
Nolan engine unloaded in late P.M.
Warm

February 1919

Saturday, 1

Worked on Nolan engine
Ida & Del chased the chicken.
Colder

Sunday, 2

Miss. Hughes here for dinner.
Took all for a ride in P.M.
Pretty cold

Monday, 3

Worked on Nolan engine
Below 0 in A.M.

Tuesday, 4

On Nolan engine
Cold

Wednesday, 5

On Nolan engine
Took Del to Dr. Sisley
Cold

Thursday, 6

On Nolan engine
Cold in A.M.
Warmer in P.M.

Friday, 7

Worked on Nolan engine
Ralph Smith at shop.
Cold

Saturday, 8

Worked on Nolan engine
Went to see Calder & Young with Webber, Stooke, Norris. in P.M.
Webber & Smith out for supper.
Took them to train
Warmer

Sunday, 9

Worked on Ford in A.M.
Bess Hughes for dinner
Took Del & Laura to Perrys in P.M.
Very warm 52

Monday, 10

On Nolan engine.
Marion at shop in P.M.
Del & Laura came to shop to ride home.
Very warm.

Tuesday, 11

On Nolan engine
Went to Union Iron in P.M.
P'd Phone
Warm
Dr. Milne to see Mrs. Moore

Wednesday, 12

On Nolan engine all day.
Wrote Saunders
Took Del to Sisley
Warm. Snowed in A.M.

Thursday, 13

Worked on Nolan engine.
Phone petition from Hayman.
Dr. Milne to see Mrs. Moore
Loaned Perry \$20.
Got drum gas from 'Peg oil.
Warm.

Friday, 14

Worked on Nolan engine.
Sexton called re Irvine engine.
Stooke & Norris re 'phone line.
'Phoned Johnstone re " "
Del & Laura came home in Ford.
Warm.

Saturday, 15

Worked on Nolan engine
Jameson called re "
P.C. West called re track etc.
Frederick re job
Hair cut
Warm
Laura burned hand in cellar

Sunday, 16

McCarthy's here for dinner.
Took them home in evening.
Warm.

Monday, 17

On Nolan engine.
Several prospects to talk to.
Webber & Hayman at shop.
Warm

Tuesday, 18

Worked on Nolan engine
Del bought table.
Hired man.
Took Del to Sisley.
Ida had appendicitis attack.
Warm

Wednesday, 19

Worked on Nolan engine.
Wait started to work.
Bought groceries in A.M.
Perry getting out orders all day.
A little snow in evening
Warm.
Ida no better.

Thursday, 20

Worked on Nolan engine.
Put on track.
Considerable snow.
Took Ida to Miss Gorham's
Warm.

Friday, 21

Worked on Nolan engine.
Jameson at shop in P.M.
Laura got button in her nose
not cold

Saturday, 22

Worked on Nolan engine.
Had trouble starting Ford - went to Union Iron Works in A.M.
Pretty cold & a little snow.

Sunday, 23

Miss. Hughes for dinner.
Shoveled snow & cleaned house in A.M. Bath & shave
cold about 10 below in A.M.

Monday, 24

Worked on Nolan engine.
Hired Boyle & wife
Very cold in A.M. 10 below.
Phoned Dr. Humeston

Tuesday, 25

Worked on Nolan engine
Ford hard to start.
Took Del to Dr. Sisley & home.
Sold Dr. Norris 950 bu. wheat @ \$2.25 or .30
About 30 below in A.M.

Wednesday, 26

Worked on Nolan engine.
Very cold
20 below

Thursday, 27

On Nolan engine
- 20

Friday, 28

On Nolan engine.
Ran out of gas on way home.
-20

March 1919

Saturday, 1

Worked on Nolan engine
Still on bearings, crank shaft slightly sprung.
Got tickets for Greenwood in "So Long Letty."
Cold below zero all day

Sunday, 2

Got Dr. Stockton's scales to weigh Torrence. Wt. 12 3/4 lbs. 12 weeks old.
10 below in A.M.
0 at noon.

Monday, 3

On Nolan engine.

Very cold.

Kester at office.

Tuesday, 4

On Nolan engine

Very cold.

Had Kester at house for supper & took him to Hotel.

Wednesday, 5

On Nolan engine.

Gibson's friend in re rebuilt 60 Cat.

Saw Stookes

Chinook very mild.

Baby had spell of not wanting to eat. Threw up.

Thursday, 6

Worked on Nolan engine.

Mrs. Edwards 'phoned from Carbon.

De Bolt called re 45s in P.M.

Mrs. Moore to see Dr. & then to Holt in late P.M.

Very mild

Friday, 7

On Nolan engine

Talked to Dr. Gritman for some time in P.M. 75 & farming in general.

Mild

Saturday, 8

On Nolan engine.

Mrs. Moore & Yola to see "So Long Letty" with Charlotte Greenwood in P.M. Del & I at night.

Mild

Received box of fruit from Mamma.

Sunday, 9

Miss Hughes here for dinner.
Took long car ride in P.M.
Mrs. Perry had baby.
Pretty warm.

Monday, 10

On Nolan engine
Nolan & Jameson called.
Kreidler wrote re seed.
Very mild
Mrs. Moore home from Holt.

Tuesday, 11

On Nolan engine.
Made good time.
Warm in A.M. Blizzard started in P.M.
Took Del to Sisley then to Neilson's Furniture to see rugs.
Sisley's bill \$50.

Wednesday, 12

Worked on Nolan engine.
Saunders returned.
We all went to Peacock's for dinner in evening.
Very cold zero or below.

Thursday, 13

Saunders re Gramm [?] road
Cat. to be overhauled.
On Nolan engine.
Kester at office.
Very cold
At office on books of farm with Saunders in evening.

Friday, 14

Worked on Nolan engine.
Talked matters of farm & Holt with Saunders.
Peacock called at office.
Took milk to be tested.
A little warmer.

Saturday, 15

On Nolan engine
Met Dalmage at 3:45 & had him out for supper.
Worked on farm books with P.S.S. in evening.
Day warmer but cold at night.

Sunday, 16

Killed & cleaned chicken
Went to office & worked with P.S.S. 'till 2 P.M.
Home for dinner, P.S.S. & Hughes here.
P.S.S. & I fixed garage door in P.M.
" & " worked on farm books in evening

Monday, 17

Spent day getting ready to go to farm.
Saw Graham, Nolan, Union Iron etc.
Saw Livingstone re gas.

Tuesday, 18

Left on 7:15 for Rosebud with Waite & Roach. Bill met us. Went to Petters in P.M. Got
Seiwert's fanning mill.
Cold
Mrs. Edwards cooking

Wednesday, 19

Fixed up engine fanning mill frame etc.
Cold
Waite, Roach & Edwards

Thursday, 20

Hauled three granaries from Norris.

Worked around fanning mill.

Cold

Waite & Roach & Edwards on fanning mill

Friday, 21

Waite, Roach, Bill & I worked on fanning mill outfit. Did a little fanning at evening.

Warm

Waite & Roach & Edwards on fanning mill

Saturday, 22

Went to D'heller in A.M. in sled with Ralph Smith. No snow on river flat.

Met Eakin of Bank of Com.

Went to Calgary on P.M. train

Perry met me with Ford.

Waite & Roach fanning grain.

Sunday, 23

Oiled Ford, cleaned cellar etc & went to work on farm books with P.S.S. he came home for dinner.

Took folks for ride in P.M.

Warm

Monday, 24

Met P.S.S. and went for Fireco stoves, hardware & blacksmith supplies. Rod & bar iron.

Grain pickler. Paid rent, ordered rug & linoleum.

Warm.

Waite, Roach & Edwards fanning grain.

Tuesday, 25

Fanning grain. Didn't do much. Started truck & tried it out. Got coal at Seiwerds.

Crawley & young Kester arrived in P.M.

Waite, Roach & Edwards fanning

Wednesday, 26

Tried to go to Rosebud with truck. Ralph with me. Broke universide [?] & spent day at Hayman's repairing.

Waite, Roach, Edwards & Crawley fanning.

Hayman hauled all day.

Jess hauled one load.

Cold

Thursday, 27

Crawley, Waite & Roach & Edwards fanning.

Friday, 28

Ralph took me with team to Rosebud.

Crawley, Waite, Roach & Edwards fanning.

P'd freight etc. Sent checks to D'heller for deposit.

Arrived Calgary at night. Perry with me.

Saturday, 29

Saw about drills, carpets furniture, hardware etc.

Waite, Roach & Edwards fanning.

Sunday, 30

Send Lane [?] \$500

Put transmission bands in Ford at Holt. Percy out for dinner. Took Bess & family for ride. P.S.S. worked at house in P.M.

Monday, 31

Caught G.T.P. for Grainger.

Saw Evans, got \$2500 loan

Webber & others in Carbon.

Stayed at hotel.

Hired Mrs. Foster

April 1919

Tuesday, 1

Up at 5:30, breakfast at Mrs. Foster
Livery to Rockyford, then to Calgary.
Down town in P.M.
Ida called at night.

Wednesday, 2

Took chairs to C.N., had to take to Holt & crate. Nolan eng. fly wheel didn't run true.
Moved trunks etc. with Weaver. Then family to Alex Hotel.
At Holt in evening.

Thursday, 3

Left on 6:15 train for Rosebud. Had to wait in Rosebud 4 hrs. for Bill.
At farm at 4 P.M.
Nice warm day.

Friday, 4

Getting set in house etc.
Bill, Waite & Roach hauled in timothy hay.
Crawley on valves of Cat.
Warm during day. Started to rain at 5 P.M. turned to snow later.
Man in Dodge stopped for supper & over night.

Saturday, 5

Snowed most all day.
Worked in house

Sunday, 6

No snow but cloudy
Webber's here for stove

Monday, 7

Went to Webbers & to D'heller with Ab. [?] with big timbers.
Phoned Mrs. Foster, saw Eakin etc.
Stayed at hotel.
Warm sunshine

Tuesday, 8

Saw Eakin, 'phoned P.S.S.
other chores.
Left at 1 P.M. with Ab., coal etc.
Home at 6 P.M.
Took Laura up to corner for groceries etc.
P'd B. of Com. note for \$4000

Wednesday, 9

Bill to Rosebud, got Waite, express fr't & some drill parts.
Schnase got 100 bu. wheat.
Worked on putting channel irons under Cat.
A little warm & windy.

Thursday, 10

Crawley, Roach & I on channels of Cat.
Waite putting up blinds in house.
Edwards & Roach plowed [word unclear; looks like Irane] on road in P.M.
Warm & drying fast

Friday, 11

Awful wind & snow all day. Crawley & I [nurreascoed?] living room & kitchen.
Rest of crew did nothing.
Not very cold.

Saturday, 12

Stormy in forenoon, clear in P.M.
Crawley & Waite on Cat. in P.M.
Roach cleaning up boxes etc.
Mr. & Mrs. Edwards left in P.M.
Warm & clear by P.M.

Sunday, 13

Crawley & Waite worked on Cat some.
Del got dinner & supper.
Waite & Roach at Ralph's for supper.
Mrs. Foster & Jess arrived at 8 P.M.
Fine drying day.

Monday, 14

Crawley, Waite & I putting 9 tooth sprockets on Cat. in A.M.
Roach & Jess pulling [putting?] up hay corrals.
Jess & I to Seiwerts & Petters for fanning mill in P.M.
Crawley & Waite took granary out in evening.
Started to rain in evening.

Tuesday, 15

Crawley & Waite on truck rear X
Jess went to Davis' for butter.
Clear but chilly.
Phone man & team stayed over night.

Wednesday, 16

Crawley Waite & Roach repairing on discs, plows etc.

Jess rode to D'heller for mail etc.
" got Seiwert's fanning mill in evening.
Windy & drying

Thursday, 17

Crawley, Waite & Roach odd jobs around bldgs. took fanning mill to granary etc.
Jess & I to Rosebud for drills, groceries etc.
Very windy & drying fast.
Heard Nolans Cat. seeding.

Friday, 18

Waite, Roach & Ralph's man fanning wheat in E. granary. Crawley started them & then odd jobs.

Jess & I to Rosebud. Jess brought out four drums gas. Hayman had seeders on steel wagon behind little Hart - Parr. Home at 11 P.M.

Saw Nolan in Rosebud re oil.

Hot & windy, drying fast.

Saturday, 19

Waite, Roach & Ralph's man fanning in E. granary.

Crawley & I setting up seeders.

Jess to Davis' to see Hayman eng cross slough etc. in A.M.

Jess hauled screenings & manure etc. in P.M.

Cat. broke 9 tooth sprocket.

Warm & windy

Ralph & Sinclair hauled wheat.

Sunday, 20

Went to look over breaking with Crawley & Jess in truck.

Hauled screenings from granary.

Sinclair got wheat to finish his hauling.

Monday, 21

To D'heller with Jess with 4 horses. Got coal, groceries etc.

Went to Calgary on P.M. train

Crawley, Waite & Roach setting up drills etc.

Fine day.

Tuesday, 22

Bought desk, bed and 1000 other things

Got stuff at Holt Co. and left at 3:30 for farm. Arr. 8 P.M.

Crawley, Waite & Roach finished seeders etc.

Jess to Rosebud for cyl. oil & gas.

Wednesday, 23

Waite & Roach started pickling. Jess & I hauled out seeders etc. Crawley put on 9 tooth sprocket & hauled [Coonfair's?] shacks. Spent last of afternoon getting seeders & harrows in right [places?]. Drilled holes in irons for front circle wheel after supper. Windy but chilly.

Thursday, 24

Crawley & I started seeding at 9 A.M. Went fine made 70 acres. Jess hauling grain. Waite & Roach pickling. Went to D'heller at 4 P.M. Phoned P.S.S.

Friday, 25

Crawley & I seeding made 90 acres
Waite & Roach pickling.
Jess hauling.
Went to D'heller to met [sic] P.S.S. at 10:30 P.M.
Got formalin [?].
Fine but windy

Saturday, 26

Crawley & P.S.S. seeding.
Went to Rosebud in truck for W.B. oil
Waite, Roach & Jess pickling & hauling.
Eakin & Lawrence to see seeding outfit in P.M. & for supper.
Drove Seiwer's hogs on Jess' horse.
Fine hot day

Sunday, 27

Seeding from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. 70 acres
Roach hauled grain in A.M.
Crawley & I on seeders all day
P.S.S., Waite & Jess on job in P.M.

Monday, 28

Crawley & Waite seeding all day
Jess & Roach pickling & hauling.
Took P.S.S. to D'heller in truck in A.M. & brought back 2 drums gas.
To Beatty's to see horses.
To Holland mine to get formalin.
Clarke got 50 bu. wheat.
Fine & warm.

Tuesday, 29

Crawley & Waite seeding.
Jess & Roach pickling.
Shower at noon & rain at 3 P.M. stopped seeding for day.
Did odd jobs most all day.
Clarke got 50 bu. wheat by measure.

Wednesday, 30

Crawley & Waite seeding
Jess & Roach pickling.
Hayman got 85 bu. wheat
Went to Rosebud in truck for gas in P.M.
Smith got 25 bu. wheat from Norris bin

May 1919

Thursday, 1

Crawley & Waite seeding
Jess & Roach pickling.
Finished granary & moved to screenings at shop.
To D'heller in A.M., meat etc.
nearly finished seeding breaking.
Ralph Smith got 40 bu. wheat for Norris in evening.

Friday, 2

Snowing in morning and stormed all day.
Snow drifted over fence posts.
Road graders brought horses to barn.

Saturday, 3

Snowed & stormed all day
Some blizzard.

Sunday, 4

Fine bright day warm.
Took pictures of snow banks over top of fence posts.
Crawley brought in Cat.

Monday, 5 [there are two sheets of land grids to show locations tucked between these pages; ACP has pencilled in the names of surrounding owners]

Storming in A.M. but fine in P.M.
Put on Muresco [?].
Men cleaned cellar and hen house.

Tuesday, 6

Jess made trip to D'heller for coal
Crawley, Waite & Roach odd jobs
I painted in house.

Wednesday, 7

Fanned screenings & odd jobs by all.
Wrote Mother & Dougan.
Warm.

Thursday, 8

Jess to Rosebud for lumber. Roads awful.
Crawley, Waite & Roach put land sides on plows & 7 tooth sprockets on Cat.
Worked on truck carburetor [sic] etc.
Warm.
Andrus came out with Jess.

Friday, 9

Crawley, Waite & Andrus put floor etc in Garage.
Jess to Rosebud for desk etc.
Roach went to Calgary.
Warm.

Saturday, 10

Everybody on odd jobs of carpentry plows etc etc.
Mrs. Andrus here & they both went to Rosebud in P.M.
Roach in Calgary.

Sunday, 11

[no entry]

Monday, 12

Crawley, Waite & I tried to break
Had to stop too wet.
Staked out & dug post holes on south side of new breaking.
Jess to town for posts.
Roach back in evening with Jess.

Tuesday, 13

Crawley & Waite breaking.
Roach & I dug post holes in A.M.
" took down fence in P.M.
Jess to Rosebud for post.
To D'heller in P.M. with Ralph & Mrs. Foster.

Wednesday, 14

Crawley & Waite breaking.
Roach tearing down & repairing fence.
Jess to Rosebud for gas.
In house with cold in A.M.
Did a little in P.M.

Thursday, 15

Crawley & Andrus breaking.
Waite & Roach tearing down fence.
Jess rode to see about hay in A.M.
" on fence in P.M.
To D'heller with Ralph in P.M.

Friday, 16

Crawley & Andrus breaking

" " seeding finished breaking & tried summer-fallow.

Jess hauled flax & seed wheat.

Waite & Roach on fence etc.

To Carbon with Mrs. Foster.

At Best's camp for dinner.

Phoned Saunders & hired Minor.

Saturday, 17

Rain in A.M. very wet.

Crawley & Andrus on odd jobs.

Jess hauled screenings out of granary in P.M.

Paid off Waite & Roach & took them to D'heller in P.M.

Roads bad.

Sunday, 18

Went over to see Mrs. Edwards.

Del, Laura, Mrs. Moore, baby & Jess.

Windy & warm.

Monday, 19

Minor started to work.

Finished seeding wheat on S.-F.

Plowed a little in evening.

Crawley, Andrus, Minor & Jess working.

To D'heller to meet late train and get Cat. cyl. by express

Tuesday, 20

Crawley & Andrus put new cyl. on Cat. and plowed a little before noon.

Minor & Seiwert's man ran outfit on P.M. shift

Jess away for hay.

Very warm

To D'heller in P.M.

Wednesday, 21

Crawley & Andrus in A.M.
Miner & Seiwert's man in P.M.
Jess hauling hay.
To D'heller in P.M.

Thursday, 22

Crawley & Andrus in A.M.
Miner & Seiwert's man in P.M.
Jess hauled hay.
To Calgary with Mrs. Moore & put her on train for Toronto.
Saw Mrs. [Graham?] at Golf Club.

Friday, 23

Crawley & Andrus in A.M.
Miner & Crawley in P.M.
Jess to D'heller for coal & fr't.
Out to farm in evening with Saunders & McMillan, stopped at Best's, Rockyford & Rudd's.
Brought out Allen

Saturday, 24

Crawley & Andrus in A.M.
Miner & Allen in P.M.
Jess odd jobs.
To D'heller with truck for gas with McMillan
Had to go to Rosedale.
Saunders, Crawley & Mrs. in Ford.
Had trouble on hill with 4 drums.
Mrs. Andrus in car for Andrus

Sunday, 25

Crawley took Saunders & McMillan to Rosebud & then to Kesters.
I fixed truck etc.

Monday, 26

Crawley & Andrus breaking.

Miner & Allen "

Jess & I driving posts in A.M.

Jess harrowing in P.M.

Crawley, Mrs. & I to D'heller in truck & Ford. Got 2 drums & groceries.

Bill arrived in P.M.

Tuesday, 27

Crawley & Andrus breaking in A.M.

Miner & Allen in P.M.

Finished breaking & started on stubble for oats.

Broke rear X in P.M. & Crawley started for Calgary at 6 P.M.

Hauled gas in truck. Andrus hauled 5 drums in their truck in P.M.

Bill seeding wheat.

Jess harrowing

Wednesday, 28

Went to D'heller in A.M. & 'phoned Crawley at Calgary.

Brought out 40 bu. oats in truck.

Jess to D'heller for oats & cow.

Miner, Andrus & Allen repairing Cat.

Bill Edwards finished wheat.

Raining in evening.

Warm.

Thursday, 29

Crawley & Andrus had Cat. running a little before noon.

Miner & Allen in P.M.

Jess D'heller for 128 bu. oats in P.M.

Put truck on Bill's drill & he finally seeded a little in P.M.

To D'heller in Ford in P.M. Phoned Mann & paid for oats.

Raining in evening.

Friday, 30

Raining in A.M.

Bill Edwards went home with 4 horses.

Crawley & Miner on Ford etc.

Andrus & Allen sharpened posts.

Jess took Hoey's wagon tank home.

Cold

Saturday, 31

A little snow in A.M.

Crawley, Miner, Andrus & Allen on Ford and truck.

Jess & Allen hauled manure in P.M.

Andrus & I to D'heller in P.M.

3 men for dinner stuck in mud.

Pulled them out & brought their car here.

Snow flurries all day.

June 1919

Sunday, 1

Put in kitchen sink.

Crawley, Jess, Miner & Andrus went to Bill's in P.M.

Monday, 2

Everybody on fence building all day. Crawley, Miner, Jess, Andrus & Allen.
To D'heller in late P.M. for post hole diggers.

Tuesday, 3

Miner & Allen plowing

Crawley & Andrus dug mile post holes.

Jess seeding grass & oats.

To D'heller in A.M. to see Dr. re kids.

" " " P.M. for wire.

Wednesday, 4

Crawley & Andrus plowing
Miner & Allen "
Jess finished timothy & started behind plows.
Went to Webbers to cut brace posts in A.M.
Odd jobs around shop in P.M.
Dr. Gibson here in A.M.
Mrs. Andrus & friend here
Fine warm day.

Thursday, 5

Crawley & Andrus plowing in A.M.
Miner & Allen " " P.M.
Jess seeding oats.
Crawley & I to D'heller in P.M. for oils
Had hard time getting up hill.

Friday, 6

Crawley & Andrus plowing in A.M.
Miner & Allen " " P.M.
Rained & stopped plowing at 4 P.M.
Jess seeding oats.
Went to Drumheller at night for Miss. Hughes. Pretty slippery.

Saturday, 7

Crawley & Andrus taking up bearings in A.M.
Miner & Allen to D'heller in A.M. back at 2 P.M. & then plowing.
Jess to D'heller for coal, not to be had so got 12 spools wire.
To town with family in P.M.

Sunday, 8

Got Mrs. Edwards & brought her here.

Monday, 9

Went to Calgary in A.M. with family & Miss. Hughes.
Crawley, Andrus, Miner Allen & Jess working.
Hail storm in late P.M.

Tuesday, 10

Left Calgary & arrived home at 9 P.M.

Dr. Gibson arrived soon after & baby at 12:10 A.M. the 11th/19.

Crawley, Miner, Andrus, Allen & Jess fencing.

Fulton & friends stuck in mud.

Wednesday, 11

To D'heller in A.M. & brought out Miss. McKinnon to nurse.

Crew fencing in A.M.

Crawley & Andrus started breaking on S.E 1/4 - 16 in P.M.

Rest started fencing in P.M.

Took Bill & Mrs. Foster to Bills & Carbon & home in P.M.

Thursday, 12

Miner & Allen breaking SE 16

Crawley, Anders & Jess fencing.

Bill & I putting in spuds.

Fine day.

Friday, 13

Miner & Allen disced on oats ground on 15 in A.M.

Seeding oats in P.M.

Miner, Crawley, Anders, Allen Jess & Bill on job.

To D'heller in P.M. Saw Eakin.

Saturday, 14

Finished seeding oats on 15

To D'heller in P.M. with Webber to see Eakin. 2 notes for \$2000 each.

\$10 an acre hail Ins.

Andrus paid off in evening.

Fine warm day.

Sunday, 15

Went to visit Pecks in P.M.

Monday, 16

Miner & Allen breaking on SE 16
Crawley & Jess hauling seeders & odd jobs.
To Calgary in P.M.
Rain shower.
Warm.
Phoned Dr. Gibson.
Crawley to Rosebud in P.M.

Tuesday, 17

Miner & Allen breaking.
Crawley odd jobs.
Jess hauled wheat to D'heller.
Warm.
P'd C.P.R. \$2000.00

Wednesday, 18

Miner & Allen breaking.
Jess hauled wheat to Rosebud.
Crawley to D'heller in P.M.
Home from Calgary in P.M.
Hot.

Thursday, 19

Miner & Allen breaking on 16
Crawley odd jobs, for coal, fence etc.
Jess hauled wheat to Hunters.
To D'heller in A.M. re wheat, Terence etc.
" " " P.M. for transit.
Hot.

Friday, 20

Miner & Allen breaking on 16
Crawley on fence all day. Humeston & man with him.
Jess to D'heller with 90 bu. wheat to Hunter. Elliott home with him.
Phone men for night.
Rain in evening.
Staked road with Ramsey.
Very hot.

Saturday, 21

Miner & Allen breaking.
Crawley & Elliott on fence in A.M.
Humeston & man " " " A.M.
Elliott on fence in P.M.
Crawley in truck for gas.
Took Miss. McKinnon to town in P.M.
Very hot.
Little shower in P.M.

Sunday, 22

Harbours & Dr. Jones & Mrs. Jones here in A.M. & took Elliott home with them

Monday, 23

To D'heller in A.M.
Crawley & Kuhn breaking in A.M.
Miner & Dan " " P.M.
To Calgary in P.M.
Jess hauled gas from Rosebud
Hot.

Tuesday, 24

Working on plows in Calgary.
Crawley & Dan breaking
Miner & Kuhn "
Jess wheat to Hunter D'heller
Hot

Wednesday, 25

Finished plows & saw Munson of Nat. Elev. Co.
Crawley & Dan breaking
Miner & Kuhn "
Broke rear shaft in P.M.
Hot.
Jess to D'heller with wheat
Brought Pollock out from Calgary.

Thursday, 26

Crawley, Miner & Dan on Cat.
Grinding valves etc.
Pollock & Emil hauling post manure etc. Jess odd jobs.
To D'heller with Bill & Kuhn in A.M.
To Rosebud in P.M.
To D'heller at night for shaft.
Hot.

Friday, 27

Crawley, Miner & Allen finished Cat. in A.M.
Miner & Kuhn plowed a little in P.M.
Jess to D'heller for manure spreader
Pollock odd jobs.
Hunter paid for grain \$798.80
Wires from Lanigan & Kappil

Saturday, 28

Crawley & Allen breaking
Miner & Lanigan changed to stubble bottoms & plowed summer-fallow in P.M.
Jess, Kuhn & Sidney hauling manure all day.
Got Lanigan off train in A.M. at Drumheller.

Sunday, 29

Home all day, wrote letters

Monday, 30

Crawley & Allen plowing N 1/2 16
Miner & Lanigan " "
Jess, Kuhn & Sidney hauling manure.
To D'heller in A.M. & again in P.M. with family.
Kappel came out in car.

July 1919

Tuesday, 1

Crawley & Allen plowing
Miner & Lanigan "
Kuhn, Sidney & Kappel hauling stack bottoms.
Jess to Rosebud for gas & oil
To Webbers & to Knee Hill Creek about road to C.P.R. etc
Cool.
Little shower before noon.

Wednesday, 2

Crawley & Allen plowing in A.M.
Miner & Lanigan " " P.M.
Jess to Rosebud for gas.
Kuhn, Kappel & Sidney hauling stack bottoms.
Good shower at 6 A.M.
To D'heller in P.M.

Thursday, 3

Crawley & Allen plowing
Miner & Lanigan "
Kuhn, Kappel & Sidney hauling stack bottoms.
Jess to D'heller with wheat & for oil.
To D'heller in A.M. got truck spring.
To Rosebud with Crawley in P.M. in truck for "B."

Friday, 4

Crawley & Allen plowing in A.M.
Miner & Lanigan " " P.M.
Jess & Kuhn & Sidney hauling manure.
Crawley, Allen, Kappel & I to Calgary in P.M.
Hot.

Saturday, 5

Miner & Lanigan plowing.
Jess & Sidney to Rosebud for gas.
Kuhn went home.
Rest of us at Fair.
Hot.

Sunday, 6

Returned to farm, leaving Kappel at Harry Best's.
Home at 1:30 P.M.

Monday, 7

Crawley & Allen plowing in A.M.
Miner & Lanigan " " P.M.
Jess & Sidney on roads in A.M.
" " " " P.M.
To D'heller in A.M. got Ford spring & put it in.
Jess, Mrs. F. Jane, & family to Carbon then Edwards home in P.M.
Jane rode home - got lost.

Tuesday, 8

Crawley & Allen plowing in A.M.
Miner & Lanigan " " P.M.
Jess on road with four horses.
Sidney grinding oats.
Fixed Ford back wheels etc.
Hot & smoky in P.M.

Wednesday, 9

Crawley & Allen plowing in A.M.
Miner & Lanigan " " P.M.
Jess on road with 4 horses
Sidney odd jobs
Hot.

Thursday, 10

Crawley & Allen plowing in A.M.
Finished summer-fallow in A.M.
Started fixing radiator, cleaning pistons, putting [?] on new 1st Mot. chains etc.
Miner & Lanigan & Sidney on this.
Jess on roads 4 horses.
Phoned Kimmer [?] in P.M. & got wrong sprocket on night train.
Hot. Phoned Stewart.

Friday, 11

Crawley & Allen repairing Cat. in A.M.
Miner & Lanigan breaking in P.M.
Jess on roads.
Sidney odd jobs.
Bill here for oats.
To Rosebud with Elliott's trunk.
Ordered 3 McCormick's.
Hot.

Saturday, 12

Crawley & Allen breaking S.E. 16
Went to Bill Edwards quarter.
Found friction arm broken.
Paid off Miner & took him to D'heller in P.M. Phoned re broken part. Crawley down to meet train at night. Didn't come.
Rain at supper.

Sunday, 13

Went to Calgary at 11 A.M. for friction arm.
Home at 8:30 P.M.

Monday, 14

Crawley, Lanigan & Allen repairing Cat. in A.M.
Crawley & Lanigan breaking in P.M.
Jess & Sidney hauling manure
Allen cutting weeds in P.M.
To D'heller in P.M.
Warm

Tuesday, 15

Crawley & Lanigan breaking 16
Jess, Allen & Sidney hauling manure
Thompson of Spring Coulee here re oats straw.
Very hot.

Wednesday, 16

Crawley & Lanigan breaking 16
Jess, Allen & Sidney manure.
To D'heller in A.M. for oil in truck.
Had truck clutch apart to oil in P.M.
Paid \$2000 note & gave new one for \$900 due Nov. 1st
Very hot wind

Thursday, 17

Crawley & Lanigan breaking in P.M.
Very cold in A.M. & a little rain.
All around shop odd jobs. Trucks etc.
Jess, Allen & Sidney hauled manure.
To Webbers in truck with Allen in P.M. for plow.

Friday, 18

Crawley & Lanigan finished breaking.
Jess plowing & working potato patch
Sidney hoeing potatoes
Dan on road work.
To D'heller in P.M. & to Rosebud at night for P.S.S.
Cool.

Saturday, 19

Crawley & Lanigan on hauling granaries back to Dr. Norris.
Allen on road work.
Jess to Rosebud for distillate
Sidney on garden.
P.S. & I to Gatine's & looking at crop in A.M.
" " & family to Harbour's in P.M.

Sunday, 20

[no entry]

Monday, 21

Crawley & Lanigan fixing discs in A.M. & discing breaking on 15 in P.M.
Jess to D'heller for coal.
Dan on road work.
Sidney on garden.
To Rosebud in A.M. with Saunders.
Brought out Hersey. Hospital vote.
To D'heller in P.M.
Very hot.

Tuesday, 22

Crawley & Lanigan discing in A.M.
Lanigan & Allen " " P.M.
Allen on fence in A.M.
Jess working for Bill.
Sidney odd jobs.
Crawley & I to Calgary in P.M.

Wednesday, 23

Lanigan & Allen discing.
Jess working for Bill.
Sidney odd jobs.
Crawley & I in Calgary

Thursday, 24

Lanigan & Allen discing.
Jess working for Bill.
Sidney odd jobs.
Crawley & I left Calgary in A.M.
Crowfoot for lunch, to see 75 Cat. then Hussar, Standard for supper, Rosebud & home at 9 P.M.
Hot.

Friday, 25

Lanigan & Allen discing
Crawley in shop
Sidney helper.
Rain in A.M. & P.M. Light.
To D'heller in A.M.
Showers

Saturday, 26

Crawley, Lanigan & Allen putting new bolts in Cat. track.
Sidney odd jobs.
Jess laid up with bone felon. to D'heller to see Dr. in P.M.
Showers

Sunday, 27

Edwards family here.

Monday, 28

Crawley, Lanigan & Allen finished repairing Cat. in A.M.
Crawley & Lanigan discing in P.M.
Allen running welder in P.M.
Jess & I to D'heller to Dr. & cultivator in A.M.
" & " " Rosebud for timbers in P.M.

Tuesday, 29

Crawley & Lanigan discing.
Finished 15 & moved to S.E. 16 in evening.
Jess & Allen to Rosebud for binder & gas.
To Rosebud in truck for gas.
Sidney cutting weeds.
Hot

Wednesday, 30

Crawley & Lanigan discing 16.
Allen & Jess brought out binders.
Brought out timbers & wagon from Rosebud with truck.
Entire crew & family to D'heller in late P.M. to Sports.
Cool.

Thursday, 31

Crawley & Lanigan discing.
Jess & Allen building fence.
Sidney rolling wire etc.
To Rosebud in truck for oil, canvasses [sic] etc. Also Coonfair's fly wheel.
To Carbon in P.M. with Mrs. Foster & family.
Terrence left for home at night.
Fog in A.M., then hot.

August 1919

Friday, 1

Crawley & I discing.
Jess, Allen & Sidney on fence.
To Coonfairs in P.M.
Hot.

Saturday, 2

Rain in A.M.
Crawley, Jess & Allen hauling manure from chicken house in A.M.
Crawley & Sidney going over binders in P.M.
Jess & Allen hauling rock for road.
To D'heller in P.M.

Sunday, 3

Crawley & Jess to Edwardses & over Pope lease.
Del & I to call on Andersons.
Rain in evening.

Monday, 4

Raid [rained] during night & hard rain in A.M. Ground soaked.
Everyone odd jobs around shop.

Tuesday, 5

Very wet from Mon. rain
All men on odd jobs.
Rode over Sec. 14 in A.M.
To D'heller in P.M.

Wednesday, 6

To Calgary in A.M. with Anderson Bros.
Saw McFarland of A.P. Co.
At Empress Hotel

Thursday, 7

Left Calgary at 4 P.M.
Broke down E of Beisecker & spent night there.

Friday, 8

Got differential fixed and came home in P.M.
Got Koonfair girl in evening

Saturday, 9

Crawley & Allen finished discing S.E. 16 2nd time.
Jess & Sidney brought wagons from Rosebud & lumber
To Rosebud in truck in A.M.
" D'heller in late P.M.
Hot

Sunday, 10

To Rileys & Coonefares.
Cool.

Monday, 11

Crawley & Allen discing
Jess tanking for Coonefare
Sidney odd jobs
To D'heller in A.M.
To Rosebud in P.M.
To " at night for Kane
Hot

Tuesday, 12

Crawley discing
Allen tanking Coonefare
Jess for coal Pattersons P.M.
Sidney odd jobs.
Repairing truck & to Rosebud in evening for twine & Kanes trunk.
Sold straw for \$1250
Stooke here in P.M.
Hot

Wednesday, 13

Crawley & Kane repairing hitch in A.M. & started discing summer-fallow in P.M.
Allen did odd jobs in A.M. to D'heller in P.M.
Sidney tanking for Coonefare
Jess to D'heller with wheat.
Cool.
Drew \$300 for Mrs. A.C.P.

Thursday, 14

Crawley & Kane discing S.-F.
Jess & Dan for coal
Dan to Edwards in evening.
Sidney odd jobs.
Took Mrs. P & Miss. Coonefare to Calgary & they left for Chau. at 8:30 P.M. on fast train.

Friday, 15

Crawley & Kane discing S.-F.
Jess & Sidney took cow to Wilson.
In Calgary.

Saturday, 16

Crawley & Kane discing.
Jess to Rosebud for distillate
Sidney odd jobs.
Home from Calgary at 10 P.M.

Sunday, 17

Put transmission lining in Ford & truck brakes

Monday, 18

Crawley & Kane finished discing S.-F. & started to change shafts for cutting.
Jess to Rosebud for gas.
Sidney & I on truck, binders etc.
To Rosebud in late P.M. for gas.

Tuesday, 19

Crawley & Kane changed to 2 speed propeller.
Jess to Rosebud for gas.
Sidney & I on binder hitches.
To Rosebud at night for Crummer's brother-in-law.

Wednesday, 20

Crawley, Kane, Sidney & I on binder work.
Made one round in wheat in P.M.
To D'heller in A.M. with Forester of Gen. Motors & gave order for truck.
Jess to Rosebud for distillate

Thursday, 21

Crawley, Kane, Jess, Sidney & I cutting, made about 75 acres. 70 acres.
Cool windy.

Friday, 22

Crawley, Kane, Jess & I cutting. 85 acres
Sidney cooking.
Mrs. Foster sick but around a little.

Saturday, 23

Crawley, Kane, Jess & Sidney cutting.
To D'heller in A.M.
To Smith's for 7 gal "B" in P.M.
" Rosebud for P.S.S. at night.
Phone put in in A.M.

Sunday, 24

Crawley, Kane, Jess, Sidney, P.S. & I cutting.
Took Jess to Bill's for binder in A.M. nearly finished first half-section.

Monday, 25

Crawley, Kane, Sidney & I cutting.
Rutledge on binder in P.M.
Finished E 1/2 at 10 A.M.
Took Saunders to Rosebud in truck & brought out "B" & black oil.
Jess cutting horse binder in P.M.

Tuesday, 26

Crawley, Kane, Sidney & I on binders.
Jess cutting with horse binder
Broke 2 bundle carriers at noon.

Wednesday, 27

Crawley, Kane, Sidney & I cutting.
Jess cutting horse binder.

Thursday, 28

Crawley, Kane, Sidney & I cutting
Jess cutting with horse binder
Rutledge on binder in A.M.

Friday, 29

Crawley, Kane, Sidney & I cutting.
Finished section at 3 [?] P.M.
Jess cutting with horse binder

Saturday, 30

Crawley repairing radiator etc.
Kane " binders etc.
Jess & Sidney hauling oats from bin.

Sunday, 31

[no entry]

September 1919

Monday, 1

Crawley & Kane tightening track etc.
Sidney stooking corners
Dan stooking oats & corners
Jess boil on knee
Crawley & I to Calgary in P.M.

Tuesday, 2

Crawley & I home at 7 P.M.
Jess laid up with boil.
Joe work on Cat.
Sidney odd jobs, pulling weeds etc.
Cold

Wednesday, 3

Started cutting summer-fallow wheat in forenoon.
Crawley, Kane, Sidney & I
Jess cutting oats with horse binder.

Thursday, 4

Crawley, Kane, Sidney & I cutting.
Rutledge one round in A.M. & 2 in P.M.
Finished summer-fallow wheat shortly after dinner & then finished S-F oats in late P.M.
Jess cutting with horses on oats in A.M. & corners of wheat in P.M.
Rain at night.

Friday, 5

Rain all day.

Crawley & Kane in shop on parts for Cat trucks.

Others in bunk house

Saturday, 6

Clear & windy

Crawley & Kane in shop all day.

Sidney odd jobs.

Jess went home in A.M.

To D'heller in late P.M.

Mr. Alexander broke his Ford and here over night.

Sunday, 7

[no entry]

Monday, 8

Kane & Crawley ground valves etc. on Cat.

Sidney to Rosebud for timbers.

To Rosebud in P.M. in Ford.

Cloudy most of day.

Tuesday, 9

Crawley, Kane & I putting skids under granary & moving it to section.

Sidney & Rutledge hauling oats from granary to shop.

Paid off Dan & took him to Rosebud.

Fine hot day.

Wednesday, 10

Crawley, Kane & I building feed rack & hauling granary out of summer-fallow.

Sidney & Rutledge hauling [stas?] & green feed.

Engineer party camped in yard.

Fixed binder broken on road.

Forester here few minutes.

Thursday, 11

Crawley & Kane building feed rack.

Sidney & Rutledge pulling weeds & getting manure spreader at Stookes.

Cloudy

To D'heller in A.M.

Friday, 12

Crawley, Kane & I putting skids under granary in yard & finishing feed rack.

Sidney & Rutledge hauling out stack bottom.

Started to rain about 4 P.M. and still at it at bed time.

Saturday, 13

Crawley & Kane to Rosebud & Calgary.

Rutledge drove them to Rosebud & brought out lumber etc.

Sidney & Rutledge odd jobs in P.M.

Andrus did a little with me on granary skids in P.M. 1/4 day.

Fine drying day.

Sunday, 14

To Pecks with engine parts Teschler left here.

Fine warm day.

Monday, 15

Crawley & Kane at Calgary building truck body.

Ernie, Rutledge & Sidney going over stooking on section.

To D'heller in P.M. with Mrs. Foster.

Tuesday, 16

Crawley & Kane at Calgary.

Ernie & Rutledge going over stooking on section in A.M. Restooking oats in P.M.

Sidney on section all day.

Heavy rain at 4 P.M.

Ralph here re iron for Titan break.

Harkins in car re word from Snell about truck.

Wednesday, 17

Crawley & Kane on truck body Calgary.

Rutledge did nothing in A.M.

" to Calgary " P.M.

Ernie did nothing in A.M.

" 2 Engrs. & I restocked oats in P.M.

Sidney odd jobs & stooking.

Thursday, 18

Crawley & Kane on truck body Calgary.

Ernie stooking all day.

Sidney stooking in P.M. odd jobs A.M.

2 Engrs. " " "

Very fine drying day.

Stooke here for dinner.

To Drum. in A.M. saw Eakin re truck

Friday, 19

Crawley & Kane in Calgary

Ernie [stooking in A.M.?]

Went to Calgary in P.M. Caught in rain to Beisecker. Then dry.

Sidney to Rosebud for gas & oil

Rain

Saturday, 20

Crawley & Kane in Calgary

Ernie & Sidney stooking.

Got truck & gave Snell Motors check for \$1649.40. Put on body.

Fine day

Sunday, 21

Truck left Calgary 7:15 A.M. Arr. farm 1:45 P.M.

Kane, Rutledge & I came out

Perfect day

Monday, 22

Crawley & Kane odd jobs getting ready to thresh.
Ernie, Bud & Sidney restocking.
To Drum. in A.M. & gave Bank of Comm. note for \$2000.00
Perfect day.

Tuesday, 23

Crawley, Kane, Sidney & Bud cutting.
Made 2 rounds in A.M.
Ernie & Alec stooking by acre.
To Drum. in A.M.
Perfect day

Wednesday, 24

Crawley, Kane, Sidney & Bud cutting oats.
Ernie & Alec stooking.
Making tongues for eng. hitch in A.M.
To Drum. in P.M. with truck & got elevator.
Perfect day.

Thursday, 25

Crawley, Kane, Sidney, & Bud finished cutting oats at 10 A.M.
Put rods in granary & hauled it to section in P.M.
Got tanks from Stooke.
Fine day, cold wind in evening

Friday, 26

Crawley & Kane odd jobs, truck, cook table, elevator etc.
Bud & Sidney cutting oat corners & got tanks at Andersons.
Very cold wind all day.
" " at night.
Ernie at Seiwerts.
To Drum. in A.M. with Mrs. Foster.
Got dishes etc.

Saturday, 27

Crawley & Kane on elevator & odd jobs
Sidney & Bud on elevator etc.
To Drum. in A.M.
Very cold

Sunday, 28

Crawley, Kane & I on elevator all day
Crawley to Drum to move car loader to Monarch in late P.M.
Very cold.

Monday, 29

Stooke started threshing 10 A.M.
Crawley, Kane, Ernie, Bud & Sidney on job all day.
Truck 84 bu. to Drum. A.P. Elev.
Up 'till 1 A.M. with sick cow

Tuesday, 30

Stooke threshing
Crawley, Kane, Ernie, Sidney & Bud on job.
Crawley & Joe to Rosebud in truck for lumber for granary.
To Drum. with Johnson for Vet.
Back with Vet at night
Perfect day.

October 1919

Wednesday, 1

Stooke threshing 'till 3 P.M. then moved home.
Crawley hauling lumber from Rosebud for granaries.
Kane, Ernie, Sidney & Bud on job.
Perfect day.

Thursday, 2

Crawley, Kane & Ernie building granaries all day.
Bud & Sidney hauling stuff from granary in A.M. Building granary in P.M.
To Drum. in A.M.
Cold raw wind.

Friday, 3

Crawley hauling lumber from Rosebud
Made 2 trips.
Kane, Ernie, Bud & Sidney on granaries all day.
2 Carpenters from 4 to 7 P.M.
Perfect day.

Saturday, 4

Crawley hauled lumber in A.M.
" on granaries " P.M.
Kane, Ernie, & Sidney on granaries all day.
To Drum. in A.M., Mrs. Foster left in P.M. Got Mrs. Landles in P.M.
2 Carpenters all day.
To Drum. at night for rods by express & 4X4's

Sunday, 5

2 Carpenters in A.M. granaries
Ernie & Pierce " A.M. "
Stooke, Bill & Jess, & Andersons here during day.

Monday, 6

Crawley on granaries in A.M.
" to Rosebud for gas in P.M.
Kane, & Ernie on granaries all day.
Sidney on granaries & digging spuds.
To Drum. in A.M. Made complaint on Johnson's hogs.
Stookes men quit.

Tuesday, 7

Crawley hauled 3 truck loads of wheat to car.
Ernie at car
Kane moving granary & wagons with Cat.
Sidney digging Spuds.
Cloudy.

Wednesday, 8

Awful cold wind & snow flurries all day.
Crawley & Kane in shop part of day.
Ernie & Sidney did nothing.

Thursday, 9

Kane & I to Drum. in A.M. re Johnson hog trial.
Crawley & Ernie tried to start Cat. & truck. everything frozen.
Hauled truck load & Cat. with 2 tanks in P.M.
Very cold all day.
Sidney around b'ldg's

Friday, 10

Crawley & Joe got Cat. at Foldens in A.M.
Ernie on truck all day, Joe at car in P.M. - Hard time starting truck.
Crawley hauled granaries in P.M.
Sidney odd jobs in A.M. Behind sheaf-loader in P.M.
Stooke crew for dinner, threshing in P.M.
not so cold
Jess on job

Saturday, 11

A little snow & snowing all A.M.
Ernie & Joe made one truck trip in A.M.
" " " 2 " " " P.M.
Crawley hauled out granary in A.M. and loaded tanks for car. Made trip in P.M. & finished loading car. C.G.R. 82841. Billed out car through A.-P.
Got car from Monarch for Monday.
Fair weather in P.M.
Dougan arrived in evening.

Sunday, 12

[no entry]

Monday, 13

Crawley, Ernie & Joe to mine with truck load. Got car at 1 P.M.
To Drum. with Dougan for car doors.
Truck & Cat hauled wheat in P.M.
Stooke's men went home in A.M.
Pretty fair day.

Tuesday, 14

Stooke started threshing but quit too tough.
Ernie & Kane hauling with truck.
Moved elevator in P.M.
Crawley & Jess moving elevator etc.
To Drum. to see Eakin with Dougan. in A.M. To see Roberts & Millar in P.M. Then to Rosebud & home.
Pretty cool day.

Wednesday, 15

Stooke threshing.
Ernie & Kane loading
Jess hauling bundles etc.
Crawley set up loader and took 2 wagons down in P.M.
Had car loaded at 5 P.M. Billed out via A-P. Elev. Co. C.P. 109454
Landles on job 1/4 day.

Thursday, 16

Stooke threshing.
Ernie & Kane on truck in A.M.
Kane with Crawley on discs, hauling granary etc. in P.M.
Jess & Landles with threshing.
Got car at noon. Got Saunders & Dougan in Drum. in A.M.
Perfect day.

Friday, 17

Stooke threshing.
Crawley to Drum. in A.M. to see Dr.
Ernie & Joe on truck.
Jess & Landles around threshing.
Had trouble with loader wag. [?]
Fine day.

Saturday, 18

Stooke threshing.
Crawley in bed with cold.
Ernie & Kane on truck
Jess & Landles on job.
Moved elevator in A.M. To Drum. in P.M. with Saunders & Dougan. Saun + left for
Calgary. Dougan took Ford to Morin. Home in truck.
Cloudy & cool.

Sunday, 19

Ernie & I hauling in truck.
Jess one load in A.M. bundles etc. in P.M.
Very foggy in A.M. then fine balance of day.

Monday, 20

Stooke threshing.
Ernie & Joe took load to Elev. in A.M.
Got stuck at mine for coal.
Got car at noon, Crawley with tanks.
Billed out car in P.M.
Snow in evening. Hard time getting truck home.

Tuesday, 21

To Rockyford with Dougan in A.M. then home, then to Drum., then to Calgary.
Crawley, Ernie, Joe & Jess & Landles, moving loader, hauling with truck etc.
Had talk with Saunders 'till midnight

Wednesday, 22

Home from Calgary in A.M.
Dougan in Drum. Snowing.
Home for dinner.
Nobody working.

Thursday, 23

Very cold.
To Drum. in A.M. with Dougan and Crawley. Made \$3500 loan and wired McDonald for Bank.
Brought out & set up Fuller & Johnson pump engine.
Jess on chores etc. nobody did much of anything

Friday, 24

10 below zero in A.M.
Nobody did anything.

Saturday, 25

Crawley started Cat. & truck by noon. Ernie & Joe helped.
Ernie & Joe hauled 2 loads in P.M. & load coal.
Crawley & I took load to car, Sanfords to Drum. & got fly wheel & made another trip with wheat at night.
Very cold.

Sunday, 26

Ernie & Joe hauling with truck all day. Cold but a little warm sun shine.

Monday, 27

Ernie & Joe hauling with truck, finished car 109286 in evening.
Crawley & I put rear spring in Ford in A.M.
Jess driving cattle most of day
Crawley put Cat. flywheel on.
To Drum. in P.M. saw Druleany [?] & couldn't get car.

Tuesday, 28

Ernie & Joe took truck load wheat to A-P. Elev. & brought back load lumber.
Crawley & Jess putting away binders in shed.
Warm & snow melting.
Four of threshing crew here in evening.

Wednesday, 29

Ernie & Joe took 145 bu. oats to Andre Bros. & brought out lumber.
Crawley & Jess on Cat. etc.
To Crowfoot for Mrs. Thompson, & stayed as it snowed.

Thursday, 30

Ernie & Joe took 145 bu. oats to A.B.C. mine
Crawley odd jobs.
Jess hauling green feed.
Home from Crowfoot with Mrs. T.
Snowed a little in A.M.
Very cold at night.

Friday, 31

Crawley, Ernie, Joe & Jess building oats bins nearly all day.
Fine Chinook wind during the day but stormy at dark.

November 1919

Saturday, 1

Crawley worked in oil house in A.M.
Ernie & Joe dug pits at granaries in A.M.
" " nothing in P.M.
To Drum. with Jess in A.M.
" " " Crawley in P.M. to sign Chattel M't'g. etc.
Snowing hard at bed time

Sunday, 2

Snowed all day.
Dougan 'phoned in evening.

Monday, 3

Very cold all day
Crawley making bins in oil house
Jess chores.
Others went hunting in P.M.

Tuesday, 4

Not so cold.
Crawley & Ernie shortening truck chains most all day.
Jess to Monarch for coal.
Joe & I to Drum. in P.M. Bought car loader from Drum Land Co.

Wednesday, 5

Crawley, Joe, Ernie & I working on car loader all day.
Jess rode to see Hazlett re oats green feed.
Pretty fair day.

Thursday, 6

Crawley sick with stiff neck.
Ernie & Jess to Drum. to move loader to Monarch mine etc.
Joe putting grousers on Cat. track.
Pretty fair sort of day.

Friday, 7

Crawley in house sick.
Joe & Ernie on Ford most of day.
Jess odd jobs around stable.
Hazlett here and bought 60 acres of oats.
Webber here & bought balance
Very rough wind from North.

Saturday, 8

Crawley, Joe & Ernie on Ford in bunk house most all day.
Sort of blizzard all day.

Sunday, 9

Crawley & I put grousers on Cat. track. Got grader at Haymans and scraped snow coming home.

Fine & warm during day with South wind.

Wind from north, cold & snowing at night.

Monday, 10

Crawley & Joe to Drum. all day.

Jess got back from Edwards' at noon.

Very stormy & cold all day.

Tuesday, 11

Joe & I to Drum. in Ford in P.M. Got train at midnight for Calgary 8 hrs. late.

Jess & Ernie hauling bundles to barn

Crawley putting siding on bunkhouse.

Not so cold.

Wednesday, 12

In Calgary.

Crawley odd jobs.

Jess & Ernie bundles in barn.

Thursday, 13

Crawley & Ernie took granary to Monarch mine.

Jess returned Stooke's wagon etc.

Back from Calgary. P'd Eakin notes etc. Back to farm at 4 P.M.

Friday, 14

To Calgary on A.M. train

Crawley & carpenter putting roof on granary.

Jess got six horses shipped by Dougan.

Warm.

Saturday, 15

Crawley repairing car loader

Jess & Ernie stacking oats.

Back to Drum. & home on late train

Very warm during day & night.

Sunday, 16

Jess & Ernie to see Dr. Gibson
Crawley & I to Webbers in P.M.
Very warm Chinook

Monday, 17

Crawley & I to Drum. in truck & got gas & furniture. To see R.R. [Angr.?] with Webber etc. in P.M.
Jess & Peters from Andersons hauling oats bundles for Hazlett.
Very warm Chinook, snow nearly all gone.

Tuesday, 18

Jess, Ernie & Peters stacking Hazlett oats all day.
Crawley & I with Andersons at mine in P.M. arranging granary and loader.
Warm wind

Wednesday, 19

Ernie & Peters from Anderson's stacking Hazlett oats all day.
Jess in A.M.
Crawley roofing granary.
Jess & I to Carbon & got harness in P.M.
Fine day.

Thursday, 20

Jess & Ernie stacking oats all day.
Crawley roofing granary.
To Drum. in A.M. back at 4 P.M.
Pretty fair day.

Friday, 21

Jess & Ernie stacking oats Hazlett
Crawley setting up wet wheat bundles
To Stooke's re crew in A.M. & P.M.
Crew and teams here for supper.
Warm & windy.

Saturday, 22

Stooke threshing.

Ernie & Jess driving our bundle teams

Grain tough.

To Drum. in P.M.

Threshed one new bin full during day.

Warm sunshine all day.

Sunday, 23

Stooke threshing. Finished section and moved to summer-fallow before dinner. I took wagon to granary, filled it, then pulled granary to house in A.M.

Odd jobs in P.M.

Jess & Ernie driving our bundle teams.

Peters & new man on bundle teams.

Andersons chopped load oats.

Stooke's separator broke at 5 P.M. Crawley ran Cat. to Andersons at night for theirs.

A little snow at 10 P.M.

Monday, 24

Snowing hard in A.M. No one did anything.

Cox went home to Crossfield.

Tuesday, 25

Below zero & windy all day.

Crew went home to Stooke's after breakfast.

Ernie & Jess did a little on hauling oat bundles.

Crawley & I to Drum. in P.M.

Bootleggers car broke down, here for dinner.

Wednesday, 26

Jess, Ernie & Crawley hauling oat bundles.

Cold, S.W. wind all day. 0 or below.

Thursday, 27

Ernie hauling oat bundles all day.

Jess " " " in P.M.

" shaking snow off wheat in A.M.

Crawley & I " " " " " "

Crawley got Cat & Anderson's Separator in P.M.

I took truck to Drum. for sleigh and coal.

Andy Anderson along.

Friday, 28

Ernie & Jess finished stacking oats.

Crawley odd jobs.

Cold & stormy.

Hazlett here for dinner.

Saturday, 29

Ernie & team threshing for Webber

Jess to town to get horses shod.

Crawley took down wind-mill.

Very cold.

Sunday, 30

Ernie & team threshing for Webber.

Jess to Hazletts for calves.

Crawley & I got Stooke's engine & separator & brought them to house

Very cold, below zero all day. 30 below at bed-time

Otto Pallesen

July 23 - 100 bu. oats @ 85 cents cash	\$85	
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Andre Bros.

July 16 - 60 1/2 bu. oats	\$51.40	
July 21 - 55 " " check		46.75
" " "	51.40	
" 55 " "	<u>46.75</u>	
	98.15	

Dere Pentigny

June 27th/19 7 1/2 bu.wh't @1.65	12.40	
" cash		12.40
July 3 20 bu. @1.65	33.	
cash		33.
Aug. 16 6 " " @1.65		9.90
cash	9.90	
		<u>55.30</u>

National Elev. Co.

July 3 55 bu. wheat @1.51	83.05	
check		83.05

Alta. Pacific Grain Co.

June 16/19 62 bu. No.3 @1.92	119.05	
" " check		119.05
July 3 49 1/2 " "	95.05	
check		95.05
	<u>214.10</u>	

S.A. Glandon

July 25 - 100 bu. oats	\$85.00
Owed to A.C.P personally	

Chester Reeves

July 31 - 100 bu oats @.85	85	
" cash		42.50
Bal. owed to A.C.P. personally		

J.H. Hunter

June 19 3810# wheat		
20 5820 "		
20 1615 oats 47 1/2 bu.		40.10
21 6230 wheat		
24 5890 "		
25 5830 " 459 2/3 bu. @1.65		<u>758.45</u>
		\$798.55
June 27/19 check	\$798.80	
Aug. 13 56 bu. @1.65	92.40	
" 28 check		92.40

F.H. Stockton

May 11th 60 bu. oats (via Evans)		\$51.00
Owed to A.C.P. personally		

Barnes

3 bu. chicken feed @1.50		4.50
Rec'd	4.50	
20 " " "	30.	
cash		30.
6 " " " 1.55		9.
"	9.30	

Piper

	Dr.	Cr.
Apr. 53 bu. oats @.85	45.05	
May 29 ck.		45.05

Seiwert

June 40 wheat @1.82		72.80
July 8 - 50 bu oats @.85		<u>63.75</u>
Aug. 23 - 25 " " "		136.55

	Cr.	Dr.
1 ton coal	6.50	
Scythe		4.25
98lb. hog @.28	27.44	
	33.94	140.80
		<u>35.94</u>
		106.86

E. Kirby

	Cr.	Dr.
Apr. 26 - 135 bu. by measure=144@2.25		324.00
30 - 85 " net		191.25
May 14 check	300.00	
" 19 13 " by Haymond	29.29	
June 21 By check	<u>185.96</u>	
	515.25	515.25
	<u>486.</u>	
	29.25	

Campbell

June 7th/19 - 30 bu.oats @.85 cash	25.50	25.50
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Joe Grenier

July 16/19 - 6 bu. wht@1.65		9.90
ck.	9.90	

J.S. Maxwell

Apr. 17 - 59 bu. oats @.85	50.15	
17 ck.		50.15
May 5 - 60 bu. oats	<u>51.</u>	

\$51.00 owed to A.C.P. personally.

B.B. West

Apr. 23 - 34 bu.@2.25	76.50	
23 ck.		76.50

Sinclair

1918 On acct		300
Apr. 21 Bal.		267
" 21 - 252 bu. @2.25	<u>567</u>	

W.F. Schnase

Apr. 9 - 100 bu. @2.25	225	
9 ck.		225

Smith & Coulter

Apr. 8 - Check		600.00
8 "	200.00	
3 - 60 bu. loads 180 bu.		
1 - Coulter " 32 "		
1 Smith " <u>25</u>		
237 " @2.25	533.25	
May 20 - Credit 10 " 2.25		
" 23 - From Norris <u>15 "</u> Total		
242		
<u>2.25</u>		
1210 Due 5/28/19	\$144.50	
484		
<u>484</u> Murray		
544.50	<u>\$66.50</u>	
<u>400</u>	211.00	
\$144.50 Paid in full		
<u>70.</u>		
\$74.50 June 23/19		

Humeston

	Dr.	Cr.
Apr. 8 - 220 bu. wheat @2.25		\$495.00
To" 30 - 171 " "	\$384.75	
Winter - 35 " oats @.85	29.75	
May 19 - 50 " wheat (fanned screenings) @1.90	95.	
" 19 13 " " from Kirby's	<u>29.25</u>	<u>43.75</u>
	538.75	538.75

Apr. 23 - 41 1/2 gal. "B" @ \$1.24 + bbl. \$5	56.46
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Norris

Mar. 29 Draft		1800.
Apr. 28 Clarke 50 bu. by measure		
29 " 50 " "		
30 " 55 "		
30 Smith 40 " "		
May 14 Clarke 20 " "		
" 19 Ab. 185 " " to date		
" 16 Clarke 45		
" 20 from Smith 10 " "		
" 20 Ab. 155 " "		
" 21 " 105 " "		
" 22 " 55		
" 22 Ralph 50 " "\$1.92		
" 23 Ab. 50 \$1.92		
" 23 Credit <u>15</u>		
890 by measure		
+ 52 bu. by w't <u>52</u>		
942 @\$2.25	\$1894.50	
100 @ 1.92	<u>192.</u>	
	2086.50	
	<u>1800.</u>	
	286.50	
Aug. 2 - check	\$250.00	
		\$2050
		<u>2016.</u>
		34
885		
<u>100</u>		
785		
<u>15</u>		
770		
<u>51</u>		
821 @ 2.25 = 1847.25		
100 @ 1.92 = <u>192.</u>		
\$2039.25		

Edwards

	Dr.	Cr.
Mar.24		371.25
170 bu. wheat @2.25	382.50	
May 4 - 10 " oats @ .85	8.50	
June 50 " " @ .85	42.50	
June 25 " " @ .85	21.25	
July 11 50 " " @ .85	42.50	
July 11 Check		33.00
	<u>\$497.25</u>	<u>\$404.25</u>
		404.25
		\$93.00

1919

	Received	Paid
Apr.		
3 Rosebud Mercantile		12.35
1 Edwards meals, butter etc		4.20
Mar. 31 Rosebud Mer.		5.85
Apr. 3 " "		3.70
3 Freight		.98
2 Gas & cyl. oil sold	2.00	
3 Forbes & McBrien horse shoeing		12.00
8 Clyde Sutford 50 oats @.85	42.50	
8 Exchange on chks to date		4.25
8 J. Teschler double-trees		7.00
8 J.P. Kane int. on \$500		35
Mar. 18 Mrs. Edwards groceries		14.10
Apr. 2 Fr't.		1.87
" 2 "		3.15
" 2 Bill's dinner		.50
" 5 Fr't. seeders		18
" 7 "		1.17
" 8 Ralph Smith [?]	600	
" 8 Sold Webber clevis [?]	.40	
" 12 R. Smith bed	15	
16 Butter		1.35
16 Jess expenses		1.00
17 " & I "		1.00
17 Express		.45
17 Meat Rosebud		11.15
19 Imp. Oil Rosebud "B" & bbl.		56.46

		Received	Paid
19	Meals at Rosebud		1.00
22	Salt for horses		1.15
	Livery & dinner		1.50
	Express		1.20
	Lumber Crown		1.20
21	Coal 1 1/2T Manitoba		6.75
22	Ashdown bolts etc.		3.10
	" "		2.60
	" 1/2 bu. measure		1.50
	" Vacuum "E"		1.98
	Can. oil Co. 3 gal. gas		1.35
	Massey-Harris plow parts		12.15
21	Exchange on cks. deposited		.10
	Meals D'heller		1.00
	Phone		.40
23	F'r't.		.50
24	Cummings H'd'w		3.95
26	Groceries		2.10
	Formalin		4.50
	Perfection cyl. oil		7.75
28	Formalin		6.25
16	Meals for Phoneman	2.00	
28	Pey. oil Co. D'heller		37.93
May			
1	J. Teschler Deere repairs		11.60
1	J.B. Anderson lumber		9.20
1	Post Auger		4.00
1	Phone		.90
1	Horse Syringe		4.00
1	Lice Powder		.60
6	Express		.60
6	Coal		4.50
6	Dinner & Livery		1.65
9	F'r't		2.93
	"		2.78
9	Meals		.90
9	Telegrams		.50
N.B. A few 1919 items in back of 1918 book. [this book is lost]			

		Received	Paid
9	Lodging & team	2.00	
12	Dinners Jess		1.00
13	Meat		4.90
13	Gasoline		2.50
15	Ford repaired		1.50
17	Formalin		4.50
17	Phone		.90
15	Jess dinner		.45
15	Meat		.40
20	Phone		.60
20	Imp. Oil Co. "B"		56.46
20	" " " black oil		24.45
20	" " " B & black		140.85
20	Jess dinner		.45
21	Martin Zember hay		17
22	" " "		34
22	Coal		6.75
23	Fr't.		.87
23	"		1.60
23	Jess dinner & livery		1.45
23	Tire retread Black		11
23	Kissel parts O'Mara		16.40
23	Tire patch Black		1.50
23	Ashdown water bags		6.00
23	Well & Tool cutting threads		1.00
26	Exch, P.S.S. \$1500 check		1.00
26	Phone		.90
27	McKinnon groceries		4.00
27	Anna Folden cow		85
27	Truck License		25
27	Express		1.00
28	J.H. Hunter drill repair		.80
28	J. Teschler repairs		7.60
28	Phone		.40
27	Crawley expenses to Calgary		3.65
28	Fr't.		.90
29	A-P. Elev. Co. 303 oats @1.05		318.15
June			
2	Cummings H'd'w post diggers		6.00
3	" Spuds		1.30
3	J.A. Wilson Meat bill to 5/30		131.57
5	Imp. Oil. Vac. A. & black oil		74.28

	Received	Paid
June		
5	Jess dinner & horses	1.50
6	Crown Lumber Co.	74.45
6	Rosebud Mercantile Co.	167.70
6	Toshack oilcloth etc.	2.90
6	Vickers barb wire	69
6	Jess livery & meal	1.50
10	John Deere repairs	2.45
10	Ashdown's "	1.50
11	Farmers Exchange	3.75
13	McKinnon spuds	.50
14	Switzer's formalin	2
14	McKinnon groceries	3.75
14	Imp. Oil. cyl. oil	7.30
14	E. Andrus wages	78
14	Cummings batteries	3
14	Potatoes	.50
14	Carson & Williams Bros. hail	688.50
14	Dep to cover over-draft	10
17	C.P.R.	2000
17	Hudson Bay blinds	5
17	Universal Motors gas	2.40
17	" " repairs	1.25
17	Imperial Lumber posts	5.30
19	" " "	4.80
20	" " "	9.60
19	Jess dinners & livery	3.50
19	Harness repairs	.10
18	F'r't.	.50
24	John Deere plows	145
24	Can. Holt on acc't	100
	John Deere bolts	.60
	Ashdown	.20
	McKinnon spuds	2.30
	Spreeman single trees	3.25
25	Jess dinner & livery	5.50
26	Express	2.00
28	McKinnon groceries	7.85
30	Phone	1.10
30	"	.60
30	Imp. Oil via Mrs. Schollen	28.80
30	McKinnon Spuds	2.80

		Received	Paid
July			
2	Phone		.80
3	Dere Pentigny sugar		15
3	Nat. Elev. coal		6.05
3	Imp. Oil. vac. B. & bbl.		57.08
2	" "		60.12
2	" " M.T. drum & 2 bbls	25	
3	F'R'T. error in 1918		5
3	Express		.60
3	Toshack dish towels		1.60
3	Jess dinners & livery		3.45
4	Phone		.70
6	Gas & oil for car		2.10
6	Sale Inner tube	2.75	
6	Kappell wages		3
5	Fruit		3.75
5	F'R'T.		7
5	Dinner		1
5	Meat		4.10
7	Groceries Carbon		2.50
8	Andre Bros coal		14
8	McKinnon Gold Dust		.35
8	Muriatic Acid		.25
10	Phone		.40
10	Barnes chickens		21
10	Drain Boards		3.85
10	Express		1.40
11	Emil Kuhn wages 11 @ \$3		33
12	Ed. Miner wages		262.50
12	2 bu. oats	1.70	
	Phone		.60
	Ford parts		.60
	Express		.40
	Expenses to Calgary		2.25
16	Tire Patches		.70
16	Fruit		1.90
July 18	McKinnon fruit etc		8.40
18	Note at Bank		2000
18	F'r't.		9.00
19	Meat		1.25
19	Express		.75
19	Wire		.50
21	Coal		9

		Received	Paid
21	Livery & meals		4
22	McKinnon groceries		5.20
23	John Deere disc repairs		.70
24	Gas & oil Ford		4.55
24	Meals		1.00
24	Taber manure spreader parts		1.90
25	McKinnon cook-car		5.50
25	Phone		.90
25	Apples		.80
25	Schuase neighbour 1918 hay	20	
25	Fruit		3
25	Phone		1.10
28	F'r't.		3.42
28	Ramsey 8 bu. oats @.85	6.80	
28	cyl. oil		.75
28	4 gal. gas	2.00	
29	Meals		1.50
29	Rec'd on M.T. bbls & drums. Imp. oil	30	
29	Imp. Oil. black oil		27.68
31	Imp. Oil black oil & bbl		17.82
Aug			
2	Phone		1
2	Fruit		2.45
7	Ford repairs Beisecker		22.75
7	Fruit & Spuds		11.75
6	Phone		.50
7	Car hire at Beisecker		5.00
9	Meals		1.50
9	McKinnon beans		.90
9	F'r't.		9
9	"		13.17
13	Imp. Oil Co. "E" & transmission		11.60
13	Refund on M.T. bbl	5	
13	McKinnon & co. [?] fruit		2.90
13	Check exchange		.35
"	" "		.50
"	Phone		.80
11	S.M. Taber binder twine		\$408
11	Joe Hezletton straw buy	50	
14	Maclin Motors repairs		1.45
14	Fairbanks Ford "		2.80
14	Aultman [?]-Taylor motormeter		3.35

		Received	Paid
16	Meat		2.20
16	Fruit		3.10
Aug. 18	Dinners & horses feed		3.15
15	Coal		8
18	Check exchange		.25
19	Imp. Oil black oil		22.87
15	F'r't		9
18	"		27
20	Box Rent Post Office		4
20	Check Exchange		.25
20	Express		1.95
20	Snell Motors		750
23	Phone		.75
25	Imp. Oil Co.		71.57
25	Gas sold	300	
28	Greentree binder repairs		2.70
28	T.J. Arnold stooking		43.40
30	Express		2.00
Sept. 2	I.H.C. binder repairs		1.20
2	Fruit Calgary		3.15
2	Meat "		4.65
2	Expenses in Calgary		8.00
5	J.B. Anderson Lumber Co.		11
5	Jess meals		1.80
6	Fruit		1.25
8	Meals		1.00
8	5 gals priming [?] gas		2.00
8	Meat		2.70
9	Dan Allen wages & stooking		388
	\$207 wages + 181 Stooking		
	- 35 " Jess.		

		Received	Paid
Sept. 16	Casing & tube D'heller repair		4.50
20	Snell Motors		1649.40
20	Gas & oil Ford		4
20	Meals		2.50
21	Gas truck		2
21	Smith drum gas	17.60	
21	Irvine restocking		5
21	Avery restocking		5
21	Hotel Bill Crawley & Kane		27.05
20	Gas truck		6.30
20	Linoleum Hudson Bay		18.50
20	Meals		10.50
20	R.R. tickets		3.90
24	Fr't. on A.-P. Elevator		8
25	Alec. Johnson stoker		24
25	Anderson Lumber Co.		3
26	McKinnon & Dewar groceries & dishes		13.35
30	Cummings H'd'w bolts		1.60
29	McKinnon groceries etc		5.95
29	Phone		.80
30	Boddy Vet. Surgeon		7
30	Horse Med.		.60
Oct. 1	Bolts		1.90
2	Toshack towels		6.15
3	Barlow fish		2.40
3	Ruston bolts		1.85
4	J.C. Rutledge wages		161
4	Mrs. Foster wages		273.35
4	Phone men fed	\$2.00	
4	Express		2.75
4	C.H. Coyne carpenter		27
11	Bread		1.50
11	Sidney Pollock wages		196
13	McKinnon groceries		1.95
14	Rosebud Mercantile		42.95
14	C.R. McBrien		10.70
14	B.C. Refining		750.72
16	Deere loader repair		1.10
16	N. Am. Collieries 2 cars		20
16	" " 1T coal		4.00
16	McKinnon & Hunter shovel		2.25
15	Imp. Oil Vac. E.		7.20

		Received	Paid
18	Lett & McKinnon groceries		40.60
20	Winnipeg Oil Co.		1000
22	Lett & McKinnon sugar		5.40
22	N.B. Vickers		696.40
22	Meals	1.50	
22	"		2.00
22	Phone		1.10
22	Groceries		1.60
23	A. Gov't. 'phones		12.05
23	Fr't.		1.76
24	Clover Bar Nurseries		23.35
25	Jess dinner		.50
25	N. Am. Collieries 2 car & 1T coal		25.25
25	C.N.R. demurrage		10
25	Lett & McKinnon groceries		9.20
25	Wire for Bank to McDonald		2.50
25	Express on fly wheel		7.00
27	Lett & McKinnon groceries		3.80
27	Ether		2.25
28	Meals		1.75
28	Express		.35
28	Stamps		1.00
29	Express		.65
30	Crown Lumber		591.10
30	Taber repairs & extras binder		57.95
30	" twine		25
Nov. 1	Imp. oil Mob. E.		7.20
1	Mr. & Mrs. Landles wages		108
1	Ck. to A.M. Dougan Dep. at Drum.		5000
4	Lett & McKinnon		6.15
5	Meals		2.10
5	Merchants Bank - Vickers note		375.60
6	Drum. Land Co. Car loader		175
10	Express C.O.D.		7.42
11	Kane meals at Calgary		7
11	" wages		256
13	Lett & McKinnon groceries		36.25
13	N. Am. Collieries 2 1/2 T coal		13.10
13	John Deere wagons & repairs		270.65
13	" " "		.70
13	Phone Comm.	6.25	
13	Andrus wages		125
14	C.N.R. fr't on horses		60.85

		Received	Paid
14	Meals		1.00
17	E.L. Hendron groceries		17.85
17	Imp. Oil		43.51
17	" " Returned dr'ms	\$25.00	
17	Rosebud Mercantile Co.		31.08
15	Dr. Norris refund & granaries		64
17	Expenses 2 trips Calgary		18
17	Ferguson Supply rough lock chains		7.50
14	J.B. Anderson lumber		273.45
14	" "		33.50
14	Express		.35
17	Fr't		4.64
17	"		8.91
17	Prepaid fr't		3.16
18	Telephones		13.60
18	Bridles & breast straps		16.50
19	Braisher harness		194.70
20	Express		2.85
21	Old casing sold	3.50	
22	Peck dal. cyl. oil	2.00	
25	John Teschler sled		65.
25	Imp. Oil Polarine		4.80
29	Horses shod		121
29	Livery & dinners to date		4.95
Dec. 1	P'd Jess Smith to date via odd amt's		286.60
Dec. 1	N.B. Vickers Oct. & Nov.		200.00
" 1	Lett & McKinnon		51.00
" 1	Hazlett straw & water	850.00	
" 1	" check exchange		3.05
" 1	A.B.C. mine 145 oats @.75		108.75
" 5	Andre Bros. " " "		108.75
" 1	Cumming H'd'w. tank heater		16
" 1	Merchants Bank - Binders		444.40
" 2	Crawley cash		100
Nov.29	Van Swelm & Murray meat		4.45

Joe Kane

Sep't.			
	20	Cash via Crawley	30
	19	Laundry	.55
Oct.	2	Eaton order	16.50
"	10	Laundry	1
	16	Express	3.45
Nov.	10	Cash	<u>10</u>
			61.50

Ernie

Sept.	24	Tobacco & Papers	1.15
Oct.	2	3 P.A.	1.00
	24	Check	25
Nov.	4	Laundry	.90
		Ck. to Sister	<u>125</u>
			\$153.05
			<u>125</u>
			\$28.05

Mrs. Jennie Foster

May			
	13	Cash at D'heller	38.00
June	16	" " " Dentist	10
	7/7	Check at Carbon	30
	24	Cleaning skirt	1
	31	Cash at Carbon	10
Aug.	16	Jewelry Blacks	20.50
"	28	Cash at D'heller	20
Sep't.	26	" " "	<u>18</u>
			\$147.50

Stoker

Aug.	23	Gloves	2.50
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Alec

Sept.	24	Durham	.25
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Rutledge

		Cr.	Dr.
Sept. 8	240 A's @.35	84.00	
	30 A's .40	12.	
	1/2 day oats	<u>3.</u>	
		\$99.00	
	Paid Arnold for stooking		14
15	Shells		.45
17	Cash to Calgary		10
23	Durham		.50

Roach

May		
9	Check	75.00
9	Cash via Jess	5
12	Spent 3 days on trip to Calgary	<u>9</u>
		\$89.00
		<u>150</u>
		\$61.00

D. Allen

7/4	Check at Fair	50
4	Room at "	3
10	Laundry	.45
16	Old Chum	.90
16	Camphor Ice	.20
18	Laundry	.90
18	Chew Tobacco	1.00
29	Cash D'heller Sports	<u>15</u>
	Lanigan	71.45
July		5
Aug. 7	Watch	10
6	Old Chum	1.80
12	Chewing	1.00
20	Cash	10
23	Gloves	3
28	Laundry	<u>.30</u>
		104.55

Dan Allen

Forward

Aug.30	Old Chum		.90
Sep. 2	Cuff Links		1
6	Old Chum		.90
8	Stooking 320 A's @.35	\$112.00	
	" 85 A's @.40	34.	
	" for Jess	35.	
8	gloves		<u>3.00</u>
			5.80
	Paid off Sep't. 9th/19		<u>104.55</u>
			110.35

Jess Smith

Apr. 26	McD. Chewing	1.00
May 13	Laundry	.45
" 14	Check "Bill's Hog")	25
" 23	Watch	6.50
27	Laundry	.50
6/ 3	"	.45
5	Chew. Tobacco	1.00
6	Cash (coal & wire trip to D'heller)	23.50
14	McD. Chewing	1
7/ 7	Check at Carbon	130
10	Laundry	.55
12	Tobacco Smoking	1.00
16	Chew "	1.00
18	Laundry	.75
29	Cash D'heller Sports	10
Aug. 23	Overalls	3
28	Laundry	1.10
28	Tobacco	1.90
Sept. 1	Cash to Drs.	10
8	Stooking by Dan	35
Oct. 16	Chewing	1.00
Nov. 1	"	1
1	Cash at Drum. to get serum	10
4	Laundry	.60
14	Mitts	1.25
18	McD. Chewing	1.00

29	Cash to date	9.80
29	" "	<u>8.25</u>
		286.60

7 1/2 mo. @ \$75	\$562.50
Bal due Dec. 1st/19	\$275.90
mo. of Dec.	60.

[short entries for **Waite** and **E. Miner**—5 entries each—which are scored through]

Sidney Pollock

July		
18	Laundry	.75
29	Cash D'heller Sports	5
Aug 9	Shoes repaired	.45
28	Laundry	.15
30	Overalls & gloves	6.25
Sept. 9	2 box 22's	.45
" 15	Shoe repaired	.15
Oct. 4	Shoes & cap	14.50
" 1	Gloves	<u>3.00</u>
		\$30.70

Edwards

		Dr.	Cr.
1918	10 days in Nov.		38.35
1919	17 " " Mar., & 10 days Apr.		100.
June			
14	2 bbls.	10.00	
17	Clothes Basket	2.50	
7/24	P'd C.P.R. title etc	6.00	
Aug. 25	Sections for binder	2.50	
	Due A.C.P. Oct. 1919	<u>\$238.55</u>	
		259.55	138.35
		<u>138.35</u>	
		\$121.20	

[the amounts for June 17, 7/24, and Aug. 25 are entered in pencil, circled and "Personal" is written beside]

Crawley

			Dr.	Cr.
Mar				
		Ck. from Kester		
		Draft on Kettenbach		
31		Tobacco 2 jars P.A.		5.00
Apr.	12	Ck. to Macnab		170
	21	Exchange on Kester draft	.35	
May	1	Listerine		.70
	12	Laundry		.65
	20	"		.75
	26	Ck. to P.S.S. for cash adv. to W.C.C.		8.85
	29	Bal. out of \$10 trip to Calgary		6.35
June	21	Trousers		7.75
	25	Cash from Jess		5
	28	Laundry		1.10
	30	Old Chum		1.80
July				
	5	Check at Calgary Fair		25
	21	Clothes pressed		2.00
	21	Shoes		.35
	23	cash at Calgary		10
Aug.	2	Old Chum		1.80
	17	Cash via grain sale		9.30
	20	Shoes repaired		1
	23	Old Chum		1.80
	28	Laundry		.50
Sep't.	21	Credit spent on truck	24.20	
Oct.	2	Laundry		1.25
	4	Old Chum		2.00
Nov.	4	Laundry		1.75
			\$24.55	<u>264.70</u>
Nov.	5.	Cash to see Dr. Gibson hicups		5
	10	" to get teeth fixed		12.55
	14	" bal. from \$50		2.75
Dec.	2	Cash		<u>100</u>
				\$120.30
				<u>264.70</u>
				\$385.00

Grain 1919 (Spring)

Mar 24 Edwards	371
29 Norris	1800
Apr 8 Humeston 220 bu wht @2.25	495
8 Ralph Smith 205 @2.25 = \$464.25	400
10/3/18 Sinclair (on acc't)	300
Apr. 9 W.F. Schnase 100 bu. wht. @2.25	225
17 J.S. Maxwell 59 " oats @.85	50.15
21 Sinclair 252 bu. wheat @2.25	267
23 B.B. West 34 bu. @2.25	76.50
" 26 E. Kirby 135 bu. by measure	
" 30 E. Kirby or Hayman 85 bu.	

Note: Tucked in the back of this book are several invoices:

CNR
J.B. Anderson Lumber
AGT
Ferguson Supply
E.L. Hendron
Imperial Oil
Winnipeg Oil
Lett & McKinnon
Canadian Northern Express
Van Swelm & Murray
W.A. Braisher

Appendix C: Reproduction of Journal Entries

MEMORANDUM FROM 1918

Monday Dec. 30/18
Crawley taken to Holy Cross
Hospital last night in ambulance.
Pd Hospital \$25.00, for room for one
week + \$10 for operating room.

30 December 1918

WEDNESDAY 22

(173-192)

Terrence + Jack plowing M. 16
Crawley + I on rock anderson line
Martin disking till 4 P. M. fired him
for handling Laura. To plums. in truck
with Martin + back with sand.
Crawley forsoing hoppers in evening

22 June 1921

SATURDAY 28

(209-156)

Satine, Broth & Bert fence in A.M.

,, cultivating S.E. 10 in P.M.

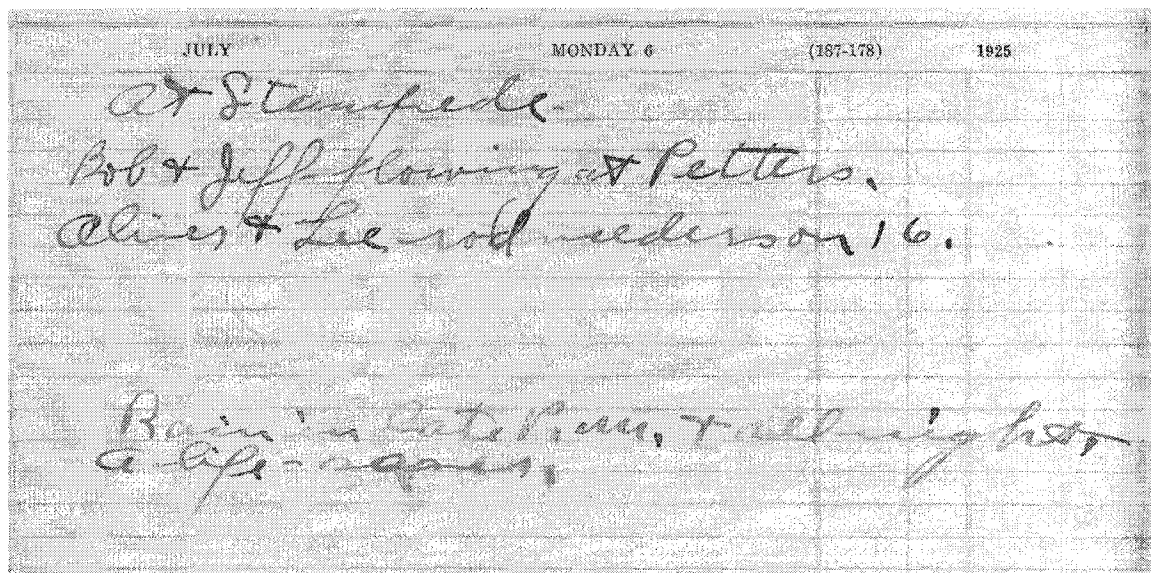
Broth mowed

Scot & Bud hog barn etc.

Took Bill & children to Calgary in A.M.
They left on Trans-Can. at 8:30 P.M. for home
Cool.

Rain at night.

28 July 1923



6 July 1925

MAY

SATURDAY 3

(123-242)

1930

Bob 75 ref.

Bill. Harrows & seeding Reward.

Tom cleaning feedlot & garden.

Mac chores & heating Reward.

Fire day - cool.

To Calg. for supper & Wash Mary in
mudsoep & apron.

3 May 1930

DECEMBER

SUNDAY 17

(351-14)

1933

At Church with Mrs. Edwards
at Messley.

At Whithams in evening.
Mrs. Edwards here.

Warm during day but turned
very cold between 7:30 & 9:00 P.M.
Dropped 50° in 1 1/2 hrs.

17 December 1933

In Calg. - Hetty's wedding day
234th day Wednesday, August 21 172 to come

Saw Jim & Bruce on farm.
At train to meet Paul Farnall
from his job. Took him to
Rail Road office -
To bring flowers to for
Hetty's wedding -
at Board of Trade luncheon
Paul Farnall.

Came in P.M. getting ready
for Hetty's wedding.

Mrs. Mrs. Humphries, Nell
& Laura, Lucy & Mary
Mrs. & Mrs. Ashford,
Betty Burland, Dorothy Mitchell
& the girls - Sid Hogg
Jim Nesbitt, & Bruce Farnall.

Helped new finger rings.
Nell & Gordon Humphries
stood up with Hetty & Jack
Not day.

21 August 1940

176th day

Farm Saturday, June 24, 1944

190 days
follow

Smyth - direct one - may finished
S.E. 16 at noon + started
with 40 acres on N¹/₂ - 16.

Jaap - chores, odd jobs A.M. - On
2 tons + needs P.M.

A.C. - 2 tons + needs on north
40 of N¹/₂ - 16 A.M.

Word from Tony that "Musk"
is reported missing.

Also left Mary phoned
from job and at noon.

Betty, Jimmy + left in
Pontiac for Ely. at 3 P.M.

News of tornado + great
damage in McKeesport.

24 June 1944

Spokane

Saturday, January 19, 1952

19th day - 347 days follow

Mrs. Christine phoned
re bridge - they came here.
He was out spoken about
her cards the help. We
won 1st place always
been + with them -

Jack phoned from the farm
May Betty had an 8lb 4 oz
baby girl at Blumheller
Hospital at 10 P.M. Her
and baby both fine - baby
a perfect specimen with
no blemishes -

19 January 1952

Calgary

101st day

Monday, April 11

264 to come

Easter Monday

✓ O.M. nurse - a Welsh girl only
to move this over here & come to
bath me & change the linen.
A good nurse & very likeable.

Terry came to see L. & me as
with her in car 2 hrs. in P.M.

11 April 1955

Appendix D: Family Tree Charts

Family of origin for MAM:

James Sabarian Moore
Laura Ione Allison

m. 1 March 1870
Kittanning PA

their children:

Thomas Allison
b. 30 September 1872

Arthur Allison
b. 28 November 1874

Malcolm
b. 27 September 1880

Margaret Adele
b. 14 July 1882

Family of origin for ACP:

Joseph Pierce
Henrietta Torrence

m. 20 April 1871
Elizabeth County PA

their children:

William Torrence
b. 27 March 1872

Joseph Audley
b. 31 August 1874

Andrew Craig
b. 21 May 1884

Margaret Adele Moore

b. 14 July 1882, Catfish PA

d. 3 December 1960, Calgary AB

Andrew Craig Pierce

b. 21 May 1884, McKeesport PA

d. 20 April 1955, Calgary AB

m. 9 December 1915, Buffalo NY

their daughters:

Laura Allison

b. 7 September 1916, Jamestown NY

d. 7 August 1959, Calgary AB

Henrietta Torrence

b. 6 December 1918, Calgary AB

d. 7 October 1992, Calgary AB

Lucy Adele

b. 9 February 1920, Richmond VA

d. 1 January 1985, Calgary AB

Mary Margaret

b. 21 October 1921, Chautauqua NY

Laura Allison

Henrietta Torrence

her children:

John Ross
b. 26 July 1942
Calgary AB

Margaret Adele
b. 11 April 1945
Drumheller AB

Andrew Craig
b. 31 July 1948
Drumheller AB
d. 16 May 2003
Calgary AB

Anne Mary
b. 19 January 1952
Drumheller AB

her grandchildren:

(John's)
Sean Brett
b. 21 September 1966
Calgary AB

(Adele's)
Paul Brian
b. 4 January 1969
Drumheller AB

(Craig's)
Andrew Craig, Jr
b. 6 May 1974
Calgary AB

(Mary's)
Laura Adele Eiric
b. 1 October 1972
Brandon MB

Cheri Lynn
b. 5 October 1967
Calgary AB

Craig Pierce
b. 14 July 1970
Drumheller AB

Benjamin David Tjeerd
b. 7 August 1974
Ponoka AB

Henrietta Torrence - continued

her great-grandchildren:

(John's Brett's)

Jonathan Pierce

b. 27 March 1991

Lethbridge AB

Ashley Marie

b. 22 January 1993

Olds AB

Kimberley Ann

b. 22 December 1995

Olds AB

(Adele's Paul's)

Shae O'Donald

b. 10 July 1990

Calgary AB

Jacob Pierce

b. 5 September 1993

Drumheller AB

Lucy Adele

b. 22 July 1995

Drumheller AB

(Craig's Craig Jr.'s)

Christian Alexandre

b. 31 August 1994

Calgary AB

Caelan Aric

b. 27 September 1995

Calgary AB

(John's Cheri's)

Nicholas Sheridan

b. 24 April 1992

Calgary AB

Kieran Nathaniel

b. 16 May 1999

Olds AB

(Adele's Pierce's)

Kienen Enzo

b. 15 September 2000

Victoria BC

Zoë Margaret

b. 29 January 2003

Sooke BC

Mairin Adara

b. 3 October 2001

Olds AB

Lucy Adele

her children:

Lorne Arthur McMurchy

b. 5 February 1944

Spokane WA

d. 15 March 1992

Chestermere AB

James Johnstone, III

b. 10 November 1947

Vancouver BC

Laura Ann

b. 26 September 1948

Vancouver BC

Mary Sue

b. 7 September 1951

Calgary AB

her grandchildren:

(Lorne's)

Stephanie Ann

b. 1 December 1971

Calgary AB

(Jim III's)

James Johnstone, IV

b. 19 October 1975

Red Deer AB

(Laura's)

David Wesley

b. 23 August 1976

Calgary AB

(Susie's)

Amy Adele

b. 19 November 1974

Lethbridge, AB

Caroline Mary

b. 17 April 1973

Calgary AB

Andrea Nicole

b. 16 February 1979

Calgary AB

Timothy James

b. 8 November 1978

Calgary AB

Mary Margaret

her children:

Mary Allison
b. 26 February 1945
Spokane WA

Joseph Craig
b. 4 December 1947
Coeur d'Alene ID

Mary Candace
b. 6 July 1956
Seattle WA

her grandchildren:

(Craig's)
Benjamin Andrew
b. 21 May 1987
Mount Vernon WA

(Candi's)
Kelley Allison
b. 21 April 1989
Bellevue WA

Rebecca Allison
b. 26 August 1988
Mount Vernon WA

Margaret Adele Moore

Andrew Craig Pierce

their children:

Laura Allison, Henrietta Torrence, Lucy Adele, Mary Margaret

their grandchildren:

Hetty - John Ross, Margaret Adele, Andrew Craig, Anne Mary

Lucy - Lorne Arthur McMurchy, James Johnstone III, Laura Ann, Mary Sue

Mary - Mary Allison, Joseph Craig, Mary Candace

their great-grandchildren:

Hetty - Sean Brett, Cheri Lynn, Paul Brian, Craig Pierce, Andrew Craig, Jr.,
Laura Adele Eiric, Benjamin David Tjeerd

Lucy - Stephanie Ann, Caroline Mary, James Johnstone IV, David Wesley,
Andrea Nicole, Amy Adele, Timothy James

Mary - Benjamin Andrew, Rebecca Allison, Kelley Allison

their great-great-grandchildren:

Hetty - Jonathan Pierce, Ashley Marie, Kimberley Ann, Nicholas Sheridan,
Kieran Nathaniel, Mairin Adara, Shae O'Donald, Jacob Pierce,

Lucy Adele, Kienen Enzo, Zoë Margaret, Christian Alexandre, Caelan Aric

Appendix E: Counting Stitches as Stories

The life-writer's challenge is to seek out and read the available non-verbal texts with which people create a life record, whether or not those people ever take up the pen. Biographers must be as imaginative and innovative as our subjects who unreflexively provide traces of all kinds in their wardrobe trunks, their recipe boxes, their tool kits, their photo albums; all their things become potential text for us to read. Leon Edel has charged "biography has lacked the courage to discover bolder ways of human reconstruction" (24); the task demands broader parameters than traditional biographical method has had the imagination to encompass. One of the obvious difficulties has been a disciplinary lack of respect for some sources, or more accurately, a refusal to consider certain materials as sources at all. Pierre Bourdieu notes that "there exists a hierarchy of legitimate objects of study" (1); he succinctly and eloquently observes that there has been a systematic "banishing from scientific study certain objects held to be meaningless, and excluding from it, under the guise of objectivity, the experience of those who work in it and those who are its object" (1). The paradox for biographers of women is that our subjects often have not had access to the production of many of those "legitimate objects" and so we are compelled to legitimate other objects in order to study our female subjects; obviously, we cannot both study them and remain traditional practitioners of the discipline. Once we choose to realign biographical perspective and disrupt the constraints of disciplinary tradition, Elizabeth Cohen's "conceptual whole" (85) becomes more possible.

Rozsika Parker's stimulating history of embroidery, *The Subversive Stitch*, complains that "The iconography of women's work is rarely given the serious consideration

it deserves [...] One reason why the subject matter of embroidery is summarily dismissed is that embroiderers employ patterns" (12). The obvious response to this dismissal is to point out that novelists and poets and landscapers and automobile manufacturers and photographers (as we have seen) employ patterns as well; yet no one is dismissive of the images and symbols found in literature; surely the choice between an English country garden or a Japanese Bonsai landscape tells us something about the person who chooses those surroundings; and we are all familiar with the theory that you can tell a lot about a man by the kind of car he drives. There is choice within the confines of pattern, and within those variations it is possible to move closer to an understanding of the subject as an individual. Parker cautions "the meanings of any embroidered picture have to be carefully considered within their historical, artistic, and class context. What a picture conveys often relates to the needs of a woman's class as much as to her experience as a woman at that time" (12). Historically, at least since the seventeenth-century, embroidery has been an indicator of class because women with the leisure time to embroider were not women who had to concern themselves with providing warm socks and mittens. Those distinctions are somewhat blurred now and even though socks and mittens are readily and inexpensively available, many women continue the tradition of knitting for other reasons; the use of patterns is immaterial in this instance and what matters to the researcher is the reason for the subject's choice to knit and for whom to knit. What Parker theorizes about embroidery can in large part be extended to include any needlecraft, and the critical skills necessary to the study of literary texts can be used to good effect in their examination. The connections are already strong; stitchery has a noticeable presence in literature as a kind of supporting text

within the text. Consider, as an initial example, the story-telling value of weaving to be found in Ovid's narratives of Arachne, Philomela and Penelope.

Arachne engages in a skill contest with the goddess Athena and her competition piece consists of Jupiter transformed into a bull, an eagle, a swan, a satyr, a husband, gold, a flame, a shepherd, and a snake, in order to copulate with and impregnate as many mortal women as he has costumes. The tapestry also depicts Neptune disguised as a bull, a river god, a ram, a horse, a dolphin, and a bird for the same purpose; and includes Phoebus as a hawk, a lion, and a shepherd; Bacchus as grapes; and Saturn as a horse; all concealing themselves in other forms for the sake of rape or fornication (Ovid 137). In short: Arachne's tapestry is a metahistory of women repeatedly deceived and violated by disguised gods; she conflates the events into one visual experience which can be envisioned as a kind of Mardi Gras tableau on Noah's Ark, compounding the impact of her statement by challenging the linearity of verbal telling. Later in the *Metamorphoses*, Philomela is repeatedly raped by her brother-in-law who cuts out her tongue when she threatens to tell her sister (149). Deprived of speech, she employs another language "to communicate the facts to her sister" (Evans 235). She "set up her threads on a barbarian loom, and wove a scarlet design on a white ground, which pictured the wrong she had suffered. When it was finished [...] [t]he servant carried the tapestry to Procne [...] When the cruel tyrant's wife unfolded the woven cloth, she read there the unhappy story" (Ovid 150).

While Arachne mediates the stories of women through time by rupturing chronology, Philomela tells her own immediate and intimate story; Arachne acts as a theoretical biographer and historian by bringing narratives together within the metaphor of

carnivalistic violation while Philomela simply but skilfully relates, emphasized by the astuteness of her dichromatic choice, her literal physical violation. Penelope is a more subtle weaver, who works all day on a shroud for her aged father-in-law and then unravels it at night in order to postpone giving her response to the insistence of her abundant suitors that she choose one of them as her second husband (Evans 213). Her refusal to complete the burial cloth bears witness to her unwillingness to remarry and, although unreadable on its own, its existence punctuates and underscores the facts of the case by providing a kind of artifactual support which allows for the possibility of a psychological intimacy with her.

James Olney explains that, "What one seeks in reading autobiography is not a date, a name, or a place, but a characteristic way of perceiving, of organizing, and understanding, an individual way of feeling and expressing that one can somehow relate to oneself" (37). The metaphorical connotations of Penelope's chosen project, in the context of her very particular circumstances, can be considered in conjunction with her delaying strategy in a way that permits readers to intuit other, less tangible, things about her. The classical ideal of the faithful and ever-hopeful wife she may well be; but in her choice of needlework pattern she declares that marrying one of her potential spouses would be the same as going to the grave. Instead, she refuses to complete the symbolic shroud. A couple of millennia later, the trope still functions. Charles Dickens, like Ovid, knew the documentary value of needlework when he created Madame Defarge for *A Tale of Two Cities*. According to her husband, "if madame [his] wife undertook to keep the register in her memory alone, she would not lose a word of it—not a syllable of it" (107) and yet she is not created as a character who merely has an impressive power of recall. What she knows about enemies of the Revolution must

be turned into text, must be transformed from thoughts into things because the concreteness of things makes them less mutable and, therefore, more trustworthy proofs. The permanence of the yarn is attested to by her husband who promises that "Knitted, in her own stitches and her own symbols, it will always be plain to her as the sun [...] It would be easier for the weakest poltroon that lives to erase himself from existence, than to erase one letter of his name or crimes from the knitted register of Madame Defarge" (107). Dickens' inclusion of linguistic terminology such as "letter" and "erase" in place of "stitch" and "ravel," to call the self-described "shrouds" of Madame Defarge a "register," demonstrates the ease and understandability with which forms of communication can borrow from each other. Madame Defarge worked her testimonies in a coded system, "her own symbols" her husband called them, and she did so as an act of translation from one patterned way of recording to another. The good citizeness stands as a more likely defendant in a state trial for political subversion than does Flora Brovina, who also has engaged in political knitting. Ms. Brovina is a Kosovar-Albanian woman tried in Belgrade for "fomenting terrorism by allegedly organizing [...] the making of sweaters and masks for members of the KLA" (Kirka 19).

What I am engaged in is a kind of myth-making; I posit the idea that because, according to Roland Barthes, "myth is a system of communication [and] [...] a form" (*Mythologies* 109), then the system of communication we begin to see in needlework is also mythic; and since Barthes says further that "mythology [...] studies ideas-in-form" (*Mythologies* 112), I suggest we consider a mythology that studies the narrative qualities of the form and content of needlework. Certainly, the model of the stitching woman is a male-

authored model; but Ovid and Dickens, misogynists both, are not stupid misogynists. Rather than credit them with the ability to create ex nihilo, I grant that they had brilliant ability to observe and to describe: not that Ovid actually saw Arachne weaving her theoretical web but that he saw women weaving and working and knew a good narrative device and sociological phenomenon when he saw one.

The twentieth-century novel *Like Water for Chocolate* is the story of Tita, a woman who has to suppress her sexual passions throughout her adult life. One of the outlets she finds is the creation of evocative food, but the other, with which she occupies herself "through night after night of solitude and insomnia" (244-45), is weaving an "enormous bedspread" (244). It is the overwhelming size of the blanket that makes the most powerful point about Tita's life because it stresses the duration of her self-denial: "it covered the whole ranch, all three hectares" (245). It is fascinating, to recall Penelope, that Tita dramatically uses this weaving as her own shroud when her beloved dies; she wraps herself in it and eats candles, which then combust with the force of her memories and desire (245). Add to this the fact that Laura Esquivel co-opts the model and astutely writes the weaving as a bedspread instead of a shawl, and the story skilfully joins theory and practice.

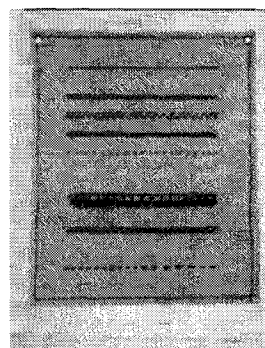
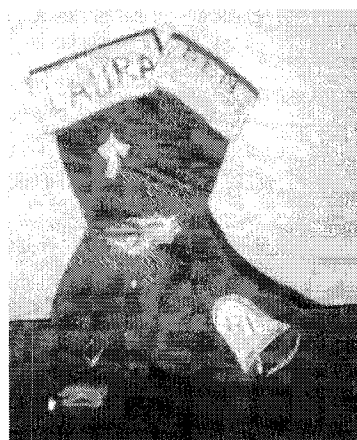
Life-writing theorist and practitioner Helen Buss stresses the importance of considering "what forms of showing and telling [...] have been available as a means of expression" (*Mapping* 13) for women. Procne read Philomela's tapestry and Madame Defarge read her so-called "shrouds" in the same way that we can read Tita's bedspread; needlework has always been a form of self-writing and should no longer be overlooked. Things have secrets to tell and as the historian R.G. Collingwood says, "Anything is

evidence which allows you to answer your question" (281). The November 1999 issue of *National Geographic* contains two items that speak to the timelessness and versatility of stitchery as a communications tool. One short piece previews *Hidden in Plain View*, a book that links slave-made quilts to the Underground Railroad through the code of patterns; each pattern had specific meaning and was displayed to publicize announcements and warnings for escapees. The lengthier *Geographic* piece notes that

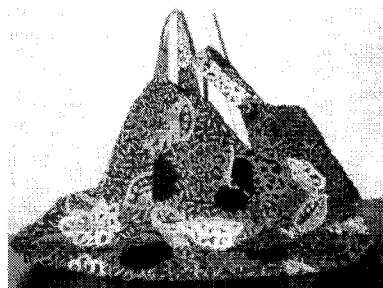
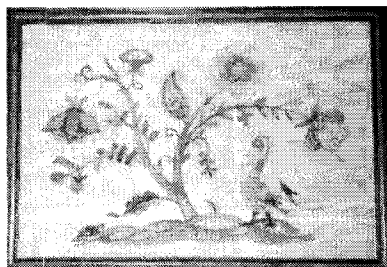
With no written language, the Inca used textiles to record information. Clothing revealed where people were from and where they stood in society. Unfortunately the elaborate codes contained in the patterns may never be fully understood. (Reinhard 5)

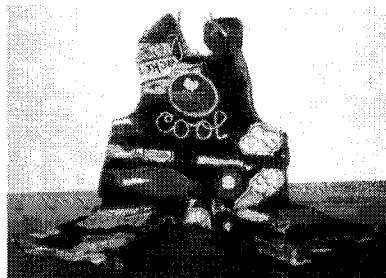
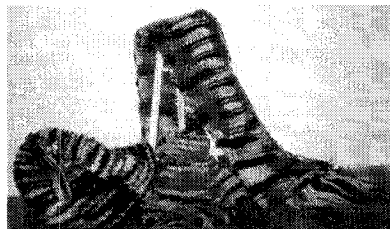
Anyone familiar with European villages knows that the ornamentation on traditional costumes is distinctive from one village to the next even if they are only a few kilometres apart; thus, they help to locate origins. All these elements of story need to be placed in context and a beautifully tailored shirt, perfect pleats, or a pair of Argyle socks have little to reveal when taken in isolation. But quality of materials, sizes, occasions for wear or gift, provenance, are all parts of the story. Not all projects have the same widespread historical importance as the so-called Bayeux Tapestry, but they still are fraught with significance and meaning.

A Christmas stocking (Plate E.1) decorated with a child's name has talismanic significance because Grandma made it; its meaning for the critic is, in part, the information that the stocking maker valued traditional Christmas ritual. There is added meaning for the biographer in the knowledge that the grandmother made and the child kept the stocking. A sampler (Plate E.2) with the epigram "Home, Sweet Home" and the

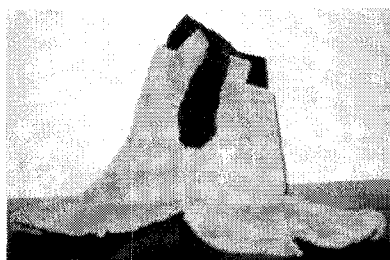


formulaic presence of the alphabet stitched across the bottom potentially escapes from the curse of patterned obscurity because of the icon of the particular house worked in the middle of the piece. Step-by-step examples of buttonholes, mending, and basting stitches suggest that the stitcher is formally trained rather than home taught; a series of mounted samples (Plate E.3) of assorted fancy stitches, such as hemstitch and Holbein, indicate that the training included not only practical but also decorative work. Subsequently, a researcher can investigate what institutions provided this particular training, establish enrollment, dates of tenure, programme completion and so on. An innovative crewel



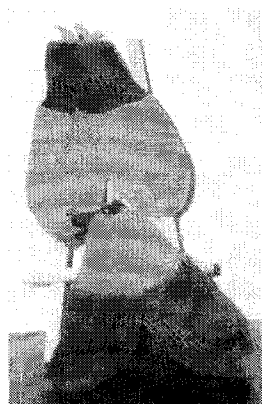


project (Plate E.4) reveals that the stitcher has a sense of whimsy and creativity. The fact that a stitcher made reusable shopping bags (Plate E.5) (dubbed “Grandma’s save-the-world bags” by my son) tells the reader there is an environmental conscience at work. Mittens, scarf, and a toque (Plate E.6) reveal that the knitter has people who live where it gets cold—and a closer look at these particular mittens shows that they have been darned; we must not overlook the obvious: geography and migration are important. Overalls (Plate E.7) do not indicate a child's gender, but they do indicate practicality because of



their fabric's durability. Homemade, child-size chaps (Plate E.8) demonstrate the stitcher's willingness to undertake the less practical kind of clothing project. Unworn mitts (Plate E.9) show us the knitter's foresight

and anticipation. A crocheted bedspread (Plate E.10) reveals patience and the ability to



undertake and to complete long-term work. A Hallowe'en costume (Plate E.11) may tell us that the costumer enjoyed the fun of the occasion, and considered the warmth and safety of the trick-or-treater. A Superman costume (Plate E.12) can show problem-solving ingenuity starting with blue pajamas and red jockey shorts and exquisite skill in



fashioning the "S" emblazoned on the chest. Finally, when we know that the same stitcher (in this case, my mother) produced all of this diverse work, we have compiled a respectable bit of information both for formulating a personality profile and for pursuing further research.

These texts do not stand alone and tell a whole story, but no text does, nor even does any collection of texts. They do, however, help to construct a version of the story that approaches thoroughness. Carolyn Heilbrun declares that "biographers of women have had not only to choose one interpretation over another but [...] actually reinvent the lives their subjects led, discovering from what evidence they could find the processes & decisions, the choices and unique pain" (31) of these women. What women have constructed with their needleworking skills helps biographers to reconstruct the lived life. Darned socks and smocked dresses are materials that can add dimensionality, that can give shape to the days

and put colour and texture into the black-and-white narrative pages of a finished biography. Biographers would do well to live by Phyllis Rose's caution that, "if you do not appreciate the force of what you're leaving out, you are not fully in command of what you're doing" (quoted in Heilbrun 30).

Appendix F

Ethics Protocol and Informant Consent Form¹
for
A. Mary Murphy, Doctoral Candidate
Department of English Language and Literature
Memorial University of Newfoundland

This biographical project directly involves many who are no longer living as its primary focus. There are, however, implications for the immediate descendants of those who are central to the discussions of my work. The mass-market tendency to sensationalize is diametrically opposed to the philosophy of balanced representation which I choose to embrace and which I state as my goal in the dissertation proposal; gratuitous scandal mongering has no place in my work. To that end, only information that is freely given by informants or readily available in public venues will be incorporated in any completed product; further, these informations and sources will be used only for scholarly presentation or publication and (wherever possible in the case of doubt) substantiated through material evidence or confirmed by another source as is demanded by sound scholarship and prudent judgement.

The Pierce Journals are held at Calgary's Glenbow Museum and are also part of the microfilm collection there; the same is true of newspapers and yearbooks pertinent to the research. By far, the bulk of work involved in this project is archival research. Audio-taped interviews and privately held original documents which are made available to me will be stored in my locked residence or office and made available to no one in their unreviewed form. Original documents will be returned to the donor and will be copied only with permission. Should these items be deemed by me, and the party who provides them to me, to contain no harmful information, however, I may make them available to my supervisor and supervisory committee. I respect "the need to emerge from the experience unharmed" (Rudestam 196) but also believe that "It is permissible for research to carry some risk" (197).

Many potentially rewarding avenues of research effectively have been cut off by recent legislation; such documents as medical and school records are protected under the constraints of the new Federal FOIP law and access is severely restricted. For example, I am unable to examine even the high school grades of my deceased aunt (who has no descendants) unless I provide Alberta Learning with copies of her birth and death certificates plus a letter from her one surviving sister which is accompanied by a copy of that sister's birth certificate. The Southern Alberta Institute of Technology will not consider releasing grades to me under any circumstances. Although high school yearbooks are held in public archives, Western Canada High School in Calgary will not allow me even to hand copy information from yearbooks in the alumni office. Medical records are destroyed after

¹ Protocol and Consent approved by the Faculty of Arts Research Committee, chaired by Dr. Vit Bubenik, November 1999.

ten years of inactivity and therefore no longer exist for any of my six subjects during the years which are the scope of my research.

Research risk is usually considered in connection with scientific exploration; given that my subject area is biography, the risks and ethical considerations must be tempered by a different perspective. I wish to frame my ethical position with the statements of two literary biographers: Anne Stevenson and Diane Wood Middlebrook. In her preface to *Bitter Fame: A Life of Sylvia Plath*, Stevenson insists that "Any biography of Sylvia Plath written during the lifetimes of her family and friends must take their vulnerability into consideration, even if completeness suffers from it" (xii). That being said, however, Wood Middlebrook's discussion of writing the life of Anne Sexton points out that "the dead cannot have wishes, they can only have wills ... the dead cannot be asked to make contextual judgements as the living can. And though the dead cannot be consulted, they can also not be shamed or in any way hurt by disclosures ... as the living can. What the biographer owes the subject is ... not judgement, but insight" (127). In my opinion, status and reputation are not automatically immune from examination or revelation; these social conditions may be deserved or undeserved and do not necessarily warrant protection from scrutiny or disclosure merely by being reputations. My mandate is not to produce a catalogue of events in isolation but to produce an insightful consideration of those events and their consequences; not to produce the annals of my subject but an analysis.

Works Cited

- Rudestam, Kjell Erik, and Rae R. Newton. *Surviving Your Dissertation: A Comprehensive Guide to Content and Process*. London: SAGE Publications, n.d.
- Stevenson, Anne. *Bitter Fame: A Life of Sylvia Plath*. London: Penguin, 1989.
- Wood Middlebrook, Diane. "Telling Secrets." *The Seductions of Biography*. Eds. Mary Rheil and David Suchoff. New York: Routledge, 1996. 123-29.

CONSENT FORM FOR: _____

I, the undersigned, have read and understand the protocol for ethical research provided to me by A. Mary Murphy. I understand that Ms. Murphy is a graduate student of Memorial University of Newfoundland in Canada and I further understand and consent that information which I provide to Ms. Murphy in the form of documents, photographs, correspondence, and recorded or hand-noted interviews subsequently may be used in her doctoral dissertation and other scholarly work and therefore such information will become part of the public domain. I understand that all original documents, photographs, and letters will be returned to me but that Ms. Murphy may retain copies and recorded interviews for her use.

SIGNATURE: _____

DATE: _____

