Reader response to the following extract from a Prairie diarist is likely to vary; one may be angered at the pretentiousness of the passage, another may deride the presumed bathos, yet another may smile at the Ruskinesque prose, and still another may be intrigued by what the diarist is attempting.

Another Golden October Sun drops lower and remote, leaving in quick changing glory streaks of vermilion partially curtained by mauve cloud strips vague of form and subtle of hue. The vast vault of upper unclouded sky receding (sic) and remote, it’s gradated blue in strong contrast to the chromatic pageant of the Saskatchewan horizon. The vermilion swiftly changes into rose, while rich luminous orange bands appear in the sunset colour riot.

The word, or colour vermilion, seem (sic) inadequate in describing this sunsets’ (sic) brilliance, the palettes (sic) nearest approach would probably be orange vermilion with the sombre colours painted strongly to emphasize the vivid fiery orange.

Is any period of the day more enchanting than this sunset hour, when light and colour are vanishing, and distant Barn, Bluff and Granary are veiled in the evening mist and the stubble deepens from Brown-madder to Sepia?

The horizontal cloud formations suggest rest and peace, like a vast benevolent hand outstretched in blessing and tenderness, bidding man to cease from labour. The formality of the cloud strips above the western horizon, add to the flatness and space of the wheatlands. In the deepening void of emptiness above us, the blue-white light from Rigel in Orion reaches Saskatchewan ending it’s (sic) amazingly swift passage of 186000 miles a second, the stars comprising Ursa Major...flash their brilliance low on the northwest horizon, other stars and suns become brighter and distinct as the afterglow changes to deep purple, and the student of life is once more at bay with the eternal mystery.¹

There can be little doubt that generally the criterion for the diary is its place on a scale which runs from personal to impersonal, with the implicit assumption that any straying toward the former is mistaken. Despite, or even because of Pepys—he’s a safely distanced person—there does seem to be a bias against the unburdening of the self in the development of the diary after the seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century most English diarists were careful not to

¹ University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Special Collections, MSS 16/1-II, entry for 28 October 1938.
appear exhibitionist. The bland, because popular, type of journal that was implicitly encouraged was of a factual, unsensational, and impersonal kind; it was in vogue until perhaps as late as World War II. This kind of diary could be published easily, was often handsomely produced, and where necessary had been lovingly laundered for public perusal.²

Those readers who dismiss the opening diary entry scornfully are probably unaware of the tremendous success of Anais Nin and of the contemporary taste for those qualities which make a diary vital. One may search Evelyn Waugh's diary for glimpses of the novelist or quarry Crossman's diaries for strata beds of political scandal, but the appreciation of the potential of the diary as a book of the self is seemingly new. While the evaluation of the opening passage is not the focus of this essay, it should be appreciated that no snippet from the whole original will do justice to any diary. For example, the drama of the diary's linearity (actual or assumed) is untested. Nonetheless, the quotation can be instructive: it reveals a response by the diarist to phenomena of life in a personal way. Clearly the prairie sunset here is being described in a very precise and personal way. Not so obvious, perhaps, is the effort of an individual to come to terms with the uniqueness of the particular occasion and to explore the potential of the diary genre. The concern for sensations registered and the assumption of the unique quality of each passing moment savoured suggests perhaps a student of Walter Pater.³ The discriminated impressions, such as the equation between the horizontal cloud formation and rest and peace, are the diarist's own. The diary as a whole provides several other examples of this kind of entry, but the most compelling aspect resides in its awareness of the diary as a book of the self. The author, Robert Hurley, a Saskatoon artist, is recording impressions in the quotation above which are uniquely his own. To the casual reader the entry may seem prosy and ungrammatical, but what needs emphasizing is surely the attempt, however maudlin, to record one's feelings, perceptions, and reflections. This is what the personal diary is all about; this is the hallmark of the genre.

The state of the genre in Canada has yet to be explored, but since there are extant manuscript diaries covering a period of about three hundred years, some assessment of this little-known sphere of Canadian letters is overdue. The Canadian Manuscript Diaries Project is an attempt to take stock of these materials. Some archivists have suspected teasingly that this is a search for the Canadian Pepys. Alas, no. The project sits on a more mundane plane; it seeks to expose an extensive and widely dispersed body of materials by the publication of an annotated listing which describes each diary. The search for a Pepys, perhaps the literary equivalent of a sasquatch hunt, may come later if at all.

The only known guide to Canadian diaries is a book by William Matthews which is a generation old and rather thin in its listing of diaries proper, having mingled autobiographies with diaries.⁴ Apart from that, there are the heterogeneous works describing manuscript holdings for particular areas or of various

⁴ William Matthews, Canadian Diaries and Autobiographies (Los Angeles, 1950).
Captain Charles Barklay, 19 August 1792. "A Journal of the Proceedings on board the Halcyon" shows a mariner's log including not only details of trade but also impressions of native woods and women, thus reading like a diary. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia A/A/20.5/L292)
repositories. Most recently, the *Union List of Manuscripts (ULM)* and its *Supplement* have devoted some space to brief notices of diaries, but the vast scope of the ULM's coverage has precluded a consistent description of manuscript diaries.

This is hardly the place to stress the need to preserve diaries and to make their existence and availability better known. Diaries do matter and archivists know this. My own interest in the genre is literary, but with the realization that many individuals cherish diaries for quite extra-literary reasons. As a primary resource for historians, social scientists, genealogists, antiquarians, and so forth, many diaries have been mined for their information on life in Canada, though the riches of the seam do no appear to have been even nearly exhausted. One of the notions underlying the Canadian MSS Diaries Project is that too few such diaries are well enough known; therefore, an annotated compilation describing briefly the available diaries and their whereabouts would be useful and timely.

No distinctions will be made in this project between published and unpublished diaries; if the manuscript exists, then that diary will be included. Obviously, diaries which have been published are more or less available to the public, but few of these works are presented in their entirety. Original manuscripts are usually reduced in length by the editing process. This selection of materials is not without drawbacks, especially if the reader is interested in the diarist's handling of the form. There may be a gain for the reading public when, for example, a decisive editor cuts away dross from a sprawling original, but the diary manuscript has a fascination analogous to holographs of poems or novels. Consequently, the most useful annotated listing will cover all surviving manuscript diaries and will include locations of published editions.

The search for diaries in or about Canada confirms that manuscript diaries are still often in private ownership as well as in public custody. Those which are currently in the public domain are in a sense known, though rarely known generally. Enquiries have been directed mostly to provincial and municipal archives, to local history rooms in libraries as well as to universities, museums, historical societies, and national organizations. Initially, several hundred circular-letters were mailed to cast as wide a net as possible. The response was not unencouraging. The compiler has visited the major repositories to examine the diaries. Manuscripts in private hands pose varying degrees of difficulty to the searcher: some owners, reading of the project in the press, have written promptly with information about their holdings; others have been approached by the compiler after a local organization has given names and addresses; still others have declined to allow any publication of details. The majority of privately owned diaries are publicly known because the originals have been loaned to local archives and often permission is given for photocopying or microfilming. Finally, it has to be said that some diaries will be included because of a chance meeting or remark; this suggests that some private diaries inevitably will be missed by the project, at least in the first edition. Often a reticence, almost a resentment against what may (mistakenly) appear as personal intrusion or invasion of privacy, has been discernible. In other words, human nature is such

5 Bruce Braden Peel, *Bibliography of the Prairie Provinces to 1953* (Toronto, 1953).
6 *Union List of Manuscripts in Canadian Repositories* (Ottawa, 1975).
James Burney, 14 February 1779. "Log of HMS Discovery" at Hawaii shows a distinctive trait of the best kind of diary towards narrative and detail in describing the murder of Captain Cook. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia A/A/20/063CB)
that the project cannot hope to claim absolute completeness because there will inevitably be a proportion of the population which will continue to hide (if not destroy) family diaries and will spurn any attempt even to list their existence.


While the question of finding out about privately owned diaries remains vexing, the definition of what constitutes a diary is persistently problematical. A major confusion is found in the current use of descriptive labels; for example, is a "diary" different from a "journal", and, if so, how? Clearly one archivist's "journal" is another's "diary". Perhaps, regrettably, one has to acknowledge that it is too late to continue with a distinct notion of two different categories; the words "diary" and "journal" are commonly mixed and used interchangeably. There are other contenders, too: many a diarist has kept what is titled as a "spiritual account book", "desk memorandum", "business journal", "farmer's log" or simply "log". Likewise, many a keeper of jottings—in surveyors' field notebooks, letter-journals, Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) Post journals, ships' logs—has in effect produced a diary. Accordingly, some manuscripts which have not been so designated by their custodians will be included as diaries in this listing.

In determining what might be included in the project, two factors are weighed: first, that the incidence of entries should be frequent, usually daily; second, that

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the characteristic entry should reveal some personal imprint of the author. The first of these conditions is the more obvious since the word “diary” implies daily writing. Even so, from Pepys to Woolf the diarist sometimes catches up with his entries after a lapse of days—without necessarily admitting the fact! There also exist diaries which are more of the nature of reminiscences or memoirs inasmuch as they are fair copies of original entries whose entries have been expanded, edited, and so forth, yet still retain the format of daily entries. Such works are difficult to assess technically, but wherever there is evidence that the writer was all too aware of subsequent events, then his diary will be omitted. The second major factor is less easy to determine, namely the personal imprint. A monotonous preoccupation with weather, for example, recurring entries of the calibre of “Rained heavily all last night and it looks like more of the same today”, are not speedily categorized (apart from their literary value). Similarly, there are those diaries which disappoint by referring all too bluntly in jotted style to the movements of the writer. Consider the pocket-diary of Walter Scott, Premier of Saskatchewan (1905-1916), kept while travelling in Eastern Europe.8 Note the spare entries and the pedestrian qualities:

3rd (Sunday,). April, 1910: “Acropolis. Drive to Piraeus. On board Romana—Roumanian Line in Afternoon”.

(4th. April): “In Dardanelles. Constantinople 6 p.m. Pera Palace. Got mail. Cigars 40c. each. Luggage on man’s back up hill”.

(5th. April): “Jacob Moses, guide, Morgue’s, Bazaars, Rug shop. Lunch in Stamboul. Got cable”.


Such reporting seems perverse. There are no impressions of the city, just a prosaic noting of schedule, minor events, even trivia (the cost of a cigar). The entries just about give a personal imprint, but the result is like a faded negative. By contrast with the preceding illustration, the Hurley diary quoted at the beginning quickly exhibits a personal stamp.

Obviously, diarists vary tremendously in their articulacy as well as in the amount of time they were prepared to devote to writing. Part of the fascination of diaries is the sheer variety. Often the only criterion for the continued existence of the manuscript is someone’s notion that the diary was worth retaining; some of the older diaries owe their existence to chance or eccentricity. A fascinating illustration of this is provided by the diary of a Cariboo adventurer who lingered in the Barkerville district of British Columbia digging at his stake well past the season’s end. As must have often been the case, financial motivation overrode commonsense. There was a pressing need to continue working a meagre season’s findings in the hope that a big strike would redeem all. The diarist stayed on while his rivals left the mountains; the frosts and snows came, and the diarist’s foot which had been infected began to swell horribly. Work was barely possible and survival doomed. The entries became increasingly cryptic until there are no more. The pathos becomes complete when the item’s provenance reveals that the diary was found the following spring on the body of a man who had struggled some way, but not far, toward Williams Lake. The original diary may be examined today at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia.9

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8 Pocket Diary, 1910, Walter Scott Papers, pp. 87106-7, Saskatchewan Archives Board.
9 Provincial Archives of British Columbia, E-B-H28.
Irving Layton, 1958. His notebook kept during a visit to Europe is a superior travel diary which goes beyond the personal and the trivial. (University of Saskatoon Archives, Shortt collection MSS 3/4 F. no. 6)
By contrast, one may cite the diary of George Stephen Jones of Quebec city, who for a short time was madly in love with a local girl whose social standing appears to have been somewhat above his own. The entries over a period of several months chart in very frank and often detailed fashion his hopes and fears as an older and more affluent rival approved by the girl's parents bids for her affections. Fortunately, several generations of owners had the good sense to keep the diary intact. Perhaps the candour of the diary ensured that the family kept its contents secret for more than a century; only recently was the manuscript

10 Public Archives of Canada, MG24 1155
George Jones, October 1845 to April 1846. Contrasting moods in a private diary: (a) an eighteen year old happily pondering a spell of new-found love, (b) despair on the diarist's nineteenth birthday when he realizes Honorine will accept an older suitor. (Public Archives of Canada MG 24 I 155)
SEEKING THE CANADIAN PEPYS

150 23 Mar.

With Angelica. Georgina & Miss Japethan were there. I had not
the pleasure of conversing with Hermione
because she did so with Grizy "how
happy he must be to think that
Hermione will be his forever. Oh
that thought breaks my heart. I
would have given anything not to
have gone to bed. Consuelo this
evening. I am happy because
that I am, why do I not fly from
this place, why do I not leave this
City I go to some distant place.
But if I did so, my thoughts would
be the same. I could never forget
Hermione. Why did I ever
know Hermione. If I had never
seen her, I would not be so unhappy
yet into unhappiness in my lot.
My sister & I left at 6.
Midnight going to bed.
acquired by the Public Archives of Canada. For all his single-mindedness, the diarist has undoubtedly left a document which has a full, personal imprint and which richly suggests what it was like to experience the joys and frustrations of falling in love in mid-nineteenth century Lower Canada.

The majority of diaries is neither as thin as Hon. Walter Scott’s nor as full as George Jones’; provided some personal imprint is recorded via the entries, the diary will be included in the annotated listing.

A curious complication arises in the cases of journals or diaries which are in a sense semi-official. Canada is rich in two kinds of such manuscripts: the diaries and field notes of surveyors, and then the masses of journals kept by Hudson’s Bay Company employees. In the case of the latter, it is clear that from early days the Company’s officers in Rupert’s Land were expected to keep “Journals of what hath been done in the respective factories & of all ocurrences.”\footnote{Joan Craig, “Three Hundred Years of Record” \textit{Beaver Outfit} 301 (1970): 67.} One hundred and thirty-one years later, employees were reminded that:

These journals are to contain nothing but a plain & simple memorandum of facts . . . They must however be distinct & full, containing all the particulars that may contribute to the better understanding of the transactions that are mentioned . . . Among the circumstances which are always to be noticed in the Journals, is [sic] the weather & progress of the season;—the date of the freezing in of the lakes & rivers . . . The observations are not to be considered as a matter of idle curiosity; but may be of very essential use.\footnote{Hudson’s Bay Company, Letter from the Governor and Committee to Thomas Thomas, London, 9 April, 1814, Hudson’s Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, A 6/18, pp. 211-12.}

This reminder suggests not only that journalizing was being neglected in certain cases, but also that some of the entries were too personal and more than utilitarian. It is not difficult to imagine that during a long, dark winter in one of the North West’s isolated posts, the diary takes on a rather special significance for the writer beyond the simple call to note “plain & simple” facts. Various post journals have been considered worth including in this project. Diaries kept by individual fur traders are also represented. An illustration or two from the diary of Norman McLeod during the period of a couple of months will show that the selection of details by the diarist can give a personal imprint as simply as writing about oneself. McLeod was a furtrader at Fort Alexandria, Rupert’s Land. First there is the obviously subjective kind of entry:

Bryan Royale did not think it proper to leave me & I was tormented with his super stupid conversation all day.\footnote{McGill University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Norman McLeod MSS, entry for 10 December 1800.}

Here are recorded privately his inner feelings about a companion, and the diary presumably acts as a safe vent for the day’s frustration. One might also notice the registering of a personal response through moral reflection in an entry five days later:
It was one of the finest mornings I ever saw... but like all other sublunary things it soon changed, for about noon it began to blow... the sky got overcast & everything appeared gloomy that a few hours ago... appeared gay and gilded with the animated rays of the Great Parent of Day! Such is the instability of earthly enjoyments!14

In a further instance, the “I” does not obtrude yet the information has impressed the diarist sufficiently to suggest his feelings:

Early this morning one of the old women who are in a small Lodge at the Fort Gate was found frozen to death: somebody had given her a little liquor & it’s supposed she laid down to sleep, but the intense cold seized her & carried her to her long home, the people put her body on a scaffold as the ground is so hard frozen as not to admit of digging a hole to put her in.15

In a final quotation the “I” unmovedly records his own role in the winding up of affairs of a local chief who had died of dropsy:

I gave the Chef de Canard’s widow to the Amt. [Amount] of 28 plus, & tooke the Slave Woman, whom next Fall I shall sell for a good price to one of the men. She was wife to the deceased old man.16

The tug between the need to record official data and the desire to include personal items is not confined to the furtraders. As mentioned above, a large group of diaries is provided by surveyors. A typical few pages from the diary of G.B. Milligan, at work in the summer of 1912 surveying in the Peace River area, show a mingling of professional concerns and a personal note on the bothersome “bulldogs and mosquitoes”.17 An earlier surveyor, C. de B. Green, reconnoitering the Kettle River country of the Osoyoos district in 1894, records in his field notes a night’s skirmish with bush-tail rats in the cabin.18 An earlier and famous surveyor, George Mercer Dawson kept voluminous diaries which include not only his field notes, but also long accounts of Indians encountered and even some verse.19

After the central questions of the criteria to be applied in this list and of the difficulties in applying them, the format proposed for the annotation will be of particular interest. The overall plan is to provide categories of information similar to those in British Manuscript Diaries of the Nineteenth Century.20 The freer format of the Union List of Manuscripts is also being considered.21

Space will inevitably be at a premium. The entries will give the diarist’s full name, dates of birth/death or flourishing, principal place(s) of residence and occupation(s). The second part will include information about the text—overall dates with comment on the presence of gaps in the entries within those dates, the
extent of the material in volumes or shelf space, and whether the diary is in original manuscript or transcript, typescript, photocopy, or even microfilm. This last distinction is useful because enlightened private owners are frequently lending diaries to their local archives for copying. Such a move is especially welcome because it increases the accessibility of the diary, frees the private custodian from persistent queries by researchers, and safeguards the existence of diaries which might otherwise be eventually lost. The third part of each entry will be given the most space since it deals with the contents of the diary; here an attempt is made to summarize the interests of the diarist, to draw attention to the major events and experiences, and to indicate something of the quality of the diary. Finally, the description will note where the diary is now to be found and, where relevant, where copies are available; a call number or finding aid will be included. Where part of the diary has been published, the source will be cited. A specimen entry follows; the details are fictitious:

Diaries: May, 1835-Dec., 1850 and Jan., 1868-Dec., 1875 (gaps); 24 vols., Orig.; 2m; MCF available.
Contents: detailed account of voyage, Liverpool-Quebec, in Seagull (Capt.
Livingstone), 1835; quarantined with fever, Grosse Isle; pioneering in Paulton Twp. (Forward district); activities of Anglican missionaries; militia service; excitements of U.C. Rebellion, 1838-9, including march on Montgomery's Tavern; interview with P.M., Sir Allan MacNab; railway surveying in Ont. and Maritimes, 1873; summer survey in Elliot Lake region, 1868; family and health (one daughter went insane); novels read; local and national events; tour of northern U.S., 1875. Full entries in early years; thin post-1850; rarely introspective.

MCF: P.A.C., P.A.O.
See, A. Finkle, "More Roughing It", History Yesterday X, 3 (April, 1927), 13-22.

Since the lay-out of the book will be chronological, the first year of the diarist's keeping a diary will determine the year of the whole annotated description for that diarist. This means that where a diarist has volumes for more than one period for example, Caroline Hinman22 whose three volumes are for 1915, 1933, and 1946-47, the earliest year (1915) dictates that all the diaries are described under her entry for 1915. The alternative of providing separate entries for the respective volumes in the years of their composition is not feasible because of the duplication involved.

With an author-index and a selected subject-index providing easier reference and reflecting innumerable facets of little-known Canadian life down the centuries, the project as a whole promises to bring together works laden with the variety hinted at by Emily Carr's culinary metaphor for her own journal-making "hundred and thousands" (multi-coloured cake decorations), and to guide exploration among the records of individual, heterogeneous sensibilities suggested by her fellow artist's verbal response to the "chromatic pageant of the Saskatchewan horizon".23

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22 Archives of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta, M236.2.
23 Hundreds and Thousands: The Journals of Emily Carr (Toronto and Vancouver, 1966).

Résumé

L'auteur doute qu'il ne trouve jamais (et même qu'il doive chercher) un Samuel Pepys canadien, mais il a compilé une énorme variété de matériel dans son projet d'un seul homme, le Canadian Manuscript Diaries Project. Il nous explique son but et nous présente quelques-unes de ses découvertes.