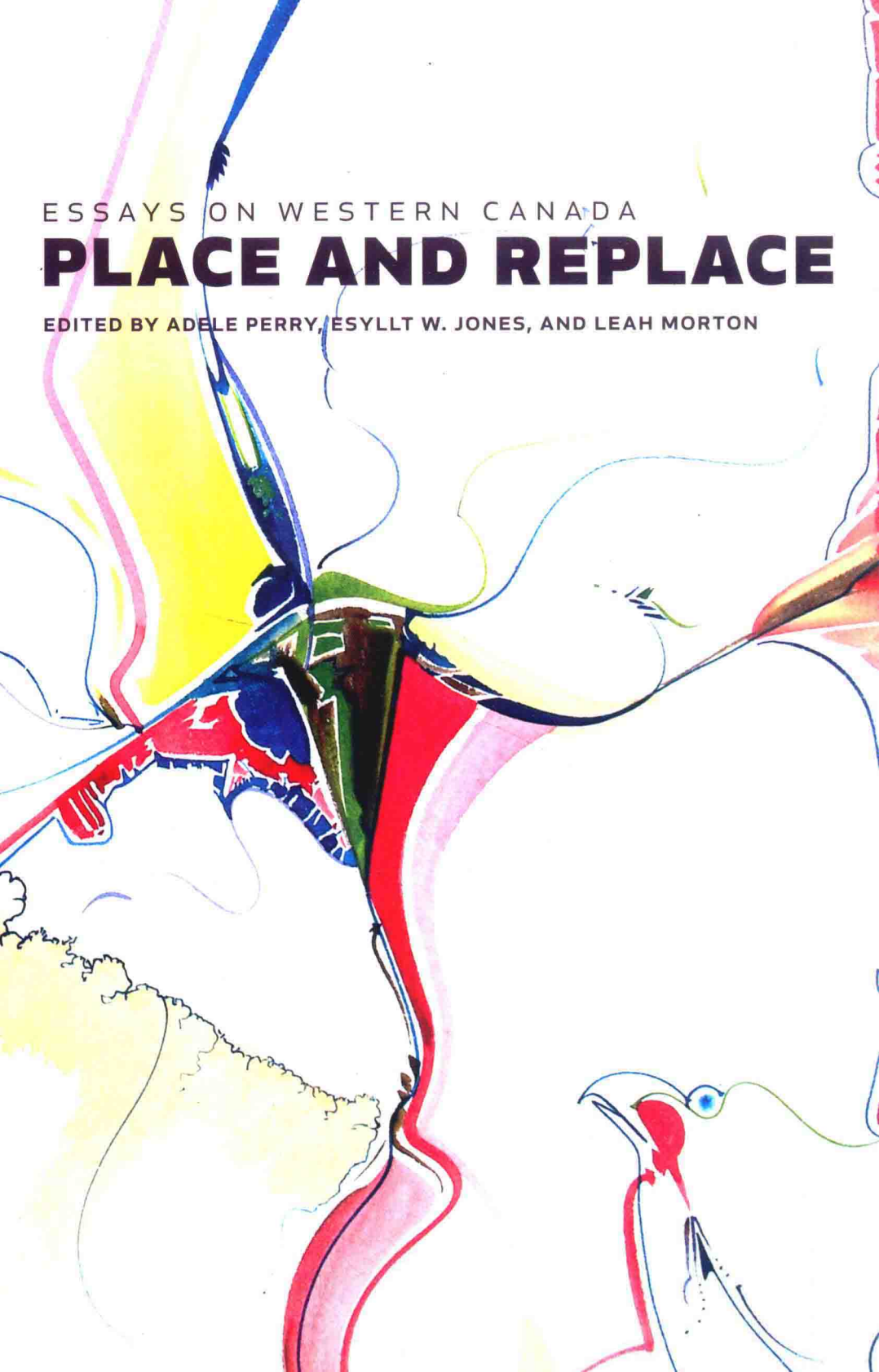


ESSAYS ON WESTERN CANADA

PLACE AND REPLACE

EDITED BY ADELE PERRY, ESYLLT W. JONES, AND LEAH MORTON



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University of Manitoba Press

University of Manitoba Press
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R3T 2M5
uofmpress.ca

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17 16 15 14 13 1 2 3 4 5

Printed in Canada

Text printed on chlorine-free, 100% post-consumer recycled paper

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Cover and Interior Design: Jessica Koroscil

Cover image: "New Year's Family Dinner" (2009) by Alex Janvier,
watercolor on paper, 30" x 22.5"

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Place and replace : essays on Western Canada / Adele Perry, Elyllt W.
Jones, Leah Morton, editors.

Based on papers presented at a joint meeting of Western Canada Studies
and the St. John's College Prairies Conference held at St. John's College,
University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man., from Sept. 16–18, 2010.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-0-88755-740-8 (pbk.)

ISBN 978-0-88755-431-5 (PDF e-book)

ISBN 978-0-88755-433-9 (epub e-book)

1. Canada, Western—History. 2. Canada, Western—Social conditions.
3. Canada, Western—Politics and government. I. Perry, Adele II. Jones,
Elyllt Wynne, 1964– III. Morton, Leah

FC3237.P63 2013

971.2

C2012-902594-1

The University of Manitoba Press gratefully acknowledges the financial support for its publication program provided by the Government of Canada through the Canada Book Fund, the Canada Council for the Arts, the Manitoba Department of Culture, Heritage, Tourism, the Manitoba Arts Council, and the Manitoba Book Publishing Tax Credit.



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AND REPLACE**

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PLACE, POLITICS, AND STUDYING WESTERN CANADA: AN INTRODUCTION¹

ADELE PERRY, LEAH MORTON, AND ESYLLT W. JONES

For forty years scholars have discussed how to best define the related terrains of “western Canada,” “the Prairies” and, less often, the “prairie West.” Is it best understood as a unit of geography—defined by land, space, and the human experience of environment? If so, where does this geographical unit end and begin? What borders does western Canada cross or stop at, and what areas are situated at its core, assigned to its margins, or located outside of it? Is western Canada more or less the Prairies, or does it include the territories lying west of the Rocky Mountains, north of the treeline, or in what is now northern Ontario? Should western Canada be seen as part of a continuous history that encompasses the American West? Is western Canada given shape by a common past or at least one common enough to hang a workable and meaningful historical narrative on? If we accept that the past provides western Canada with its meaning, we may not agree on what parts of that history take precedence over others. Is western Canada best approached as a unit of culture, a space that is imagined or challenged in conversation, in books, or on screens? If western Canada is a space brought into being by literary and artistic imaginations, is this sufficient reason to retain it as an analytic category?

To some extent, these discussions about how to define western Canada are one part of a wider Canadian dialogue about the power and purchase of region as an analytic category and identity. But the conversations about how we might best understand western Canada are also particular to the circumstances of these specific places. This book is made up of sixteen essays that discuss western Canada in

the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These essays are informed by this ongoing debate about how to best define and understand western Canada, but they are not preoccupied by it. Sometimes the essays question the very terms of the discussion. More often, contributors to *Place and Replace* proceed as if these questions are either unanswerable or not terribly important. Rather than debate, discuss, and dissect regional frameworks, the essays here analyze the histories, cultures, and politics that unevenly constitute western Canada.

This book began with a conference held at the University of Manitoba in the fall of 2010. “Place and Replace: A Joint Meeting of the St. John’s College Prairies Conference and Western Canadian Studies” represented a merging of two scholarly meetings, each possessing its own specific history and different but related mandate. In its first incarnation, Western Canadian Studies began in 1969 and met annually and then biannually, mainly at the University of Calgary but in later years, in a range of locations. These conferences were inflected with the politics of regional identity and grievance. The first Western Canadian Studies conferences were interdisciplinary, and reached beyond the conventional academy to engage a wider community, but reflected the disciplinary interests of historians. Different meetings deployed different definitions of western Canada, and the volumes of essays that were produced out of them did too.² This conference stopped meeting in 1990, and after an almost twenty-year hiatus, Western Canadian Studies was revived and redefined in 2008 by a group of historians.³ A meeting at the University of Alberta and, in time, a fine collection of essays edited by Sarah Carter, Peter Fortna, and Alvin Finkel were the concrete results.⁴

The St. John’s College Prairies Conference began after the first incarnation of Western Canadian Studies ceased to meet. The first St. John’s College Prairies Conference was held in 1990, and it has met every three years since then, always at St. John’s College at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg. These meetings built on the College’s ongoing commitment to Canadian Studies and the conferences hosted in 1989, 1990, and 2004.⁵ The St. John’s College Prairies Conferences both sustained the work of Western Canadian Studies and shifted its interests. If the first iteration of Western Canadian Studies had a wide scope but a practical focus on history and historical scholarship, the St. John’s College Prairies Conferences were interdisciplinary but tended to emphasize literature and the study of it. The two volumes of essays produced out of these conferences were both edited by historians, but the conferences themselves built on the remarkable literary community associated with Winnipeg in general and St. John’s College in particular, including Robert Kroetsch, David Arnason, and Dennis Cooley. The St. John’s College Prairies Conference reflected its particular geographic location in Winnipeg and focused on modern-day Saskatchewan and Manitoba and, to a lesser extent, Alberta.⁶

As a conference, “Place and Replace” attempted to synthesize these two conferences and their respective emphases on history and literature, and their slightly—but importantly—varying definitions of region. As a book, *Place and Replace: Essays on Western Canada* follows a long and well-established tradition of rigorously multidisciplinary examination of this particular Canadian region. It features articles written by historians, by scholars trained in the interdisciplinary practice of Native or Indigenous Studies, by literary and film scholars, by political scientists, and by scholars of city planning. The essays’ authors are at a wide variety of career-stages, ranging from graduate students completing their dissertations to well-established scholars. The theme of “place and replace” calls attention to the layered and changeable histories and politics of location in western Canada. By invoking “place,” we continue a longstanding tradition of situating questions of place at the centre of analyses of western Canada’s cultures, pasts, and politics. By modifying this focus with the word “replace” we make clear that place is not stable, universal, or static. Places and people’s relationship to them are variable, and they are frequently uncomfortable and conflicted. Place is not simply a secure location, but a shifting terrain that has excluded and disempowered as well as included and nourished. The sixteen essays here confirm the topical importance to western Canada of Indigenous peoples, dispossession, and colonialism; migration, race, and ethnicity; gender and women’s experiences; the role of the natural or built environment; and the impact of politics and the state. But read carefully, these essays also make clear that the ties that connect these themes are not always where we expect to find them. Rather than organize the essays along chronological, disciplinary, or strictly topical lines, the collection is structured around four kinds of literal and metaphoric places: farms; trails, trains, and airplanes; books, films, and journals; and parks, towns, and polls. To connect the essays around these locations emphasizes the connections between topics, issues, and subjects that are sometimes presumed to be discrete and builds on the capacity of interdisciplinary scholarship about western Canada to work around and beyond the usual divisions between disciplines and departments.

FARMS

In *Farms*, three authors prompt us to rethink how we have understood the place of agriculture in western Canada. Agriculture has long played a pivotal role in the remaking of North American space along European lines.⁷ The connection between agriculture and empire took on new political weight in the last years of the nineteenth and the first years of the twentieth century, when western Canada was transformed from an Indigenous and hybrid colonial space to a settler society organized around commercial agriculture, predicated, as Sarah Carter

elsewhere explains, on “complementary assumptions of British superiority and white male dominance.”⁸ But the meanings of farms and farming were not fixed and eternal. For much of the twentieth century, agriculture and farming have served as powerful bases for alternative and radical politics in western Canada.⁹ As Alison Calder argues forcefully in her essay in this volume, the farm figured as the location of “traumatic experience of white, largely male settlers” and has played a telling role in western Canadian literature and scholarship.

The essays in this section unsettle our assumptions of what farms meant and mean to western Canada. The authors map very different experiences of farms as locations of family and intimacy, as well as of labour and agricultural production. Carter, a historian, builds on her earlier work on prairie Indian reserve farming to address property rights for First Nations farmers in Manitoba and the Northwest. She reminds us that prairie Indigenous people practised agriculture long before Europeans arrived.¹⁰ She demonstrates, too, just how far state officials were willing to go to keep First Nations people from having the basic property rights upon which participation in the commercial agricultural economy of the reconstituted western Canada was premised. Bret Nickels works in the interdisciplinary context of Native Studies. His essay on the Manitoba Indian Agriculture Program deals with a very different time period than does Carter. But for all the difference between the late nineteenth century and the late twentieth century, Carter and Nickels tell strikingly similar stories of underfunding, confusion, and lost opportunities; ones that offer valuable insights into the history of Indigenous peoples and the state in Canada.

Both Carter’s and Nickels’ essays confirm the centrality of Indigenous histories to the current study of western Canada. Questions of Indigenous peoples, dispossession, and colonization played a key role when scholarly discussions were first developing in the 1930s. For all their differences, George F. Stanley’s interest in seeing western Canada as part of a wider empire and Harold Innis’ emphasis on economy in general and the fur trade in particular both made room for Indigenous peoples as historical actors.¹¹ Indigenous histories and issues played a smaller role in western Canadian studies at the height of their popularity in the 1960s and early 1970s. As Calder’s trenchant critique of laments for “prairie literature” in this collection suggests, this search for prairie culture was rooted in settler histories and idioms that did and do not easily accommodate Indigenous pasts or presents. Recent scholarship, however, has re-placed Indigenous peoples, colonization, and resistance at the core of the analysis, having benefitted from the upsurge in scholarship on Indigenous history in Canada that marked the last decades of the twentieth century. More work was published on Canadian Aboriginal history in the 1990s than in the five preceding decades.¹² This shift has continued in the twenty-first century, and is reflected in the prominent place of Indigenous

histories and cultures in the essays by Carter, Nickels, and, later in the volume, by Emma LaRocque, Calder, and Elspeth Tulloch.

Gender and women's history also complicate the histories we attach to farms in western Canada. Pernille Jakobsen's essay offers a sensitive and careful reading of a 1973 Supreme Court Case in which an Alberta farm-wife unsuccessfully fought to have the court acknowledge her claims to the ranch she had maintained with her husband. Jakobsen reminds us of the continuities between first- and second-wave feminism, and highlights their common concern with women's lack of property rights within agricultural economies. Historians are more familiar with work explaining the impact of first-wave feminism on late nineteenth- and early twentieth century western Canadian society, but Jakobsen suggests that the revived and reoriented women's movement of the late twentieth century made its own decisive impact. The second wave of modern feminism, like the first, changed western Canada's landscape.

Jakobsen reminds us of the need to examine western Canada as gendered space. Women's history gained new popularity and a modicum of institutional support in the 1970s, at roughly the same time that the study of western Canada gained some sustained academic legitimacy. The history of western Canadian first-wave feminists such as Nellie McClung and Margret Benedictsson was central to early forays into Canadian women's history published in the 1970s and 1980s.¹³ Works such as Sylvia Van Kirk's *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society 1670–1870* and Jennifer S.H. Brown's *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* pressed the connection between Indigenous history, family history, and women's history.¹⁴ The genre of Canadian gender history that flourished in the 1990s and 2000s was arguably less concerned with the particulars of this regional experience. As western Canadian women's and gender history faded somewhat from the limelight, it continued to be explored in a handful of monographs and several collections of essays.¹⁵ Contributors to *Place and Replace* such as Jakobsen, Lisa Chilton, and Heather Stanley continue to build upon this body of work.

TRAILS, TRAINS, AND AIRPLANES

The essays in *Farms* collectively reconfigure the meaning attached to agriculture in western Canadian studies. Those in *Trails, Trains, and Airplanes* prompt us to think in different ways about migration—movement to, within, and from western Canada—and the attendant politics of race, ethnicity, and nation. Long before Europeans arrived, Indigenous peoples were mobile. They had well-developed trade networks that stretched across much of North America, and contact among groups that spoke different languages, ate different foods, and reckoned the world in different terms. With the arrival of the fur trade came

men tied to and labouring on behalf of European capital. Many of them would marry into the Indigenous societies they traded with. Most of these men were Scots, French Canadian, and Orcadians, but others were drawn from a maritime world with global ties and sources of labour. At Fort William in 1816, one trader found men from “England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, United States of America, the Gold Coast of Africa, the sandwich Islands, Bengal, Canada, with various tribes of Indians, and a mixed progeny of Creoles, or half-breeds.”¹⁶

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, western Canada was remade, in no small part though the process of global migration. Waves of settlers from the United Kingdom, elsewhere in Canada, the United States, and continental Europe arrived in what was Indigenous and fur-trade space, buttressing the small pockets of European settlement at Red River and Victoria and, in time, radically transforming the region. The first two essays in this section address the mechanics by which the diverse Indigenous and settler spaces between the Great Lakes and the Rockies were remade as Canadian in the closing years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century. Amanda Nettlebeck and Robert Foster, both historians based in Australia, examine an iconic North-West Mounted Police and the work it did in asserting British authority, and continues to do in mainstream Canadian popular memory and culture.¹⁷ Like Carter and Nettlebeck and Foster, Lisa Chilton analyzes an episode in the remaking of western Canada as a British settler society. Chilton’s essay examines the massive and state-orchestrated migration of British people to the Prairies in the early twentieth century, the anxieties it provoked, and the considerable efforts made to control it. Chilton’s essay is very much about labour, and by situating the question of work and the work immigrants might do at the core of her analysis, Chilton also reminds us of the critical role that questions of labour and class have played in western Canadian historiography and suggests some of the ways they might continue to do so.¹⁸

The essays in this section remind us that the politics of migration, and the experiences and identities it brings in its wake, are not straightforward. Not all migrants were the ones sought by official state programmes premised on related ideals of nation and empire-building. Alison Marshall is trained as a scholar of East Asian religions, and here she discusses Chinese Canadians and the train in the early twentieth century Prairies. Along with Marshall’s recent monograph, this essay serves as a salutary reminder that Chinese-Canadian history did not take shape on the West Coast or in major cities alone, and that historians’ conventional focus on European migration to the Prairies does not tell the whole story of this region.¹⁹ Royden Loewen uses the train as a vehicle for rethinking western Canadian history and the place of migration in it. Loewen builds on his voluminous

work on transnational Mennonite history to examine German-speaking Mennonites leaving western Canada for South America in the 1920s, '30s, and '40s.²⁰ Loewen's analysis provides attention to the process of return migration that historians have called recent attention to, and makes clear the value of oral history as an archive and methodology.

The essays in *Trails, Trains, and Airplanes* illustrate that immigration has changed, and is still changing, western Canada. As Loewen and Gerry Friesen have demonstrated elsewhere, the patterns of migration that were so critical to shaping twentieth century western Canada began to shift significantly in the 1970s. Increasingly, immigrants to western Canada, and more especially western Canadian cities, would come from the Global South—Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.²¹ Joyce Chadya's essay here deals with how current-day migrants from Zimbabwe recreate the rituals of death, mourning, and memory within the city of Winnipeg. Chadya is a historian whose primary research area is southern Africa, and here she examines some of the ways that a diaspora community deals with the most intimate of rituals—those around death—in present-day western Canada. The essays in this section offer a substantial corrective to work that acknowledges and laments the erasure of western Canada's multicultural and multiracial past from scholarly study but does not substantially address it.²²

BOOKS, FILMS, AND JOURNALS

The third section, *Books, Films, and Journals*, deals with images of western Canada in literature, medical writing, and film. Alison Calder is a literary critic and a poet, and in her essay she analyses the racial and gendered meanings of "prairie literature" and asks what is at stake in it. Calder's is a powerful challenge to western Canadian studies as it has been practised for much of the last four decades, and a call for a different kind of critical practice, one that challenges rather than reinforces the gendered violence of settler colonialism. It is appropriate that Calder's essay is placed alongside Emma LaRocque's. LaRocque is also poet and scholar, and here she reckons with Métis literature and its interpretation of prairie place. LaRocque's highlighting of Métis literature is part of a wider recuperation and recognition of Indigenous writing in western Canada.²³ Métis invocation of place, LaRocque argues, fundamentally challenges popular images of Métis as placeless or out of place. The gaps between this Indigenous literature and the mainstream and even canonical works studied by Calder make it clear that western Canadian place, and the politics of it, are structured and given meaning by social difference.

Other essays in this section deal with the images of western Canada that circulate through films, medical literature, and novels and short stories. Lindy Ledowski, a literary scholar, examines images of Ukrainian-Canadian women in

English-language literature. She argues that images of the iconic “baba” are more complicated than scholars have often assumed, and suggests that our ideas of both women and Ukrainian-Canadian understanding of space and home in the Prairies are due for revision. Elspeth Tulloch is also a literary critic, but here she turns to the medium of film. Picking up on themes identified by LaRocque and Calder, Tulloch examines how National Film Board films have dealt with the presence of francophones—most notably franco-Manitoban author Gabrielle Roy and Métis leader Louis Riel—in western Canada. Here, we see how filmmakers struggled to acknowledge the French-language histories of the region, and how this complicated twentieth century Canada’s dominant national discourses. Heather Stanley, a historian, addresses the charged topic of marital sexuality as it was represented in mid-twentieth century medical literature. Along with Jakobsen, Ledohowski and Stanley both engage with feminist historical and literary practice to produce new readings of western Canada and the history of women and sexuality within it.

PARKS, TOWNS, AND POLLS

The final section brings together three essays that analyze three kinds of explicitly political places in twentieth century western Canada: parks, polls, and towns. Historian Sterling Evans’ essay draws on the rich scholarship on the environmental history of the American West to piece together a careful study of the making of Alberta’s Dinosaur National Park in the mid-twentieth century. Evans’ essay shows us in very concrete ways how places are produced through human activity and history. Beverly Sandalack, an expert in city planning, addresses the particular form of the “prairie town” in a richly illustrated and evocative essay. Studies of western Canada have tended to emphasize urban or rural space, and not been much concerned with the small towns that complicate the presumed schism between them. Sandalack acknowledges and explores the small town as a central feature of the settler landscape. Throughout much of the twentieth century, western Canada’s physical environment was often assigned a critical and sometimes even overarching place in scholarly discussions, located at the core of identity, lived history, and cultural expression. While both Evans and Sandalack put the emphasis on the western Canadian environment, their stress is on how people have shaped it rather than having been shaped by it. The last place dealt with in this section is the poll. Scholars have long been concerned with mapping out western Canada’s particular political history, asking what marks it as distinct from the rest of Canada. In his essay, political scientist Jared Wesley builds on his 2010 monograph to analyze regional patterns of electoral politics.²⁴ By examining recent information about voting patterns in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, he concludes that there are enormous differences among the three provinces. Wesley’s argument

here prompts us to return to a comment made by historian Ramsay Cook some thirty years ago. Given the difficulty of defining region, “why not call a region what it really is—a province.”²⁵

Cumulatively, these essays give us new ways to think about western Canada from the late nineteenth century to the present day. The essays show us how canonical aspects of western Canadian studies like the farm can be refigured by putting women and Indigenous people at the centre of our analysis. By exploring the work of Indigenous authors and recent social policies around Indigenous people and agriculture, contributors to this volume remind us that Indigenous histories are modern ones that stretch well beyond the early years of contact and settlement to profoundly shape the western Canada of today. The studies of migration make clear that migration was a part of colonization policy. They also remind us that these policies never succeeded in wholly shaping practice. As Loewen’s essay demonstrates, people left western Canada, as well as arrived there. In the early twentieth century, Chinese Canadians who were formally banned from entry to Canada came nonetheless and made meaningful lives. People from around the world continue to do so, in numbers and from places that challenge our older assumptions of western Canada’s ethnic and racial constitution.

These essays focus on questions of place within a specific regional frame in ways that make clear western Canada’s location in a wider world. In the past decade, scholars of western Canada have been interested in investigating the possibilities of transnational and comparative work that stretches across the borders that separated the Canadian from the American West and North America from the Pacific and Atlantic worlds.²⁶ Nettlebeck and Foster and Chilton all imagine their subjects in wider, imperial terms. Evans stresses Alberta’s location within a continental North American history and in doing so helps correct for a scholarship that, as Betsy Jameson and Jeremy Mouat point out, has failed to adequately account for the cross-border histories of the Canadian prairies and the American plains.²⁷ The essays by Chadya, Loewen, Marshall, Ledohowski, and Chilton are each aware that studying migration necessitates a transnational lens. In a variety of ways, the essays in *Place and Replace* fulfill American historian Patricia Limerick’s exhortation to go west and end up global²⁸ or, perhaps, go global and end up western.

The essays that make up *Place and Replace* push us to think in new ways, but they also confirm some of the themes that scholars of western Canada have returned to repeatedly over the last three decades. They recognize the centrality of Indigenous peoples, colonization, and resistance; migration, race, ethnicity, and nation; literary and other representations; politics, both formal and informal; and the built and natural environment and interactions between them. While some new scholarly vocabularies have a clear imprint here, others do not. Gender and,

to a lesser extent, sexuality is an important theme in these essays, but none take up Valerie Korniek's urge to better acknowledge the queer histories of western Canada.²⁹ The geographic boundaries employed here are also largely familiar. Scholars have long debated which territories, exactly, are included in western Canada. There is not a lot to add to this discussion, but it is worth noting that the essays in this collection reiterate a definition of western Canada essentially analogous with "present-day southern Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta" as it is generally constituted. It was not the editors' formal intention to counter Finkel, Carter, and Fortna's decision to "not limit the West to Prairie Canada, but rather to recognize multiple Wests and include British Columbia, northern Ontario, Northern Canada, and the borderlands with the United States."³⁰ Yet in practice *Place and Replace* returns to a working definition of region that equates western Canada with "the Prairies." It is worth thinking about why this might be so and the costs and benefits it might have for our analyses.

Along with previous volumes arising from Western Canadian Studies and St. John's College Prairies Conferences, *Place and Replace* is best read as a collection of recent interdisciplinary research into western Canada. These have played an invaluable role in promoting and making available to a keen readership new scholarship on western Canada. *Prairie Forum* has been a stable vehicle for interdisciplinary scholarship on the prairies since 1976, and each of the western provinces has a historical journal focusing on its particular history.³¹ But there are no journals devoted to western Canada, and in this context the publication of *Place and Replace* and anthologies like it serves a critical scholarly purpose. It demonstrates some recent ways that scholars have examined western Canada's multiple pasts and presents around the rubric of "place and replace," reminds us of the possibility and productivity of interdisciplinary discussion, and suggests new opportunities and directions for emerging scholarship.

NOTES

- 1 We would like to thank Barry Ferguson, Alison Calder, Dennis Cooley, Donald Smith, and Gerry Friesen for their comments on and assistance with this introduction. Adele Perry also acknowledges the support of the Canada Research Chairs programme.
- 2 See *Prairie Perspectives: Papers of the Western Canadian Studies Conference*, ed. David Gagan (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970); *The Twenties in Western Canada*, ed. Susan Mann (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1972); *Prairie Perspectives 2: Selected Papers of the Western Canadian Studies Conference*, eds. Anthony W. Rasporich and Henry C. Klassen (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973); *Western Perspectives 1*, ed. David J. Bercuson (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1974); *Western Canada Past and Present*, ed. A.W. Rasporich (Calgary: McClelland and Stewart

- West, 1975); *The Settlement of the West*, ed. Howard Palmer (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1977); *The Canadian West: Social Change and Economic Development*, ed. Henry Klassen (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1977); Ian A.L. Getty and Donald B. Smith, *One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1978); *Eastern and Western Perspectives: Papers From the 1978 Joint Atlantic Canadian Western Canadian Studies Conference*, eds. David Bercuson and Phillip Buckner (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); *The Dirty Thirties in Prairie Canada*, eds. Doug Francis and Herman Ganzevoort (Vancouver: Tantalus Research, 1980); *The New Provinces, 1905–1980, Alberta and Saskatchewan*, eds. Howard Palmer and Donald Smith (Vancouver: Tantalus Research, 1980). Thanks to Donald Smith and Lindsay Moir for tracking these down.
- 3 <http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/~wscs/>, accessed 4 December 2011.
 - 4 Sarah Carter, Alvin Finkel, and Peter Fortna, "Introduction," in *The West and Beyond: New Perspectives on an Imagined Region*, eds. Carter, Finkel, and Fortna (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2010).
 - 5 The 2004 meeting on Indigenous history produced *Intersecting Worlds: Rural and Urban Aboriginal Issues*, eds. Denise Fuchs and Mary Jane McCallum (Winnipeg: St John's College Press, 2004).
 - 6 Two published volumes have come out of these conferences: *Toward Defining the Prairies: Region, Culture, and History*, ed. Robert Wardhaugh (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001); *The Prairies Lost and Found*, ed. Len Kuffert (Winnipeg: St. John's College Press, 2007). A related project is *History, Literature, and the Writing of the Canadian Prairies*, eds. Alison Calder and Robert Wardhaugh (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2005).
 - 7 See Ramsay Cook, *1492 and All That: Making a Garden out of Wilderness* (Toronto: Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies, 1992).
 - 8 Sarah Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2008), 292. Also see Doug Owsram, *The Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856–1900*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).
 - 9 See, for instance, Jeffrey M. Taylor, *Fashioning Farmers: Ideology, Agricultural Knowledge and the Manitoba Farm Movement, 1890–1925* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1994).
 - 10 See Catherine Flynn and E. Leight Syms, "Manitoba's First Farmers," *Manitoba History*, 31 (Spring 1996): 4–11.
 - 11 See, for instance, George Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992 [1936]); Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History*, revised ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984 [1930]). This point is made in the wider Canadian context in Marlene Shore, "Introduction," *The Contested Past: Reading Canada's History—Selections from the Canadian Historical Review* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
 - 12 See Keith Thor Carlson, Melinda Marie Jetté, and Kenichi Matsui, "An Annotated Bibliography of Major Writings in Aboriginal History, 1990–99," *Canadian Historical Review*, 82, 1 (2001): 132.
 - 13 See, for instance, Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canadian Feminism in the 1920s: The Case of Nellie McClung," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 12, 4 (Summer 1977): 58–68; Mary Kinnear, "The Icelandic Connection: Freyja and the Manitoba Woman Suffrage Movement," *Canadian Woman Studies/les cahiers de la femme* 7, 4 (1986): 25–28.
 - 14 Sylvia Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties": *Women and Fur Trade Society, 1670–1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980); Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur*